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

DEPENDENT AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN IN GEORGIA

A STUDY OF THE PREVALENCE AND TREATMENT OF CHILD DEPENDENCY AND DELINQUENCY IN THIRTY COUNTIES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LEGAL PROTECTION NEEDED

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CONTENTS

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,
CHILDREN'S BUREAU,
Washington, April 1, 1926.

SIR: There is transmitted herewith a report on dependent and delinquent children in Georgia, the result of a survey of child dependency, neglect, and delinquency in Georgia made by the social service division of the Children's Bureau under the supervision of Emma O. Lundberg.

The survey was undertaken in 1924 at the request of the Georgia Department of Public Welfare and the Georgia Children's Code Commission for the purpose of furnishing the commission with data that would be of service in framing desirable child-welfare legislation. The field study was made in the early months of 1924 and copies of a preliminary report, pertaining especially to the findings of the survey in relation to legislative needs, were transmitted in June, 1924 (the legislature convened on June 24, 1924), to the department of public welfare and to the children's code commission. The department of public welfare and the courts and social agencies in the 30 counties studied gave helpful cooperation throughout the survey.

Respectfully submitted.

GRACE ABBOTT, *Chief.*

Hon. JAMES J. DAVIS,
Secretary of Labor.

DEPENDENT AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN IN GEORGIA

INTRODUCTION

The Georgia Children's Code Commission was created in 1922[1] with instruction "to study the existing laws of Georgia which in any way affect child life, to study conditions of child welfare in the State, to study the laws of other States, and to consult authorities in this and other States, and to draft for presentation to the succeeding legislatures such laws or amendments to the existing laws as will better safeguard the welfare of children in this State." The law provided for 10 members of the commission to be appointed by the governor to hold office for five years and until their successors were appointed. No appropriation was made for the work of the commission, and it was specifically provided in the law that members were not to be paid any salary or remuneration by the State. The commission was organized early in 1923 with the following committees: (1) Delinquency and juvenile courts; (2) dependent, neglected, and defective children; (3) child health and recreation; and (4) education and employment. The Georgia State Council of Social Agencies loaned the services of their executive secretary to the commission.

The State Council of Social Agencies organized an advisory committee on children's laws, divided into four sections similar to those organized by the children's code commission, and composed of 100 leading citizens and representatives of State organizations, which was to serve as a clearing house for the consideration of needed legislation, to criticize drafts of bills prepared by committees of the commission, and to give its support to the commission when a program of laws was submitted to the legislature. The advisory committee held hearings in the State capitol before the commission had met to discuss the plans for its work. These hearings were attended by national authorities in the various fields of child welfare, and the different State groups interested in special legislation had an opportunity to present and discuss their ideas.

The commission decided not to advocate nor sponsor new legislation at the 1923 session of the State legislature, but to report the progress of its studies and to submit data concerning the enforcement or lack of enforcement of existing laws and the adequacy of appropriations. In accordance with this decision a report was submitted to the governor and general assembly summarizing the progress made by the commission in its study of laws and calling

[1] Ga., Laws of 1922, No. 300, sec. 1.

attention to the inadequacy of financial support accorded important State departments and institutions.[2] As a result of this report the legislature increased the appropriation for the State department of public welfare and granted to the State training school for boys and girls a small appropriation for building.[3]

At the request of and in cooperation with the State welfare department and the code commission the Children's Bureau undertook a field study of child dependency, neglect, and delinquency in 30 counties [4] selected as fairly representative of social, economic, racial, and geographic conditions in the State. The study was made in January, February, and March, 1924. The survey, although primarily concerned with courts handling children's cases, included many problems affecting children—namely, the extent of delinquency, dependency, and neglect untouched by the courts and other social agencies as well as dealt with by the courts, offenses committed by adults against children, cases of nonsupport or desertion, the means of safeguarding children in adoption cases and in cases of change of custody, illegitimacy, child marriages, and the need for aid to children in their own homes. Information was obtained from the records of the courts, from interviews with judges and county officials dealing with such problems, from school authorities, from agencies doing social work, and from individuals familiar with the county situation.[5] In addition the Children's Bureau agents obtained general data on the composition of the population, economic conditions, industries, schools, recreational facilities, and social agencies in the 30 counties. As a basis for the local studies the agents made use of material collected and reports prepared by the department of public welfare during its four years of service.[6] This department and the courts and social agencies in the counties covered gave helpful cooperation throughout the survey.

In 1924 the commission drafted a bill which would codify, revise, and improve the laws of Georgia affecting delinquent, dependent, neglected, and defective children, and would revise the juvenile court law and all laws relating to matters coming within the jurisdiction of the juvenile court, greatly extending its jurisdiction. This bill was withdrawn but served as a basis for an extensive educational campaign during the following year. In 1925 eight bills were presented to the legislature relating to adoption, illegitimacy, juvenile court, nonsupport, compulsory school attendance, child labor, and to the State training schools for boys and girls. Only one (relating to

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[2] First Annual Report of the Georgia Children's Code Commission to the Governor and General Assembly. Georgia Children's Code Commission, Atlanta, Ga., 1923.

[3] Ga., Laws of 1923, Nos. 516, 300.

[4] Ben Hill, Bibb, Brooks, Clark, Colquitt, Cook, Coweta, Crisp, Dougherty, Elbert, Floyd, Glynn, Grady, Habersham, Hall, Heard, Houston, Laurens, Lowndes, Muskogee, Polk, Randolph, Richmond, Stephens, Sumter, Thomas, Troup, Ware, Wayne, Whitfield.

[5] For forms used in the survey see appendix, p. 89.

[6] Georgia's Fight Against Dependency and Delinquency, Report to the Legislature of the Work of the Department of Public Welfare During Its First Year Ending March 1, 1921. "In Loco Parentis," The Work of the Juvenile Court in Saving Georgia's Wards from Lives of Poverty and Crime; a handbook for juvenile court judges, advisory boards, probation officers, and civic organizations. Atlanta, 1922. Economy through Public Welfare Service, Report of Second Year's Work of the Georgia State Department of Public Welfare for the Year Ending June 1, 1922. Report of Third Year's Work of the Georgia State Department of Public Welfare for the Year Ending June 1, 1923. Report of Fourth Year's Work of the Georgia State Department of Public Welfare for the Year Ending June 1, 1924. Footprints, Report of Fifth Year's Work, June 1, 1925, State Department of Public Welfare.

child labor)[7] was enacted into law, but much was accomplished in the education of public opinion with reference to needed reforms. The commission plans to continue its work of educating public opinion in behalf of its program.

In discussing the various topics dealt with in this report emphasis has been placed on the absence of facilities for constructive work. This has been done because of the great need that exists, which has been pointed out repeatedly by State officials and citizens of Georgia, for a comprehensive revision of child-welfare laws (see pp. 83–87) and the development of resources for constructive service. Nevertheless, evidence is not lacking that the educational activities of the department of public welfare and increasing recognition of public responsibility for preventive and constructive work for children were beginning to bear fruit.

In one county, for example, in which more than 100 children came before the juvenile court during one year the court had been made a constructive social agency through the work of the probation officer in the investigation and supervision of cases. Frequent court hearings are an important feature of good juvenile-court organization. A court in one of the more populous counties held hearings daily. The boarding-home plan of detention care was being developed to a greater or less extent in nine counties, and since the study was made this method has been developed further with the encouragement of the State department of public welfare.[8]

Although in general, procedure in cases not coming under the juvenile court law lacked any provision for safeguarding the interests of the children involved, a few encouraging exceptions were found. In one county it was customary in proceedings against adults committing crimes against children to clear the court room of all but those connected with the case. The juvenile court of another county had developed a satisfactory method of dealing with abandonment cases informally. In one county investigations both of the prospective foster home and of the child's own home were made in adoption cases. The courts hearing divorce cases in three counties sometimes called upon the juvenile-probation officers to make special investigations in cases in which children were involved.

Development of modern, well-equipped schools and of organized recreation are important measures tending to prevent juvenile delinquency. The consolidated-school movement in one county covered by the survey included all the schools for white children (outside the county seat). A visiting teacher had been employed in one city in cooperation with the National Committee on Visiting Teachers (see p. 80). Progress had been made in some counties in providing wholesome recreation for children (see pp. 81–82).

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[7] This law, to take effect January 1, 1926, applies to mills, factories, laundries, manufacturing establishments, and workshops. (Ga., Laws of 1925, No. 247.)

[8] Progress has also been made since the study in some communities in respect to the adequacy of probation service. One county included in the survey which had two probation officers in 1924, in 1926 has three—a white woman, a white man, and a negro woman—and one of these officers is to be given special opportunities for additional training in a school of social work.

LEGAL PROTECTION OF DEPENDENT, NEGLECTED, AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN IN GEORGIA

THE JUVENILE COURT LAW AND ITS APPLICATION

The Georgia juvenile court law of 1915 as amended in 1916 provided for a juvenile court with a paid probation officer in every county of the State. In all counties having a population of less than 60,000 the judge of the superior court was to designate an existing court of record to act and be known as the juvenile court of that county, the judge of such court to serve without additional compensation. In counties having a population of between 35,000 and 60,000 "upon concurrent recommendation of two successive grand juries" the judge of the superior court was required to appoint a judge of the juvenile court, whereupon it should be considered that a special juvenile court had been created in that county. In such counties the judge was to receive a salary fixed by the appointing judge with the approval of the county commissioners. Counties with a population of 60,000 or over were required by law to have a special juvenile court. Whether the court was designated or special, its jurisdiction applied to the cases of children under 16 years of age who were delinquent, neglected, or otherwise subject to the discipline of the State or in need of its care and protection.[1]

The Georgia Department of Public Welfare was established in March, 1920, in accordance with a law of 1919, which placed upon it the duty "to visit, inspect and examine once a year, or oftener, county jails, the state, county, municipal and private institutions and organizations which are of an eleemosynary, charitable, correctional or reformatory character, or which are for the care, custody or training of the orphaned, defective, dependent, delinquent or criminal classes." The department was required also to distribute among officials literature bearing upon subjects embraced under the act, and to collect, compile, and publish statistics and information regarding the dependent, defective, and delinquent classes and such other data as might be of value in assisting officials in the performance of their duties.[2]

When the department was organized the State had only eight juvenile-court judges, though the juvenile court law had been on the statute books for five years. A campaign of education was begun through personal conferences and the publication, in 1922, of a handbook for juvenile-court judges, advisory boards, probation officers, and civic organizations.[3] A complete set of juvenile-court forms was published also and was furnished to the courts at moder-

[1] Ga., Laws of 1915, No. 210, as amended by Laws of 1916, No. 575.
[2] Ga., Laws of 1919, No. 186.
[3] "In Loco Parentis," The Work of the Juvenile Court in Saving Georgia's Wards from Lives of Poverty and Crime; a handbook for juvenile court judges, advisory boards, probation officers, and civic organizations. Atlanta, 1922.

ate cost. The department gave immediate consideration to the need for improvements in the juvenile court laws.[4]

The result of the department's campaign was a marked increase in the number of designated juvenile courts. In its report for the year ending June 1, 1923, the department reported designated judges (or special juvenile courts) in 108 of the 160 counties of the State. The department has constantly urged the organization of advisory boards and the fundamental importance of paid probation officers.[5]

Only 22 of the 30 counties included in the Children's Bureau survey had complied with the sections of the law relative to the designation of a juvenile-court judge. Only 1 county (Bibb County) had created a special juvenile court, although 6 of the counties surveyed had a population of over 35,000. In 12 counties the ordinary,[6] in 8 counties the judge of the city court, and in 1 county the judge of the municipal court had been designated juvenile-court judges. As 5 ordinaries had refused to serve (see p. 9) the juvenile courts in these counties had never functioned; and in 1 county in which a city-court judge had been designated it was reported that the court was inactive. Consequently the intent of the law was actually being carried out in only 16 of the 30 counties studied.

In one county children were formally arraigned before the recorder's court or other courts before coming to the attention of the juvenile court, and all cases of violations of city ordinances by children were dealt with by the recorder's court. In all the other counties in which juvenile courts functioned the majority of children under 16 years of age charged with misdemeanors were heard by the juvenile court, the superior courts hearing cases of children charged with felonies. In the counties in which juvenile courts had not been designated the superior court, city court, or police courts handled children's cases. The exercise of jurisdiction by city courts or police courts which had not been designated as juvenile courts was contrary to the law. Where there was no juvenile court in a county children's cases under the law could legally be dealt with only by the superior court.[7]

In the course of the survey it was found that over one-fourth of the children's cases dealt with by the courts in the 30 counties had come before other than juvenile courts. Numerous instances were discovered in which children's cases received inadequate attention because the courts were not equipped to handle them, and the data obtained indicated that the problem of dependency and neglect was almost entirely overlooked by the courts in counties in which no juvenile court was functioning or in which the juvenile courts had not the proper equipment for investigation or supervision. In one

[4] Economy through Public Welfare Service, Report of Second Year's Work of the Georgia State Department of Public Welfare for the Year Ending June 1, 1922, p. 19.

[5] The 1925 report of the department of public welfare stated that paid probation officers were serving in 4 special courts and 9 designated courts, and that 97 designated courts had no probation officers. A county welfare worker handling the work of the county's poor and the school-attendance and juvenile-court work is recommended as the practical solution of the problem. See Footprints, Report of Fifth Year's Work, June 1, 1925, pp. 13–16 (State Department of Public Welfare).

[6] An ordinary is a county officer having immediate or original jurisdiction in his own right, not by deputation. The ordinary's courts, where they still exist in the United States, possess powers identical with those usually vested in the courts of probate.

[7] See "In Loco Parentis," pp. 37–38.

county in which no juvenile court was functioning the statement was made that the only cases of children under 16 years of age brought to court were those in which it was decided that the child must be sent to a reform school. In another county in which the superior court was the only court in the county except the police court at the county seat it was required that a definite charge be brought against a child referred for hearing and that a warrant be sworn; and the child had to be arrested and either sent to jail until the next term of court or let out on bond, or if he pleaded guilty he could be heard informally by the judge. As a result juvenile offenses for the most part were overlooked, or if dealt with at all were handled by individuals or churches. (Some children whose offenses were not serious were dismissed by the sheriff without hearing.) The juvenile court of one county had no probation service and dealt with only 14 children during the year 1923, all of them charged with being delinquent. In contrast, in a county where a probation officer, through her investigation and supervision of cases had made the court a constructive social agency, the juvenile court dealt with 105 children during the same year. Over one-half of these children were brought before the court because of dependency and neglect. The total population of the former county was somewhat less than that of the latter, but its county seat had 3,000 more inhabitants than had that of the second county and its child-delinquency problem was probably as great.[8]

On the basis of the findings in counties where no special court facilities were available for handling juvenile cases it may be assumed that in spite of the efforts of the State department of public welfare not one-half of the children in Georgia were receiving the benefits intended by the law providing that juvenile-court procedure should be available to every child in the State.

JURISDICTION OF THE JUVENILE COURT

Under the Georgia constitution, even if a juvenile court is designated or a special juvenile court created, these courts have only concurrent jurisdiction in certain juvenile cases. The superior court may also exercise jurisdiction in accordance with the provisions of the State constitution. Under the Georgia law a child under 10 years of age is not held to be capable of committing a crime; a child 10 years of age or over, however, may be dealt with as an adult if he comes under the jurisdiction of any court not designated as a juvenile court. Between the ages of 10 and 16, therefore, the juvenile court has only concurrent jurisdiction in certain cases.

The juvenile-court standards recommended by a committee appointed by the Children's Bureau[9] call for exclusive jurisdiction of the juvenile court in cases of delinquent, dependent, and neglected children, and over other cases specified, stating that such jurisdic-

[8] The population of the first county was 26,111 and of the second 39,841; their racial composition was slightly different. The population of the first was 52.6 per cent native white, 46.7 per cent negro, and 0.7 per cent foreign; of the second the population was 76.4 per cent white, 23.2 per cent negro, and 0.4 per cent foreign.

[9] Juvenile-Court Standards; report of the committee appointed by the Children's Bureau, August, 1921, to formulate juvenile-court standards adopted by a conference held under the auspices of the Children's Bureau and the National Probation Association. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 121. Washington, 1923.

tion should extend at least to children up to 18 years of age and that jurisdiction once obtained should continue until they become 21 years of age unless the case is sooner dismissed or passes out of the jurisdiction of the court. In approximately one-third of the States the jurisdiction of the juvenile court extends to children under 16 years of age; in one-third to children under 17; and in the remaining third to children under 18, or in some States above that age.

The standards referred to would place in the juvenile courts broad jurisdiction over adult cases involving the welfare of children, including cases of contributing to delinquency or dependency.

The juvenile court in Georgia has jurisdiction in cases in which a parent, guardian, or other person having custody or control of a delinquent or neglected child, or any other person shall promote or contribute to the conditions which render the child delinquent or neglected. In all such cases jury trials are mandatory. If the adult's contributing to delinquency or neglect should constitute a crime the juvenile court has the power only to commit such cases for trial by the proper criminal court.[10] The court also has jurisdiction in cases where custody of a child is the subject of controversy in any suit, except in cases where exclusive jurisdiction is vested in courts of record. In other cases the jurisdiction of the juvenile court is concurrent with that of courts of record.[11] Few cases of this kind come into the juvenile courts. (For suggestions with regard to jurisdiction of the juvenile court in Georgia in other types of cases see p. 83.)

HEARINGS

In the majority of the 16 counties in which a juvenile court had been designated and was functioning the standards of privacy and informality in the hearing of children's cases were carried out very acceptably. In one county the hearings were held at the end of a session of the city court, and usually about 12 or 15 persons were present. In another county the hearings were not private, but the room was small and few outsiders attended. In some of the courts other than juvenile a preliminary hearing of misdemeanor cases was held in the judge's chambers, and the child was usually given an opportunity to plead guilty and waive jury trial. Many of the courts reported that the hearing was informal if the child pleaded guilty. In a police court in one county it was said that the hearings were in the nature of conferences with the children and parents. Yet formal criminal procedure, public hearings, and jury trials were not infrequent.

Only 3 of the 16 juvenile courts that were functioning reported any regularity in the time of hearings. The court in one of the more populous counties held daily hearings, but in two counties with equally large populations only weekly sessions were held. In the remaining counties juvenile cases were heard whenever necessary. In three of the counties, it was stated that an effort was made to have the hearings very promptly; in one of these the probation officer tried to have the hearings on the day of the complaint. Frequency of hearings is particularly important in connection with

[10] Ga., Laws of 1915, No. 210, sec. 37. [11] Ibid., sec. 2(d).

detention of children who must be cared for away from their homes pending hearing. If sessions are weekly, some children must be detained the whole intervening week.

In counties having no court operating as a juvenile court the length of time that some children had to wait after their apprehension until they were brought before the court proved to be a serious matter. In most of the city courts hearings were held whenever necessary, but regular sessions of the superior courts were held usually either quarterly or semiannually. It was stated that in the majority of counties in which superior courts handled children's cases, children who pleaded guilty did not have to await a regular term of court. If, on the other hand, a child did not plead guilty and was to be brought to trial in the regular way, the period of detention might be very long, even several months. Some of the city courts were in so-called continuous session; that is, a case might be brought in upon accusation at any time, and if the defendant pleaded guilty the case was heard immediately. In other counties weekly "call" hearings were held by the city-court judge, and in one county such sessions were reported twice a week. In one county in which there was no court except the superior court it was reported that two sessions a year were held, and there appeared to be no arrangement for any intermediate hearings of children's cases. Consequently, children charged with felonies might have to wait some months for trial before the superior court. For example, a 15-year-old boy, charged with burglary and committed to jail in November, had to wait until March for the next term of court.

PROBATION SERVICE

One of the most important provisions of the juvenile court law directed that there be a paid probation officer in every county of the State. The judge of the juvenile court, with the concurrence of the judge of the superior court, was required to appoint one or more probation officers who should be paid from county funds. In addition volunteer probation officers might be appointed to serve without compensation.[12]

Paid probation officers for juvenile work had been appointed in only 12 of the 30 counties surveyed.[12a] Full-time workers in 4 counties and part-time workers in 8 counties were engaged in such work. One of the counties having full-time probation service had two officers—one white and one negro. The other three had only one probation officer each; the largest of the counties, with a population of over 70,000, had only one probation officer (250 children were brought before the juvenile court of this county during 1923, and in addition it was reported that large numbers of children had been arraigned before the recorder's and city courts). In two of the counties having part-time workers the probation officers were also county social workers; in one county the chief of police was paid $16 a month to devote whatever time was necessary to juvenile probation work; in another county the adult probation officer received $35 a month for juvenile work; in another the probation

[12] Ga., Laws of 1915, No. 210, secs. 22, 23, as amended by Laws of 1916, No. 575, sec. 3, subsec. (b).

[12a] The proportion of counties with paid probation service was much higher for the counties studied than for the State as a whole.

officer, although considered primarily the juvenile officer, gave full time to combined adult and juvenile work; in a county having a population of almost 65,000 (with 301 children under 16 years of age before the juvenile court in one year) the probation work was done by a part-time officer; in two counties the part-time workers had no other county duties.

Volunteer probation service was used regularly by the juvenile court in three counties. The solicitor of the city court in one county, a minister and a woman in the second, and the county health nurse in the third, were serving as volunteer workers for these courts. Very little, if any, effort was being made toward obtaining probation work in the counties in which no juvenile court had been designated. In several counties such statements as the following were made in regard to the probation service available for special cases:

> The sheriff and ordinary are sometimes appointed as probation officers for special cases by the superior-court judge; the chief of police does probation work for the police court.
>
> Special probation officers are appointed by the superior-court judge for cases of first offenders and young children. There is no probation service except when the judge appoints some one for special cases.
>
> The assistant chief of police, who is also attendance officer, does most of the probation work for the judge.

Such probation work can scarcely be classified as probation service, for it is in practice most superficial and ineffectual. The follow-up work was very slight, and in many cases even reporting by the probationer was very infrequent.

It was reported that neither regular nor occasional probation service was used in eight counties, in which no designated juvenile courts were functioning. The ordinaries who had been designated as the juvenile-court judges in three of the counties had refused to serve because the funds for a probation officer had not been supplied and they had been unable to obtain probation service.

The need for more adequate probation service was recognized by some of the larger courts. In one county the judge said that "probation without constant oversight is equivalent to turning the children loose." Although 250 children were before this court in the year 1923, very few children could be placed on probation because there was only one probation officer. The lack of efficient service in connection with the juvenile-court work in this county was deplored by one of the physicians interested in child welfare, who stated: "There is no investigation of cases, practically no improvement is shown in any case, and there are many repeaters."

In his charge to the grand jury during the last term of court, the judge of the superior court in one county emphasized the necessity for a probation officer, having been favorably impressed by the constructive work which was being done by a volunteer worker in another county in his circuit. The judge of the superior court in another county said that he had refused to designate a juvenile court partly because such a court could not be successful without a probation officer, and thus far it had been impossible to obtain the necessary funds for such a worker.

The police records in one county showed the arrest of 36 children, and the chief of police stated that in at least 50 cases of juvenile delinquency during 1923 in which no formal charges had been preferred he had dealt with the children personally and given them "a talking to." A considerable number of these should probably have come to the attention of a probation officer for thorough investigation and follow-up work. The need for a probation officer in this county was recognized by all interested in child-welfare problems, but the judge did not seem to be greatly concerned about the situation. Thirty-seven school children in the county seat were reported as delinquent, in that they had been suspended from school or had given unusual trouble with discipline.

METHOD OF BRINGING CHILDREN BEFORE THE COURT

Arrest by the city police or by the sheriff was the most prevalent method of bringing children to the attention of the court. All but three counties reported that children were formally arrested. In four counties, however, it was stated that formal arrests were seldom made, the case being reported to the court by individuals or by the police.

In one of these counties the children were always booked at police headquarters before reference to the juvenile court. The names, addresses, ages, and sometimes the nature of the offenses were entered on the daily record book of the police. Some children formally arrested were taken to the police barracks and then released upon the order of the probation officer. In one county it was the policy to arrest boys and report girls to the court without arrest. In six counties it was definitely stated that the children were taken to the police station or the jail upon arrest.

DETENTION PENDING HEARING

The Georgia juvenile court law provided that "in no case shall a child * * * be detained in or committed to a jail, common lock-up, or other place where said child can come into contact * * * with adults convicted or under arrest." In all counties the judge was authorized to order a reasonable sum paid from the county treasury for the care of children under detention by an incorporated society or association, but if such an arrangement could not be made, the county authorities, upon recommendation of the judge, were to establish, equip, and maintain an adequate detention home. In counties having a population of less than 60,000 the judge of the juvenile court was to make arrangements for the proper detention of children in surroundings separate and removed from any jail, lock-up, or other place of imprisonment of adults.[13]

JAIL DETENTION

County jails.

The county jails in seven counties were used for short-term commitments as well as for places of detention pending hearing. In one county a short-term jail sentence was the usual penalty for stealing rides on railroad trains, and negro girls between 16 and 18 years of age convicted of misdemeanors were given jail sentences instead of being sent to the chain gang.

[13] Ga., Laws of 1915, No. 210, secs. 18, 19; Laws of 1916, No. 575.

In only 3 of the 30 counties included in the survey was there a definite policy which was adhered to against detaining children in the county jails. In 22 of the 30 counties children were detained in county jails during 1923. In 1 of the 8 remaining counties there was no jail; in 2 counties no children had been kept in jail in 1923 (in one of these counties, however, two boys were detained in the early part of 1924); in 2 counties the population was small and few persons were ever detained in jail, but if occasion arose to hold the children for the court the county jail was the only place available.

The total number of children under 16 years of age detained in county jails in 1923 in the counties studied was 163—44 white children and 119 negro children. Thirteen girls were detained in this manner. More than one-third of these children were detained one week or more, 16 being detained from 1 to 4 months. In addition 242 children between 16 and 18 years of age were detained in county jails, of whom 80 were white and 161 were negro (the race of 1 was not reported). Forty-nine girls between 16 and 18 years of age were detained see p. 19).

Children being held for hearing in the superior court were detained for the longest periods. In one county in which there was no juvenile court, a 12-year-old boy had been detained two months awaiting the session of the superior court. In another county where the superior court was the only court hearing criminal cases, a 12-year-old boy was held in the jail 10 days awaiting trial, and then because the jury was unable to render a verdict on account of lack of evidence he was sent back to jail to await the next term of court, 6 months later. After he had been in jail 2 months of the 6, his mother managed to secure bond for him and he was released. A negro boy, whose age was variously reported as 14 and 17 years, was held in the jail of another county for 6 months and 24 days because no one appeared to prosecute the case and no one was interested in securing his release.

In the last-mentioned county it was found that negro boys were being held in the county jail on trivial charges. One boy 16 years of age was committed to the jail by the recorder's court, on a charge of simple larceny, the accusation being that he had stolen "three hen eggs valued at 10 cents." After remaining in jail 21 days he was released, and the case was nol-prossed. A 15-year-old boy was held in jail the same length of time on the more serious charge of stealing a diamond ring; but as the only witness was a man "whom no one would believe on oath," the boy was finally allowed to go, and the case was dismissed.

Two other 15-year-old boys were detained in jails for periods of one week and 25 days, respectively. One boy had been charged with giving change for $1 when he had received $5, but at the hearing the accuser could not swear to the truth of the charge, and the boy was allowed to go. The other boy had been accused of breaking window glass in a dwelling house. At the hearing the owner of the house refused to prosecute, as "she thought the boy's four weeks in jail sufficient punishment."

In one county it was definitely stated that it was the policy to separate the children from the adult inmates of the jail. Although

in several counties it was said that whenever there was room children were kept apart from adults, in most cases there was no separation of children and adults of the same sex and color. An attempt was made in all the county jails to segregate according to race and sex, but in seven counties the provisions were inadequate. In one county all the prisoners were found to be enjoying the freedom of the jail. No white women were in that jail at the time of the visit, but white and negro men and negro women all mingled in the corridors; and two negro boys—one 12 and the other 17 years old—were being held there. As a result of the lack of segregation in that jail it was reported that at one time a negro girl about 17 years of age became pregnant by a white prisoner. A 14-year-old white girl stated that she had had immoral relations with a prisoner while detained in jail in another county in 1921.

Because of the lack of segregation of prisoners in another jail children were at times placed in contact with the most serious and hardened offenders. A 12-year-old white boy occupied for 17 days a cell in the same corridor as that of a man convicted of murder. Another prisoner in that jail said to a member of the visiting committee: "This boy should not be here; he will learn more here than he ever dreamed of." In another jail a Children's Bureau agent observed a 13-year-old girl, who had then been detained 13 days, in conversation with a woman who had been convicted of killing her illegitimate child.

An incident which illustrates the low moral tone existing in some of the jails was the marriage of a 17-year-old feeble-minded girl to a man convicted of assault with intent to murder. The girl had become acquainted with the convict by coming to the jail to visit her brother, who was a prisoner. Without notifying the girl's parents, the jailer obtained the marriage license, and a ceremony was performed, though it was suspected (if not actually known) that the man had a wife in another State. The girl was permitted to visit her husband frequently and soon became pregnant. The Children's Bureau agent observed a 12-year-old white boy among the prisoners standing near the convict and his wife and jesting about them.

Jail detention for children had few advocates among the persons interviewed, though some did not disapprove of it for the detention of negro children. It was said that the jail was the only secure place available in which to keep children until their cases could be disposed of, but even children may break jail. A 14-year-old crippled boy who was being held in the county jail until there should be a place for him in the State training school escaped by wriggling out of a small opening through which the prisoners' pans of food were passed.

There were no matrons in any of the jails visited, but in about 20 of the counties the living quarters of the sheriff (or of his deputy) and his family adjoined the jail. In one county the sheriff's wife stated that she acted as matron when women or girls were confined in the jail. The prisoners were usually allowed in the jail corridors, no other place being provided for exercise, but the wife of the sheriff in one county said that she sometimes allowed children who were being held in the jail to play in her living quarters. In over one-half of the counties only two meals a day were served—one in the

morning and the other in the early afternoon. Little fresh meat and but few vegetables were provided. In two counties the meals were served by members of the sheriff's family. Reading matter in the way of magazines was furnished to a number of jails by various women's organizations.

The jail buildings in 16 counties were in reasonably good condition, in 4 fair, and in 6 poor. Sanitary conditions in 14 jails were good, in 5 fair, and in 7 poor. One of the best jails and one of the poor type were described by the agent who visited them as follows:

> The building of the best jail was of modern brick construction, well ventilated, steam heated, and electric lighted. The first floor contained the sheriff's office and living quarters and a cell block, containing four cells, for the negro men. The second floor contained a similar cell block for the white men. These blocks were lighted by outside windows which gave each cell plenty of light. Juvenile offenders were placed in the same blocks with adult prisoners. Each floor had a shower bath and stationary tubs for laundry. The third floor contained a padded cell, another cell for special cases where Federal prisoners were confined, and the women's quarters. The women's quarters consisted of two adjoining rooms, each with a barred opening into the hall through which the inmates might talk with the Federal prisoners. At the time of the agent's visit 5 white men, 8 negro men, 5 negro women, and one 17-year-old negro girl were inmates, in addition to 9 Federal prisoners. The entire jail was clean. The sheriff said that he could afford to serve only two meals a day—breakfast and dinner at noon—on the amount allowed him for food.
>
> The building of the poorer type of jail was an old one of brick construction, located in a very poor section. The first floor was used as the jailer's quarters. The second floor contained two rooms—one for the white men and one for negro men—heated by coal stoves and lighted by an electric light, with cells arranged in a center block surrounded by corridors; two separate cells opened on a narrow corridor with only a window at the end, each with a cot and a toilet, for white women; and a separate cell for violent cases, which was used for negro women if the cells for white women were filled. Juvenile prisoners were not separated from the adults. The jail was filthy, but it was said to be impossible to scrub the floors because the cracks were so large that the water ran down to the jailer's quarters. The men prisoners were seldom required to stay in their cells, usually sleeping on cots in the corridors (these corridors had plenty of window space though the cells were dark).

Among the conditions reported for other jails were: Thin mattresses with no slips nor sheets and with dirty blankets for covers; no facilities for bathing; plumbing out of repair—unusable toilets or bathtubs; no bunks nor cots, the mattresses or blankets resting directly on the floor; wooden stairways in a four-story jail with three doors which would have to be unlocked in case of fire.

City jails.

City jails or lock-ups were used in 12 county seats for the detention of children under 16 years of age. Eight county seats had no city jails, and in the remaining 10 county seats children were seldom, if ever, detained by the police. Detention in city jails seldom lasted more than a few days, as sessions of the mayor's or recorder's courts were frequent. One of the exceptions was that of a white boy of 17 held a month in the city jail instead of the county jail, because there were facilities for separation from adult prisoners in the city jail. The boy finally escaped, and no effort was made to find him because no one wished to press the charge of burglary for which he had been arrested. In three cities children were separated from adults in the jails, and in another city children were separated

from adults if there was room. There were no matrons at any of the city jails and no means of recreation.

Because of the lack of age records in most of the city jails, information as to the number of children under 16 detained was available for only six counties. Fifty-eight white and 90 negro children were detained—a total of 148, of whom 31 were girls (see p. 20).

The jail buildings in 6 county seats were considered to be in good condition, in 8 fair, and in 5 poor. The sanitary conditions in 6 were good, in 5 fair, and in 8 poor. One of the jails was described by the agent who visited it as follows:

> The jail was a low brick building back of the fire-engine house, near the city stables. The horses stood in front of the jail door. Inside was a small, dark room with three tiny windows about a foot square, heavily wired, in which were three cells, each with four bunks. The covers were filthy, and there were no mattresses, only a cover over the steel springs. The place was heated by a small stove. Several prisoners had burned their way out through the wooden ceiling. There were no chairs, only two stumps of wood used as seats. The sink was stopped up. The chief of police said the place was not fit for human beings and should be dynamited.

In two of the jails water was standing on the floor. In one of these jails two white children, a boy of 16 and a girl of 14, had been held for two nights. They had run away from a home for dependent children and were held until a representative of the institution could come for them. The boy slept on a cot near the stove in a large room with the men prisoners; the girl was locked in a cell which opened on this room, and through the door of which she could hear and see everything that went on among the men.

OTHER MEANS OF DETENTION

One county had a detention home of considerable size, but it had been used as a place of detention pending hearing in only one case during 1923, a white girl being held there 20 days as a witness in a rape case on trial in the superior court. This detention home was generally used as a reformatory and as a temporary home for dependent children. The children to be held pending hearing were kept in the county or city jail. Children under 16 of both sexes and races were committed by the juvenile court to this so-called detention home. The home had the appearance of being well managed; the boys helped with the farm work and the girls with household duties.

In one county a room in the basement of the city hall was used as a place of detention for white women and girls, in order that they should not be held in the city jail. Boys were detained in this room if no women were being held there at the time. The room was dark, having only two windows high up in the walls. It was furnished with two cots and some dirty bedding. On one occasion two girls who gave their ages at 17 and 18 years had been arrested and placed in this room, and a crowd of men and boys gathered in front of the building because of the girls' improper actions. Consequently a local welfare worker had arranged for their removal to the county jail. Obviously the purpose in providing a place of detention in order to eliminate jail detention for women and girls was not being fulfilled in this county.

In 1923 the county almshouses of two counties had been used as places of detention for children pending court hearings. Four children were detained in one almshouse about two weeks, until homes could be found for them, and seven children were detained in the other about a month because the county commissioners refused to pay their board in a private home.

Nine counties made some use of private boarding homes for the detention of dependent children under 16 years of age. These homes were usually selected by the probation officers and were under their supervision. In only one of the counties which had no probation officer were children ever boarded in family homes. Boarding homes were not used for detention in five counties in which there were probation officers; but in all these counties the judges heard cases immediately and there was little need for detention.

Boarding homes were used chiefly as temporary homes for dependent children pending placement in institutions or other permanent disposition. In two counties the probation officers boarded children in their homes. The board paid by the courts varied from $2.50 to $4.50 a week. One of the houses used was a new, unpainted one-story dwelling about 2 miles from the city. The foster parents were young people with one child, who owned their house but had not been able to finish it. Two bedrooms were kept for the use of the juvenile-court children. The foster mother was a neat, attractive woman and kept her house very clean. All children cared for in private homes were white. Almost no records were kept of the number of children cared for in this way, but probably there were not more than 50 children during 1923. The length of stay was from a few days to one or two months.

A Salvation Army lodging house, the Good Will Industries Home, the home of a Travelers' Aid Society agent, and the homes of the children's relatives were used occasionally for the detention of children.

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF CHILDREN'S CASES

TYPES OF COURT HEARING CHILDREN'S CASES

According to the records of the courts 1,257 dependent, neglected, and delinquent children under 16 years of age were brought before the courts in 1923 in the 30 counties surveyed. The following table shows the types of court in which the cases were heard:

Types of court before which the cases of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children were heard in 30 counties of Georgia, 1923

Type of court	Children before the courts		
	Total	Delinquent children	Dependent and neglected children
Total	1,257	1,004	253
Juvenile courts	909	660	249
Recorder's courts	242	242	----
City courts	64	64	----
Superior courts	35	35	----
Ordinary's courts	4	----	4
Justice of the peace courts	3	3	----

These figures show that more than one-fourth of the children brought before the courts were not receiving the benefit of juvenile-court procedure as intended by the law. Moreover, the data probably do not give the true state of affairs as there were undoubtedly omissions of many cases coming before courts other than juvenile, inasmuch as information concerning age was frequently lacking. The proportion of children coming before such courts would indicate a serious situation, as it is obvious that little attention is given by them to child protection. Of the 242 children coming before the recorder's courts, 204 were from a county in which a designated juvenile court was functioning, but where it was the practice for the recorder's court to deal with children violating city ordinances, other juvenile offenders being referred to the juvenile court.

STATUS OF CHILDREN BEFORE THE COURTS

The fact that only 8 per cent of the dependent and neglected children before the courts were negroes is significant, indicating the rather general lack of attention given to the protection of negro children.[14] The percentage of delinquent white and negro children before the courts was about the same.

The following table shows the race and sex of children coming to the attention of the courts of 30 counties of Georgia because of delinquency or dependency and neglect in 1923:

Race and sex of children coming to the attention of the courts of 30 counties of Georgia because of delinquency or dependency and neglect, 1923

Race and sex	Children before the courts			Race and sex	Children before the courts		
	Total	Delinquent children	Dependent and neglected children		Total	Delinquent children	Dependent and neglected children
Total	1,257	1,004	253	Negro	517	496	21
Boys	979	856	123	Boys	423	416	7
Girls	272	144	128	Girls	94	80	14
Not reported	6	4	2	Race not reported	15	14	1
White	725	494	231	Boys	9	9	
Boys	547	431	116	Girls	1	1	
Girls	177	63	114	Not reported	5	4	1
Not reported	1		1				

More than 75 per cent of the children brought to the attention of the courts during 1923 were boys. Among the delinquent children 86 per cent were boys and 14 per cent were girls; of the dependent and neglected children the boys and girls were almost equal in number, as would be expected. Among the delinquent white children 87

[14] According to the 1920 census white children comprised 58 per cent of the total child population under 15 years of age in Georgia, and negro children 42 per cent. See Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Vol. III, Population, p. 203 (Washington, 1922).

per cent were boys; among delinquent negro children 84 per cent were boys.

Definite information could not always be obtained regarding the ages of children. The court record frequently stated that the child was "under 16 years," or omitted altogether any facts as to age. For this reason the figures given in regard to the number of children dealt with who were under the legal juvenile-court age is undoubtedly incomplete. Although there were in the 30 counties 1,004 delinquent children who, from evidence on court records and from information secured directly from court officials could safely be counted as under 16 years of age, definite ages were given for only 899 of these children.

Almost half the boys as compared with almost two-thirds of the girls were 14 and 15 years old when they came to the attention of the courts. Of the 770 boys whose ages were reported, 378 were 14 and 15 years of age; 206 were 12 and 13 years; 128 were 10 and 11 years; 58 were 6 to 9 years inclusive. Of the 129 girls whose ages were reported, 83 were 14 and 15 years of age; 30 were 12 and 13 years; 11 were 10 and 11 years; and 5 were 6 to 9 years inclusive.

In regard to the whereabouts of the children at the time complaint was entered in court it was noted that 79 per cent of the delinquent children but only 57 per cent of the dependent and neglected children were living with one or both parents.

The following tables show the whereabouts and the parental status of the children coming to the attention of the courts of 30 counties of Georgia in 1923:

Whereabouts of delinquent, dependent, and neglected children coming to the attention of the courts of 30 counties of Georgia, 1923

Whereabouts	Children before the courts					
	Total		Delinquent children		Dependent and neglected children	
	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution	Number	Per cent distribution
Total	1,257		1,004		253	
Reporting whereabouts	865	100	626	100	239	100
Child with one or both parents	629	73	492	79	137	57
Child with parent and step-parent[2]	39	5	31	5	8	3
Child in home of relatives	107	12	59	9	48	20
Child in foster or adoptive home	28	3	13	2	15	6
Child in other family home	20	2	5	1	15	6
Child in institution	10	1	5	1	5	2
Child in jail or police barracks	8	(1)	1	(1)	7	3
Child on streets (runaways, etc.)	24	3	20	3	4	2
Whereabouts not reported	392		378		14	

[1] Less than 1 per cent.

[2] In a few cases with step-parent only.

Parental status of delinquent, dependent, and neglected children coming to the attention of the courts of 30 counties of Georgia, by race, 1923

Parental status	Children before the courts								
	Total	Delinquent children				Dependent and neglected children			
		Total	White	Negro	Race not reported	Total	White	Negro	Race not reported
Total	1,257	1,004	494	496	14	253	231	21	1
Parents living together	296	262	181	79	2	34	30	4	-------
Parents not living together	356	242	109	131	2	114	112	2	-------
Father absent	270	186	75	110	1	84	84	-------	-------
Dead	113	74	38	36	-------	39	39	-------	-------
Deserting	41	21	5	16	-------	[1] 20	20	-------	-------
Divorced or separated	33	19	15	4	-------	14	14	-------	-------
In jail or chain gang	11	4	4	-------	-------	7	7	-------	-------
Whereabouts not reported	72	68	13	54	1	4	4	-------	-------
Mother unmarried	9	4	-------	4	-------	5	3	2	-------
Mother absent	77	52	34	17	1	25	25	-------	-------
Dead	51	35	26	9	-------	16	16	-------	-------
Deserting	1	-------	-------	-------	-------	1	1	-------	-------
Divorced or separated	6	1	1	-------	-------	5	5	-------	-------
Insane	1	1	1	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------
Whereabouts not reported	18	15	6	8	1	3	3	-------	-------
Parent and step-parent living together	39	33	27	6	-------	6	6	-------	-------
Step-parent only	4	3	1	2	-------	1	1	-------	-------
Parents dead, separated, in institutions, or whereabouts unknown	173	82	22	53	7	91	76	14	1
Parents dead	37	24	5	19	-------	13	13	-------	-------
Parents deserting	9	-------	-------	-------	-------	9	4	5	-------
Whereabouts of parents unknown	23	19	2	10	7	4	2	2	-------
1 parent dead, other unwilling or unable to support child	82	34	13	21	-------	48	40	7	1
1 parent in institution, deserting, or separated, whereabouts of other unknown	22	5	2	3	-------	17	17	-------	-------
Not reported	389	382	154	225	3	7	6	1	-------

[1] In 3 cases stepfathers were deserting.

The records in most of the courts gave little social information except the facts as to the civil condition and whereabouts of the child's parents. The study in Georgia bore out the findings of similar investigations in regard to the relation between poor home conditions and juvenile delinquency.[15] The homes of 32 per cent of the white children before the courts on charges of delinquency, whose parental status was reported, and the homes of 47 per cent of the corresponding negro group, had been broken by the death of one parent or by desertion, separation, or divorce; 6 per cent of the white and 20 per cent of the negro children had no parental homes;

[15] Dependent and Delinquent Children in North Dakota and South Dakota. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 160. Washington, 1926. Child Dependency in the District of Columbia, by Emma O. Lundberg and Mary E. Milburn. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 140. Washington, 1924. "The juvenile court as a constructive social agency," by Emma O. Lundberg. Proceedings of the Twenty-first Annual Missouri Conference for Social Welfare. Monthly Bulletin State Board of Charities and Corrections, January, 1922. Jefferson City, Mo., 1922.

only 1 per cent of the delinquent white children and 7 per cent of the negro children were orphans (the orphans made up one-third of the number who had no parental homes); only 8 per cent of the delinquent white children and 3 per cent of the negro children were from step-parental homes. The number of children who were known to have lost one parent by death amounted to almost one-fourth of the total, the proportions being the same for both white and negro. A number of the cases in which the whereabouts of one or both parents was unknown (7 per cent of the white and 28 per cent of the colored) should probably be added to the number of orphans and of half orphans. This is particularly true for the negro children.

It was not possible to divide the dependency and neglect cases, as the records usually did not indicate sufficiently the character of the complaint. Analysis of parental status of the dependent and neglected white children shows that only 13 per cent of these children for whom such status was reported came from homes in which both parents were present. The percentages of dependent and neglected children who were from broken homes or who had no parental homes was, as is natural, considerably larger than in the case of delinquent children; 47 per cent of the children were from homes which had been broken by the death or imprisonment of one parent or the desertion, divorce, or separation of parents, and 34 per cent had no parental home.

CHILDREN DETAINED PENDING HEARING

A total of 163 delinquent, dependent, and neglected children under 16 years of age were detained in county jails during 1923. Of the 44 white children 38 were boys and 6 were girls; of the 119 negroes 112 were boys and 7 were girls. One hundred and seventy-six cases of detention were reported because 11 of the 163 children were detained at two different periods and 1 child was detained three times during the year. Following are the periods of detention:

Time detained	Cases of juvenile detention
Total	176
Less than 1 week	100
Less than 1 day	13
1 day, less than 7	87
1 week, less than 1 month	46
1 month, less than 4	16
Not reported	14

In addition to the children under 16 years of age, 242 children between 16 and 18 years of age were detained in county jails during 1923. Of the 80 white children 67 were boys and 13 were girls; of the 161 negroes 125 were boys and 36 were girls; the race of 1 boy was not reported.

Age records were not kept at many of the city jails; therefore no definite information could be obtained of the number of children

detained under 16 years of age. The records in 6 counties showed that 148 children under 16 years of age (50 white boys, 8 white girls, 67 negro boys, and 23 negro girls) had been detained in city jails.[16]

In one county the docket of the recorder's court gave the number of children between 16 and 18 years of age who had been arrested. The total number arrested was 155—42 white boys, 28 white girls, 60 negro boys, and 25 negro girls. The records indicated that the boys and girls arrested had remained in jail over night, as hearings were held every morning. In addition to the number arrested 13 white boys and 1 negro boy under 18 years of age were furnished free lodging in this jail.

The data given relate to all children—dependent and neglected and delinquent—detained pending hearing. It is of interest to analyze separately the figures available relating to delinquent children. One hundred and forty-five of the 1,004 delinquent children under 16 years of age before the courts of 30 counties in 1923 were known to have been detained pending court hearing or awaiting disposition. Undoubtedly the number is considerably understated as the records were by no means complete on this point. Jail was the place of detention of 137 of these 145 children; 3 were detained in police barracks, 2 in an institution, 1 in a stockade, 1 in a hospital, and 1 in an almshouse.

OFFENSES WITH WHICH DELINQUENT CHILDREN WERE CHARGED

The offense most frequently reported for the children brought before the courts because of delinquency was larceny. Three-tenths of the 1,004 children dealt with in 1923 were charged with larceny, burglary, or robbery. Almost as large a proportion of children came to the attention of the courts because of "disorderly conduct," "malicious mischief," "destruction to property," and "disturbing the peace." The greatest number of offenses reported in the girl's cases were various forms of immorality and disorderly conduct. It was often difficult to classify the offenses because of the use of such inclusive terms as "violating city ordinance," "assault," "delinquency," "misdemeanor," and "felony."

The following table shows the offenses with which delinquent children coming to the attention of the courts of 30 counties of Georgia in 1923 were charged, by race and sex of child:

[16] Information obtained from jail or police records does not check with that obtained from court records, because many children's cases did not reach the courts, or court records were unavailable.

Offenses with which delinquent children coming to the attention of the courts of 30 counties of Georgia were charged, by race and sex, 1923

Offense charged[1]	Delinquent children under 16 years of age before the courts							
	Total	White			Negro			Race or sex not reported[2]
		Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	
Total	1,004	494	431	63	496	416	80	14
Theft or attempted theft:								
Burglary	28	9	9		19	17	2	
Highway robbery	3				3	3		
Larceny	234	92	90	2	140	123	17	2
Other	9	5	5		3	2	1	1
Truancy, running away, vagrancy, incorrigibility:								
Incorrigibility	39	26	14	12	11	7	4	2
Loitering	28	10	9	1	18	17	1	
Runaway	11	8	3	5	2	1	1	1
Truancy	22	19	16	3	3	3		
Vagrancy	15	4	4		11	1	10	
Other	10	4	4		6	4	2	
Offenses against morals:								
Immorality	22	17	2	15	5	3	2	
Rape	4				4	4		
Street walking	6				6		6	
Injury or attempted injury to persons:								
Assault	2	2	2					
Assault and battery	9	5	5		4	4		
Assault with intent to murder	1				1	1		
Injury to person	23	9	8	1	14	11	3	
Murder	3				3	3		
Stabbing	3	1	1		1	1		1
Offenses due to carelessness, spirit of play, or mischief:								
Carrying concealed weapons, pointing or discharging firearms	12	5	5		7	6	1	
Destruction of property	18	18	18					
Disorderly conduct or disturbing the peace	144	77	70	7	67	45	22	
Fighting	37	14	14		22	19	3	1
Gambling	16	4	4		12	12		
Malicious mischief	51	34	32	2	14	14		3
Minor entering pool room	6	6	6					
Stealing rides on railroad trains	7	7	7					
Train wrecking	2				2	2		
Trespassing	8	5	5		3	3		
Violating bicycle or traffic ordinance	76	37	37		38	37	1	1
Other	6	3	3		3	3		
Violating prohibition law or drunkenness	31	15	12	3	16	13	3	
Violating city ordinance	7	7	7					
Felony	6	2	2		4	4		
Misdemeanor	24	6	5	1	17	17		1
Other	6	1	1		5	5		
Offense not reported	75	42	31	11	32	31	1	1

[1] In listing offenses with which children were charged before the courts the first offense was counted if a child had been before the courts more than once during the year. In the case of children in court more than once for the same type of offense but before different courts, the court which gave the final disposition was the one considered in tabulating.

[2] Includes 9 boys, 1 girl, and 4 children for whom sex was not reported.

DISPOSITION MADE OF DELINQUENCY CASES

Of the 1,004 children dealt with by the various courts because of delinquency (see p. 15) the cases of 837 children were heard formally, 137 were heard informally (all but 15 of these cases were heard in the juvenile court), 11 cases were not heard, and in 19 cases the type of hearing was not reported.

The figures in the following table are based on the 837 formal delinquency cases heard by juvenile and other courts. They bring out the differences in the disposition of children's cases by juvenile courts and by courts having no special interest in the method of treatment of children's cases.

Disposition made in formal delinquency cases of children coming to the attention of juvenile courts and of other courts in 30 counties of Georgia, 1923

Disposition of case	Children under 16 years of age before the courts		
	Total	Before juvenile courts	Before other courts
Total	837	523	314
Dismissed	246	154	92
Restitution ordered	5	5	
Fined	101	1	100
Placed on probation	143	140	3
Placed in family home, with relatives or "paroled" to parents	33	30	3
Committed to detention home	122	122	
Committed to training school	64	38	26
Committed to county reformatory	17	17	
Committed to institution for dependents	4	4	
Committed to jail	18		18
Committed to chain gang	16		16
Committed to penitentiary	3		3
Committed to State farm	2		2
Transferred to other court	36	1	35
Other disposition made	27	11	16

It is particularly significant that only 3 out of 314 children who came before other than juvenile courts were placed on probation, although 140 of the total 523 dealt with by juvenile courts were given this kind of help in overcoming the difficulties that had brought them into conflict with the law. The large number of children reported as being committed to a detention home were residents of one populous county where the institution called a detention home was in reality a county institution to which children were committed, and was used very infrequently for the usual type of temporary detention pending court hearing. The children committed to the detention home, the county reformatory, and the State training school made a total of 177, or 34 per cent of the whole number coming before the juvenile courts who were committed to institutions for delinquent children. Only 31 children, or 10 per cent of the children whose cases were heard in other courts, were so committed (this number included 2 to the State farm and 3 to the penitentiary). It was found that the recorder's courts particularly, and the city and superior courts to a less extent, imposed fines freely, although the juvenile courts reported few such dispositions of cases. Sentences to penitentiary, jails, and chain gangs were never reported by juvenile courts, but 37 children under 16 years of age were given this punishment by the courts that were not intended under the law to handle children's cases.

As the data in court records regarding the number of times the 1,004 delinquent children had been before the courts were obviously incomplete and gave only a minimum statement, little value can be attached to them. Apparently 71 of the children had come to the attention of courts twice (including the appearance reported in this study); 17, three times; 3, four times; and 1, six times.

OFFENSES COMMITTED BY ADULTS AGAINST CHILDREN

JURISDICTION AND PROCEDURE

The Georgia law provides that the juvenile court may hear and determine cases of contributing to delinquency and neglect in the manner provided by law in cases of misdemeanors. All such cases must be tried by jury. If the facts constitute a crime the juvenile court has power only to commit for trial by the proper criminal court. For the purpose of enforcing its judgments the juvenile court may continue proceedings, placing the adult on probation and requiring bond or other surety conditional on compliance with its orders.[17]

In Georgia penalty for rape is death, unless leniency is recommended by the jury, the penalty then being the same as for assault with intent to commit rape—imprisonment in the penitentiary at hard labor for 1 to 20 years.[18]

Proceedings against adults committing crimes against children were initiated by a complaint followed by a preliminary hearing before a justice of the peace. No doubt many cases which should have been prosecuted were dismissed by the justice on the ground of lack of sufficient evidence, but no statistics were available in regard to these cases. The mere statement of the child was not sufficient, corroborative testimony being required. Cases in which the justice of the peace considered that further action was warranted went before a grand jury, and if a true bill was returned the case was tried in the superior court by the ordinary criminal procedure. In only one county was it reported that it was customary to clear the court room of all but those connected with the case. In the other counties children were put on the stand and cross-examined before a jury in a crowded court room.

The superior courts of Georgia had no provision for social investigation, and practically nothing was done to safeguard the children involved in these cases except in counties in which probation officers were connected with the juvenile court. Complaints were often made to the juvenile probation officers, and they brought about the prosecution of the adult. Through the efforts of the probation officer some constructive plan was frequently made for the child, such as removal from a detrimental environment or arrangement for supervision in the home. In the majority of cases, concerning which information was obtained, no special knowledge of the conditions surrounding the children was indicated, nor were any measures taken for the protection of children. Frequently no action was taken against a man committing an offense against a girl, but the girl was dealt with as a delinquent.

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[17] Ga., Laws of 1915, No. 210, sec. 37.
[18] Ga., Park's Annotated Code 1914 (Penal), secs. 94, 98.

CASES PROSECUTED

The reported number of adults charged with crimes against children, as indicated by the court records, no doubt represents only a small proportion of the actual number of cases. In 10 counties no cases were reported. In 20 counties 44 cases were reported, involving 46 adults and 45 children under 18 years of age. Probably this does not represent the actual number of court cases, since the information on the records in regard to the ages of the children was often inadequate, especially in seduction cases. In 27 cases reported by the courts the charge was rape (including 1 with the additional charge of assault and battery), in 7 assault with attempt to rape, in 5 seduction, in 2 incest, in 1 fornication, in 1 sodomy, and in 1 immorality. One of the 27 rape cases involved two children, in 1 two men and an older woman were charged with offenses against a child, and in 1 case two men were so charged. One man was involved in 2 different cases.

Following are the ages of the children involved in the 44 cases of offenses against children coming to the attention of the courts of 20 counties of Georgia in 1923:

Ages	Number of children	Ages	Number of children
Total	45	14 years	4
		15 years	2
7 years	1	16 years	2
8 years	2	"Under 14 years"	7
9 years	1	"Under 16 years"	2
12 years	3	Age not reported	10
13 years	11		

In about one-sixth of the cases the adults complained against were related to the children (two fathers were charged with incest, two stepfathers with rape); and in one-half of the cases it was definitely stated that the 26 adults involved were not related. For the remainder of the cases no report was made as to relationship.

The following tables show the relationship of defendants to children and the dispositions made in cases of offenses against children, by charge, in the 20 counties.

Relationship of defendants to children in cases of offenses against children coming to the attention of the courts of 20 counties of Georgia, 1923

Relation of defendant to child	Children involved in cases of offenses against children			
	Total	White	Negro	Race not reported
Total	45	16	10	19
Father	2	2		
Stepfather	2	1	1	
Adoptive father	1	1		
Brother-in-law	1			1
Aunt [1]	1	1		
No relation	23	10	7	6
Not reported	15	1	2	12

[1] Responsible for placing girl in a house of prostitution.

Disposition in cases of offenses against children, by charge, in 20 counties of Georgia, 1923

Disposition of case	Total	Charges in cases of offenses against children			
		Rape	Assault with attempt to rape	Seduction	Other [1]
Total cases	44	27	7	5	5
Sentenced to penitentiary	9	7	2		
Other sentence imposed	4	1	2		1
Found not guilty	7	6			1
No bill and no case	[2]10	5	2	2	1
Case nol-prossed	5	4		1	
No prosecution and settled out of court	3	2			1
Case pending at end of year	5	2	1	2	
Dismissed by justice	1				1

[1] Includes 2 cases of incest, 1 of sodomy, 1 of fornication, and 1 of immorality.
[2] Includes 1 case in which 2 men were involved, 1 charged with rape and 1 with assault and battery.

The following stories illustrate the types of case coming to the attention of the courts:

A 12-year-old girl was found one night in a shed in company with a policeman and was sent to the State training school "to be reformed." The policeman was discharged from the force with as little publicity as possible.

A mother of four children, the oldest a girl of 11 years, reported to the probation officer that the father had been guilty of incest with the little girl. When the case was brought to trial the mother denied the charges she had previously made, so that nothing could be proved against the father. The children were removed from the custody of the parents; but as the children's aid society would not take the girl because of her experience, the probation officer obtained her admission to an industrial school, where she was reported to be doing well.

An 11-year-old girl was kept out of school to work for an old man who conducted a fruit and confectionery stand. Her own father was so old and decrepit that he could not work. The probation officer learned that the child was remaining with her employer overnight and protested to the parents. The family insisted that they needed the girl's earnings, and for a few days the father went to the stand with her. Soon, however, the old arrangement was resumed, the excuse for her staying overnight being that the old man was ill and needed her to care for him. Shortly after this the girl was missing from her home, and the probation officer was told that she was visiting in a neighboring town. Before word could be got to the police in this town a message was received from them saying that the girl had been picked up by the police and was being sent home on the midnight train. The probation officer obtained the legal release of the child from the parents and took the girl to a home in another city. The girl confessed that the old man had kept her overnight in order to have immoral relations with her. In order to avoid prosecution he obtained the consent of the parents to marry her, and the ordinary issued the license. The probation officer and the sheriff wired the home in which the girl had been placed not to permit her to see the old man, and his plans were thus frustrated. He was arrested upon his return and gave bond. The girl was placed in an industrial school.

A 15-year-old girl was taken out of school by her stepfather and put to work in the fields. He repeatedly violated her, threatening to kill her if she told. Finally the girl told her mother, who confronted the stepfather with the facts.

He denied the charge and forced the girl to leave home. She went to an uncle's home, but the family did not feel they could take her in, and appealed to the social worker in the town. The girl was brought before the judge of the city court, who committed her to the State training school. She said she was glad to go, as she felt she would have a chance to learn something, and as she had not had a chance even to be decent in her stepfather's home. No action was taken against the stepfather.

The prosecution of cases of sex offenses against children usually presents many difficulties, some of which are illustrated by the story that follows. In Georgia the age of consent was only 14 years[19] and the penalty (death with alternative of imprisonment if the defendant was recommended to mercy by the jury) made conviction especially hard to obtain.

A 13-year-old girl made no charges against the man until it was known that she was pregnant. She then stated that she had been overpowered by the man after struggling to protect herself, a torn dress and bruises on her body attesting to this. The age of the child was questioned, and as no birth record was available the parents produced their marriage certificate as proof of the girl's age. The judge's instructions to the jury were that "unless the girl was positively known to be under 14 it would not be rape, that a torn dress and bruises on the body were not evidence that the claimed struggle had taken place, that the pregnancy of the girl was no proof of the guilt of the man, that the girl's not having made the charge against the man was a point against her and in the man's favor, and that no man could be convicted on the unsubstantiated charge of the girl." A verdict of "not guilty" was returned by the jury.

STANDARDS GOVERNING TREATMENT OF OFFENSES AGAINST CHILDREN

The Children's Bureau survey indicated that the Georgia juvenile court law as it was being administered was not effective in relation to the prosecution of adults who contribute to the delinquency of children or fail to give them proper care.

The juvenile-court standards drafted by the committee appointed by the Children's Bureau recommend that the juvenile court should be given jurisdiction over cases of adults contributing to delinquency or dependency, that action in cases of delinquency should not be limited to parents or guardians, and that finding of delinquency or dependency of a child should not be necessary to adjudication. They further recommend that the children involved should be protected to the extent that they should not appear in the court room except for the purpose of testifying, and while in the court room should be accompanied by a probation officer.[20]

A few statutes give juvenile courts jurisdiction over such offenses as rape, statutory rape, and unnatural crimes committed against minors. If the statute is ambiguous the courts take that construction which gives exclusive jurisdicion to the criminal courts.[21] Laws giving the juvenile court jurisdiction in cases of contributing to delinquency usually make such an offense a misdemeanor and do not supersede the criminal statutes providing punishment for serious crimes such as rape and assault with intent to commit rape. In practice where such contributing to delinquency laws have been well

[19] In the majority of States the age is 16 or 18 years. See Laws Relating to Sex Offenses against Children, by Reuben Oppenheimer and Lulu L. Eckman (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 145, Washington, 1925).

[20] Juvenile-Court Standards, pp. 2, 6. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 121.

[21] The Legal Aspect of the Juvenile Court, by Bernard Flexner and Reuben Oppenheimer, p. 19. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 99. Washington, 1922.

drawn and adequately administered they have been found to be effective both in cases not involving serious crimes and cases where the offense charged would come under the statutes relating to such crimes but because of circumstances prosecution would be difficult to carry through successfully.

The tendency in juvenile-court legislation is toward placing in the same court which hears children's cases the jurisdiction over cases of adults offending against children, so that one court may deal with all the aspects of a case involving the welfare of the child. In order to accomplish this it is, of course, necessary that the juvenile court, though using equity or civil procedure in children's cases, be vested with criminal jurisdiction in adult cases such as contributing to the delinquency and dependency of children. In order that the child may be properly safeguarded and that other children may be saved from a similar misfortune, it is essential that the court dealing with these cases be equipped to make adequate investigation into the situation, to throw safeguards around the child, and to protect the community against adults who corrupt the morals of children or endanger their welfare.

Laws in effect in Colorado and California illustrate broad provisions with regard to the jurisdiction of the juvenile court in cases involving offenses committed by adults against children.

The Colorado law contains the following inclusive definition of these cases, jurisdiction being placed in the juvenile court:

> Any person who shall encourage, cause, or contribute to the dependency, neglect, or delinquency of a child, or shall do any act or acts to directly produce, promote, or contribute to conditions which render such a child a dependent, neglected, or delinquent child, or who, having the custody, control, or supervision of such child, shall willfully neglect to do that which shall directly tend to prevent such state of dependency, neglect, or delinquency, or to remove the conditions that render such child either a neglected, dependent, or delinquent child, shall be proceeded against * * *. [Colo., Comp. Laws 1921, ch. 19, sec. 644.]

The juvenile court law of California contains an equally broad provision:

> Any person who shall commit any act or omit the performance of any duty, which act or omission causes or tends to cause or encourage any person under the age of 21 years to come within the provisions * * * of this act, or which act or omission contributes thereto, or any person who shall, by any act or omission, or by threats, or commands, or persuasion, induce or endeavor to induce any such person, under the age of 21 years, to do or to perform any act, or to follow any course of conduct, or to so live as would cause or manifestly tend to cause any such person to become or to remain a person coming within the provisions of * * * this act, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars or by imprisonment in the county jail for not more than two years, or by both such fine and imprisonment, or may be released upon probation for a period of not exceeding five years, and the superior court, sitting as a juvenile court, shall have original jurisdiction over all such misdemeanors. * * * [Calif. Statutes of 1915, ch. 631, sec. 21.]

NONSUPPORT AND DESERTION

PROCEDURE

Georgia has no law applying to nonsupport alone. The law on abandonment provides that if the father willfully abandons his child,

leaving it in a dependent condition, he may be prosecuted for a misdemeanor, and the wife may testify against him. A child is considered dependent when the father does not provide sufficient clothing and food for its needs. Abandonment consists of both separation from, and failure to provide necessities for, the child.[22]

Abandonment cases may be heard by either the city or the superior court. In 12 of the 30 counties included in the study both the superior court and the city court handled abandonment cases; in 9 counties, as there was no city court, the superior court alone heard them; in 8 counties the city court alone dealt with abandonment; and in 1 other county some abandonment cases were handled by the city court and others were settled informally by the juvenile court, though this court had no power to enforce its orders. The usual procedure was for the wife to swear out a warrant before the justice of the peace (in two cities before the municipal court), and if the husband could be located he was held in jail or under bond for the next session of the superior or city court. If the man waived jury trial, the case might be heard immediately.

Any one or more of the following penalties were possible in the discretion of the judge: Chain gang not to exceed 12 months, imprisonment not to exceed 6 months, fine not to exceed $1,000.[23] Courts in six of the counties made use of a suspended sentence to the chain gang and required the father to pay a regular amount toward the support of the family. In two counties payments were made through the sheriff, in two counties they were made through the probation officer of the court, and in other counties by some person designated by the judge, frequently the clerk of the court. Commitments to the chain gang for 12 months or for shorter periods were suspended so long as payments were kept up; if a man failed to pay, he was required to serve his time on the chain gang, no new trial being necessary. In one of the counties a system had been worked out whereby the man was required to report to the probation officer at stated intervals, and if there was the slightest defection on his part the sentence was immediately put into effect. Some courts gave the alternative of a fine. The fine was usually so small that it appeared to be simply a way of dismissing the case, but in one county the judge of the city court who handled these cases imposed large fines, holding that the alternative of a fine should not be for the purpose of giving a man liberty without his assuming any obligations toward his family.

The law provides that a man may be brought back from another county or State to answer a criminal charge. When a deserting father leaves the State requisition papers for his extradition must be obtained from the governor, and the county commissioners must insure the payment of the expenses incurred. Some county authorities discourage prosecution on account of the expense, and some refuse to authorize the expenditure unless it is the custom of the court to have the father work on the chain gang for the county, and thus assure reimbursement. It is evident that in these cases the family does not benefit by the return of the father, and the real purpose of the court action is nullified.

[22] Ga., Park's Annotated Code 1914 (Penal), sec. 116.
[23] Ibid., sec. 1065.

In one county the juvenile court sometimes heard abandonment cases informally. The usual procedure was for the judge to send for the man and to discuss the situation informally with him. The judge reminded him of his duty to his family and ordered him to pay a certain amount at regular intervals either to his wife direct or through the probation officer. Sometimes the man did not know that the judge had no power to enforce the order, but even if he did he realized that if the judge's order was not carried out he would be brought before the city court and probably receive a chain-gang sentence. The effectiveness of the method pursued by this juvenile court shows the desirability of having this procedure legalized and extended. The city-court bailiffs in one county sometimes investigated home conditions in abandonment cases. In general, however, there was a lack of adequate inquiry into the conditions, and a consequent failure to take the necessary action in order to make proper provision for the children in these families. Enforcement of the orders of the court depended to a large extent upon the work of probation officers or other employees who could give the necessary supervision and see that the father fulfilled his obligations toward his family.

Although few cases of abandonment came to the attention of the courts, both nonsupport and desertion appeared to be widespread. One of the causes of desertion was the prevalence of child marriages and the irresponsibility of young couples who frequently did not establish homes of their own but continued to live with their parents after marriage. In many communities the wives worked outside the home, frequently earning as much or more than the husbands; consequently the fathers felt less responsibility for the support of their families. Cases were reported that indicated an inclination of fathers to depend upon the earnings of the mothers and of the children as soon as the children were old enough to go to work.

During the agent's visit in one county an abandonment case was being tried in the superior court. When the man was ordered to contribute $25 a month toward the support of his family and was committed to the chain gang until he should have given bond for $300, an old countryman who had been an interested listener during the trial remarked: "This is the first time I ever knew that a man could be made to support his children. I always knew that children were supposed to work for the father, but did not know that a man had to work for his children."

Few cases handled during 1923 in the 30 counties resulted in convictions, and in very few cases did the family benefit by the court action. The follow-up work in the cases of suspended sentence was very poor, so that suspension amounted to dismissal of the case in many instances. One judge of a superior court, however, was quite diligent in having desertion cases followed up. During the agent's visit one man was in jail for abandonment, having been ordered to pay a stated sum monthly for the support of his two daughters and having avoided the payments. The judge ordered him arrested for contempt of court and detained in jail until the next term of the superior court.

If the man is required to work on the chain gang, the family receives no benefit. It was suggested to some of the judges that it

might be well to sentence the man to work for the county, paying to the family the wages of the man so sentenced, but they considered that this would be too expensive for the county, as too many wives would take advantage of such a law by having the deserting fathers prosecuted. As a matter of county finance there may be some logic in this contention, but it will not stand scrutiny from the point of view of the welfare of the children that have been abandoned. In the long run the public undoubtedly pays the bill many times over.

CASES BEFORE THE COURTS

A total of 96 cases of abandonment came to the attention of the courts in the 30 counties in 1923. Two were heard informally in a juvenile court, 44 were superior-court cases, and 50 city-court cases. In one county where the municipal court issued 17 warrants in abandonment cases during 1923 there were records of only 7 cases in the other courts for the same period, and only 2 persons received sentences. In this county the solicitor of the city court stated that it was hardly worth while to bring such cases into court, as little could be done under the present law. Judges sometimes advised women to take action for divorce with alimony, as support is more assured by this method.

Following are the dispositions made in cases of abandonment coming to the attention of the courts in 30 counties of Georgia in 1923:[24]

Disposition of cases	Number of cases
Total	96
Defendant convicted	38
Sentenced to chain gang	27
No alternative	7
Alternative of fine	2
Sentence suspended	18
Ordered to support family	8
Placed under bond	3
Not placed under bond	5
Placed under bond	3
Defendant not convicted	44
Found not guilty	7
Case nol-prossed	25
True bill returned by grand jury; no further action	6
No bill returned by grand jury	2
Man not apprehended	4
Case pending	1
Disposition not reported	13

Some of the stories related by the welfare workers or probation officers illustrate the tendency of the mothers to allow deserting fathers to return after warrants have been sworn out for their arrest. The children frequently show the ill effects of the conditions in these families of deserters.

In one county a woman sent word to the welfare worker that her husband had deserted and she was in need. Investigation revealed that the mother had been confined a day or so before, there were several other children in the family, and no food in the house. A physician was sent to attend the woman, food was provided, and a cook was sent to do the work. Later the family was

[24] In 1 case in which a suspended chain-gang sentence was given the man preferred to serve sentence rather than support his family; in another suspended case the sentence was later put into effect. In 2 cases men ordered to support their families were committed to jail for failure to obey. Of the chain-gang sentences 6 were for 12 months, 1 for 6 months. Of the alternative fines to the chain-gang sentences one was $100 and one was $1,000. In 5 of the 6 cases of true bills returned by grand jury it was known that further action had not been taken, and in 1 complete information was not available.

moved to a better house. The husband remained away for five months, the wife bringing a charge of abandonment against him. The grand jury found a true bill against the man, who returned at the time of the trial; but as the mother permitted him to return to the home, the case was nol-prossed.

The mother of a family worked in a factory, earning $9 a week. Her husband was a rover who came home occasionally, stayed a few days or a week or two, then was gone again, no one knew where. He contributed nothing toward the support of his wife and four children. A 14-year-old boy worked in a store for a very small wage. A married daughter with a child a year and a half old, whose husband had deserted about four months before the birth of her child, was also living at home. The family of seven lived in a house of four rooms for which they paid $4 a month. The married daughter kept house, but she did not seem to be normal mentally and neglected the house and the children. Her baby was not fed properly and was constantly sick from lack of care. No effort had ever been made to locate the deserting husbands or to get support from them. All the children were probably below normal mentally, as only one child was above the first grade and one or two had been in the first grade as much as three years. The mother's appeal for schoolbooks was refused by the county official, as it was considered she had been extravagant (on $9 per week) and should have saved enough to buy books for the children.

A mother, her 9-year-old daughter, and three sons—7, 5, and 3 years of age, respectively—were living in the home of the maternal grandmother, who was old and both physically and financially unable to provide for them. The husband had deserted this woman and her four children. It soon became necessary to place the children in an institution so that the mother could go to work. Institutional care promises to be continuous, as it will probably be impossible for the mother to make a home for the children on the wages she is able to earn.

A family consisted of the mother, a boy of 14, three girls—17, 10, and 8 years of age—and the maternal grandmother, who was an invalid. The father deserted the family after several years of idleness and nonsupport. He claimed that he was unable to work, but the doctors said that they could find nothing physically wrong with him. The family had received public aid for several years. The mother, who took in sewing and went out for work by the day, had provided well for the children and had kept a clean, tidy house. The children were neatly clothed and were kept in school until they were 14 years of age. When the oldest daughter was 16 years old she ran away and married a 17-year-old boy, and went to live with his family on their farm. After a few weeks the boy decided that he preferred to live with another girl and deserted his wife, who then returned to her mother's home. The probation officer obtained work for the girl and also for the 14-year-old boy, who had to leave school to help support the family.

A mother was providing for a 9-year-old son and four daughters—13, 11, 6, and 4 years of age, respectively. Her husband had deserted, taking with him the oldest child, a 14-year-old boy. The mother worked hard, doing all sorts of odd jobs on the farm in order to make a living for the five children, but had to apply to the county welfare board for assistance. The board furnished her family with groceries, and with this help the mother was able to keep the children in school fairly regularly. A short time before Christmas the rumor reached her that the board was not satisfied with this arrangement and that the children were to be placed in an institution. She walked more than 15 miles to talk with the agent of the county board, who told her that she was considering placing the children in an institution, where they would receive care and training. She promised the mother that she would not move the children until after Christmas. But the mother, in order to remove the children from the jurisdiction of the county welfare board, moved her family into an adjoining county, and it was reported that by some means this plucky woman was keeping her children in school.

A family consisting of the father, mother, and seven children ranging in age from 19 to 3 years, lived on a tenant farm. The father had always been shiftless, and the family had had very indifferent support from him. In the year before the study one of the daughters about 16 years of age accused her father of rape. The case was brought to the justice to determine whether or not it would be presented to the grand jury, but the justice dismissed the case on account of lack of evidence. The father then abandoned the family. The superior court found the man guilty on the charge of abandoning his minor children and sentenced him to 12 months on the chain gang, followed by 6 months in jail. He could have his liberty upon giving bond for $300 to pay to his family $25 per month and to pay the costs in the case. The man had a brother able to pay the cost and go on the bond, but he urged the man to serve his sentence and be rid of the entire matter instead of paying $25 per month as long as the children were minors.

SUGGESTED TREATMENT OF NONSUPPORT AND DESERTION

Treatment of desertion and nonsupport cases should be directed fundamentally toward an adjustment of family difficulties and enforcement of the obligations of the deserting parent. It has been pointed out that only a small proportion of these cases are brought to the attention of the courts. Serious difficulties exist in the way of apprehending deserting fathers, and even when the cases are carried through the courts very little real benefit results for the family. Punishment of the father through a chain-gang sentence or a fine paid into the county treasury may in some cases result in a changed attitude on his part, but even in these cases it is doubtful whether the family often receives any assistance. When the support of the family is ordered, it is essential that there be some means of enforcing such an order. In a few counties the value of the probation officer's work in these cases has been demonstrated. There is evident need for an extension of the Georgia law to include nonsupport and in general to make the law really effective for the benefit of the family. Some arrangement whereby the serving of a sentence by a convicted man would result in payment of a portion of his wages toward the support of the family would be of very definite advantage. In families that have suffered from neglect on the part of the normal breadwinner there is usually special need for attention to the welfare of the children and protection of their interests that can be obtained only through such oversight and assistance as can be given by probation service connected with the court dealing with these cases.

Laws in effect in Massachusetts and Alabama illustrate adequate provisions with regard to the treatment of nonsupport and desertion cases. The Massachusetts law, based in general on the uniform desertion and nonsupport act recommended by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws,[25] gives the following definition of the application of the act:

Any husband who without just cause deserts his wife or minor child, whether by going into another town in the Commonwealth or into another State, and leaves them, or any or either of them, without making reasonable provision for their support, and any husband who unreasonably neglects or refuses to provide for the support and maintenance of his wife or minor child, and any husband who abandons or leaves his wife or minor child in danger of becoming a burden upon the public, and any parent, whether father or mother, who deserts or willfully neglects or refuses to provide for the support and main-

[25] Uniform desertion and nonsupport act. Drafted by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, and by it approved and recommended for enactment in all the States in 1910.

tenance of his or her child under the age of sixteen, or whose minor child, by reason of the neglect, cruelty, drunkenness, habits of crime, or other vice of such parent, is growing up without education, or without salutary control, or without proper physical care, or in circumstances exposing such child to lead an idle and dissolute life, shall be punished by a fine of not more than two hundred dollars or by imprisonment for not more than one year or both. [Mass. Gen. Laws of 1921, ch. 273, sec. 1.]

The Massachusetts law further provides that all fines imposed under the foregoing provisions may, in the discretion of the court, be ordered to be paid in whole or in part to the probation officer, and to be paid by him to the wife or to the city, town, corporation, society, or person actually supporting the wife, child or children, or to the treasurer of the Commonwealth for the use of the State department of public welfare, if the child has been committed to this department. The law makes it the duty of the superintendent of any reformatory or penal institution in which any person is confined by sentence imposed under this act—provided the court imposing such sentence finds the wife or child of such person to be in destitute or needy circumstances and so orders—to pay to the probation officer at the end of each week a sum equal to 50 cents for the wife and an additional sum equal to 25 cents for each dependent child, for each day's hard labor performed by the person so confined. [26]

The Alabama law enacted in 1919 goes even further than the Massachusetts law in some respects. It contains, however, the condition that the wife or children must be "in destitute or necessitous circumstances," [27] a provision that would appear to be far less desirable than that contained in the Massachusetts law, the intent of which is to prevent destitution and the need for public support, by enforcing parental obligations. The Alabama law reads in part as follows:

* * * husband who shall, without just cause, desert or wilfully neglect or refuse or fail to provide for the support and maintenance of his wife; or any parent who shall without lawful excuse desert or wilfully neglect or refuse or fail to provide for the support and maintenance of his, or her, child, or children, under the age of eighteen years, whether such parent have custody of such child or children, or not, she or they being then and there in destitute or necessitous circumstances, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding one hundred dollars, or be sentenced to a term in the county jail, or at hard labor for the county for a period of not more than 12 months, or the fine may be in addition to either the sentence to jail or to hard labor. When any such person is so sentenced to hard labor for the county, the county from which said person is so sentenced shall, out of the general funds of said county, pay fifty cents for each day said prisoner is so confined at hard labor, to the clerk of said probate, domestic relations or juvenile court, as the case may be, for the use of the defendant's wife or for the use of his child, or children, under 18 years of age, or both, as the case may be; and the county commissioners or board of revenue, of such county, shall make the allowance, herein provided for, every two weeks, and shall issue warrant for same on the county treasurer, who shall pay same to said clerk. Should a fine be imposed on such defendant by the said probate, domestic relations or juvenile court, and be paid to the clerk of such court, said clerk shall hold said fine for the use of defendant's wife or for the use of his child, or children, or both; * * * [Ala., Code 1923, Vol. II (Criminal), ch. 157, secs. 4480, 4481.]

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[26] Mass., Gen. Laws of 1921, ch. 273, sec. 9, as amended by Acts and Resolves of 1924, ch. 381.

[27] The phrase "in destitute and necessitous circumstances" implies inability to satisfy primitive physical needs and also lack of the things necessary to the particular person left without support, so that there is no fixed standard as to what constitutes such circumstances. A wife left without money and property is "destitute" within the statute. (Corpus Juris 30, 1103.)

The Alabama law places jurisdiction in nonsupport and desertion cases under the juvenile court or domestic-relations court wherever such courts have been established:

> The probate courts of the several counties of the State shall have and exercise exclusive and original jurisdiction in all cases arising under this chapter, except in such counties in which by act of the legislature, juvenile courts or domestic-relations courts have been or may hereafter be created and established in which last described counties, such juvenile courts or such domestic relations courts as the case may be shall have and exercise exclusive and original jurisdiction of all cases arising under this chapter. [Ibid., sec. 4484.]

The law also provides that the court may in its discretion suspend judgment and sentence, and—

> having regard to the circumstances, and to the financial ability, or earning capacity of the defendant, may make an order, which shall be subject to change by the judge of said probate, domestic relations, or juvenile court as the case may be, from time to time, as circumstances may require, directing the defendant to pay a certain sum periodically to the clerk of said probate, domestic relations or juvenile court * * * for the use of the defendant's wife or for the use of his wife and child or children, or for the use of his child or children, and to release the said defendant from custody on probation, upon his or her entering into recognizance, or bond * * * [Ibid., sec. 4488.]

Payment of extradition expenses may be made from county funds. Probation service is provided for, the judge of the probate, domestic-relations, or juvenile court having authority to call upon the sheriff or any deputy sheriff of the county, any constable, police, or peace officer, humane officer, or probation officer in the county, to serve as probation officer, or he may appoint any other discreet person to serve as probation officer in a nonsupport or desertion case. The purpose of probation service is set forth as follows:

> Said probation officer shall ascertain the name and address and such facts in relation to the antecedent history and environment of the person, or persons, committed to his charge as may enable him to determine what corrective measures will be proper in the case, and shall exercise constant supervision over the conduct of such person or persons, and make report to the judge whenever he shall deem it necessary, or be required so to do, and he shall use every effort to encourage and stimulate such person to a reformation in respect to his said offense. * * * [Ibid., sec. 4493.]

ADOPTIONS

PROCEDURE

Jurisdiction in adoption cases in Georgia is in the superior court. The petition, filed by the prospective foster parents, must contain the consent of the child's parents if both are living, or of the one living, if one is dead. If the child is a ward of an agency or institution the consent of this organization is accepted. In these cases either the agencies or institutions have already obtained the consent of the child's parent or parents, or the child has been committed to their custody by a court. Except in cases of abandonment the parent must have notice, which may be by publication as required in equity cases for nonresident defendants. The court being "satisfied that such adoption would be to the interest of the child," issues the adoption papers, making the child the legal son or daughter of the foster parents.[28]

[28] Ga., Park's Annotated Code 1914 (Civil), secs. 3016–3017.

The survey in Georgia showed that the courts in general were not making any special inquiries in regard to matters relating to the child's welfare in connection with adoptions. Investigation was made of conditions in the prospective foster home in only 6 of the 30 counties studied, and in only 1 of these counties were the conditions in the child's own home noted and the question of desirability of having him removed from the guardianship of his own family given attention.

The Georgia law relating to child-placing agencies required any person, agency, or official doing any child placing to be licensed by the judge of the superior court.[29] It was found that this safeguarding provision was being overlooked in many of the counties. A number of children were found to have been placed by family agencies which were not equipped to make investigations or to do follow-up work. Instances of the breaking up of families on account of poverty also were found, some mothers keeping one or more children and surrendering one or two to a child-placing agency. Illegitimate babies were frequently accepted at birth by an agency, with no effort to keep the mother and child together.

The judge in one county said that he had never thought of its being necessary to make investigations of the foster homes, but he thought it "a good idea" and would call on the probation officers in the future for investigations. The judge in another county stated that he had no arrangements for making investigations but that "some one around the court always knows the family petitioning for adoption." The ordinary in this same county sometimes made out papers giving the children to people other than their parents, these papers having no legal value but satisfying the parties concerned. He knew little or nothing about the parents of the children or the circumstances; they simply came to him saying that they wanted to give the child away. Some of these children were of illegitimate birth; both parents of others were living and wanted to be released from the care of the child without the expense of a superior-court case. The ordinary said that there were half a dozen or more such cases during 1923. The justice of the peace in this county also did this same kind of "adopting," having dealt with about the same number of cases during 1923.

ADOPTION CASES

A total of 45 adoption records were found in the courts of the 30 counties for the year 1923—43 for white children and 2 for negro children (exclusive of three adoptions of adults, two for inheritance, and one for whom the reason was not reported). Following are the ages of the children for whom legal adoption was granted:

Ages	Number of children	Ages	Number of children
Total	45	5 years, under 10	8
	—	10 years and over	3
Under 1 year	15	Not reported	4
1 year, under 5	15		

The reason for surrender could not be obtained very definitely from the existing record data, as special investigation was reported in only a very small number of cases. In nearly half of the cases

[29] Ga., Laws of 1922, No. 521, secs. 1–15.

for which the reason was given illegitimacy either was stated as the reason for surrender of the child for adoption or was reported as a probable cause. Undoubtedly some of the children said to have been abandoned should be included in this group, so that probably almost two-thirds of the adoption cases involved children of illegitimate birth. The death of one or both parents appeared to be the reason for adoption in only a very small proportion of cases. Only 2 of 36 known cases included in this study involved orphans, and only 5 involved half orphans.

Following are the persons or agencies surrendering children for legal adoption in the 30 counties of Georgia in 1923:

Person or agency signing surrender	Number of children
Total	45
Mother	15
Father	3
Grandparents	1
Agencies (3 home-finding societies and 1 institution)	16
Juvenile court	2
No surrender (children abandoned)	1
No report as to surrender	1

This survey did not go intensively into the question of the method of surrender of children to the care of agencies. Evidently there was a very liberal policy of receiving children through the signing of a parental release, inasmuch as only 18 of the 45 children who were recorded as given in adoption were under the legal guardianship of their parents at the time of adoption.

An important phase of the adoption question is the length of time intervening between the petition and the final decrees. Although definite data could not be obtained it was found that 18 of the children for whom there was information had lived in the foster home less than six months. The following instances met with in the study illustrate the desirability of adequate investigation for the protection of the child and the necessity for requiring the child to be in the foster home long enough to make sure that the placement is advisable:

After the death of her husband the mother of four children applied to a relief society for assistance. As the mother was considered to be a low type mentally and morally, it was thought best that the children should be removed from her custody, and the society arranged for the placement of the children in foster homes in order that the mother might go to work and earn her own support. The mother refused to cooperate, but she herself made arrangements for two daughters, 5 and 8 years of age, to be cared for by a man and wife who took the children and made immediate application for adoption, which was granted without investigation, the mother signing the release. The relief agency, hearing of the adoption, visited the foster home and thought the children were doing very well. Later, on a report to the society that the girls were being cruelly treated, a more thorough investigation was made. It was found that the man and his wife beat the girls and that they were unable to provide for them properly as they both were at work the entire day. The conditions were reported to the judge who had granted the decree of adoption, and he required these foster parents to sign a release of the children.

A father and mother died within a few months of each other, leaving a 16-year-old girl, a 9-year-old girl, and an 8-year-old boy, a paralytic. An older brother was able to provide for two of the children, but the 9-year-old girl had to be provided for by the court. With the approval of the court and a children's aid society a childless couple took the girl, and final adoption papers were granted at the expiration of three months. Although the home was

desirable it did not appear adapted to this girl. She became unruly and the foster mother became dissatisfied. Financial reverses occurred and the foster parents petitioned that they be relieved of their responsibility. The girl was then returned to the society for replacement. If a longer trial period in the home had been required, adoption would not have taken place, as the girl's lack of adaptability to this home would have been discovered.

A young woman with her 2-year-old child appealed to one of the Red Cross workers for assistance. She was pregnant at the time and claimed that her husband had deserted her, and that she was entirely destitute. The Red Cross assumed the entire care of the woman, paid her rent, and provided for her until after the birth of her second child. When a reasonable time had elapsed they suggested to the mother that she obtain employment. She demurred, but finally went to work, the Red Cross having provided a negro girl to care for the children. The woman began to bribe the girl to stay away, so that she might have an excuse for not going to work. One day the following advertisement appeared in the local papers:

> WANTED.—By a widow 18 years old, a home for her two fatherless children, girl 4 months old and boy 2½ years old, both healthy, attractive children. Mother unable to support them; is willing that they be adopted and reared in a good home.

In the same paper was a long "sob story," relating that the mother was desirous of keeping her children, but was willing to make the sacrifice of "the ineffable joy and happiness of daily and nightly association with the precious ones, if such sacrifice will insure for them such creature comforts as she is unable to give." The children were taken into the homes of two families the day the advertisement appeared, the mother signing the release. No investigation was made, there was no follow up to determine whether or not the children were properly placed, and soon after the placement of the children the mother was arrested as a vagrant.

One judge, the only one interviewed who stated that he made inquiries concerning conditions in the child's own home, as well as the desirability of the foster home, and who had never granted an adoption unless the child had been in the foster home six months or more, refused the petition of a man who asked to adopt five nieces and nephews. The man was a poor tenant farmer and had seven children of his own, all under 16 years of age. The mother of the children he wished to adopt was dead, and the father, though an able-bodied man, had failed to contribute anything toward the support of the children for a year, and readily signed a surrender to the uncle. The judge thought that the father should be forced to support his children and that the uncle wished to be assured of the legal right to work the children on his farm, but since there was no juvenile court in this county, nor any agency equipped to give the necessary attention to this case, the children remained in the uncle's home after the adoption petition was refused.

SUGGESTED TREATMENT OF ADOPTION

Only within recent years have the States begun to concern themselves seriously with the social aspects of the problem of adoption, but certain States have led the way, and others doubtless will follow rapidly. The study of adoptions in Georgia brought out the fact that almost no effort was made to safeguard the child's interest and that the child himself received very little consideration.

In adoption acts due consideration should be given to both the welfare of the child and the rights of the natural parents, including the possibility of their assuming the care of the child. The first essential is, therefore, provision for social investigation which will give due emphasis to each of these interests. The courts can not properly consider the question of the disposition of the child without

adequate information regarding conditions in his parental home, the status of his parents, and the character of the prospective foster home. The second essential is a trial period in the adoptive home before a final decree is granted, in order that more adequate knowledge of the character of the prospective home may be obtained and in order that it may be ascertained whether the child and the family are suited for each other. A third essential is State supervision of adoptions, to the end that the law may be properly enforced and the interests of all parties safeguarded.

Examples of these essential provisions are to be found in the laws of Minnesota, Virginia, North Dakota, New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Oregon.[30] For instance, the Minnesota law provides that the State board of control shall be notified of the filing of a petition for the adoption of a minor child, and it is its duty to verify allegations and to investigate the condition and antecedents of the child and the proposed foster home, making report in writing to the district court, with recommendation. No petition shall be granted until the child has lived in the proposed home six months. Investigation and period of residence may be waived upon good cause shown.[31]

Closely associated with the question of adoption legislation is the transfer of parental rights. Either in the adoption law or in related laws the transfer of parental rights or responsibilities without order or decree of court should be prohibited. No agency or person other than relatives within the second degree should be permitted to assume the permanent care and custody of a child unless authorized to do so by a decree of a court of record. Not only is this coming to be recognized as an important principle for the protection of children, but it is a legal safeguard in adoption. In several States the courts of appeal or supreme courts have held adoptions illegal because of the fact that the change of custody rested upon the mere signing over of the child by the parents. The surrender of parental rights and obligations should be considered a sufficiently serious matter to demand formal consideration by a court, and decision should be based upon adequate information in regard to the situation. Frequently an unmarried mother or parents sign over a child to an agency or institution or to a private individual because this appears to be the easiest way to be relieved of the care of the child. Often the parents desire to give up the custody of the child because they are unable to make proper provision for him. Sometimes; however, the action on the part of a parent may constitute neglect or abandonment as he relinquishes his obligations merely for his own convenience. Even though in many cases the child may profit by a change of custody, it is a dangerous procedure to permit so important a transaction to take place without the careful scrutiny of a legally constituted authority.[32]

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[30] Minn., Gen. Stat. 1913, secs. 7151–7152, as amended by Laws of 1917, ch. 222; Va., Code 1919, sec. 5333, as amended by Acts and Joint Resolutions of 1922, ch. 484; N. Dak., Laws of 1923, ch. 150, sec. 1 (c); N. Y., Consolidated Laws 1909, Domestic Relations Law, ch. 19, art. 7, as amended by Laws of 1924, ch. 323; Mass., Gen. Laws 1921, ch. 119, sec. 14, ch. 121, secs. 18 and 19; Ohio, Page's Gen. Code 1921, secs. 8024–1 and 8030–1, added by act of May 5, 1921; Oreg., Laws 1920, sec. 9766, as amended by Gen. Laws of 1921, ch. 215, secs. 9767, 9770, 9775, 9829, 9830, 9831.

[31] For a fuller discussion of these points, and also of such subjects as parental consent, consent of the child, provision for appeal and for annulment, safeguarding records from publicity, and effect of adoption, see Adoption Laws in the United States, by Emelyn Foster Peck (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 148, Washington, 1925).

[32] Ibid., pp. 4–5.

In this connection, also, provisions of the Minnesota and North Dakota laws are of interest. The Minnesota law provides that no person other than parents or relatives may assume permanent care and custody of a child under 14 years of age except by order of court, and no parent may assign or transfer his rights or duties except as provided by law.[33] The corresponding provision of the North Dakota law gives protection to children under the age of 18 years.[34]

CUSTODY OF CHILDREN IN DIVORCE AND OTHER CASES

JURISDICTION AND PROCEDURE

Under the Georgia law the party not in default in a divorce granted is entitled to the custody of the minor children of the marriage. The superior court, which has exclusive jurisdiction in divorce cases, may exercise its discretion, however, and after looking into all the circumstances may make a definite disposition of the children, withdrawing them from the custody of either or both parents and placing them if necessary in the care of guardians appointed by the ordinary. The court may exercise similar discretion pending decision in a divorce suit.[35]

In the majority of cases it was found that the judge had awarded the custody of the children to the party not in default. In two counties the judge asked reliable persons who were acquainted with the families about the fitness of either parent to have the custody of the child. In three counties the juvenile-court probation officer was sometimes called upon to make special investigations, and in one county where investigation had not been made the judge stated that he would ask the probation officer to undertake this work in the future. Aside from these instances there was no indication in the counties studied of special arrangements for carrying out the provisions of the law as to "looking into all the circumstances" in regard to the disposition of the child.

The law provided for the exercise of jurisdiction by the juvenile court in cases where custody of a child is the subject of controversy in any suit,[36] but it was not found to be the practice for cases involving custody to be brought to the attention of the juvenile court in any of the counties.

Appointment of guardians of the person was usually the function of the ordinary in 17 of the 30 counties studied. In 6 counties the superior court exercised jurisdiction, in 3 both the superior and the ordinary, in 2 the superior and the city court, in 1 the ordinary and the city court, and in 1 the superior and city courts and also the ordinary.

In 27 counties there were no special arrangements for investigation of such cases. The juvenile-court probation officers were called upon in certain instances in 2 counties. In 1 county a committee was sometimes appointed to "hear the evidence in the case and there-

[33] Minn., Laws and Resolutions of 1919 (extra session), ch. 51, sec. 2.
[34] N. Dak., Laws of 1923, ch. 152.
[35] Ga., Park's Annotated Code, 1914 (Civil), sec. 2971.
[36] Ga., Laws of 1915, No. 210, sec. 2(d).

after advise with the court as to what is best to be done in the premises." In 2 counties the ordinary stated that he personally made investigations, and in another county the ordinary stated that he was acquainted with everyone in the county and did not need to investigate.

CHILDREN INVOLVED IN DIVORCE CASES

In the 30 counties included in the survey, 822 final divorces were granted in 1923. Children under 18 years of age were involved in 269 cases (33 per cent), the total number of children being 424. Following are the ages reported for those children:

Ages	Number of children
Total	424
1 year or under	26
2 years, under 3	20
3 years, under 4	21
4 years, under 5	23
5 years, under 6	27
6 years, under 7	18
7 years, under 8	16
8 years, under 9	15
9 years, under 10	19
10 years, under 11	14
11 years, under 12	16
12 years, under 13	22
13 years, under 14	8
14 years, under 15	9
15 years, under 16	15
16 years, under 17	4
17 years, under 18	8
Under 18 years (specific age not reported)	143

In 89 of the divorces granted in cases involving children no mention was made in the records regarding the custody of the children. Satisfactory arrangements for their care may have been made in most instances, but some children probably suffered for this official ignoring of their existence.

The following case stories illustrate the desirability of special investigations and action upon their findings in divorce cases which involve the custody of children:

The case of an infant was referred by the city court to the juvenile court for investigation. The city court had ordered the father to support the child, and various charges and countercharges had been entered against the parents. Divorce proceedings instituted in the superior court were still pending. Investigation showed that the mother of the child was living with her father, who, although he owned his farm, appeared to be very poor. The father of the child was living with his parents, and his mother was taking care of the baby, who was badly neglected and very dirty. The father stated that he did not expect to pay the support order of $12 to his wife but was willing to support his child in an institution. The juvenile court finally decided to place the child in the care of the mother, and the father was given permission to visit the child upon request at the office of the probation officer, since his father-in-law would not permit him to visit his home. For 17 months this arrangement proved satisfactory. When the final divorce decree was granted by the superior court the custody of the child was awarded to the mother, with permission for the father to visit the child at residence of the mother whenever he desired. A $12 order for the support of the child was confirmed, and the mother continued to live with her parents. Two weeks after the decree the father went to visit the child and in a family quarrel shot and killed his father-in-law. For this he was sentenced to the penitentiary for 10 to 20 years. The mother soon afterward took the child and moved to another State, and the father was unable to learn of their whereabouts.

A family consisted of father, mother, and four girls ranging from 7 to 18 years in age. The father and mother were both immoral and intemperate, though the father had been a good workman. A divorce was granted early in

1923, with the understanding that the children would be left with the mother, the father sending money for their support. The father moved to another State, and the mother claimed that he had never sent anything for the maintenance of the family. Three times during 1923 the mother was apprehended for the illicit selling of liquor and for immorality. Social agencies interceded twice because of the children in the family. The third time the sheriff asked the agencies to let the trial take its course, suggesting that the mother had come to feel that, because of her children, she was privileged to break the law. The judge said that it was a rare thing for a jury of men to convict a woman who had children. None of the authorities seemed to have considered that it might be proper to proceed against the woman because of the crime she was committing against her children through her illegal acts. The mother excused herself by saying that she had to make a living for her children.

An infant girl and a boy 2½ years old were left with a mother who had obtained a divorce in 1923, though the court had made no disposition of the children. They seemed to be a burden to the mother, who was trying to give her children to negroes when the secretary of the relief society was informed, made protest, and reported the case in turn to the city judge, the juvenile-court judge, and the ordinary, for action. Being unable to obtain any court action, the secretary accepted the children from the mother, who was entirely willing to give them up, especially since no court action was to be taken against her. Arrangements were made for placing the children in an orphanage, but this could not be done at once because they were in such poor physical condition. They were temporarily cared for by friends while medical attention was being given. After the removal of the children the mother was in jail several times for immorality and for selling liquor. No action had ever been taken against her for neglecting the children, and the courts did not seem to realize that a child-welfare problem was involved in this case.

CHILD MARRIAGES

LEGAL PROVISIONS

The Georgia law forbids the marriage of girls under 14 years and boys under 17. Girls under 18 years may not be given a license to marry without the written consent of parent or guardian. The law prescribes that the county ordinary who, knowingly, issues a license without such consent or without proper precaution in inquiring as to the facts of minority shall forfeit $500, to be recovered by the clerk of the superior court and added to the county educational fund. The law did not require advance notice or publication of license, and marriage might take place immediately after the license was issued.[37] The license must be obtained from the ordinary of the county where the woman resides, if she is a resident of the State, but no restriction exists for nonresidents.

NUMBER OF CHILD MARRIAGES

Since the law does not specifically require the ordinary to record the ages of the contracting parties when issuing a license, only meager evidence of the extent of child marriages was available. In 1 county the ordinary kept on file all statements from parents giving consent to the marriages of persons under 18 years. In 3

[37] Ga., Park's Annotated Code 1914, secs. 2931, 2938. The latter section was amended in 1924 (Laws of 1924, No. 516) to require that the application for license be posted in the ordinary's office for 5 days before issuance of license. This posting requirement may be waived in emergency cases, and also if the parents or guardian of the female appear personally and consent in writing to the issuance of the license. If there are any grounds for suspicion that the female is under 18 the license may be refused until written consent of parents or guardian, if any, is procured. Penalty for violation of the law is $500.

counties the ordinaries had all the ages recorded; and in 3 other counties a few ages were recorded. In 17 of the counties in which no records of ages were kept some information was obtained from the ordinary or other reliable person concerning instances of child marriages which had come to his attention during 1923.

In these 17 counties the marriages of 111 girls (75 white, 36 negro) under 18 years of age were reported. That this figure probably greatly understates the actual number of child marriages is indicated by the fact that 182 legitimate births to mothers (109 white, 73 negro) under 18 years of age were recorded in 10 of these counties in 1923. The incompleteness of the records is further indicated by the fact that although in 1 of the 10 counties only 3 marriages of girls under 18 were recorded, 39 legitimate births to mothers (23 white, 16 negro) under 18 years were recorded within the year; and in another county 14 births to child mothers and only 1 such marriage were recorded.

The prevalence of child marriages was vouched for by practically all the welfare workers interviewed. In one county it was estimated that 25 per cent of all the girls married between 15 and 17 years of age. A social worker in a mill community related the story of a school girl of 13 who married a boy 16 or 17 years old. At the time the information was given the girl was an expectant mother though still under 15 years of age, and the boy had appealed for assistance as he could not meet the necessary expenses of her confinement. Another social worker stated that there are frequent marriages of young girls between 14 and 17 years of age who give their ages as 18. She said that young boys and girls "get married on Saturday, spend their honeymoon in the country on Sunday, and are back in their places in the mill on Monday morning."

A school-teacher reported the cases of two 13-year-old girls, about whom only the following slight information could be obtained:

One girl was the daughter of a widow with at least three children in the home. The family lived on a small rented farm, and the mother took in washing to help out their meager living from the farm. The girl attended school in the winter of 1923. She was married that summer and lived with her husband, who was about 16, on a farm near her mother.

The other 13-year-old girl had run away with a man 36 years of age instead of coming to school one morning, and had married him. The man owned a farm in the neighborhood and had a fairly good home. They lived together for two weeks, separated for two weeks, and lived together again. The girl had always attended school regularly until the day of her marriage. She was very large for her age, and might easily have led the justice of the peace who married them to think she was older.

The father of a boy not yet 17 years of age brought suit to have his son's marriage annulled. The record stated that when the boy was only 15 years of age he had gone through a marriage ceremony with a woman, who, as was learned later, had gone by four different names. The boy had discovered that at the time of the marriage the woman had a husband from whom she was not divorced. Publication had been given for 60 days, and as the woman did not appear at the trial the marriage was annulled. The record did not show how it was that the boy had obtained a license at the age of 15 years.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE GEORGIA MARRIAGE LAW

The legal provisions relating to child marriages in Georgia were framed so loosely as to be practically worthless. In nearly every

county the ordinary remarked, "I ask the age and they nearly always say the girl is 18, so I issue the license; the law requires nothing more." Frequently the age of negro girls was not even asked, as the officials said the girls do not know their own ages. In one county in which the ages as given by the contracting parties were recorded in each case, the bride's age was given as 18 for 74 of the 206 marriages of white persons and for 40 of the 144 marriages of negroes in 1923.

Two illustrations of what frequently happens as a result of not requiring any proof of age had occurred shortly before this survey was made. A man aged 45 who appeared at the office of the ordinary in one of the counties and asked for a marriage license was required to make affidavit as to the girl's age and swore she was 18. The law having been complied with, the ordinary thereupon granted the license. The following day the girl's mother came to the ordinary's office to bring habeas corpus proceedings against the man, saying her daughter was only 12 years old. However, the man had taken the girl out of the State. The ordinary in another county told of the case of a young man who called for a license and gave the age of the girl as 16. When the ordinary told him that he would have to get the consent of her parents he asked, "How old does she have to be to get a license without consent?" Upon being told that the legal age was 18 years he angrily remarked, "Why didn't you say so? I could have said 18 as well as 16."

If it is stated that the girl is under 18, the ordinary holds that he is carrying out the law if he accepts a slip of paper with a statement of consent written over the name of the parent, as there is no provision requiring that the signature be authenticated. One ordinary who carefully kept the records of the ages stated that he accepted the written consent of the parent without proof of identity as he would be going beyond his authority to require it. He admitted, however, that he had found after the licenses were issued that several such statements were forgeries.

In one county a young man appeared at the ordinary's office asking for a marriage license. He presented what appeared to be a note from the girl's father stating that he was willing that his 15-year-old daughter be married. As the ordinary was still doubtful, the young man suggested that he call a certain telephone number. He was told that the person replying over the telephone was the girl's mother and that it was satisfactory to her and the girl's father that the license be granted. The license was granted, and the couple were married. Two or three days later the father appeared at the ordinary's office, very indignant. Investigation showed that the girl herself had written the note and had also answered the telephone. The girl and her husband lived together but a few months.

The divorce records showed many separations to be attendant upon early marriages. One judge stated that he had few cases of divorce involving the custody of children, for most of the cases were of couples who had married so young that they did not know what they wanted and had separated soon after marriage. A petition for divorce in one county charged cruel treatment and improper care by the husband during illness of the wife, who was 13 years of age when married and consequently unable to cope with the treatment of the husband. The wife was granted the divorce and the custody of the 5-months-old baby. Another divorce was granted a

girl who had married at 15 years of age, the husband having deserted less than two months after marriage. The custody of their child was awarded to the mother.

One of the 21 divorce cases in one county in 1923 was that applied for by a girl who at 16 years of age had married a boy of 20. They had run away to be married, but the girl's father overtook them and took the girl home. A few months later the father had compelled their marriage in spite of the fact that they had repented of their previous attempt and no longer wished to marry. They did not live happily, and no child was known to have been born to them, although it was supposed that the father had forced the marriage because he believed the girl to be pregnant and the boy to be responsible.

In one desertion case the sheriff attributed the trouble to the couple's being "just kids." He said that they had been married when the girl was 13 or 14 years old and the boy about 17. They had had trouble constantly, and finally the wife had her husband arrested for abandoning a minor child. He was able to give bond and was not placed in jail. The grand jury found a true bill against him, but he persuaded his wife to permit him to return home. The case will no doubt be in court again.

A 14-year-old girl ran away and married a man far past middle age. A few months after her marriage the girl became very much dissatisfied, as her husband drank and abused her. She ran away from him and was found in the railroad station without means of getting any farther. The probation officer went to the station to talk with the girl, who told him that her husband and her parents were dead, but that she had an uncle to whose house she wished to go. The probation officer took her to the uncle's home, and there learned that the girl's parents were living and that she had a husband. The uncle said the girl could not stay at his home, so the probation officer took her to her father. The girl insisted that her father would be mean to her and said she would kill herself. As the father insisted that the training school was the only place for the girl, the probation officer tried to have her admitted to the school, but though she was scarcely 15 years old the school could not accept her because she was married. She returned to her husband and at the age of 18 years had a child.

Although most of the officials said that they did not approve of child marriages, they believed that marriage would correct past wrongs and that it was better to allow a young couple to marry, especially when a question of morality was involved. One ordinary living in a county bordering the State line said that he had granted licenses to many young people when he knew that the girl was under age, because he thought that in the case of runaway couples, many miles from home, marriage was best. Even when an ordinary in one county was careful concerning the issuance of a license to an applicant under the legal age, it was easy to obtain a license in an adjoining county.[38] One ordinary told of a couple that drove up in a taxicab one day and made application for a license. As they seemed too young he requested some proof of their age and called in the taxi driver, who said he did not know their exact ages but doubted their being of legal age. The ordinary refused to issue the license. Later in the day they stopped at his office to let him know that they had been married in an adjoining county.

[38] See footnote 37, p. 41, for 1924 amendment requiring a five-day interval between application for and issuance of marriage license.

LAWS WITH REFERENCE TO THE MARRIAGE OF MINORS

General provisions of marriage laws have been given much consideration by various organizations concerned with reform of legislation. The National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws worked on this subject for several years and issued a draft of a "Uniform marriage and marriage license act."[39] The Russell Sage Foundation has made some extensive studies of existing marriage laws and their operation.[40] Proposals for uniform marriage and divorce legislation have been presented to Congress.

The aspects of marriage laws that are of special importance in considering the marriages of minors are: (1) The marriageable age; (2) requirements as to proof of age; (3) requirements as to parental consent; (4) interval between application for and issuance of license; and (5) special provisions for approval of marriages of persons under specified ages by public authorities, and investigation prior to such approval.

Under the Georgia law girls of 14 and boys of 17 might be married legally. A minimum age of 16 for girls has been established by law in 16 States.[41] Certainly a marriageable age below 16 is not in harmony with present-day standards for the protection of children. Some provision for exceptions to be approved under specific circumstances by responsible authorities may be necessary.

Experience in child labor law administration has demonstrated the importance of reliable proofs of age. The fact that birth registration is now sufficiently complete in 33 States and the District of Columbia to entitle them to admission to the birth-registration area of the United States makes it reasonable to insert in marriage laws requirements for documentary evidence of age comparable to those contained in the best child labor laws.[42]

The Georgia law requires the written consent of parent or guardian for girls under 18 years of age. The ease with which this provision can be evaded under present conditions has been illustrated in this report. Adequate provision for verification of consent should be made. The marriage license act proposed in 1911 by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws would require parental consent for both males and females between the marriageable age and the age of legal majority, such consent to be given under oath or certified under the hand of the parents and verified by an affidavit which is to be filed, and the fact of consent to be entered on the license docket.[43]

Child marriages are often hasty marriages and provision for interval between application for and issuance of license is an important safegaurd. The measure drafted by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws proposes five days' notice of intention to marry. Other proposals have recom-

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[39] Uniform marriage and marriage license act drafted by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, and by it approved and recommended for enactment in all the States, at its conference at Boston, Mass., August 21–26, 1911.

[40] See American Marriage Laws in Their Social Aspects, A Digest, by Fred S. Hall and Elisabeth W. Brooke (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1919); Child Marriages, by Mary E. Richmond and Fred S. Hall (Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1925).

[41] Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, Ohio, West Virginia, Wyoming.

[42] See Child Marriages, pp. 117–137.

[43] See American Marriage Laws in Their Social Aspects, p. 23; Child Marriages, pp. 87–116.

mended a longer interval.[44] A 1924 amendment to the Georgia law requires an interval of five days with certain exemptions (see p. 41).

In Massachusetts the marriages of girls under 16 years and boys under 18 years must have the approval of the probate or district court. Applications for licenses for the marriage of young girls or boys are subject to the investigation of the court; the probate courts are authorized to employ a guardian ad litem for such inquiry, and the other courts have some probation service available. It would appear to be a reasonable arrangement in Georgia to require juvenile-court approval of the marriage of girls or boys between the minimum marriageable ages and the ages of legal majority. Sometimes it might be found necessary for the juvenile court to withhold its approval, even in cases where the parents would give their consent. Obviously, there should be careful verification of the ages alleged for the contracting parties and of the authenticity of the evidence of parental consent. The problem of child marriages is more important than has been realized, not alone as a question for courts and licensing authorities but also because of the need for social work which it creates.

CHILDREN BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK

LEGAL PROVISIONS

The law in effect in Georgia in regard to illegitimacy is still substantially that of 1793.[45] The social policy expressed in this law is clearly out of harmony with present-day ideals for the protection of children born out of wedlock. The law contains the following statement in regard to procedure in these cases:

> Any justice who knows, of his own knowledge, or has information on oath to that effect, of any woman having a bastard child, or being pregnant with one, which it is probable will become chargeable to the county, may issue a warrant directed to the sheriff or any constable of the county where the case may arise, requiring the offender to be brought before him to give security to the ordinary of the county, in the sum of $750, for the support and education of the child until it arrives at the age of fourteen years, or to discover on oath the father of the child.[46]

On refusing to give bond or discover the father, the woman may be incarcerated in jail for not more than three months. If the woman brought before the justice discloses on oath the father of the child, the justice must issue a warrant requiring that the father be brought before him. The justice decides the question of parentage from affidavits and testimony of both parties and may recognize or discharge either or both parties. He may require the putative father to give security for support and education of the child until 14 years of age and also for the expense of the mother's confinement. Upon failure to give such security the justice puts the accused under bond to appear before the superior or county court, and the case is presented to the grand jury for indictment. The usual

[44] A bill introduced in the Senate of the United States in 1923 provided an interval of two weeks (see S. 4394, 67th Cong. 4th sess. A bill to provide for uniform regulation of marriage and divorce).

[45] Ga., Park's Annotated Code 1914 (Penal), secs. 1330–1336; Watkins's Digest of the Laws of Georgia, 1755–1799, act of Dec. 16, 1793, No. 488, pp. 519–520.

[46] Ga., Park's Annotated Code 1914 (Penal), sec. 1330.

sentence is 12 months in the chain gang, suspended under bond. The bond is deposited with the ordinary, and if the child becomes chargeable to the county the ordinary gets judgment for the full amount of the bond.

The section of the law requiring that the mother give bond in the amount of $750 unless she discloses the name of the father on oath appears to be in disuse, no instance of such a bond by the mother having been found in any of the cases studied. The object of the law in Georgia is evidently the protection of the county against the expense of caring for the child, rather than the protection of the child and the assurance of his rights. Dismissal of the case appeared to be a method of disposal when the judge did not feel that there was a special need for concern in behalf of county funds. Although the law requires of the mother a bond of $750 if she does not disclose the name of the father, there is no provision in regard to the amount of bond required from the father. In the cases studied the bonds required were so small that requirement of bond seemed to be merely an easy way of dismissing the case.

COURT CASES

Although only very meager information was available, it was evident that very few mothers attempted court action with regard to children born out of wedlock. In 4 of the 30 counties studied no data regarding birth status could be obtained from the birth records. In 26 counties the records appeared to be more or less complete. In 1923 the reported illegitimate births to white mothers numbered 75, and agencies reported 12 births not found in the vital-statistics records. The health-department records showed 454 negro children born out of wedlock in 1923. Although illegitimate births were recorded in all but 4 counties (and doubtless there were cases in these counties also), in only 16 counties were cases brought before the courts. The number of complaints was 28 (25 involving white mothers and 3 involving negroes). But as several of these related to births that occurred in 1922, and some of the mothers had been sent to maternity homes in other counties or outside the State, it is not possible to make an accurate comparison of the number of complaints with the number of births.

Inasmuch as 13 of the 75 white mothers to whom illegitimate births were reported were under 16 years of age when the child was born, and 26 were between 16 and 18 years, it is clear that half these mothers were themselves children in need of special protection and of such supervision as would make a recurrence of the difficulty less likely. The character of the court action was not such that these young mothers were protected and helped to readjust their lives. On the contrary, some cases were discovered in this study in which it was obviously to the serious disadvantage of the young girl to have been through the experience of a public trial. The cases were tried before juries in court rooms crowded with avid listeners. The trials were frequently contested, and even the child mothers were searchingly cross-examined.

The following summary of the data obtained in regard to court action for the support of children born out of wedlock deals with

white persons only. Of the 25 complaints made, 20 became either city or superior court cases; 2 were settled without trial in upper courts; in cases of 2 complaints warrants were not served; 1 warrant was not issued.

Six of the 20 court cases came to trial, 3 ending in conviction and 3 in acquittal. The convictions resulted as follows: One man charged with being the father of a child born to a 13-year-old girl was sentenced to serve a chain-gang sentence "outside of the confines of the chain gang" by depositing $500 with the ordinary for the support of the child. The case was appealed and the money not deposited. Another man was sentenced to serve 12 months on the chain gang. For a third man the chain-gang sentence was suspended on the furnishing of a bond for $100.

Of the 14 court cases which did not come to trial, the grand jury returned no bill in 2 cases; in 3 cases true bills were returned but no further action was reported; 2 cases were nol-prossed; 2 were dismissed, including the case of one man who had been sentenced on a fornication charge; in 1 case bond was forfeited; and 4 cases were still pending, regarding which there was no record of any action having been taken.

In the 2 cases in which a settlement was made before final trial, one father gave bond for $100 and the other paid about $100 to the mother.

It is obvious that guaranties of $100 furnish very little assurance that a child will be supported by his father until he is 14 years of age or even during his first years of life. Because of the nature of the trial and the small amount that can be gained for the child by going through this ordeal, it is not strange that few mothers of children born out of wedlock attempt court action. Information in regard to the outcome of cases in which the father was sentenced or in which settlement had been made was not available to show whether the mothers or the children actually derived any benefit in the way of support from the father.

Four of the court cases involved mothers under 16 years of age. It is to the credit of the authorities handling these cases that all four of the men were indicted and tried. Nevertheless, three of them were found not guilty, and the fourth case, in which the man was adjudged guilty and ordered to deposit a bond, was later appealed and no money deposited.

The following case stories illustrate court action involving very young mothers who should have been under the protection of a juvenile court equipped to deal with such cases in a constructive way for the safeguarding of these child mothers. It is not only in this type of case, however, that the work of a socialized court is needed. The court action should be primarily for the benefit of the children born out of wedlock, who, through the handicap of their birth, require special protection.

A motherless girl of 14 years lived with her father and two brothers who were poor tenant farmers. A farmer of the neighborhood took advantage of the girl, intimidating her by threatening to kill her if she told anybody that he had forced her to immoral relations. The girl became pregnant, and for fear of the guilty man she placed the blame for her condition on her brother. When plans were made to send her to a maternity home and she learned that

she would be protected, she told the truth. After the birth of the child a charge of bastardy was brought against the man. He was declared by the jury "not guilty." He had brought to the court several men known to be of disreputable character, who swore that this child of 14 years was "a common woman of lewd character." The child was persuaded to surrender her baby to a child-placing agency and was committed to the State training school. While waiting the arrival of an agent to take the baby the girl ran away, taking the infant with her. No effort had been made to find her.

A 14-year-old girl had been living in the home of an aunt because she did not get along well with her stepmother. The child told her aunt that the uncle was forcing her to immoral relations, but the aunt did not believe there was any truth in what the child was telling her. The child, being pregnant, became desperate and went to her stepmother's home. The stepmother refused to let her stay, and she was sent to a maternity home. After the birth of the baby a double charge (rape and bastardy) was brought against the uncle. The jury found him not guilty on both counts. The child mother was forced to surrender her baby to a child-placing agency and return to her father's home, the father and stepmother saying that she was needed there.

A 15-year-old girl brought a charge of seduction against a young man of a family of much better financial and social standing than her own. It was asserted that he was able to employ a clever lawyer who threw suspicion on the stepfather. The jury declared the young man "not guilty." Nothing was done for the child mother and her baby.

In one case in which there was conviction the complainant was a girl of 18 years. The man had no means and could not give bond but received a sentence of 12 months on the chain gang. No steps were taken to assist the mother and child.

THE UNIFORM ILLEGITIMACY ACT

At its annual meeting in 1922 the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws approved a "uniform illegitimacy act" drafted by a committee of that organization and recommended it to the States for adoption.[47] This action was the outgrowth of the regional conferences held under the auspices of the Children's Bureau and the intercity conference on illegitimacy early in 1920 to consider standards of legislation for the protection of children born out of wedlock. The bill as recommended to the States deals almost entirely with the obligation of the parents for the child's support. Questions relating to rights of inheritance were not included in the bill, though these matters were recognized as requiring special legislation. It is obviously not the thought of the commissioners on uniform State laws that the support sections constitute all the provisions that are desired for the protection of the rights of children born out of wedlock, nor that any State should limit its legislation to this phase. The bill presented as the uniform illegitimacy act is to be considered as a possible model for adaptation by the States in relation to enforcing or defining support

[47] Uniform illegitimacy act, drafted by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, and by it approved and recommended for enactment in all the States, at its conference at San Francisco, Calif., Aug. 2–8, 1922.

obligations of the parents. The essential features of the act were incorporated in laws passed in 1923 by North Dakota, South Dakota, Nevada, and New Mexico, and in 1925 by Iowa.

The act begins with the statement, "The parents of a child born out of wedlock and not legitimated owe the child necessary maintenance, education, and support." The uniform act makes the father liable for the expenses of the mother's pregnancy and confinement. The obligations of the parent to support the child under the laws for the support of poor relatives are also made to apply to children born out of wedlock. The obligation of the father whose paternity has been judicially established in his lifetime or has been acknowledged by him is enforceable against his estate in such amount as the court may determine with regard to the various factors specified relative to the child, his mother, and the father's lawful family.

The act provides for four types of action to enforce the obligation of the father: (1) Civil proceedings by which the mother may recover from the father a reasonable share of the necessary support of the child (legal representatives or third persons who are furnishing support may also bring action to recover support); (2) statutory proceedings similar to proceedings of a quasi-criminal character now authorized under the laws of a majority of the States but containing much more satisfactory provisions than are found in most of the existing laws; (3) criminal proceedings to be used to compel support when the child is not in the custody of the father but when parentage has been judicially established or has been acknowledged by him; and (4) proceedings under the law governing failure to support lawful children (these proceedings are applicable when the child is in the custody of the father and may also be had against a mother who has the child in her custody). A number of States already include children born out of wedlock within the scope of the regular nonsupport law.

Under the statute a mother may bring proceedings to compel support by the father, or, if the child is or is likely to be a public charge, the authorities responsible for his support may institute proceedings. Proceedings may not be brought after the lapse of more than two years from the birth of the child, unless parentage has been judicially established or has been acknowledged by the father in writing or by the furnishing of support. The procedure to be followed is specified in detail and includes a preliminary hearing, binding the defendant to appear at the next term of court, and trial by jury if either party demands a jury, otherwise by the court, the trial to be conducted as in other civil cases.

The support judgment is to be for annual amounts, equal or varying, until the child reaches the age of 16 years. Payments are to be made at such periods or intervals as the court directs and may be made to the mother or to a trustee. The court has continuing jurisdiction to determine the custody in accordance with the interest of the child as well as over proceedings brought to compel support, and it may increase or decrease the amount.

In default of security when required, either in lieu of committing the father to jail or as a condition of release from jail, the court may commit him to the custody of a probation officer upon such terms regarding payments and personal reports as the the court may direct. One of the most important clauses in the sections relating to

the proceedings to compel support states that agreement or compromise concerning the support of the child shall be binding upon the mother and child only when adequate provision is fully secured by payment or otherwise, and when approved by a court having jurisdiction to compel support of the child. This safeguard is an evident need in many States.

The uniform act contemplates that jurisdiction shall be placed in a court with socialized procedure and equipment. The probationary features of the draft imply that the court given jurisdiction should have a probation staff. That the tendency is toward socializing the procedure in illegitimacy cases and emphasizing the nature of the action as a child-welfare measure, is shown in certain States (including New Jersey, New York, and Illinois) and in the District of Columbia, where the juvenile court is given exclusive or concurrent jurisdiction over proceedings for determining parentage or securing maintenance for children born out of wedlock.

In addition to the specific provisions included in the uniform illegitimacy act for the support of children by those legally and morally responsible for their maintenance, the full protection of the rights of these children and the prevention of the burden of dependency that now devolves upon the public require further legal provision such as that found in the laws of Minnesota and North Dakota—States that have taken the lead in measures for the prevention of dependency. These provisions are found in the laws relating to the powers and duties of the State departments. The law relating to the Minnesota State Board of Control states:

> It shall be the duty of the board of control when notified of a woman who is delivered of an illegitimate child, or pregnant with child likely to be illegitimate when born, to take care that the interests of the child are safeguarded, that appropriate steps are taken to establish his paternity, and that there is secured for him the nearest possible approximation to the care, support, and education that he would be entitled to if born of lawful marriage. For the better accomplishment of these purposes the board may initiate such legal or other action as is deemed necessary; may make such provision for the care, maintenance, and education of the child as the best interests of the child may from time to time require, and may offer its aid and protection in such ways as are found wise and expedient to the unmarried woman approaching motherhood. * * * It shall be the duty of the board to promote the enforcement of all laws for the protection of defective, illegitimate, dependent, neglected, and delinquent children, to cooperate to this end with juvenile courts and all reputable child-helping and child-placing agencies of a public or private character, and to take the initiative in all matters involving the interests of such children where adequate provision therefor has not already been made.[48]

The North Dakota law, passed in 1923, provides that it shall be the duty of the board of administration—

> To secure the enforcement of laws relating to the establishment of the paternity of illegitimate children, and the fulfillment of the maternal and paternal obligation toward such children; to assist the unmarried, pregnant woman, and unmarried mother in such ways as will protect the health, well-being, and general interest of her child.
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> * * * * * * *
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> To secure the enforcement of all laws for the protection of neglected, dependent, delinquent, illegitimate, and defective children, and those in need of the special care and guardianship of the State, to take the initiative in protecting and conserving the rights and interests of such children, to inquire into

[48] Minn., Laws of 1917, ch. 194, secs. 2–3.

such home and community environmental conditions as tend to create delinquency and neglect, and to promote such remedial or preventive measures as will strengthen parental responsibility and stimulate wholesome community life.[49]

LACK OF PROVISION FOR AID TO CHILDREN IN THEIR OWN HOMES

FAMILIES IN NEED OF AID

It was impossible to ascertain the exact number of families needing aid because of death, desertion, chronic illness, or other disability of the father. Some information was obtained from teachers, ministers, and other persons interested in community welfare, and from public and private relief agencies.

In 269 families (256 white, 13 negro) reported in need of aid there were 635 children (590 white, 45 negro) under 14 years of age. This figure does not include 165 white children and 4 negroes whose exact ages were not reported but who were said to be under 14 years of age.

Following are the reasons given for the dependency of families reported in need of aid in 30 counties of Georgia in 1923:

Reason for dependency	Dependent families	Reason for dependency	Dependent families
Total	269	Father ill	28
		Father in penal institution	13
Father dead	149	Parents divorced	1
Father deserted	73	Not reported	5

Some of these families were being aided by small irregular doles which supplemented the mother's earnings and those of the children, who began to work as soon as they were 14 years old. A few private organizations were trying to give sufficient aid to certain families so that one or more of the children might receive a fair education, but the lack of funds prevented more than a small number of children from being so benefited.

One family-relief society reported the case of a widow with a 15-year-old son and a 13-year-old daughter. During the 11 years since the father's death the mother had supported the children with almost no assistance and had kept them in school. Then she had become ill and unable to work. In view of the fact that both children were in the high school and doing well and in recognition of the mother's struggle to give them a good education, the society had undertaken to provide sufficient aid to allow the children to finish their high-school course. This organization had a list of 30 other fatherless families with children for whom similar opportunities could not be provided on account of inadequacy of funds. The children from one of these families had recently been placed in an orphan asylum. Records of other agencies indicated that institutional care was often used as a solution of the problem of the care of fatherless children.

When the mother is away at work all day the training of children becomes largely a matter of chance, and delinquency is frequently due to such situations. The following case is illustrative:

A widow was left with 4 children 4 to 14 years of age to support. Three older children were married and could not help her because of their own responsibilities. She was of a type above the average of those who came to

[49] N. Dak., Laws of 1923, ch. 150, sec. 1 (g), (m).

the attention of the Associated Charities. Although in poor health the mother was courageous and went to work in a tailoring shop. The Associated Charities helped her occasionally when she was ill or when work was slack, so that she managed to keep her family together and to put her older daughter through high school. Just when it seemed that the situation was going to be easier for her because her daughter could go to work, the girl married. Then the youngest boy, aged 7, was brought before the juvenile court. He had almost grown up on the streets, as his mother was away at work all day. He fell in with a crowd who taught him to steal, and one day he was seen to take money from a cashier's window in a bank. He was so small that he had crept up and put his hand on the ledge while two men were standing there, without even being noticed. The juvenile court placed him in a private home.

PURPOSE OF "MOTHERS' ALLOWANCE" LAWS

The purpose of what have been popularly known as mothers' allowance laws is to provide care for dependent children in their own homes and with their mothers, instead of in institutions or with strangers. The first state-wide law providing for public aid to children in their own homes was passed in Illinois in 1911, shortly after the passage of a Missouri law which applied at first only to the county in which Kansas City is located. The extension of this form of aid was rapid. At the present time 42 States, Alaska, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia provide for public aid to children in their own homes. The States in which such laws have not been enacted are Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, New Mexico, and South Carolina. The act providing mothers' allowances for the District of Columbia was passed by the Sixty-ninth Congress.

The White House conference on dependent children, called by President Roosevelt in 1909, focused attention on the desirability of placing children, whenever possible, in family homes instead of in institutions. Its fundamental proposition was that children should not be deprived of home care except for urgent and compelling reasons, and that "children of parents of worthy character, * * * and children of reasonably efficient and deserving mothers who are without the support of the normal breadwinner, should, as a rule, be kept with their parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of the children."

The administration of this form of aid is very different from the doles given to pauper families under the old poor laws. The assistance is based on the need that is found to exist in each family, with careful consideration of other possible resources. The mother's fitness to provide a good home for the children is taken into account, as well as the environment and the possible need for improvement in living conditions, in order that the public funds may be utilized to the best advantage for the benefit of the children. The purpose of the assistance is to enable the children to be brought up under good home conditions and to receive an education. If the mother is able to do some gainful work in the home or outside this is usually arranged for, but special emphasis is placed on the desirability of having the mother present in the home when the children are there, in order that they may receive proper physical care and may be kept from getting into difficulties that will lead them into the courts

and institutions. After a family has been granted public aid the administrative agency makes visits at frequent intervals in order to keep informed in regard to changing conditions and needs and to supplement the aid if the necessity arises, or to decrease or disallow the grant if conditions render this desirable. Such supervision is necessary in order to make sure that the children receive the maximum benefit from the public funds and that the public moneys are not wasted.

The following cases illustrate the need for aid to children in their own homes:

The father of a family died leaving the mother, then pregnant, with four small children to support and only $200 for all expenses. The mother moved, and a struggle for existence began. A short time after the father's death the baby was born and died. The mother obtained work running a hemstitching machine. For several years she continued to bear the strain; then she became ill, soon developed tuberculosis, and died, leaving her family to the care of the community. The youngest child, a deaf-and-dumb 6-year-old boy, was sent to an institution and the care of the other children was assumed by relatives or friends.

A church worker reported the case of a woman whose husband had died about five years before, leaving her with four children. She had worked night and day to support them, and her death had recently occurred. The church worker who reported the case commented: "The mother would be alive to-day if she had not worked herself to death for her children."

A widow was left with three children to support. The small amount of insurance was soon used, and the mother and children began to visit relatives, staying at each place until their welcome was worn out. After a time the relatives became dissatisfied with this arrangement, and each of three families decided to take one of the children provided they could have papers showing that the children were made over to them. They appeared before the ordinary, some form of paper was duly made out for each child, and the mother went to another town to work in a mill. The person who took the youngest child, a cripple, expected to have her treated, but no treatment had been reported. Soon after the children were placed with their relatives the boys, who were 10 and 12 years of age, ran away and found places where they could live and receive some pay for work done. The foster father of one of these boys went to the judge for advice about bringing him back home. He stated that the boy had become impudent and difficult to manage. It was decided to leave the boys where they were, though almost nothing was known of either of the homes in which they were living.

The mother of five children, left penniless at the death of her husband, was unprepared for any work by which she could earn a livelihood. Through the help of a friend she became a teacher in the rural school at $40 a month, and with the assistance of a sympathetic principal she was succeeding in this new and unfamiliar work. Four of her children attended school and the fifth was cared for by a relative during school hours.

A widow and her two oldest daughters worked in a mill, supporting five younger children. A 12-year-old son with an excellent school record was not attending school because he had not sufficient clothing. The aged grandparents also were in the home.

The father of one family was chronically ill. The parents and five children were struggling along on the earnings of two of the daughters, one

18 and the other only 15 years of age, whose combined earnings did not average more than $9 a week. Both girls were undernourished and not really able to work. At the time of the appeal to the Associated Charities for aid these two girls were sick in bed. The family did not have even enough chairs for all to sit down at once. None of the little children had ever been in school, and only one of the older girls could read. Food and fuel were given by the relief society, and it was arranged that the children should be properly clothed and sent to school.

A widow with five children whose ages ranged from 5 to 13 years applied for help in October, 1923. Her husband, who had made a comfortable living for his family, had died in 1919, and since that time the family had depended upon their earnings from the cotton picking in the fall of the year. But as the cotton crop had failed in 1923 there was no employment, and the mother was apprehensive for the winter. She had her family in a house on her father's rented farm, and with the help of the four boys she worked a few acres, enough "to make meat for the family." The probation officer found some home work for this woman and arranged for her to call at his home each week to bring back the finished work and receive a supply for the next week. This mother earned only about $3 a week but had no house rent to pay and no wood to buy. She and the children worked by the day in the fields during the season in addition to cultivating a "patch" for themselves. During six months of the year the children attended the rural school.

A widow was left with five daughters to support. At the time of the inquiry, four or five years after her husband's death, three of the girls were married, living at some distance and in no position to assist the mother. The older of the two girls at home was 12 years of age. The mother went to work in the cotton mill, living in one of the mill houses at a small rent and keeping the two girls in school. In 1923 she became ill and could no longer work in the mill. She asked the social worker at the mill to arrange for the older of her two daughters, then 12 years of age, to work in the mill, stating that this meant bread or lack of bread for the family. The social worker talked to the mill manager, who said that he would not take so young a child into the mill, although the law of Georgia permitted a child of 12 years to work in the mill provided the mother was dependent upon the child for support.[50] At the suggestion of the manager the mother was helped financially for several weeks through the fund furnished by the company. The mother's health improved somewhat, and she returned to the mill as a weaver, receiving a fair wage. The little girl remained in school. The social worker stated that the mother really was not physically able to work in the mill, and it was only a question of a short time until she would break down, and the little girls would have to take up the burden.

A widow was left with five children, the oldest a boy of 10 years, to support, and soon had to ask assistance of a welfare organization. County relief was obtained and supplemented by help from a private agency, all the relief being given in kind. The mother took in sewing, but was able to earn very little in this manner. She applied to the juvenile court to have the children cared for.

On the juvenile-court petition for the placement of three of the children it was stated "the mother is unable to care for them properly and admits that she can not see after them as she should. She voluntarily agrees to the placement of the children." The 10-year-old boy was placed in the home of an uncle, and two girls were committed to the children's home society to be placed in family homes.

With the aid received from public and private relief the mother has been able to care for the remaining two children, aged 2 years and 14 months, respectively.

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[50] See Ga., Laws of 1925, No. 247, sec. 1, relating to child labor in mills.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

PREVALENCE AND TREATMENT

As has been stated previously (see p. 2) the purpose of the Children's Bureau survey was not only to learn how the courts were handling cases involving children, but also to discover the prevalence of juvenile delinquency in the 30 counties studied and the extent to which the problem was recognized and dealt with constructively. The courts in these counties handled 1,004 cases of juvenile delinquency during 1923, juvenile courts dealing with 66 per cent (see p. 15). In counties not having juvenile courts it was exceptional to find any appreciation of the need for them. Where it was no one's duty to focus attention upon delinquency among children the delinquency usually went unrecognized. In one county where there was no juvenile court, a well-informed citizen estimated that not one delinquency case in 50 ever came before the superior court. In a county which had a juvenile court but no probation officer, the court had dealt with only 14 cases in 1923, and in a county of approximately the same size (see p. 6) having a probation officer, 47 cases had been handled by the court. A possible reason for the failure to recognize delinquency was the attitude in many communities toward the poor white people and the negroes. These two groups of people were not expected to conform to the standards for persons higher in the social scale, and many of their offenses were overlooked as long as they reacted against only the delinquent himself or members of his own group; otherwise the offenders were held strictly to account.

Whether or not delinquency among girls was recognized seemed to depend largely upon the sex of the probation officer. If the probation officer was a man, girl offenders apparently were not so frequently reported to the court. In two populous counties where the probation officers were men, the boys' cases constituted 91 and 93 per cent of the total number of delinquency cases handled during 1923, whereas in two counties where there were women probation officers, the percentages of boys' cases were 79 and 82, respectively.

Where there was no juvenile court or where the court was not doing constructive work, various methods were employed in dealing with delinquents, but as a rule they not only failed to remedy the situation but in some cases made it worse. One such method was that of "jail scares." In several counties it was found to be customary for the officers of the law to put boys in jail for a few hours in order to frighten them into good behavior.

Suspension from school as a method of dealing with delinquency was found to be employed frequently. Such procedure could certainly have no remedial effect upon the child, and the only thing accomplished was to transfer the problem from the schools to the communities, many of which had no machinery for dealing with it.

A common method of dealing with undesirable families or those who were likely to prove so seemed to be that of passing them along to some other county. Many county officials failed to realize that their own counties had any responsibility in such situations.

CONTRIBUTING CAUSES

BAD HOME CONDITIONS

One of the most important factors in delinquency was the home conditions of the children. Many children reported as incorrigible were from broken homes or from homes where there was some abnormality in the family relationships. The parents of children who were reported as delinquent generally had little or no education. The shiftlessness which existed in many families may have been a result of such diseases as hookworm and malaria, and the fact that undernourishment was extremely common among the children. Many of the families did not observe the simplest hygienic rules and had no knowledge of proper diet or the preparation of foods.

In the rural districts and in the towns it was customary for both parents to work. The parents in mill communities were away from their homes 10 to 11 hours a day, and a large proportion of the children were left to their own devices, though provision for oversight for some of the children was made through day nurseries, negro help, and the services of neighbors and relatives.

Most of the houses occupied by the mill workers and the rural population were small and inadequate for their needs. The usual number of rooms per family was two or three, and even the largest families seldom had more than four rooms. In some of the rural districts there were one-room shacks, with holes in the walls for windows. The houses in incorporated mill villages had proper plumbing and lighting, but some of the mill employees in cities lived in rows of unpainted shacks, often barely sufficient for shelter and containing no comforts. In one city families were found living in tents even in the winter. Privacy was impossible under such conditions.

Most of the children reported as delinquents belonged to the families of mill employees or tenant farmers—a very shifting population, for when work became slack or wages were cut at one mill the family moved on to another locality; if a mill worker was considered troublesome, the policy was to require the family to move; and many families moved simply to obtain some variety in a monotonous existence. If a tenant farmer could not make his crop in one locality, he usually packed up his few household belongings and tried his luck in another section. This unsettled manner of living tends to lessen respect for public opinion, as the family does not become firmly established in any community.

Children frequently become delinquent through the influence of adults or by imitating the actions of adults. Children who were not delinquent were found to be living under conditions which made it appear inevitable that delinquency would eventually result. Community as well as parental neglect was responsible for much juvenile delinquency. Not only were communities, by their failure to take any action, providing fertile soil for juvenile delinquency, but in

some communities the so-called "remedial" measures which were applied in cases involving actual delinquency were frequently non-effective or actually led to further delinquency.

In some counties at least one-third of all adult criminal cases coming before the courts were for violation of the law applying to the manufacture and sale of liquor. Among the causes which were said to be responsible for this condition were the poverty due to failure of the cotton crop, and the ready market and high returns on "moonshine." Children were found to be implicated in all phases of the violation of this law, from the manufacturing of the liquor to the consuming of it. They were used especially in delivering it to purchasers.

The following stories illustrate the way in which children were used in the violation of law:

A boy was known to be helping his father in bootlegging. Nearly every morning the children explained his tardiness to the teacher with the words "gone up over the hill in the car after whisky; he'll be along directly." In 1923 the boy was arrested on a charge of transporting whisky; and as his parents made oath that he was only 15 years of age, the case was heard before the juvenile court. He was committed to the training school but was permitted to return to his home pending admission. Just after these arrangements were made a lawyer notified the court that he would appeal the case for the boy's father. The boy did not go to the training school but continued to carry whisky as before.

A 12-year-old boy was implicated in a liquor case. He was acquitted, and went right on carrying liquor and helping to make it. Three years later, at the age of 15, he was sent to the penitentiary for life on a murder charge; he had killed the man suspected of having reported this case three years before.

SUBNORMALITY

To what extent subnormality and delinquency were interrelated in the communities visited could not be determined, as there were few facilities for diagnosing mental conditions. Feeble-mindedness was obviously a factor in many delinquency problems. These children were described as "not quite bright" or "weak-minded." There were others who from a description of their actions were probably of an unstable temperament and to some extent mentally irresponsible. In only two of the counties studied were there mental clinics, and in these the facilities for treatment were entirely inadequate. In two other counties physicians occasionally examined cases for welfare agencies. Georgia has one institution for the feeble-minded, which can accommodate only 50 children, and one institution for the insane, which is so overcrowded that only the most violent cases are admitted.

An example of the need for institutional care was cited by a member of a church society who had been consulted by the parents of a 10-year-old feeble-minded boy. The parents had already written to the State training school for mental defectives but were told that there would not be room for him for at least a year and a half. The boy was sent to the local public school, but made no progress and gave so much trouble that the teachers would not keep him. He was a constant source of trouble to the community, stealing, mistreating animals, and continually doing mean, underhand things.

As the training school for mental defectives, because of its limited accommodations, could care only for those who showed some possibility of improvement, the superintendent returned as unimprovable a 13-year-old boy who was placed there. This boy lived with his widowed mother and 15-year-old brother on a small farm. The brother at one time was thought to be feeble-minded also, but when glasses were obtained for him he began doing much better in school. The 13-year-old boy had never been able to sleep normally and rocked or rolled himself into a slumber of exhaustion. He could not talk, feed himself, nor attend to his natural wants. After his return from the training school he exhibited violent tendencies toward his mother and brother.

TRUANCY

Truancy was widespread in almost every county studied. Although the number of those who believe the negro should be educated was increasing, public opinion in general was apathetic and in no county was there sufficient school accommodation for the negro children of school age nor any effort (except among the negroes themselves) to make education compulsory. The indifference of the "poor whites" to the educational opportunities for their children was frequently commented upon, but it was also stated that many of these parents could not afford to send their children to school. The opinion was sometimes expressed that these children do not need an education, but "need to be taught to work."

Only the teachers and social workers seemed to appreciate that truancy is usually a delinquency problem. In one county which had no probation officer, but where the teachers realized the need for one, 59 negro children under 14 years of age dropped out of one school during the fall term of 1923. Some were suspended for delinquency, some as young as 10 or 11 years had gone to work, and it was not known what had become of others. In the same county 14 white children under 16 years were suspended from three schools because of delinquency. The teachers reported about 14 children out of the 60 enrolled in one school as being behind their grades because of irregular attendance.

In one county school attendance was a serious problem, and the chief of police estimated that at least 100 negro boys and almost as many white boys who should be in school were running the streets. The county had no regular attendance officer, though the superintendent of education for the county tried to perform these duties with his others. The superintendent estimated that there would be on the average five absences a day to follow up and probably one juvenile-court case a week from the schools (see p. 68).

The compulsory school attendance law[1] of Georgia applied to children between 8 and 14 years of age and specified that all such children should attend school for six months of each year except "where for good reasons, the sufficiency of which shall be determined by the board of education of the county or of the city or town in which the child resides, the said board excuses temporarily the child from such attendance, such boards being authorized to take into consideration the seasons for agricultural labor and the need for such labor in exercising their discretion as to the time for

[1] Ga., Park's Annotated Code, Supp. 1922, vol. 8 (Political), sec. 1440(a)–(g).

which children in farming districts shall be excused." Failure to comply with this law was punishable by a fine of $10 for the first offense; but the law required that a written notice of the charge should be served upon the person violating the law at least 10 days before prosecution, and such person could prevent prosecution by giving a bond of $50 to comply thenceforth with the requirements of the law. The law was admittedly inadequate. The general comment was that " it is merely a bluff," " that it has no teeth," and that compulsory attendance could not be enforced.

Not only was the law weak but means for enforcement were limited. The statutes required each county and municipal board of education to employ an attendance officer paid not less than $1 nor more than $3 a day.[2] The result of this salary provision was that few attendance officers devoted full time to the work. Those who might do good work had too many other duties to be efficient in following up truants, and those who gave full time were too often not equipped to do good work. In only four counties were women acting as attendance officers, and only one of these was on a full-time basis. Two were juvenile-court probation officers, and one was a home demonstration agent. In a number of places the school superintendent was performing the duties of an attendance officer (one superintendent was in addition the rural mail carrier). Other persons who were acting as attendance officers were a policeman, a county agricultural agent, a fire chief, and a minister. In some mill schools the teachers were doing good attendance work by home visiting.

The outstanding cause of nonattendance at school was poverty. Books had to be bought, an entrance fee frequently was required, and tuition also was charged in some places. In most localities arrangements were made by private charity for defraying these expenses for poor pupils, but some children were away from school for long periods before the facts were known. Many parents could not clothe their children suitably to attend school. One attendance officer reported that he had encountered almost no willful truancy, the children usually being kept at home from lack of clothing. In one county it was reported that the tuition fee of $2 a term was responsible for keeping many children out of school among both negroes and the poorer groups of white children. Five children in one neighborhood were kept out for two months because the grandfather was opposed to paying the 25-cent tax assessment for wood, crayons, and such supplies as the county does not furnish.

Because in mill communities many mothers worked, leaving their children to their own devices during the day with no one to see that they attended school, and because the families in the mill districts moved often, it was difficult to compel attendance. In country districts children were frequently kept from school to work on the farms, and the school attendance law offered no way to combat this custom. One school superintendent stated that work was obligatory for all the children in tenant families who could follow a plow, as this was the arrangement of the tenant with his landlord, who otherwise would not hire him.

[2] Ibid., sec. 1444(d).

The following items from the records of one negro school give a fair picture of many rural schools for negro children:

Boy, 13 years.—Must work to help support the family.
Boy, 8 years.—Father dead; large family; helps mother work.
Boy, 7 years.—Parents separated; must care for baby while mother works.
Girl, 8 years.—Father a poor provider; child without shoes through the winter.
Girl, 7 years.—Father dead; girl and sister alternate in coming to school and remaining at home to care for baby while mother works.
Boy, 12 years.—Working; parents indifferent.
Girl, 7 years.—Father deserted; mother works; girl cares for baby.
Girl, 13 years.—Father dead; mother can not control her.
Girl, 11 years.—Father dead; girl helps with work.
Boy, 11 years.—Compelled to work.

Both in the country and in the towns it was reported that many parents were so shiftless that they did not care whether their children received an education or not. Being illiterate themselves, they did not appreciate the benefits of an education.

The attendance problem among negro children was complicated by the fact that often the school was absent from the child, rather than the child from the school. Most of the schools for negro children were entirely inadequate and poorly equipped and staffed. It was said that as a rule the parents were anxious to have their children attend, almost the only effort to keep the negro child in school being made by members of his own race. If all the negro children of compulsory school age were compelled to go to school there would be no place to put them, as there were not sufficient accommodations for those actually attending. The extent of this problem may be estimated from the fact that in one community of 5,000 persons it was said that 500 or more negro children were not in school. In another community it was estimated that 25 per cent of the negro children between 8 and 14 were not in school.

VAGRANCY

Because of its mild climate and the fact that it is on the route between the Northwest and Florida, Georgia is the unwilling host of a large number of "hoboes" beating their way north or south as they follow the seasons. Many of these are boy runaways under 18 years of age. Those taken in custody by the railway police may be given a jail or a chain-gang sentence, or if they stop over in the larger towns they may come to the attention of the police for stealing or be arrested for vagrancy. Sometimes they go to the local jail and ask for a night's lodging, not only to obtain free shelter but to escape a jail sentence for vagrancy. The general policy of the authorities who deal with such boys is to get rid of them by getting them out of town. In some places an effort was made to get in touch with the relatives and to return them to their homes. This was especially true when younger children were concerned.

A church organization became interested in a 14-year-old boy who was serving a chain-gang sentence for stealing a ride on a train. The organization wired the boy's father, who refused to do anything saying that this was the third time the boy had run away from home and that he should take his punishment. The organiza-

tion then wrote the mother, describing the conditions under which the boy was living while working out his sentence. Within a few days money for his fare home was received, and the boy was released.

A number of negro boys drift about from one town to another. They can hardly be called either "hoboes" or runaways, as they are usually just homeless waifs picking up a living as best they can. Stealing and gaming are the offenses which usually bring them in contact with the police. A negro school superintendent accounted for these homeless boys by saying that irresponsibility is often a characteristic of the lower types of negro parent and that if a boy gives trouble they feel no compunction about turning him out of the home and placing him on his own resources.

GANG ACTIVITIES AND STEALING

The following items were found in a court docket in regard to one boy: At 10 years of age a truant sleeping out at night; at 11 he was arrested for loitering; at 12 years he was arrested with a gang of boys for stealing from the 5-and-10 cent store. A month later he was arrested again for the same reason. His latest offense at the age of 13 was burglary.

Boys' gangs were found to exist in the larger communities and to a lesser extent in the small towns. In some places groups of small boys truant from school were merely going about looking for adventure, but unimaginative police were apt to term their activities disorderly conduct or malicious mischief. In two counties it was noted that boys who hung about certain places waiting for a chance to caddy were constantly giving trouble. Petty thievery such as stealing from the 5-and-10-cent stores was a common activity of gangs. One gang was found which required that a boy steal something before he could be admitted to membership.

In one county a gang of six boys was arrested for stealing flash lights from a hardware store. The boys had climbed out on the limb of a tree from which they could reach the transom over the door and entered the store through the transom. The part of the adventure which appealed to them most was gaining entrance; taking the flash lights seemed to be an afterthought. A similar occurrence in another county involved a group of boys between 13 and 15 years who broke into a box car containing several thousand dollars' worth of goods. They took only a few packages of cigarettes and did not disturb the rest of the contents of the car.

IMMORALITY

Homes broken by the death or desertion of a parent were in the background of many a delinquent girl's career. Working mothers could not give their children the necessary protection. The crowded living conditions among the poor whites and the negroes made innocence or ignorance impossible in observing children. Ideals of chastity did not usually form a part of a girl's training, and in addition she frequently had little protection either within or without the family circle. Cases of incest were not infrequent. A 14-year-old girl who was brought before the juvenile court on a charge of

immorality told the judge she had just done what she had seen her mother do. Another contributing factor in sex delinquency was the lack of facilities for recreation and lack of education, with the attendant inability to find pleasure in other things. The hardness and sordidness of the lives of many of the families in both town and rural districts was a most potent cause of delinquency. Automobile riding was reported as contributing to the prevalence of immorality. This innocent form of entertainment was used as a bait to lure girls into wrong-doing. Bootleg liquor frequently acted as an aid. A man might hire an automobile for an evening for only a few dollars (no State driver's license was required), pick up a girl on the street, and go out into the country; the police found it difficult to obtain evidence which would warrant their interference.

Segregated districts were still found to exist in one or two counties, but there were more frequent instances of scattered disorderly houses. A 17-year-old girl who had been an inmate of such a house was found by the police seated on the curb at midnight. She was taken to the police headquarters where she said she had left this house because the carousal had become so vile she could not stand it, but she had no place to go. Through the travelers' aid society she was sent to relatives in another town. An instance was reported of a mother who kept a disorderly house, using her own daughters as inmates. Prostitution was causing an especially difficult problem in two communities. In one there was a large railway shop and in the other a military camp. A very large number of prostitutes came into the city, where the shops were located, on pay day.

Immorality among negroes seemed to be taken for granted. The State had an institution for delinquent negro boys but none for negro girls. Only one county in the group of 30 studied had a negro woman probation officer, and few welfare agencies attempted to do anything with this problem.

Venereal disease was one aspect of the situation which was receiving some attention. Local medical examiners found this disease to be prevalent among both the white and the negro children in some communities. A health campaign instituted by the Red Cross in one county brought to light a serious condition in one of the rural schools in an isolated section. The teacher welcomed the examiners as she said she felt there was something radically wrong among the pupils. Upon examination it was found that 14 of the 25 pupils were infected with venereal disease. This school had no toilet facilities of any kind, no supervision outside the schoolroom, and no provision for wholesome recreation. The Red Cross provided treatment for the children. The parents were informed of the situation, and through the cooperation of the superintendent and the families a better condition of affairs was brought about.

The mill officials in a town in another county discovered that a number of boys between 8 and 18 were infected with syphilis. The source of infection was traced to a family which had lately moved to the village, and they were ordered to leave town.

In one city enforced detention and treatment of diseased prostitutes was carried out during 1922; treatment was given to 27 white girls between the ages of 14 and 18. The case records of the family-

relief society of this city showed the disease to be very prevalent in the families under their care. One case which had caused them considerable consternation was that of an attractive 14-year-old daughter of a widow who was much superior to the usual type aided by the organization. This girl had been working in the cotton mill at night. She was taken violently ill, and it was found she had both gonorrhea and syphilis. In another city the nurse at the venereal-disease clinic stated that several young girls had been brought to the clinic from the jail.

MEASURES FOR THE PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY

Delinquency is largely the product of environmental conditions reacting upon personalities. Juvenile delinquency is most prevalent where environmental conditions are bad. Nevertheless, if a group of children be subjected to exactly the same conditions, some will be delinquent and some will not. It follows that a constructive program for the reduction of juvenile delinquency in a community involves (1) the formulation and carrying out of a general community plan for the elimination of the conditions which tend to produce delinquency, and (2) provisions for both scientific study of the personalities of delinquent children and constructive treatment adapted to the needs of the individual child.

Community measures clearly necessary for the reduction of juvenile delinquency should include the following:

1. Improvement of the general moral tone both in towns and in rural communities, including the enforcement of prohibition and the suppression of prostitution.
2. Making wholesome indoor and outdoor recreation freely accessible.
3. Enforcement of the compulsory school attendance law; better adaptation of the school to the needs of the child, including special classes for the subnormal; employment of visiting teachers dealing with delinquency and neglect problems of school children; provision for physical and mental hygiene; and individual attention to children who present conduct problems.
4. Enforcement of regulations which keep young children off the streets at night and away from the theaters, dance halls, and pool rooms when not accompanied by parents or guardians, and which prevent joy-riding by irresponsible adolescents.
5. Prosecution of adults contributing to the delinquency, dependency, or neglect of children, and the protection of children from abuse, mistreatment, and immorality.
6. Adequate provision for constructive social work by family-relief societies, agencies for the protection and care of children, and courts dealing with juvenile or family cases. This includes adequate probation service for the courts, and proper facilities for detention and for the necessary care and training of children who may thus be saved from future delinquencies.

Treatment of juvenile delinquency in a constructive way is not accomplished through general community measures alone. It is also a matter of helping the individual child to overcome the disabilities and the bad influences that have made him delinquent. Treatment of the child should include—

1. Social investigation in each case, scientific study of the delinquent child, and correction of physical defects.

2. Constructive supervision which will be directed toward improving conditions in the home, adjusting school difficulties, proper habit formation, directing the use of the child's leisure, and bringing about better understanding of the child's needs by the parents and others with whom he comes into contact.

3. Work with families suffering from the effects of destitution, poor housing, bad environment, immorality, desertion or nonsupport by a parent, or the neglect of children because of the mother's employment away from home.

The establishment of a juvenile court is not a panacea for juvenile delinquency, nor will the appointment of probation officers start children along the right road. The foundation of the work of the judge and the probation officer must be a thorough understanding of each individual case and of the forces that make for destruction or for upbuilding.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF CONDITIONS IN THE COUNTIES STUDIED

PREVALENCE AND TREATMENT OF DELINQUENCY

The discussions of the different topics covered by the study have indicated the general need for more adequate means of dealing with juvenile dependency, delinquency, and related subjects as they were found in each of the 30 counties visited. Variations existed, however, in the extent and character of the problems and the degree to which they were being recognized and treated.

One of the definite impressions gained from the study of the 30 counties of Georgia was that it does not pay for a community to ignore what is actually going on. It is not necessarily an indication of wholesome conditions when courts and public officials report that very few children have come to their attention because of delinquency or neglect. The study showed that in many communities officials and agencies failed to recognize the delinquency and neglect that was poisoning the community. On the other hand, some of the activities described and the stories related in this report bear witness to attempts that were being made to face the real situation and correct existing evils. The best criterion of what any county can do in the prevention and constructive treatment of juvenile delinquency is what has actually been accomplished in communities where conditions are similar.

To illustrate the delinquency problems that were found to exist statements of conditions in some of the counties studied and stories of individual cases are given below.

In counties in which no juvenile courts had been established indications were not wanting of the need for preventive work and constructive social treatment, even though the number of children arrested and tried by the criminal courts in a given year might be small. In one county, for example, with no juvenile court no girls under 16 years of age and only 21 boys under this age were reported as dealt with by the city and superior courts. This number was doubtless an understatement, as no proof of age was required by the courts. Probably some of the 36 children reported as 16 and 17

years of age, who were dealt with by these courts, were under 16. The chief of police reported 22 white boys under 18 years of age arrested for violations of city ordinances and other minor offenses, and about the same number of negro boys. Officials, teachers, and other persons interviewed by the Children's Bureau agents believed that truancy, bad conditions in pool rooms, and sex delinquency were problems which required attention. In another county in which no juvenile court had been established few children were brought before the criminal courts, although among the problems reported to the agents in the course of their interviews were bad conditions in pool rooms, sex delinquency, absence of recreation, and, in the cotton-mill section of the city, poor housing and absence of provision for the care of small children while the parents were at work in the mills.

In some counties juvenile courts had been established but were not functioning effectively because of absence of provision or inadequate provision for probation work. For example, a small county with a county seat of 16,000 inhabitants presented an urban problem of delinquency with little in the way of constructive methods of handling it. A welfare worker in one of the mills stated that it was useless to take cases to court because no resources for constructive work existed. It was, therefore, not surprising that only 14 cases of juvenile delinquency were reported as coming before the court in 1923. Housing conditions in the large mill section were poor. The following cases were among those reported from this county:

A 13-year-old boy who did not appear to be over 8 years of age was said to be a thief and was always on the streets begging. He had never been referred to the court. He had gone to live with his grandparents in the country, but as he was beyond their control he was sent back to his mother. His father was dead, and his mother worked in the mill to support her four children. They were all undernourished because the mother could not earn enough to buy the proper food. All the children were irregular in their school attendance.

A mother and her three sons, 14, 11, and 8 years of age, respectively, asked help of the Red Cross secretary, in B, late one Saturday afternoon in 1922. The mother said that they had just arrived in town that morning, having traveled from place to place looking for work, and that she had tried in vain to obtain work at the mills. The Red Cross provided for them over Sunday. Then the pastor of one of the churches in the mill district obtained work for the mother in the mill, and with the help of the Red Cross and church organizations a house was rented, some simple furniture purchased, and a home established for her. About a month afterward the mayor reported to the Red Cross worker the delinquencies of the boys and the general troublesomeness of the family. The neighbors had complained that the children were using very bad language and that they had no regard for other people's property. Accidentally it was learned from a former worker of the Associated Charities in another community that may be designated as "A" that the woman had been known to the Associated Charities five or six years before. She had run away from her husband and was living with another man. The children had been found begging on the streets and were neglected. A little girl who was mentally deficient was placed in a special school but later had to be sent to the State institution for the insane. The youngest boy was born out of wedlock in a county almshouse. The father of the children was living in the mountains with his mother. He told the Associated Charities' worker that his wife had been impossible to live with and at one time had tried to kill him. As he was willing to provide a home for the children the Associated Charities took the

children to the juvenile court and had their custody transferred to him. While the children were in the detention home waiting to be sent to the father, the man with whom the mother was living had stolen them and the whole family left the city. In the light of this history the Red Cross worker in B decided to remove the children from their mother through the juvenile court. While she was waiting to receive a history of the family from the social agency in A before taking the case to court the family moved out of town during the night.

At the time of the agent's visit to the city jail in B a negro girl, who looked about 15 years of age but who gave her age as 11, was being detained there. Two days previously she had given herself up to the police, asking to be locked up as she had no place to stay. She claimed that her mother lived somewhere in the southern part of the State but that she lived with an aunt in A, a city in a neighboring county. She could not give her aunt's address, and the street on which she said her aunt lived was in a very questionable part of the city. The girl said that she had been before the juvenile court in A several times for running the streets. She had come to B with another negro girl, about 18 years of age, and had been staying with a negro family who claimed to be friends of the other girl. The older girl got into trouble and left the city, and this girl began to roam the streets. Her story grew inconsistent as it was repeated, and the Red Cross secretary sent for information from the social agencies in A. While awaiting this information the girl was held in the city jail with an older negro woman and with no protection from the gaze of men prisoners or of persons passing by.

A 14-year-old girl was brought to the juvenile court because of her immoral relations with men. Her father was dead and she had been living with her mother, who was directly responsible for the girl's delinquencies. It was doubted whether her father and mother had been married, although they had lived together as man and wife. At the hearing the judge talked to the girl privately, and she confided to him that she had seen her mother doing the things for which she was being brought into court, and so had done them, too. The judge arranged that the girl should go to a married sister living in the country. When she was placed in the custody of the sister the judge ordered that the mother should not interfere. Only a few weeks later the sister reported to the judge that the girl had run away and married. Efforts to locate her were unsuccessful.

In another county which had a juvenile court no probation officer had been appointed, although in 1922 a committee of 10 representatives of civic organizations had urged the commissioners to appropriate money for the salary of such a worker. All the agencies of the community were reported to be in favor of the employment of a worker, but some were in doubt as to whether the county could afford the expense. It was believed that one person could handle both the probation and the school-attendance work.

No accurate records of juvenile-court cases were kept in this county. The solicitor said that he had "some kind of note" on every case, but the notes were not in such form as to furnish much information. The police records showed the arrest of 36 children 18 years of age or under, at least 7 of whom had been arrested more than once. The chief of police said that in 1923 at least 50 children who were not arrested had been dealt with by him personally and "given a talking to." All children under 16 years of age were referred to the juvenile court (formerly they had been dealt with by the recorder's court), but it was said that nothing was done and that the judge merely let the children go. Children under 16 had been held in the city jail, even

though it was against the law. The chief of police saw that they were kept separate from adult prisoners. In one instance the county refused to pay the fare for two boys to the industrial school, at the same time providing no other means of discipline or training.

School attendance was a serious problem, and the chief of police estimated that at least 100 negro boys and almost as many white boys who should have been in school were on the streets. The county superintendent of education, who held the position of attendance officer, estimated that there would be on an average five absences a day to follow up and probably one juvenile-court case a week from the schools. Real truancy was rare; the chief problem was non-attendance or irregular attendance, to a great extent the fault of the parents but due also to the fact that the compulsory education law was so weak that enforcement was almost impossible.

The principal of one of the schools stated that she had found more delinquency in the schools of the county seat of this county than she had known during her 12 years of teaching in the South. Thirty-seven white children from the schools in the county seat were reported as having either been suspended or given unusual trouble with discipline. Six of these children also had police records. Twenty children under 14 years of age were reported as being out of school or as having unusually irregular attendance for other reasons than illness; some of these were included in the group of 37 reported by the principals as conduct problems. Forty-six negro children under 14 years were either out of school or irregular in attendance; but there was no one to follow up absences among negro children. The teachers were supposed to do it, but with classes already too large it was not to be expected that the teachers would follow up absences carefully; instead they frankly admitted that they were only too glad to have some children drop out. There were only 18 teachers for 992 negro children enrolled in a school (two buildings) under one principal, some of the classes having as many as 70 pupils.

Better recreation facilities were greatly needed in this county. The county seat had no public playground, and the children ran the streets until very late hours of the night, although the officers tried to enforce a 9.30 rule.

The following details regarding suspension obtained from the records of three schools for white children in this county show indifference to enforcement of the school law and ignorance of scientific methods of dealing with the conduct problems of children:

Boy, 13 years.—Suspended because of trouble with teacher. He wished to return and came over to the school to apologize. The principal had taken him to the teacher when his mother appeared and dragged him off, letting out a torrent of oaths and abuse about the teacher and the principal. He has never returned to school.

Boy, 14 years.—Suspended because of being a sexual pervert and not fit to be around girls. He is not working—just running the streets.

Boy, 15 years.—Suspended because he was uncontrollable and always in trouble—"general cussedness."

Boy, 13 years.—Suspended for refusing to empty pockets when boys in his class were being searched for a stolen article. He has never returned to school.

Boy, 16 years.—Suspended for drawing knife on teacher. He has never returned.

Boy, 13 years.—Suspended for "meanness." He returned to school for about a week and then left, as he had attained his fourteenth year.

Boy, 13 years.—Suspended. Was to have received a switching and when the principal sent him to the basement for a switch he did not return. He has never asked to be reinstated in school.

Boy, 17 years.—Suspended for refusing to give up a package of cigarettes to teacher. He is a sex pervert. He has never returned to school.

Boy, 15 years.—Suspended for disrespect to teacher. "Morally depraved."

The juvenile court of one county in which a man probation officer was employed dealt with 210 delinquent boys and 17 delinquent girls in 1923. The majority of these children lived in the largest city of the county. The small number of girls did not mean that the girls presented few problems, but rather that this phase of the situation was overlooked because of the lack of a woman probation officer or any other woman to do protective work in the community. In addition to the children dealt with by the juvenile court, 122 children were entered on the records of the police departments who had not been referred to the court. Most of the offenses of this group were trivial, and the children had been merely reprimanded and sent home.

A family of five children was reported to the juvenile court as neglected. The mother, a widow, was compelled to work outside the home, and the children were left to their own devices all day. The oldest girl, 16 years of age, was on the streets at night and associating with questionable companions; and a 15-year-old boy was not attending school regularly. A 9-year-old boy and two girls, 3 and 2 years of age, were very much neglected.

The two little girls were sent by the court to the receiving home of a society for family placement. The oldest daughter married before the case came into court, and the court lost jurisdiction over her. The two sons were left with their mother. The oldest boy continued to play truant, and the attendance officer brought him into court on a truancy charge. Upon his promise to attend school regularly the case was dismissed. Since then he had not missed a day in school.

A 9-year-old girl was reported to the juvenile court for nonattendance at school. Repeated efforts to persuade the mother and the stepfather to send her regularly had failed. At the time of the complaint the stepfather had just completed a six months' jail sentence for selling liquor, and the mother was working in the mill. The child had been doing all the housework for the family. As she was very much under weight, the attendance officer enlisted the sympathy of a group of women, who arranged for her to have a pint of milk a day. The parents were not prosecuted because they promised to have the girl attend school regularly and to lighten her work at home. She improved remarkably, and there were no further complaints.

A 13-year-old boy was found to be keeping house for his father and an 11-year-old sister. The father had married a 17-year-old girl shortly after the mother's death, but this girl had promptly deserted when she found that she was expected to keep house and care for two children on her husband's wages of $9 a week. The boy kept house in just about the way an average boy of that age would. The home was a three-room unpainted shack with very little furniture besides two beds. There were no sheets on the beds, and the mattresses and comforts were almost black with dirt. Soon the boy began playing truant and then began stealing with a gang of boys. He was placed on probation to the juvenile court and was sent back to school. The home conditions did not improve. The father said, "I love my children and want to do the best thing for them, but what can a man do on $9 a week?"

The juvenile-court judge of one county stated that since the State did not provide sufficient facilities for dealing with delinquents he was slow to commit children to the training schools, preferring probation. Persons on probation, however, were not given adequate supervision. The following cases were among those reported from this county:

A 15-year-old orphan girl lived with an aunt and another woman who conducted a house of ill fame and made use of the girl in their business. The two women were tried in the superior court and sentenced to the State prison farm. The girl was turned over to the juvenile court and committed to the training school, but could not be admitted because of lack of room. She was then sent to a maternity home, though she was not pregnant. A short time later she was released to a woman from a neighboring State who wanted a girl to help her in her home. Her conduct in this home was satisfactory.

A 15-year-old girl was arrested and placed in jail for immorality and for stealing. Her father and mother were designated as "low." The father had been accused of immorality with his daughter, and an older brother had been sent to the chain gang for selling whisky. The girl became immoral through the influence of older women of bad character. The judge of the superior court handled the case and committed the girl to the training school, but she was not admitted because there was no room for her.

The mother of three daughters and four sons had been a widow for eight years. She owned a small farm. The four boys were very "bad"; the mother either could not control them or did not care to; and the family was shunned by the better people of the community. Finally one of the boys shot a man and was sentenced to the chain gang.

Soon afterwards the mother reported to the president of an aid society that her 17-year-old daughter was about to give birth to a child. She said that the girl had been shunned on account of her evil brothers and had felt that she might just as well do wrong as to have the name of being wrong. When the child was born no charge was made against the father. It was believed that more than one man had been involved in the case and that the girl had accepted money for her wrongdoing. The girl remained in her mother's home caring for the baby.

A widower, who was a day laborer on a farm, lived with his 15-year-old son, 13-year-old daughter, and three younger children in a plank house of two rooms. The 13-year-old girl kept house; but as she had had no training, the younger children were always very dirty and unkempt. All the children were out of school and were receiving no care nor training.

In one of the counties the records of welfare agencies and the testimony of social workers indicated that sexual immorality was prevalent and that very young girls became prostitutes. Truancy and stealing were said to be common among the boys of the community. The lack of recreational facilities for girls, the crowded home conditions, low wages, and employment of both parents were considered contributory causes for the existing situation. Another important contributing factor was a camp, where large numbers of soldiers were stationed.

In another county in which immorality was reported to be a problem housing conditions were poor among tenant-farmer families, wholesome recreational facilities were not provided, and school absence for farm work was said to be frequent. The social worker of the cotton-mill section commented on the early placement of the chil-

dren at work in the mill and the many child marriages. The following cases were among those reported from these two counties and from a third in which immorality, truancy, loafing, and stealing were reported to be the most common forms of delinquency:

A 15-year-old girl had been for some time beyond the control of her widowed mother. The society which had been trying to rehabilitate the family considered the mother mentally deranged. The girl was arrested for streetwalking and sentenced to 20 days in the stockade; then she was found to be pregnant, and the society placed her in an institution in a neighboring city. Here she gave considerable trouble, and finally her mother took her home, where the baby was born. The mother kept house for several men and was believed to be leading an immoral life. The society made no effort to locate the father of the girl's child, because of her previous reputation and the fact that she admitted having been a prostitute.

The father of two children, the younger one but 5 years of age, divorced his wife on the ground of immorality and took the two daughters to Florida, where he obtained work as guard in a convict camp and remarried. Five years later the older girl, 17 years old, returned to Georgia to stay with her mother, who had also remarried and was keeping a house of prostitution patronized by negroes. The girl was soon drawn into this life. Later she went to Florida on a visit and brought her sister, then 12 years of age, back with her. Shortly afterwards a raid was made on the house, the mother and both daughters being arrested. The younger girl was turned over to the juvenile court, and the mother and the older girl were held for the city court. The mother was discharged and the daughter fined $1. She promptly paid it and tried to make an engagement with one of the detectives before she left the courtroom. In the meantime, the father, who had separated from his second wife, heard of the difficulties and came to seek possession of the younger daughter. He went to the home of his former wife and her husband and stayed a couple of weeks with them. Various officials in the county in which the father was living had written favorably as to his character, and the child was finally allowed to go with him upon his promise that she would be placed with her grandmother.

The case of a 15-year-old girl came to the attention of the juvenile court when the mother had the father put in jail for nonsupport. The father was said to be glib-tongued and irresponsible, and with "roving feet," and the frail, colorless mother had borne the brunt of the family support. The family had lost their furniture and could not pay rent, and a relief society had housed them in an old abandoned building used for such emergencies. An older daughter was in a house of prostitution, a son had joined the Navy, and there was a 2-year-old infant. This girl was reported to the probation office by the police as one of a number of girls who were hanging about a notorious motion-picture house which the proprietor was known to use as a place of assignation. The probation officer tried for three days to find the girl, but her mother did not know where she was. When she finally came home, she said she had gone automobiling with two boys and another girl, and as it was late when they returned she was afraid to go home. She had spent the first night with one of the boys, sleeping in a room with three men, the second night she had spent with a prostitute, and the third at the motion-picture house. She was committed to the State training school for girls.

Tramp life is considered usually a male prerogative, but a case was reported of a mother and four daughters who lived on the road. The whole family was said to be addicted to the taking of drugs, and the daughters, whose ages ranged from 12 to 19 years, were known to be prostitutes. The eldest daughter had married but was separated from her husband, whom she was said to have met one day and married the next; the second daughter had also married but was not living with her husband, having learned that he had another wife living. At times the family was together, at times apart. They drifted

about, the girls growing up in the roughest environment, without knowing any sort of home. They were almost entirely illiterate, were constantly being arrested for drunkenness, loitering, and other offenses, and were no strangers to the jail and the stockade. The youngest three were arrested for staying at a negro house but managed to get away from the court authorities and went into Alabama.

A girl whose mother had died was keeping house for her father, a 16-year-old sister, and two younger brothers, doing the very best that a young girl could for her brothers and sister. It was reported that the father was very immoral and spent much of his earnings on women; consequently the children were living in a bad environment and had poor support. In spite of this the older girl kept herself above reproach and married a good, honest man. The burden of the family housekeeping then fell upon the younger girl, who was not so strong a character as the older sister. Soon after this the father married a woman known to be immoral and took the two boys to his new home but left his daughter with a woman who was willing to give her a home.

In 1922 a missionary society became interested in the girl and thought she should be removed from the influence of the father and the stepmother. Obtaining a scholarship for her, the society sent her to a girls' school. She remained through one year and the summer vacation, being allowed to work for her board during the summer. Late one night as the president of the school was driving into town by a short cut not frequently used he came upon this girl who with another pupil had met some boys in the lane. Although the president did not know how long these clandestine meetings had been occurring, he determined that he would keep this girl in school no longer. He had had trouble with her from the first as she seemed to go out of her way to attract the attention of boys. Without communicating with the society responsible for her presence in the school, he asked her where she wanted to go, and she replied she wanted to go to her father's home. She returned there and seemed contented to live under its bad influence.

A 10-year-old girl, the oldest of three or four children, had almost from infancy shown a tendency to steal. Some people suspected that the mother directed the depredations of the child, as she exhibited a great deal of cunning. It was said that when she passed a house in the evening and saw the entire family on the front porch she would go to the back of the house and noiselessly and quickly take many small articles that could be carried away without detection. Then she would pass the house later and speak to the family on the porch. The mother was a poor housekeeper, ignorant and shiftless, and the children were always poorly clothed and dirty. The father worked at odd jobs; at the time the girl was brought before the court he was driving a truck. It was said that the father sometimes chained the girl to the bed post while he was away from the house, because the mother had so little control over her. Because of the numerous complaints about the girl the father got work at a sawmill and moved the family to the mill village in order to remove the child from the town; but the work at the sawmill ceased and he had to return to town to make a living for his family. The girl kept up her stealing so constantly that the town people requested that she be sent away. She was brought into the city court and committed to the training school.

A 15-year-old girl, the youngest of 10 children, lived near the county seat with her father, who was about 80 years of age. Her mother was dead and the older children had left home. As her father could not make a home for her she went to live with an uncle, who permitted her to become cook for a man of very bad reputation, with the consequence that she became immoral. She soon became dissatisfied with her life in the country and went to the town to live. Upon her arrival she went into a grocery store and asked permission to use the telephone; the proprietor noticed the number she called and listened to her side of the conversation. When she turned from the telephone the man asked her if she knew she had been calling a house in the "red-light district," she replied that she did know and intended to go there. The grocer called the juvenile-court judge, who went immediately and took charge of the

girl, placing her in jail temporarily. Later he sent her to a girls' school in another city. She was kept there one month and then was returned to her father on probation. Three days after her return she ran away and went directly to the segregated district. She was permitted to remain there, as an earlier effort to have her admitted to the training school had not been successful. The authorities felt that they could not arrange for proper disposition of the girl and made no further effort to protect her.

The jail-visiting committee found a 14-year-old girl in a cell which opened on a corridor where there were male prisoners. Upon inquiry, it was learned that the girl's mother and stepfather, who had no control over her, had sent her to live with a grandmother, who also had failed to control her. An uncle had sent the girl to the jail expecting to have her adjudged insane and sent to the State hospital for the insane. The committee took an interest in the girl and found that she was bright and had reached the fifth or sixth grade in school. The trouble seemed to be that she was not normal sexually, as she would run away in the night or at other times seeking the company of men. Believing her to be in danger in the jail, the committee tried to make some plan for her other than sending her to the hospital for the insane. Her relatives said they could not take the girl into their homes but would be glad to have her sent to some institution where she would be safe and where she would be trained. A boarding place was found for her, and she was removed from jail after she had been there more than a month. The girl stated that she had had immoral relations once at the jail but refused to tell the name of the man. She was finally admitted to the State training school.

In a county that was largely urban the largest city had good churches, good schools, and a playground with a paid director. The county health officer was active, and the city nurse, with the help of the city physician and the negro woman's club, had maintained a clinic for two years and had accomplished a great deal among the negro population in the treatment of venereal disease and the instruction of mothers in the care of their children. Some follow-up work was done, and entertainments were sometimes given for the negro children. The nurse stated that she had to go after the children and bring them to the clinic and the entertainments, as they seemed reluctant to take advantage of the opportunity given them. In the mill village recreational facilities were few. Sunday school was held in the community hall and an occasional entertainment was given. The clinic of a local professional club was trying to accomplish something in the way of health education. The adult probation officer was progressive and felt the need of a well-organized juvenile court and a good system of probation. In general, however, city and county officials considered that it would reflect upon their community if they admitted that they had any juvenile delinquency or dependency. Stealing, truancy, and immorality were nevertheless reported among both boys and girls.

A 16-year-old girl had not been in school for several years and was said to be on the streets constantly, riding around in automobiles with any man or boy who would ask her. Her mother had deserted her husband (many years her senior), the daughter, and two sons under 3 years of age, and had lived six years with a man not her husband. Upon his death she returned to her former home. In the meantime the father had obtained a divorce and had married a young, ignorant, incompetent woman, who did not know how to care for the children. Because of her incompetency and the father's advanced age, which prevented him from earning much through his trade as a carpenter, the family depended upon charity for support. After the mother's return she was so openly leading an immoral life that the authorities of the community wished to be rid of the responsibility, and ordered her to leave town. When the woman left she took the daughter with her.

A 16-year-old girl had lived with her father and two younger children since her mother's death. The father was recognized as a disreputable character, and it was generally known that he was leading an immoral life, caring very poorly for his children. When the secretary of the Associated Charities asked the father to let her help him make suitable provision for the children he replied that he could care for his children without help. Later he married a woman known to be immoral. Some women in a neighboring town, who knew of the danger to which the girl was exposed, obtained a scholarship for her in a denominational girls' school, and she was induced to take advantage of this opportunity. She returned to her home for the Christmas holidays and did not reenter school the first of the year. This fact was reported to the secretary of the Associated Charities, who thereupon called to make inquiries. The stepmother said that the girl was not going back to school.

A 12-year-old negro girl came to A from M and, with a 13-year-old negro girl who had come from Florida, rented a room in the back yard of property owned by an old negro man. The girls were seen on the street so much that they attracted the attention of the negro city nurse, who, when told that they had no "people," insisted that the girls go to work. Each time they were spoken to the girls claimed to be on their way to take a job, or to have just been dismissed from one, or to have been "just a huntin'," and they went on living a street life.

A young boy who came to the negro clinic was found to have venereal disease and claimed to have received the infection from this girl. She was brought before the police court and placed in jail. The mayor stated that he would commit the girl to a reform school were there one for negro girls in the State, but as it was he would release her provided some negro woman would give her a home. As she was diseased no home could be found for her. Finally a relative of the girl's offered her a home, where it was reported that she was doing well. She was given treatment through a clinic.

Two girls, 14 and 16 years of age, respectively, lived in a mill village with their father and stepmother. Both girls worked in the cotton mill but never saw the contents of their pay envelopes, as their father took them each week. One of them arose every morning at 4 o'clock in order to get breakfast for the family and to be at the mill at 6 o'clock. The girls were allowed no privileges, had no recreations or amusements of any kind, and did not even have clothing suitable to wear away from the home or the mill. Finally one of them rebelled and stayed out all night in a taxi. The next morning she was brought to the Salvation Army home. After listening to the girl's story the workers at the home told her they would find work for her and permit her to board in the home, but they would expect her to come home promptly every afternoon and not go out with boys without their permission. Work was obtained for her in a factory. Soon she began staying away until 8:30 in the evening. Once she remained out an entire night with a girl of bad reputation. She was taken to her father, who refused to do anything for her; then she was sent to a neighboring town and work was obtained for her but it was reported that she was not doing well. Her sister also rebelled, but in a different way. She asked for the privilege of living at the Salvation Army home, giving her services in return for her board. She was leading a very quiet, wholesome life.

A 16-year-old girl had been living in a poor home with her married sister. She was not sent to school but was expected to work to earn her living. Finally she ran away. Later a message was sent to the secretary of the Associated Charities stating that the girl was in jail in another State. She had been charged with disorderly conduct, having remained out an entire night with a man in his automobile. The secretary consulted the girl's sister, who refused to send for the girl.

In one of the counties the most prevalent forms of delinquency for which children were brought before the courts were immorality

on the part of the girls and stealing and a reckless disregard of law and restraint on the part of the boys. The boys were truants from school, and most of their activities had been gang movements. One gang of boys, who were habitual truants, was brought before the court for breaking windows. One of the boys was sent to the State training school for theft. The morning after this boy was sent away it was reported that all the members of the gang were in school "with their faces scrubbed until they shone."

Through a trained probation officer the juvenile court was attempting to prevent crime and protect childhood, and to rescue girls who were living in immoral surroundings. For some time a number of boys had been stealing from the railroad company, taking especially all the brass fixtures that could be obtained and selling them for a pittance to a junk dealer. The dealer was told not to receive the goods but disregarded this order. His license was thereupon revoked, and he was ordered to leave town. No further complaints of this nature were received from the railroad company.

As this county is near the State line the delinquency problem is intensified. Deserting husbands or men apprehended for violating the law escape easily into Florida and are lost track of. It was said that the boys were led to think that they, too, could escape the consequences of violating the law. Many young couples, the girls often mere children, were reported as frequently seen driving through the town, to register later at hotels as man and wife, or to obtain a marriage license and go to the justice to have a ceremony of marriage performed.

No organized community recreation existed either in the city or in the rural districts of this county. An effort was made to establish a community playground with a paid director, but sufficient funds could not be obtained. The probation officer was opposed to this effort, as she did not see the use of making an expenditure for a playground when most of the children had large yards. She claimed that there was very little delinquency among the rural children and that they could always find their own outdoor amusements and recreation. Yet some of the cases reported in the course of the study indicated that conditions contributing to juvenile delinquency did exist in rural districts.

The mother of four children from 3 to 9 years of age had quarreled constantly with her husband, who did not support his family and finally left them. He went to another city, where, according to rumor, he was living with another woman. The mother appealed to the probation officer for aid; the father was ordered to return home and provide for his family. The officer thought an agreement might be reached, but the husband and wife quarreled even worse than before. One evening the man called his children to the porch and shot himself in their presence, dying instantly. Thereafter the mother had moved from place to place in the city, receiving help from the county and from individuals. Relatives in the country offered to let her and the children have a home with them but would not furnish her with money to live in the city. The mother would not go to her father's home because her mother did not like the children, and she would not go to her brother's home, claiming that the children would be treated as servants. Meanwhile the woman was getting a living in any way she could for the children, who were growing up without any restraint or training, while the mother's own life was a bad example to them.

A widow was left with three sons 9, 12, and 14 years of age, respectively. Soon she married an 18-year-old youth. Neither he nor the mother had any control over the three children. As soon as the money from the first husband's insurance policy of $2,000 was exhausted the second husband disappeared and was not heard from again. The woman's brothers helped her, and she was able to get along fairly well financially. The oldest boy had a propensity for stealing and was sent to the State training school. The second boy seemed to be steady, went to school regularly, and did odd jobs outside of school hours. On his fourteenth birthday, during the school term, he bade his classmates and the teacher good-by, said that as he was 14 the schoolroom would never see him again, and took his books home. He did not return to school the next day but obtained work in the telegraph office and regularly gave a large portion of his earnings to his mother. The youngest boy was constantly troublesome, an habitual truant from school, and given to pilfering. The police arrested him with four other boys for breaking windows in a barn. All the boys were placed on probation, to report to the judge of the juvenile court each Friday morning, and to attend school and Sunday school. Although his companions faithfully kept the terms of probation this young boy did not, and in three months was locked up by the police charged with theft. At that time an uncle offered to take the boy on his farm, the understanding being that if he failed there he was to go to the training school without further delay. In a few months the boy returned to his mother's home saying that his uncle had permitted him to come home for the Christmas holidays. Three days after his arrival he was again locked up by the police, charged with theft. The probation officer let him out of jail on Christmas eve, and the mother said that the boy's uncle would return for him in a few days. Some time after Christmas the probation officer saw the boy on the outskirts of town and learned, upon inquiry, that the uncle had moved to Florida and did not intend to be bothered with the boy, whom he could not control. The mother did not have him in school and was trying to hide him from the probation officer. The probation officer had the boy sent to the State training school.

From a county in which truancy, gang activities, and youthful vagrancy were reported to be problems by teachers and social workers the following case was reported:

A 14-year-old boy's father was dead and his mother and two sisters were tubercular. The family eked out an existence on what the older children in the family could earn and what the Associated Charities could give. They lived in a section of town notorious as a breeding spot for all kinds of crime. The boy was a member of a gang whose qualification for membership was that a boy must have stolen some article for the gang's treasure cave down by the river. When the police broke up these activities this boy and a fellow member ran away. They reported a very enjoyable time on the road as they were given lifts most of the way, as well as food and money. The boy and his friend were finally located and brought back home, but because this boy was 14 years old he could not be compelled to go to school.

The leader of this boy's gang had had little schooling, owing to the habit of truancy. He was intensely interested in athletics, and the only way the school principal persuaded him to attend at all was by appealing to his desire to be on the school teams. After he reached the age of 14 the school lost track of him.

In one county comparatively little delinquency or truancy existed among the white children, and there was no record of a girl's ever having been brought into court. The judge of the superior court, however, stated that all the efforts of social workers were toward helping the boys but that something should be done also for the girls. A great deal of stealing and carrying of pistols and fighting among the negro boys and immorality among negroes were reported also.

Three negro boys, 14, 12, and 11 years of age, respectively, held up another negro boy who was driving home from town and ransacked his pockets. The boys were arrested and brought before the justice, who ordered them held in

jail for trial by the superior court, the charge being highway robbery. After remaining in jail three days they were tried and found guilty. The judge committed the oldest boy, who had planned the robbery and who had given much previous trouble, to the training school. The two other boys, who were under 13 years of age, were placed on probation for 12 months, and paroled to their parents with the understanding that they must be at work or in school steadily, refrain from associating with bad boys, especially at the golf links, and be strictly obedient to their parents at all times. The sheriff was appointed probation officer in this case. The 11-year-old boy did not break his probation; the mother of the 12-year-old boy reported that he was not at work but was constantly on the streets and beyond her control. Consequently he was committed to the training school.

The population of a mountain county was scattered, and problems which arose in the mountain districts seldom reached the court at the county seat. It was said that a great deal of illicit traffic in liquor was carried on, and that many of the farmers engaged in bootlegging. Considerable delinquency was reported by various people to exist in the county seat. In one alley a gang of young boys, both white and negro, was always to be found. The alley was near a large building in which several professional men had their offices, and the boys waited for chances to go to the country club to caddy for these men. They were truants from school, a public nuisance, and were fast becoming delinquent.

Aside from one or two outstanding cases not a great deal of delinquency existed in the mill villages of the county. The teachers were in close touch with the school children through a very good system of home visiting. The wholesome recreation furnished for the community aided in preventing delinquency, and it was generally known that unless the mill workers and their families conducted themselves properly the mill authorities would ask them to leave the village.

A 17-year-old boy had been stealing ever since he was 7 years old. He lived in a mill village, and his people were mill workers. His school attendance had always been irregular, and he had left school to work in the mill as soon as he was 14 years old. He had always been a leader and in many of his adventures had had a gang working with him. On one occasion the gang broke into the supply house of a construction company and stole enough dynamite and powder to blow up the entire neighborhood. They stored this under the house of one of the boys and were using it to burn trails in the open through the vacant fields.

The boy had robbed the company store three times and had stolen about $60 from one of the school-teachers. At one time he broke into the closet in the school office and took money from the children's deposit bank. He escaped after this last offense and had not been seen in the community since. Although he had been detained in the county jail and had been before the court, he was never sentenced to an institution, and no constructive work was ever done for him.

Juvenile delinquency was not so serious a problem in another county as were dependency and neglect, and the majority of cases coming before the courts were those in which some sort of family service was needed, as medical aid, temporary relief, or the adjustment of domestic relations.

Twenty-two cases of delinquency were handled in 1923. The county seat was a railway center; one of the two policemen met almost all trains coming into the town, and considerable effort was made to deal with the "hobo problem." The penalty for stealing rides on the trains was a fine of 20 or 30 days on the chain gang.

The probation officer handled all cases of boys under 16 caught riding trains and whenever possible returned them to their families.

Inadequate supervision and lack of follow-up work were among the difficulties encountered in rural court work. One or two of the families lived as far as 20 miles from the county seat, and contact with them was necessarily superficial. In winter when roads were bad it was often impossible to visit at all. The probation officer realized the need for private homes for placement and endeavored to find such homes. She was licensed to place white children in temporary homes and negro children in either temporary or permanent homes. As no reliable foster homes were available, many dependent children had been sent to the training school even when they were not delinquent, but an effort was being made to change this policy.

A boy who had already been known to the juvenile court for a year and who had been brought into court on charges of stealing a bicycle, entering a house and stealing a gun, taking a knife from a boy's pocket, setting fire to a house, and burning school toilets was committed in the summer of 1921 to the State training school for boys. He remained only two or three months and was then released, although the school knew he was by no means ready for discharge. Lack of funds had compelled the school to let half the boys go, and this boy was paroled to his mother, who had been trying to obtain his release.

The father and mother had quarreled for many years, and the children's environment was exceedingly bad. They were wholly undisciplined. Although finally a divorce was granted, the parents continued to live near each other, and there was continual spying, tale-bearing, and trouble. The father reported to the training school that the mother could not control her son. The school authorities told the man to get his son and return him to the training school. On this excuse the father took the boy to live with him but frequently did not even know where he was. In July, 1922, an effort was made to have the boy returned to the training school, but the court was informed that there would be no opening until October and that either the parents or the court would have to bear the expense of his return. In November the mother filed a petition in court charging her son with stealing a dog, enticing his 12-year-old brother away from home, and with "growing up under such conditions as will prove his moral ruin." The boy was then paroled to a farmer and did well as long as the work lasted. After this he was encouraged to join the Navy and succeeded in doing so, although he was only 16 years of age.

An undernourished, ragged, and dirty 12-year-old girl was reported to the probation officer in February, but no action was taken because of insufficient information. In April the girl was again reported by a neighbor, who said that the family with whom the girl lived often sent her begging for food among the neighbors and compelled her to go long distances alone after dark. The previous night the child had appeared at the neighbor's home crying bitterly and saying that she was afraid to go home alone but that if she did not go back with the matches which she had come to ask for she would be whipped severely.

An investigation disclosed that the family lived in a house in a very remote section, almost hidden by the thick growth of the surrounding swamp. Extreme poverty was evident. Two chairs, a greasy table, a broken stove, and a very inadequate supply of bedding made up the entire amount of furniture. The girl was like a timid animal, and it was learned with difficulty that her father had been dead for about two years and that her mother had left her. Her school attendance had consisted of only three days. The foster mother was pregnant and had been too sick to work, and for the last few months this girl had done most of the housework. The father of the family said that the girl had been placed in their care about two years before by her mother, whose present whereabouts was unknown. He was willing to release the girl, and she was immediately brought into town and placed in the detention home. Here she was given hookworm treatment and a few days later

was placed in a private home in the town. In less than six months she had been placed in three family homes. She had been in the third home about six months but needed more training than the foster mother gave her, and her removal had been requested. The girl was not always truthful, had lost interest in school, and had run away once from the detention home. The State board of public welfare had been asked to arrange for a mental examination, and at the time of the survey the child was awaiting some other disposition.

A woman was trying to support five children, whose ages ranged from 15 to 3 years, upon the $20 a month which she earned by laundry work. A 26-year-old son was working and had a good reputation, a 20-year-old daughter was in the State training school for girls, and one of the 15-year-old twins was in the training school for boys. The father, who used narcotics, had deserted the family just before the birth of the youngest child. A short time later he was sent to the State farm and while there was cured. After his release he returned to live three doors from his family but gave nothing for their support, although he earned $2.50 a day. Church and neighborhood charity had been helping the family with gifts of shoes, clothing, and food, at intervals for about 20 years. Both mother and children used obscene language and were continually wrangling and quarreling with other children in the neighborhood. Besides having an uncontrollable temper the mother had a questionable reputation. In March, 1923, one of the neighbors entered a petition in court, alleging that three of the younger children had vicious tendencies and were under insufficient guardianship and parental control. The mother was summoned to court but failed to appear until subpœnaed. The children were put on probation to report every week until discharged. The first week when the children reported they had very dirty faces, but they were neatly clad and their school reports were good. The next week they were clean and neatly dressed and brought a bunch of flowers for the probation officer. They continued to report until they were discharged because of good behavior.

The mother of a 12-year-old girl reported to the probation officer that her daughter had been having immoral relations with an 18-year-old boy. An older brother of the boy was also implicated. The girl at first denied the charge but upon the sympathetic treatment of her parents had confessed. The parents had been very careful with her, and she had never to their knowledge been left alone with the boy. He had threatened to kill her if she told anyone, but the report had come to the parents through the boy's bragging in the neighborhood. The judge and the probation officer were impressed with the girl's childishness and innocence and placed her on probation to her parents. The boy was committed to jail on a charge of rape, and his brother was held for grand-jury investigation on a charge of assault and battery. No bill was returned against the two boys, but as their own father sat on the grand jury when the case was heard, the juvenile court proposed to bring the case before the next superior-court hearing.

A 17-year-old boy was arrested on a charge of robbing the mail, kept in the county jail 9 days, and then released on bond. The case was pending in the district court at the time of the survey. This boy's delinquency dated from the time he was 7 years old, when he and his brother, one year younger, were arrested for burglary. Both boys were released because the charge was not substantiated (another boy arrested at the same time was found guilty). Seven years later this boy was arrested again on the charge of burglary, was referred to the juvenile court, and remained under supervision until 16 years of age.

The younger brother had been charged with burglary at the age of 13 and had been arrested twice for fighting on the streets. An effort was made to have him sent to an orphanage; his father was willing to pay $100 per year toward his expenses. Instead of this he was placed with an uncle in another city, where he remained only a short time. Later he returned to his home town and was again brought before the courts.

An older brother of these two boys had once been sent to the reform school for nine months for burglary.

EDUCATIONAL AND RECREATIONAL MEASURES TENDING TO PREVENT DELINQUENCY

Aside from the work done by agencies dealing with needy families and children and the social work in the few courts having adequate facilities for helping children, the most promising development—perhaps striking nearer the source of trouble than do most other agencies—was visiting-teacher work in connection with the schools. This has recently been begun in Georgia. The city of Columbus had a visiting teacher who was sent there by the National Committee on Visiting Teachers in January, 1923, part of her expenses for a period of three years being paid by the national organization. During the first year of her work the visiting teacher concentrated her efforts on one school which seemed to be representative. Later so much work was found to be needed, especially with subnormal children, that she extended her work to three schools and organized the work of two special classes, which was to be carried on under her supervision.[3]

One of the major difficulties in a number of the counties studied was the failure to enforce school attendance, even to the extent required under a very inadequate law. In several counties there was even a lack of school facilities that would make it possible for all the children to attend school; this was particularly true in regard to negro schools in a number of communities. Obviously one of the fundamental needs in a child-welfare program is the provision of adequate educational opportunities for every child of every economic class, negro as well as white, and in rural as well as in urban communities. The Children's Bureau agent's report on the school situation in one county was as follows:

> The 10 schools for white children (outside the county seat) are all consolidated schools. The buildings are modern and well equipped; courses in domestic science and agriculture are given; good libraries are provided; the playground equipment is good, and the largest two schools have athletic teams that compete with schools in other counties. The school term is nine months. Trucks go 6 miles from the schools to bring the children in. These schools serve the community as well as the pupils, being the centers for the meetings of the women's club, the parent-teachers' association, the girls' clubs, and the boys' clubs. The county health officer with the assistance of a nurse examines all the school children. The county home demonstration agent and the farm agent have organized clubs for the school children and direct their work. The pupils from the rural schools made a very creditable showing at the county fair. The school officials evidently attribute the regularity in attendance to the excellent condition of the schools. The county superintendent states that the attendance is almost perfect, and he has never found it necessary since he has been in office to prosecute a white patron for failure to comply with the school attendance law.
>
> There are 38 negro schools, 25 of them with but one teacher. The one-teacher schools are poor, and some of the districts have no school building but make use of a church or lodge building. The total enrollment of negroes is about 3,500; attendance averages about 2,500. Not much effort has been made to enforce the compulsory school attendance law with the negroes. In most of the one-teacher schools the term is six months; in some of the schools it is seven months; and in five new schools which were erected through the Rosenwald Fund it is nine months.

[3] For description of this type of work carried on by visiting teachers see the publications of the National Committee on Visiting Teachers, 8 West Fortieth Street, New York, N. Y., including "The visiting teacher," by Jane F. Culbert, reprint from the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1921. See also The Visiting Teacher Movement, with especial reference to administrative relationships, by Julius John Oppenheimer (The Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, 1925).

Although the situation with regard to the education of negroes in this county was not nearly so favorable as for the white children, it was by no means so discouraging as in many other counties. There was a beginning of modern school equipment through the special fund for negro education. Two teachers gave vocational agricultural training to negroes in five schools. A negro farm agent and a home demonstration agent were employed by the county. However, in the counties studied not only the negroes suffered from inadequate school facilities; in some communities the school facilities for white children were totally inadequate.

Wholesome recreation is becoming increasingly recognized as a preventive of juvenile delinquency. It is not enough that commercial amusement places shall be licensed and properly supervised. The community itself must take action to provide for both children and adults the facilities for the normal exercise of the social instinct and endeavor to stimulate the desire for entertainment and healthful recreation. The following reports of conditions in three of the counties were made by the agents:

County A is well provided with natural resources for recreation. The only commercialized recreation is the motion-picture show. The schools of the county serve the youth well. Most of the schools have canning, poultry, flower, and vegetable clubs; the larger schools have their athletic teams. They have basket-ball tournaments and athletic meets, exhibitions of the club work, and literary-society contests.

In the country districts in B County the consolidated schools furnish wholesome recreation for the children; frequently picture shows and entertainments are given. The county seat has a community house and a public playground, with a good swimming pool and playground equipment. The woman who is employed to care for the community house has charge of the playground during the summer months. No community effort is made for recreation for the negro. One of the larger cities has a "better-film" committee, and special pictures for children are shown on Saturday mornings. In this city the negroes have built and own a motion-picture theater which is considered the finest of its kind in the South.

In C County, one of the larger counties, where conditions are considerably better than the average, little is done toward any organized recreation outside the two largest cities. The county home demonstration agent has 11 girls' clubs throughout the county, with an enrollment of 175 girls. These are, of course, more educational than recreational, but they furnish an outlet for the girls and keep them interested and busy.

In the mill town the company has built a large auditorium, with a theater, pool tables, bowling alleys, and a swimming pool. Motion pictures are shown every night, and these as well as the other activities are open to both young and old. The probation officer stated that she had not had a case of delinquency here since the auditorium was opened.

Recreation is provided for in the county seat by two public playgrounds (besides those at the schools), a community center, a municipal swimming pool, and the Y. M. C. A. gymnasium classes. There are two motion-picture theaters, and a municipal auditorium used for theater purposes. The community center, under the auspices of a church, serves not only the mill workers but children from the well-to-do families. The activities are largely athletic, a young man giving full time to the supervision of this work; there are also a good library and some cooking and sewing classes. The American Legion is sponsoring an organized recreational program in the city. The county has no public dance halls or pool rooms.

After nine years' work the women's club in D County obtained an $8,000 appropriation from the city for the purpose of establishing playgrounds. The recreational program was based upon a

plan outlined by an expert in recreation who made a survey of the situation, and a commission was appointed to take charge of the work. It is planned to have four playgrounds in operation within a short time, three for the white children and one for the negroes. All the playgrounds will be supervised, and the whole system will be in charge of a director. Where the playground is not near a public school it is planned to build a recreation center, so that a year-round program may be carried on. At the time of the survey most of the schools had playgrounds but little equipment. Children were on the playgrounds as early as 7 o'clock in the morning, as their parents had gone to work by that time.

For many of the counties visited the situation might be summed up as for E County in regard to the relation between recreation and delinquency:

> The need for recreational facilities is almost as urgent as the need for a probation and attendance officer. Although the city has several beautiful parks and squares there is no playground equipment, except a few swings and seesaws in one or two of the school yards. The chief of police said that better recreation facilities would do much to reduce juvenile delinquency, as there is no place for children to spend their leisure except on the streets.

SUMMARY OF LEGISLATIVE NEEDS FOR CHILD PROTECTION IN GEORGIA

The following suggestions concerning legislative needs for child protection in Georgia, as indicated by the findings of the Children's Bureau survey, are based on the criteria set forth in the Minimum Standards for Child Welfare.[1] In the discussion reference will be made to applicable sections of these standards.[2]

JUVENILE COURTS

The juvenile court law in Georgia, if carried out, might have made it possible for the State to attain the standard which would require that every locality have available a court organization providing for separate hearings of children's cases, with special methods of detention, adequate investigation of cases, supervision or probation by trained officers (such officers in girls' cases to be women), and a system of recording and filing social as well as legal information. The survey showed, however, a very serious failure in the application of the law. In only a few of the 30 counties studied was there special equipment for dealing with children's cases in accordance with juvenile-court procedure. Juvenile courts had been designated and were functioning in only 16 counties; some probation service was available in 22 counties, although in most of them it was very inadequate.

In 1923 almost 1,300 children were brought before the courts in the 30 counties studied, and there was evidence of considerable juvenile delinquency and neglect of children to which no attention was paid. The possibilities that lie in the prevention of delinquency, dependency, and neglect were recognized in very few of the counties, although there were encouraging illustrations of constructive work being done through juvenile courts that were functioning as the law intended. The weaknesses in the juvenile court law in Georgia causing it to fail of application call for new legislation redefining jurisdiction in children's cases and improving the administrative provisions. Consideration should be given also to the relation of problems of juvenile delinquency and dependency to other problems with which the courts of the State are concerned, such as the custody of minor children, adoptions, adults committing offenses against children or contributing to their dependency or delinquency, nonsupport or desertion of minor children, determination of paternity and the support of children born out of wedlock, and the marriages of children.

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[1] Minimum Standards for Child Welfare, Adopted by the Washington and Regional Conferences on Child Welfare, 1919, pp. 11–14. U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 62. Washington, 1920.

[2] Sections of the standards other than those discussed are of equal importance in connection with child-welfare needs in Georgia but are not referred to here because the survey did not go into the questions of State regulation of agencies and institutions, child placement, and institutional care.

DETENTION

The standards call for a special method of detention for children entirely apart from adult offenders. The Georgia law provided for the abolition of jail detention for children coming under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court (under 16 years of age), but its application in this respect was found to be very limited. One hundred and thirty-seven children brought before the courts in 1923 because of delinquency were detained in jails pending hearings, some of them for considerable periods; and only a few children were provided for in special detention quarters for juvenile delinquents or in boarding homes. Jail detention is a source of grave danger to the morals of the boys and girls who are allowed to come in contact with vicious and depraved adult prisoners. It is a fruitful source of delinquency and degeneracy. Proper detention facilities are designed to provide surroundings that are physically and morally healthful and that are an aid instead of a hindrance to plans which a properly functioning juvenile court makes for the reeducation of delinquent and neglected children.

OFFENSES COMMITTED BY ADULTS AGAINST CHILDREN

In order to safeguard the juvenile victims of sex offenses the standards would require that the jurisdiction of the juvenile court be extended to deal with adult offenders against children, or, if the cases are dealt with in other courts, that the children be guarded against unnecessary publicity and further corruption. The survey showed that such cases for the most part were ignored or that sentence was seldom imposed if a case came before the court. Except for commitment to an industrial school, which in these cases was infrequent, no special attention was given the child who had suffered. In order that the child who has been harmed may be protected and helped to overcome the handicap of the experience, and that other children in the community may be saved, it is necessary that adult criminals shall not escape prosecution. It is especially desirable that a court with machinery for social investigation and follow-up work should deal with such cases and that good probation service be available for the investigation and supervision required.

NONSUPPORT AND DESERTION

The standards state that one of the fundamental rights of childhood is normal home life, which can not be provided except upon the basis of an adequate family income. Nonsupport of children has not yet been made an offense in Georgia. Legal steps against the father can be taken only in the case of abandonment.[3] In the counties studied very few men were brought before the courts on this charge. Convictions were rare, and even when the father was sentenced the family usually failed to benefit. In a few instances in which probation service was available payments were enforced through probationary supervision.

[3] For legal application of the term "abandoned" see p. 28.

The need for broader legal provision is evident, both from the point of view of the welfare of the children whose fathers have failed to fulfill their obligations to support them, and in the interest of the community which must undertake to maintain the families when other means of support fail. The provision of adequate probation service is also essential. In desertion and nonsupport cases it is desirable that court action be avoided if proper care of the family can be assured in other ways. The skilled probation officer in dealing with these cases effects a settlement out of court if possible, obtains information concerning the circumstances in each case, and places the court in a position to render constructive service.

CHILDREN BORN OUT OF WEDLOCK

In provision for the child born out of wedlock the standards recommend that except for unusual reasons both parents should be held responsible for the child during minority, emphasizing the importance of holding the father to his obligations and the desirability of care by the mother, particularly during the nursing months. The surrender of a child outside his own family should not be permitted, the standards state, save with the consent of a properly designated State department or court of proper jurisdiction, and each State should make suitable provision of a humane character for establishing paternity and guaranteeing to the children their natural rights.

Children born out of wedlock constitute a very serious problem as dependents or potential dependents. For the proper safeguarding of these children, and the protection of the public against an undue burden of dependency, neglect, and degeneracy, this problem needs to be dealt with in a constructive way. Court action in illegitimacy cases is essentially a child protective measure. Increasingly the States are coming to realize this and are placing the jurisdiction in juvenile courts or providing machinery for the social handling of these cases in the interest of the child, at the same time safeguarding the legal process as it affects the rights of the putative father and the interests of the mother.

ADOPTION

The standards would require that in every case involving legal adoption of children the court should make full inquiry into all the facts through its own visitor or through some other unbiased agency before awarding the child's custody. The survey showed that in Georgia almost none of the courts handling adoption cases had given any special consideration to the need of safeguarding the children. Legislation that will protect the rights and assure the welfare of children placed for adoption is being recognized as a necessary part of a State program for children. The requirements should include inquiry into the reasons for removal from the custody of parent or parents, the possibility of preventing such removal if it would be in the interest of the child to remain in their care, and investigation into the character of the prospective foster home.

A period of placement before the legal award of a child's custody makes it possible to continue the oversight of the child until it is known that conditions are satisfactory. In several States the safeguarding of adoption has been considered an important function of the department of public welfare, which promotes the social treatment of these cases by the courts.

TRANSFER OF LEGAL GUARDIANSHIP

The mere fact that a very small proportion of the children taken under care by agencies and institutions were received through court commitment shows that "parental release," or signing over by the parents of their right to the custody of a child, was common. The standards would require the consent of a State department or a court of proper jurisdiction before the transfer of the legal guardianship of a child is permitted. The Children's Bureau survey in Georgia did not go in any detail into the important question of transfer of parental rights without court action. This subject, however, should receive serious attention in revising legislation for child protection. Legal safeguards of the transfer of guardianship are obviously also needed not only that proper consideration of the rights as well as the obligations of the parents may be insured but that the necessary attention may be given to the disposition of the child who is removed permanently from his own relatives. Frequently such action is not based on the results of investigation of the circumstances surrounding the case, and of inquiry as to whether it is desirable to remove the child from his parents or to absolve the parents from all future responsibility for his maintenance.

CHILD MARRIAGES

Legislation that will prevent such ill-advised child marriages as were noted in the survey should include the following requirements: (1) An interval between the application for the license and its granting;[4] (2) consent of parents for the marriage of children under certain specified ages, such consent to be given in person; (3) positive proof of age in doubtful cases; and (4) publication of the intention to marry. It is further recommended that the juvenile court be required to act in all cases in which one or both parties to the proposed marriage are under a specified age.

AID TO CHILDREN IN THEIR OWN HOMES

The standards state that unless unusual conditions exist the child's welfare is best promoted by keeping him in his own home and that no child should be permanently removed from his home unless it is impossible so to reconstruct family conditions or build and supplement family resources as to make the home safe for the child, or so to supervise the child as to make his continuance in the home safe for the community. The policy of assistance to mothers who are competent to care for their children is well established (42 States

[4] See footnote 37, p. 41.

have so-called mothers' allowance laws). Such aid should be sufficient to enable a mother to maintain her children in her own home without resorting to such outside employment as will necessitate leaving her children without proper care and oversight. The amount required can be determined only by careful case study, renewed from time to time to meet changing conditions. Georgia had enacted no legislation for aid to children in their own homes, although conditions in the State indicate the need for such a measure. When a home is in danger of breaking down because of the lack of an adequate income it becomes the duty of society to take such action as will conserve the home for the children if possible.

RURAL SOCIAL WORK

The standards called for the application of the principles of child care, as outlined in the minimum standards, to rural needs, the encouragement of rural agencies and their adaptation to the peculiar needs of rural communities, with the county as the best administrative unit.[5] In order to provide some means by which assistance and protection can be afforded children in rural as well as urban communities a number of States have made statutory provision for the creation of county child-welfare boards or public-welfare boards, employing superintendents of public welfare whose duty it is to administer certain State laws within their counties and to deal in a constructive way with the problems of dependency, neglect, delinquency, and mental or physical defects. The Georgia Department of Public Welfare is promoting the organization of counties for welfare work, though no specific law regarding such organization exists, and it has pointed out that in the average rural Georgia county one trained welfare worker can handle the work with the county's poor, its juvenile-court work, and its school-attendance work with the volunteer help of churches and civic organizations. On the basis of any one of the laws providing for appointment of a probation officer, a school attendance officer, and a commissioner of the poor, or all of them, various plans may be worked out.[6]

The administration of child-welfare laws depends largely on the understanding of the purposes of the legislation as applied to local conditions affecting children. Properly administered laws are not bludgeons to enforce compliance with arbitrary rules but are an expression of the State's ideals in child protection. They should be a means of furthering the standards of child-welfare work of the community and of obtaining intelligent compliance with the fundamental principles which underlie them. The survey in the 30 counties of Georgia showed the need of intelligent consideration and treatment of the individual children who had got into difficulty or had suffered because of adult criminality or neglect, to the end that these victims of social degeneracy might be saved as future good citizens and that the community and the State might be spared an increasing burden of care and correction.

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[5] See County Organization for Child Care and Protection (U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 107, Washington, 1922).

[6] Footprints, Report of Fifth Year's Work, June 1, 1925. State Department of Public Welfare.

APPENDIX—FORMS USED IN THE SURVEY

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
CHILDREN'S BUREAU
WASHINGTON

Date:

I. DESCRIPTION OF COURT HANDLING CHILDREN'S CASES

(Any court found to be handling cases of children under 18 years of age. Make out separate schedule for each court)

County: City or town: Court:
Number of children's cases handled during 1923: Through formal court hearings— informally—
Judge:
How selected:
Notes re:
Term:
Staff of court: (Enter number of men and number of women under each type).
Probation service: Paid probation officers on full time— on part time— volunteer probation officers— others (specify)—
How appointed (whether by examination, etc.)?
Clerk and others:
Information in regard to each probation officer (full time, part time, or volunteer): Sex, approximate age, length of time with this court, previous experience and qualifications for the work, salary paid by court, arrangement if working for court part time:
Methods of bringing cases to court: Describe how children are arrested and transported to the court, by whom complaints are received, who determines whether or not a petition is to be filed, and how notice is served on the parents and witnesses.
Investigation of cases:
By whom made—
What cases are investigated?
Method and scope of investigation (including use of data from social agencies):
Are physical examinations made?
In what types of cases?
By whom?
Are mental examinations made?
In what types of cases?
By whom?
Informal adjustment of cases:
Proportion of all cases coming to the attention of the court handled in this way—
Methods used in informal adjustment of cases of various types—
Hearings:
Describe room used for hearings—
Degree to which the hearing is private (persons admitted, etc.)—
Is jurisdiction waived in serious cases and the child held for criminal trial? Give details.
Describe in detail methods of hearings in various types of cases (attend hearings, if possible; state whether description based on attendance at hearings or on information secured from other sources).

Disposition of cases:
Policies with reference to disposition of cases (i. e., types of cases in which probation is used; types committed to training schools, prison, jail, chain gangs, etc.; use of fines).
Probation:
(a) Describe the organization of the probation service (i. e., division of work among different officers, method of assignment of cases, supervision of staff, etc.).
(b) Describe methods of probation work (i. e., use of reporting, frequency of home visits, cooperation with schools and recreational agencies, usual length of probation, etc.).
(c) Is probation terminated by definite release?
Is the child brought to court to be released from probation?
Is he notified of release from probation?
(d) Do the probation officers themselves place children in family homes?
Describe types of children placed and methods used:
(e) Do the probation officers place children through other agencies?
Name the agencies used, and describe arrangement—
Records and reports:
Describe record system; secure copies of all record forms, both legal and social (label each with name of court and county).
Are monthly or annual reports compiled? (Secure copies if possible.)

Date:

II. DESCRIPTION OF COURT HANDLING CHILDREN'S CASES IN RURAL COUNTIES

(Any court found to be handling cases of children under 18 years of age. Make out separate schedule for each court.)

County: City or town: Court:
Number of children's cases handled during 1923: Through formal court hearings— informally—
Judge:
How selected: Term:
Notes re:
Staff of court (describe duties of each member of the staff, specify whether paid or volunteer, time spent on court work, compensation, qualifications, method of appointments, etc.):
Investigation before first hearing or before disposition—by whom; describe procedure, thoroughness, etc.:
Describe hearings:
Probation or social work done by the court (by whom done; methods; thoroughness; etc.):
Disposition of cases (policies regarding probation, commitment to institutions for juveniles, penitentiary, chain gangs, etc.—for delinquent children; policies in regard to dealing with dependent and neglected children):

III. CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS BEFORE THE GEORGIA COURTS—INDIVIDUAL CASE DATA

(Data re child brought before court because of delinquency, neglect, or dependency during the calendar year 1923.)

County: City or town: Court:
Type of case: Delinquency— Neglect— Dependency—
Name of child: Race: Sex: Date of birth: Age:
Home address:
Names of parents:
Civil status and whereabouts of parents:

Whereabouts of child (on date of complaint):
School grade December 31, 1923:
Charge (character of offense or complaint):
Date of complaint: Date of first hearing by court:
Detention pending hearing (where was child kept—if not in own home, specify place and length of time, giving separately, with dates, the different periods, as "before first hearing," "first remand," etc.):
Child's previous court record (dates, courts handling, charges, and dispositions):
Disposition:
Handled without formal hearing: By whom— Action taken—
Court hearings:
Dismissed— Placed on file or continued— Sentence suspended—
Fined, amount— Restitution ordered, amount—
Committed (because of delinquency) to: Training school—
Penitentiary— Chain gang— Jail— Other specify—
Committed first hearing— Committed after continuance—
Committed following probation—
Terms of commitment (length, payments by parents, etc)—
Committed to dependent institution: Name, terms of commitment—
Placed in family home (specify terms, etc., and whether relatives' home or other):
By court direct—
Through child-placing agency—
Placed on probation, by whom supervised, and time period:
Paid probation officer? Volunteer? Other (specify):

NOTE.—If brought in again for violation of probation—with action taken:
Case pending; no action by December 31, 1923—
Was legal guardianship transferred from parents? If so, give reason:
Responsible adults prosecuted by juvenile court: By other court:
Action against whom, and results:
NOTE.—If information is available as a basis for a good illustrative story, write up child's history in brief story form.

IV. DETENTION PENDING HEARING

(Including remand, continuances, etc., all cases of children under 18 years of age.)

County:
Check types used in county: Special detention home— boarding homes—
jail— local institutions (name)— other (specify)—

Specify if differing for the various courts, and whether different types are used for different age groups. (Secure information in regard to rural sections as well as cities and towns.)
Describe for each type used the equipment, etc., as indicated, numbering items as follows:
1. *Special detention home.*—Building, equipment, and management, and daily activities of children (school work, etc.).
2. *Boarding homes.*—Describe each home so used, arrangements made, etc.
3. *Local institutions.*—Accommodations for court children.
4. *Jail.*—City and county separately. Provision made for children, contact with adults, food, recreation, matron, etc.

Specify for each of the above the following facts:
City or town in which located—
Number of children provided for at time of visit—
Number of children provided for during 1923—
Policy in regard to length of stay. Note for each whether used for short-term commitments—

County—Children under 18 detained during 1923

	Name of child	Sex	Age	Place in which detained	From whom received	Court for which held	Charge	Date received	Date discharged
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									
8									
9									
10									
11									
12									
13									
14									
15									

V. OFFENSES AGAINST CHILDREN, AND ADULTS CONTRIBUTING TO NEGLECT OR DELINQUENCY OF MINORS

County: City or town:

Courts handling these cases:

Number of adults brought to court on charges of contributing to the neglect or delinquency of children during the calendar year 1923. (Enter number of neglect and of delinquency cases separately. If more than one court, give number of cases for each.)

Number of children involved.

Describe court procedure in these cases. (Give separately for each court.)

Cases during 1923[1] *(list the individual children involved and indicate the cases by bracketing)*

	Name of child	Sex	Age at time of hearing	Offense	Adult complained against (relationship, sex, age)	Disposition of case (commitment to workhouse, fine, etc.)
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						

[1] Enter name of court over group of cases handled by it, juvenile over numbers 1, 2, 3, etc., superior over proper numbers, etc.

VI. ADOPTIONS

(Include all applications whether granted or refused)

County: City or town:
Court handling adoptions:
Description of proceedure, including especially policy concerning investigation of child's own family and prospective adoption home, and methods of such inquiry.

Cases during 1923

	Sex	Age when petition filed	Surrender signed by—	Custodian immediately prior to surrender [1]	If under agency care, how received? How long? Reason for agency care [1]	Adoption granted or refused. If refused, reason
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						

[1] These items probably can not be secured from court records.

NOTE.—In discussing problems with public officials and social agencies note any information secured regarding unsuccessful adoptions or illustrating the need for investigation, etc. Enter such stories on separate sheets attached to this.

VII. NONSUPPORT AND DESERTION

County: City or town:
Courts handling these cases:
Describe procedure—complaint, hearing, special officers handling these cases, methods of follow-up, use of probation, etc. (Give separately for each court.)

Cases during 1923 involving children under 18 years of age

(Include all complaints whether father brought to trial or not)

	Court	Name and address of family	Father not apprehended	Case handled by court informally. Date	Formal hearing. Date	Results	Number and ages of children in each family [1]
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							

[1] Include all children of family regardless of age. If children are not in parental home, state whereabouts.

VIII. CUSTODY OF CHILDREN

(In divorce and other cases)

County: City or town:
In what court are divorce cases heard?
Total number of divorce cases in 1923:
Number of these families having children under 18:
Any special arrangements for investigation concerning custody of children (including reference of cases to other courts):
What court determines questions of transfer of legal guardianship, appointment of guardians of person, etc.?
Any special arrangements for investigation?

Divorce cases during 1923—Families having children under 18 years of age

	Name and address	Number and ages of children [1]	To whom was custody awarded (mother, father, other—specify)
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			

[1] If not in parental home, state whereabouts. Include all children of the family regardless of age.

NOTE.—Use separate sheets attached to this for any information of interest concerning children affected by divorce actions or by actions for transfer of guardianship (not including adoptions).

IX. COURT ACTION FOR SUPPORT OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

County: City or town:
To what official are these complaints made? What court?
Number of complaints made during 1923:
Describe procedure—complaint, preliminary hearing, later hearings, etc.:

Cases during 1923

	Complaint made by—(mother, other—specify)	Date of complaint	Age of mother	Age of man said to be the father	Warrant issued or not issued	Date of preliminary hearing	Date of final trial	Result of legal action. (Case settled before trial—give amount—case dismissed, father ordered to pay for child's support, etc.) [1]
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								

[1] If the case was settled or support was ordered, enter the amount of the settlement or the court order.

X. ILLEGITIMACY

(Cases dealt with by public and private agencies)

County:

Secure from vital statistics any information available concerning illegitimate births during 1923: Total legitimate births; total illegitimate; ages of unmarried mothers; occupations; any other available data from records.

Give brief write-ups of illegitimacy cases on which information is secured from social agencies, public officials, and others, with special reference to disposition of child, support by father, past and subsequent history of mother, agency work on case. (Use additional blank pages for case stories.)

XI. NEED FOR PUBLIC AID TO CHILDREN IN THEIR OWN HOMES

The object of this schedule is to secure data concerning individual families who might be eligible to receive "mothers' pensions." Enter below data relating to one family; information secured from county poor commissioners, private relief agencies, and other organizations and individuals. Data for time of agent's visit, not for year.

Agency reporting:

Reason for dependency: Father—Dead, Deserted, Divorced, Incapacitated by illness, In insane asylum, In prison,

Length of time since above:

Date of application for aid:

Ages of all children in family: Boys— Girls—

Does the mother work? Occupation and earnings:

Working children—Ages, occupations, and earnings of each:

Sources of family support:

Amount of aid given (specify time period): County poor relief— private agencies— other (specify)—

Remarks(anything of interest—showing the need for assistance, or family conditions):

XII. CHILD MARRIAGES

(Either party under 18 years of age. Source: Marriage-license bureau)

County: City or town:

Child marriages during 1923

	Date marriage license issued	Bride		Groom	
		Age	Residence	Age	Residence
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					

In cases of young people applying for marriage licenses, is any proof of age required? (Birth certificate, baptismal certificate, etc.)

In cases of young people of an age when consent of parents is required before a marriage license is granted, is any proof of identity required of those who state they are parents and wish to give consent?

NOTE.—Enter on separate sheet attached to this, notes on any reported cases of unsuccessful marriages whose failure may be due to the youth of the bride or groom; also information secured in regard to divorce cases involving persons married when under 18 years of age.

XIII. CHILDREN IN ALMSHOUSES

County:
Location of almshouse:
Number of children in almshouse during 1923:
Policy in regard to receiving children, and length of stay:
Describe quarters provided for children with special reference to separation from adults, arrangement made when mother is also in institution (whether child with mother, both mother and child with other adults), sleeping quarters, recreation, schooling (in the institution or in neighboring school), etc. Include description of arrangements if separate buildings are provided for children on the grounds of almshouse for adults:

Children under 18 cared for during 1923

	Race	Sex	Legitimate	Illegitimate	Date of birth	Date received	Date discharged	With mother		Mental condition	Physical condition
								Child born in almshouse	Committed with mother		
1											
2											
3											
4											
5											
6											
7											
8											
9											
10											

[1] If data can be secured in regard to—(a) Reason for coming to almshouse, (b) reason for discharge, and (c) person or agency to whom discharged, use additional sheet, numbering entries to correspond. Also give other available details including whereabouts of both parents and other items concerning the family.

Date:

XIV. PREVALENCE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

INSTRUCTIONS

Use one sheet for a summary of the delinquency situation in the county, heading this "Summary."

For material in story form, describing either individual cases or gang activities, use a separate sheet for each story, if practicable. Be as specific as possible concerning ages of children, home conditions, offenses committed, and other significant facts.

If activities designed to prevent delinquency are discovered, describe them.

The marginal space is for editing in the Washington office.

At the beginning of each story enter sources of information.

County: