

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

A STUDY OF STAFF REQUIREMENTS  
IN RELATION TO AGENCY FUNCTION

A Study of the experience of the  
Children's Home of Winnipeg.  
1895 - 1955.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with the staff requirements of The Children's Home of Winnipeg, an institution established in 1884 to care for homeless and destitute children, by a group of women called The Christian Women's Union. During its nearly seventy years of operation as a child-caring institution there have been developments and changes in the function of the agency related more or less closely to developments in the fields of child welfare and child care. With these have come changes in the kind and numbers of staff engaged, and in the division of duties among them, as well as in the division of responsibilities between board members and employed staff. It is the writer's intention to examine these developments in the institution with a view to identifying trends in staff requirements and functions and their relation to changes in agency functions.

The writer became interested in the subject of the study in the course of a field placement in this agency during her second year in the School of Social Work. This occurred at a time when the institution was completing the experimental phase of its new function as a treatment centre for disturbed children. The functions of staff,

at such a time, were of course constantly under review in relation to the agency's over-all program. This, along with the fact that there were some surface similarities between the current program and that of the institution's earliest period, gave some degree of interest to the question of what, historically, had influenced staff requirements. This study will look at the kind and number of staff employed and the responsibilities assigned them in relation to the objectives and functions of the institution during the four chief periods of its history. Attention must also be given to the responsibilities carried by board members as volunteers.

It is not intended to consider in any detail the causes of change in the agency's objectives and functions, since these lie, on the whole, outside the scope of the thesis. Apart from this general limitation, certain aspects of the institution's relations with other community services for children and families which would otherwise have been included have been omitted for want of time. It would have been useful, for instance, to examine the records of the Children's Aid Society in order to learn what arrangements were worked out at various periods regarding the placement, maintenance and discharge of children placed in the Home by the Children's Aid. The nature of the material used in the study, and the want of

time to supplement these sources by further investigation, has meant that many particular points have had to be left unclear. Attention will be drawn to these in the body of the thesis as they occur. One example may be given here. It is important to know, during the years when the institution's population was very large, the ratio of child care staff to children, and better still, the number of staff caring for the various groups of children - babies, toddlers and older children. It has not been possible to ascertain this exactly, since the figures given about staff are usually totals, not differentiating child care staff from administrative and maintenance personnel.

The materials used in the study have come from various sources. There are first of all the published annual reports of the institution. This kind of material is limited by its purposes. Since such reports are designed to give information to an interested lay public, they give only a simplified and generalized picture of the agency. They are useful, however, as containing the agency's formulation of its goals and philosophy, along with statistics of the institution's population and related data. Extensive reading has also been done of board and committee minutes from all periods of the institution's history. These contain a great deal of information about developments in the agency's functions, changes in policy,

and (especially in the case of committees charged with administrative and supervisory responsibilities) of the ways in which policy worked in practice. They have, however, serious limitations from the point of view of a study such as this. A decision may be recorded in the minutes, but the facts and opinion on which it was based omitted, so that it is difficult to interpret its cause, or probable effects, or sometimes even its relative importance. On occasion, a subject such as the qualifications of a newly hired matron may be fully set down, while no information is recorded about the qualifications of the next matron to be hired, with the result that information is not available for purposes of comparison. These sources furnished most of the material up to 1950 in the absence of case records.

For the period 1950 to 1955, case records regarding the children entering the treatment centre have been used as well. These give some opportunity to study the roles of the staff in carrying out the program, and the relative effectiveness of various methods tried. Such material is of course focussed on the needs of a particular child, rather than on the program as a whole. Additional material is drawn from the writer's own observation and from consultation with administrative staff during 1954-55.

For the purposes of the inquiry, it is assumed that the functions and inter-relationships of institutional and other personnel are determined primarily by the function of the institution at any given time. That is, the jobs and requirements for the job change as the Board of the institution sees what it is doing differently. In testing out this hypothesis several questions will be put to the material. How does the professional training of staff change as the goal of the institution changes? What is the place of the volunteer citizen in contrast to the paid staff person? Where does the administrative function fall as between board and staff, and if possible, what changes have brought this about? In all probability the material available is such that it does not allow one to draw an inference; at other times changes may have been an ad hoc arrangement because of expediency. What effect has the change in size of the institution had on the type and number of staff?

It is intended in the second chapter to give a general picture of the developments in the field of child welfare which have taken place during the period covered by this study. This will include giving some attention to the diversification of services for various categories of need and to changes in the methods and provisions made for the care of children apart from their families. The intention is limited to the giving of a context in which the

experience of the Children's Home may be viewed. The succeeding four chapters will deal with the four chief periods of the institution's existence: the first from 1884 to 1900; the second from 1901 to 1919; the third from 1920 to 1944, and the fourth from 1945 to 1955. The divisions between the first, second and third periods have been made arbitrarily, for the institution's function remained essentially unchanged. However, there were certain developments in population, organization and emphasis in the program from time to time, which justify some division into periods, but it must be recognized that overlapping is inevitable.

There is indeed a fifth period - 1945 to 1949 - during which the Children's Home carried on Receiving Home services for the Children's Aid Society, while arriving at a decision about its future program in relation to the needs of the community. It appears, however, that the significance of this period - chiefly in regard to the reorganization of the board and the redistribution of responsibilities between the board and administrative staff - can be most effectively brought out in conjunction with the consideration of the four-and-a-half years of operation as a treatment centre from 1951 to 1955.

During each of the periods the material will be analyzed from these points of view: - the goal or objec-



tive and philosophy of the agency during the period in question; the function of the institution; the provision made for administration, education, physical care, emotional care, recreation; and the institution's relations with community, government and private agencies; division of responsibilities and work load among personnel; summary in regard to the hypothesis and questions, bringing out specifically how clear the roles of staff were; staff competence in relation to the goals of the agency and the nature of the relationship to other community services for children.

The final chapter will bring out, from a comparison of the periods studied, such generalizations as can be drawn from the material in relation to the hypothesis and questions concerning the relation between staff functions and the goal of the institution.

## CHAPTER II

### GENERAL TRENDS IN CHILD WELFARE

The succeeding chapters will deal with the experience of The Children's Home of Winnipeg in regard to staff requirements in relation to the function of the agency. The present chapter is intended to provide a context in which this agency's changing functions may be considered, by giving a general picture of trends in the child welfare field during the period, with special reference to the city of Winnipeg and the province of Manitoba. Some attention will be given, too, to other social services, such as developments in public assistance and planning for social welfare in the community because they have affected trends in child welfare and the functions of child-caring institutions to some extent.

At the beginning of the period under study - that is, about 1885 - the only provision made in most communities in Canada and the United States for child welfare was the institution caring for dependent children. These were usually under private auspices and quite often associated with one or another of the religious denominations. Their charters generally allowed them powers of guardianship over the children in their care, a provision made particularly necessary in the absence of provision for contact

with the children's parents, so that it was important for the institutions to have authority commensurate with their degree of responsibility.

With the passage of time, the community's concern for child welfare increased and took on other forms. Nonetheless, for several decades, institutional care retained its paramount importance. New institutions for children were set up, still chiefly for the care of dependent children, although correctional institutions for juvenile offenders grew up also, after the passage of related legislation.<sup>1</sup> Existing institutions developed, to a greater or lesser extent in size and in complexity of organization and variety of services as they undertook to provide for the training, education and recreation of their inmates.

The intent of the managing boards and administrations of the institutions was to provide a home, physical care, the advantages of sound education, and moral upbringing to render the child a good citizen.<sup>2</sup>

This was in the beginning. Later their emphasis often passed to education, and still later, to arrangements for uniting a variety of skills to give the children as normal

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1. In Canada, after 1908, when the Juvenile Delinquents' Act was passed by the federal government.

2. Norman V. Lourie and Rena Schulman: "The Role of the Residential Staff in Residential Treatment", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 22 (1952), Page 799.

an upbringing as possible.

The growth of institutions in Winnipeg followed very much this pattern. The first established was a Roman Catholic institution for children and the aged in 1884, run by the Sisters of Charity in St. Boniface. Then followed the Children's Home in 1885, accepting mostly Protestant children. After a lapse of more than twenty years other institutions were added, including St. Joseph's Orphanage, 1906; Knowles School for Boys, 1907 and following, and the Jewish Children's Home and Aid Society in 1919. While these institutions were private organizations, it was recognized that they were carrying out a function for which municipal and provincial governments had some responsibility, for grants, covering a portion of building and operating expenses, were regularly made to them by these bodies.

Toward the end of the century, society's concern for the welfare of children began to express itself in new ways. Legislation was passed for the protection of children from the more obvious forms of cruelty, providing for the prosecution of offenders and for the permanent removal of children from their own homes. In keeping with the pattern of other Canadian provinces, Manitoba passed such legislation in the Children's Protection Act of 1898.<sup>1</sup>

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1. The first province to pass this type of legislation was Ontario, in 1891.

At the same time the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg, a private agency, was set up to administer the act in the city. Like most such agencies at the time, its staff and services were limited. Its work consisted mainly in threatening and admonishing parents, and, as a last resort, in obtaining guardianship of neglected children through the court and placing them in one or another of the institutions.

Two developments within the child welfare field in America converged to bring about decisive changes in this pattern of placing in institutions most of the children who needed care apart from their families. The first, arising through the growth of family casework, was a belief in the right of every child to a normal family life, whether in his own or a substitute home. This idea grew up along with development of family casework during the first quarter of the century, although it did not have widespread effect on child placement until later. This was further emphasized by the principles laid down in the White House Conference of 1909, which set forth that a child should not be separated from its mother for reasons of poverty only, and that home care was preferable to care in institutions as a basis for public policy. It was greatly reinforced in the nineteen twenties by the rapidly growing understanding of the vital importance for children's

emotional development of family relationships, derived by social work from the new psycho-analytic psychiatry. These ideas gave great impetus to the development of social services which prevented the breaking up of families, a trend which will be touched on later. For the child who had to be cared for apart from his own family, the foster family was put forward as the ideal arrangement. The child was to be placed in the care of foster parents who were to be paid a token amount for their services, and supervised by the child-placing agency for the protection of the child. While the advantages of this scheme were put forward, the defects of institutional care of children were thoroughly brought out. These defects were particularly significant for the child of pre-school age. As a later writer expressed the ideas current at the time:

".....realms in the infant's life where the residential nursery can be helpful by creating, very much on the lines of the nursery school, excellent conditions for development, as health, hygiene, development of skills, early social responses. There are other realms, where it is important for residential nurseries to recognize their limitations, as in emotional life, character development;....."<sup>1</sup>

The transition to the use of foster homes as the principal child placement resource began to gather momentum in the 1930's, although there were of course instances of

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1. Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham, New York; International University Press, 1944, Page 127.

it earlier in some communities and agencies.<sup>1</sup> The idea was first formally advanced in Winnipeg in a survey of welfare services made in 1925.<sup>2</sup> The proposal lacked strong support from the child welfare agencies and the public at large, who were not yet fully convinced of its validity or practicality, so that this recommendation was not implemented. It was put forward much more vigorously in a study of child welfare services made in 1942.<sup>3</sup> By this time foster home placement had won widespread acceptance among social service personnel and the community at large. With an increased staff, the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg set up an extensive foster home program, so quickly that by 1945, several of the child-caring institutions in the city were practically emptied of their population.

Even before the provision of foster home service, communities took legislative action to allow for the final adoption of children. Agencies for the protection and placement of children, such as the Children's Aid Societies, and many institutions for children were, up to this time,

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1. The Infants' Home of Toronto began to use boarding-homes, for example, in 1920.

2. Edward T. Devine; A Social Audit of those Welfare Institutions which Participate in the Funds of the Federated Budget Board of Winnipeg, 1925.

3. Robert E. Mills: Report of the Child Care and Protection Survey of Winnipeg, 1942.

empowered to take guardianship of children and to place them in family homes by indenture - that is, on the basis of a legal agreement in which the family assumed responsibility for the maintenance and upbringing of the child. Particularly for younger children, this arrangement often worked out like a free foster home. In the case of older children, a small wage was often paid to the child or to a trust fund for him in return for work in the family home, farm or business. The scheme gave to some children a substitute family, and to others the place of a drudge. It protected the placing agency to a degree by vesting responsibility for the child in the foster family, but gave inadequate security to the child, since there was no planned supervision, and the indenture agreement could be terminated by the family, leaving the child with little claim on the foster family or any other guardian.

The province of Manitoba passed adoption legislation in 1924. After this, indenture placement by such agencies as the Children's Home fell into disuse. This followed the gradual increase of child welfare services at the provincial level, after the appointment of a Superintendent of Neglected Children in 1903, whose staff carried, outside Winnipeg, similar limited protection, child placement and supervisory functions to those of a Children's Aid Society.



The increased importance placed on family life, which contributed toward the use of foster home placement instead of institutions, also encouraged a search for ways to avoid breaking up families. This brought about the establishment from the turn of the century onward of a variety of public and private agencies to meet various kinds of need, beginning, according to the usual pattern, with material needs. The problems of parents on inadequate incomes, and particularly widowed and deserted mothers, were among the first to receive attention. Two day-nurseries were established in Winnipeg in 1909, caring for children of mothers who had to work. In 1916, Manitoba became the first Canadian province to give financial assistance to widowed and deserted mothers, through their Mothers' Allowance program. In 1926, a homemakers' service was set up, which engaged women to care for the homes and children of sick mothers. Still later, family service agencies were established or expanded to prevent or remedy family breakdown due to social and emotional stress. Such an agency, The Family Bureau, was set up in Winnipeg in 1937. Public assistance to the indigent began to expand in scope and aims - especially after the impact of the depression of the 1930's - from its beginnings of emergency help at subsistence level. These new services tended to

meet more appropriately and effectively the needs of families who might formerly have placed their children in institutions because of financial need.

During the last decades before 1955, there was rapid growth in the knowledge and skill of psychiatrists, psychologists, social case workers and members of other related professions. Social agencies have sought to utilize these new resources by arriving at an individualized diagnostic understanding of the needs and capacities of the persons seeking their help. Related to this has come a recognition in the child welfare field that foster home placement does not meet the need of every child who has to be cared for apart from his family. Numbers of children could not use the family setting, whether because their relationships with their own families were so strong that they could not form new ones, or because these relationships had been so unsatisfactory as to impair their ability to relate to parent figures. Child-caring institutions remodelled their services to meet the needs of these children, and so tended to become agencies serving the child with special problems rather than the child whose parents because of death, financial distress, or illness, for instance, could not care for him. The change began in some communities as early as the 'twenties, and 'thirties,

along with the trend toward foster home care. The use of institutions for specialized services was recommended to Winnipeg in the Mills Report of 1942 already mentioned, and more specific recommendations were put forward six years later in a follow-up study known as the Meyer Report.<sup>1</sup> Institutions began to adapt to this new function, acquiring additional resources in personnel for diagnosis, consultation and treatment of children with special needs. The Children's Home of Winnipeg, in particular, set up a residential treatment centre for emotionally disturbed children in 1950.

To summarize then, it can be said that at the time the Children's Home was established, the principal child welfare service was the institution for the care of dependent children, under private auspices. This single resource met the needs of families with many and varied problems. By the end of the period there had arisen a variety of public and private services in family and child welfare, including diversity of resources for child placement, utilized on the basis of a diagnosis of individual needs. There had been changes in ways of meeting what were regarded as basic needs of families and children, and these were, generally speaking, served by public agencies. Spec-

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1. Child-caring Institutions in Greater Winnipeg; A Study by the Council of Social Agencies of Greater Winnipeg; January, 1948.

ialized or experimental services were more often carried out by private agencies. Since the turn of the century there had grown up also agencies responsible for co-ordination, financing and planning for social welfare services. There were changes in philosophy, goals, knowledge, skills, resources, all of which as has been mentioned, have affected the functions of child-caring institutions.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE FIRST PERIOD - 1885 - 1901.

The first period to be examined runs from the point of the Institution's establishment in 1885 to 1901, when there was a rather sharp increase in its population, accompanied by new problems and duties for personnel. This chapter will deal with the Children's Home at a time when the essentials of its philosophy, organization, administration and child care methods were worked out in relation to the relatively small population - essentials which were to be developed and modified as conditions changed during succeeding periods.

The Children's Home began operations in 1885 under the auspices of the Christian Women's Union. This was a group of Protestant lay-women concerned about the lack of social services in the community. It was the first Protestant institution for children in Western Canada, caring solely for children. It was first set up in a house on May Street, Point Douglas, and very soon moved to Assiniboine Avenue near Main Street. In 1886 it moved to larger quarters at 227 Portage Avenue, and in 1889 to 200 River Avenue.

Since the first annual report and the early minutes of the "Committee of Management" (a committee of

the Christian Women's Union) have not been found, it is not clear what were the original intentions of the founders, what particular group in the community they sought to serve, or what the early admission policy was. The Christian Women's Union also opened a small maternity home, although when it opened, and how long it lasted, has not come to light. It probably began in 1884, since its third annual report is issued jointly with the second annual report of the Children's Home.

It may be that the Children's Home was established as the result of experience of the need for such a home among the patients of the maternity hospital. Certainly there were close connections between the two. It is certain that some of the mothers who had received care in the maternity home entered the Children's Home with their infants for a time. In some cases, if not in all, these women acted as staff persons in the Children's Home and worked off debts to the maternity home in this way. Whether there was any other motive for their entering the Children's Home is not evident. It is clear that this was not an institution in which mothers, chiefly unmarried mothers, spent several months following confinement engaged in household duties while nursing their babies. The ratio of children to adults in the home seems to prove this quite

definitely. The minutes for the meeting of October 4th, 1885, state that "there were in the house fourteen children and four grown people during the previous month."<sup>1</sup> Besides, the children were not all infants. Mention is made in the minutes of children ranging in age from infants to school-age children. It seems probable therefore that the Children's Home was set up to meet the need of a group larger than those women who entered the maternity home.

In 1887, the Children's Home was incorporated as an institution. The reasons for this step do not appear in the material available to the writer. The annual report for the year says it was taken in the interest of efficiency.<sup>2</sup> It may be supposed that it became desirable as the nature and extent of the need became evident, to provide for a formal structure and a legal framework. This would be especially important with regard to financial arrangements, and to clarify the institution's responsibilities to, and authority over, its children, and to allow for placement of children under form of indenture. The "objects and purposes" of the institution are stated in the act to be

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1. Minutes of meeting of Committee of Management for Children's Home of Winnipeg, Christian Women's Union, August, 1885.

2. A Motion passed March 16th, 1884, of Christian Women's Union quoted in the 3rd Annual Report of Children's Home for the year ending December 31st, 1884; Annual Reports of Children's Home, Act of Incorporation and By-laws. Vol. 1. 1887 - 1894.

"to provide a home for destitute and homeless boys and girls and for their maintenance and support."<sup>1</sup>

The following quotation from the act gives some indication of the framework within which admissions were made:

"The said corporation may admit into any home by them established or maintained for that purpose boys who are under the age of six years and girls under the age of fourteen years, and on or before their admission shall have the right to contract with the parents or guardian of all children so to be admitted for the absolute and uninterrupted custody of and control over such children."<sup>2</sup>

In the absence of the early minutes and the first annual report, it is not possible to determine what age group the home was originally set up to serve. There is a reference in the minutes of the meetings of the committee of management on August fifth, 1886, to a by-law relating to children under two years.<sup>3</sup> So far as can be judged from references to inmates during the preceding year, children of all ages were accepted. It may be that the amendment to the by-law was the result of experience which showed that the restriction, whatever it was, could not be enforced without

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1. Act of Incorporation Children's Home Assented to June 1st, 1884. Annual Reports of Children's Home Act of Incorporation and By-laws. Vol. 1. 1884-1894.

2. Ibid. Section 10.

3. Minutes of Meeting of Committee of Management - Children's Home of Winnipeg - Christian Women's Union, 5th August, 1886.



hardship to many applicants. The age restrictions contained in the act of incorporation do not seem ever to have been strictly adhered to, to judge from the minutes of the admitting committee and the numbers of children in various age groups as listed in annual reports.

One problem which frequently received attention from committees and board of management was the difficulty of caring for infants. The annual report for the year 1887 states that the institution could not accept young babies because of the health hazards in a crowded institution.<sup>1</sup> During the 1890's, the need for an infants' home separate from, or connected with the Children's Home is repeatedly stressed. The Children's Home was accepting some infants, but was evidently finding it increasingly difficult to cope with infants and older children in the same institution. The frequency with which board minutes and annual reports refer to epidemics of scarlet fever, whooping cough, measles, chicken pox, etc., no doubt had a good deal to do with this. In addition, the home was frequently overcrowded, and always, to judge from records, full to capacity. One annual report says the matron had been obliged to surrender her room to several children. She had moved into a smaller one, and

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1. Third Annual Report of Children's Home of Winnipeg for the year ending December 31st, 1887. Annual Report of Children's Home of Winnipeg, Vol. 1, 1887 - 1897.

had later been obliged to take several children to share the room with her. Mention is made in the board minutes for June, 1833, of the fact that it was thought inadvisable to admit infants without their mothers during the summer months.<sup>1</sup> Policy and practice changed from time to time depending, apparently, on whether the awareness of the need of the family applying, or of the danger to the child's health, was the greater. However, it is safe to say that the home was reluctant to accept infants under six months of age if any other plan of care could be found for them. Still, this did not prevent the admission of a good many nursing infants to the home.

Admissions do not seem ever to have been confined within the age limit of six years for boys. Boys in their teens seem to have been accepted until the establishment of Knowles School for Boys. After this only boys of nine and under were admitted.

During the institution's early years the population ranged from fifteen to twenty-five at any one time, with total annual admissions of about fifty. As the period drew to its close, expansion began. In 1897, the average population was fifty-three, and the total admissions for

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1. Minutes of meeting of Board of Management, Children's Home of Winnipeg. June, 1833.

the year 103.<sup>1</sup>

Another of the institution's functions under the act of incorporation was the placement of children in family homes under articles of indenture. This form of agreement served as a precursor of the adoption of children. It involved the assumption on the part of the family of responsibility for the care, maintenance, education of the child, and for fitting him to earn his living. In addition the family contributed a small sum of money annually toward a fund built up for the child and given him when he became of age. In return, the child was expected to undertake work in the family home, farm or business commensurate with his years. In some cases this arrangement worked out much like an adoption or free foster home. At worst, and particularly with older children, it placed the child in a situation of drudgery.

Because of this latter possibility, the board of management felt the need to supervise and inspect these homes, a project made difficult by the fact that many of them were in rural districts. At first, the board required a written report from the foster parents each year, but, since this did not prove satisfactory, they set out to find other methods. The annual report of 1898 states:

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1. Thirteenth Annual Report of Children's Home of Winnipeg for the year ending December 31, 1894. Annual Reports of Children's Home of Winnipeg. Vol. 1. 1887 - 1894.

"There is one thing which is becoming every day a more apparent necessity, that is, the appointment of a suitable person to visit the homes of these children after they have been given out, and be assured from personal inspection that all is as it should be. Hitherto, maintaining of correspondence and an occasional visit from someone interested in the welfare of the child has been all that could be attempted in this direction. But as, year by year, the number of children increase, the need for an inspection becomes more evident."<sup>1</sup>

The number of children placed does not seem to have been very great in relation to the total admissions to the home. The annual report for 1901 states that seven hundred children had been cared for in the home since its beginning; of these, seventy had been placed in foster families.<sup>2</sup> One of the reasons for this small proportion was that many of the children placed in the institution were not in need of, or available for, such a placement in a private family, for they entered the Home for a temporary stay during a crisis in their own family, to whom they later returned.

In 1900, the matron was sent on a tour of inspection of the homes in which children had been placed, the first such inspection made. This appears to have been an expedient of the moment, rather than a change in the distribution of responsibility.

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1. Fourteenth Annual Report of the Children's Home of Winnipeg for the year ending Dec. 31, 1898. Annual Report of Children's Home of Winnipeg, Vol. 2, 1898-1911.

2. Seventeenth Annual Report of the Children's Home of Winnipeg for year ending Dec. 31, 1901. Annual Report of Children's Home of Winnipeg, Vol. 2, 1898-1911.

The statement of the objects of the institution in the act of incorporation contains the phrase "to provide a home for destitute and homeless boys and girls". The board of management understood their purpose to be to provide in their program of institutional care for children the essential values of family life. In the annual report for 1900, the secretary says:

"The title of our institution, the Children's Home, is suggestive of those means and methods of training children known as family life. The excellence of the system shows itself daily and hourly in the reproduction of all that is best in a well-ordered home."<sup>1</sup>

The board of management took this responsibility seriously. It may be guessed that the term was deliberately chosen for the statement of purpose in the act because of its implications, to sum up their aims and objectives. They were earnest to provide a substitute family life as they understood it, and indeed, may well have succeeded during the very earliest years of the institution when the number of children in the home ranged up to twenty or twenty-five at any one time. Admissions increased, however, and while the Board persistently affirmed its intention to provide a home-like setting, problems of illness, and inefficiency arose which required other qualities.

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1. Sixteenth Annual Report of Children's Home of Winnipeg for the year ending Dec. 31st, 1900. Annual Report of Children's Home of Winnipeg. Vol. 2. 1898-1911.

The administration of the home was originally entirely in the hands of the Committee of Management. At their meeting on August 6th, 1885, a motion was passed to this effect: "Three ladies from the committee of management shall supervise the management of the home for a month at a time, paying weekly visits."<sup>1</sup> With the number of visits increased to twice-weekly, and several minor alterations, this motion became a by-law when the institution was incorporated, and with further changes as to the composition and duties of the committee it remained in force until the revised act of incorporation was approved in 1944. With the addition of certain officers of the board the committee acted on applications for admission of children and requests for children by would-be foster parents. (Henceforth this committee will be referred to as the admitting committee; the former group, that is, minus the officers, will be called the visitors.) The visitors' committee inspected the home, conferred with the matron on all aspects of house management, purchased groceries, equipment, etc., kept records and reported all its activities in considerable detail to the board.

Examination of this committee's reports to the

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1. Minutes of Meeting of Committee of Management. Children's Home of Winnipeg, Christian Women's Union, August 6th, 1885.

board underlines the fact that the board was in earnest in its intention to give home-like care to its children, and that its statements in this regard were not merely for the benefit of the public. The committee went to the home at least twice a week, and its monthly reports to the board not infrequently stated that the committee visited the house almost daily. They reported to the board not merely on the order, efficiency and economy with which the matron administered the household, on the discipline and training which the children received, but on the manner in which the matron treated the children. One visitors' report recommended the dismissal of the matron, the principal complaint being that she treated the children harshly.<sup>1</sup> The matron's responsibilities under this close supervision were rather limited. Until the appointment of a trained nurse to the position in 1907, they remained principally those of a motherly housekeeper and disciplinarian. She was responsible for household management. Her duties increased gradually, in part as will be seen, through a transfer of responsibility from the board.

The first matron was a woman who, with her child-

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1. Visitors' Report contained in minutes of meeting of Committee of Management, Children's Home of Winnipeg, Christian Women's Union, February, 1884.

ren, entered the home as matron, thereby working off a debt to the maternity hospital of the Christian Women's Union. Several of the domestic staff during the first two years of the home entered under a similar arrangement. The pitfalls to which this scheme was subject are illustrated by an entry in the minutes of the committee of management for April 1st, 1886: "Eliza, not acting in accordance with the wishes of the committee, she will be given one week to wean her baby and find a situation for herself."<sup>1</sup> A few months later the plan of finding staff from the inmates of the maternity hospital seems to have been abandoned in favour of employing regular paid staff.

Generally speaking, the matron was charged with maintaining cleanliness, order and efficiency. Discipline was an important part of her duties with regard to the children and the domestic staff. She was expected to give good physical care and warm kindness. The visitors for the month of February, 1887, registering a protest against the matron's management of the home expressed the need for "an efficient Christian mother,"<sup>2</sup> to fill the position.

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1. Minutes of Meeting of Committee of Management, Children's Home of Winnipeg, Christian Women's Union, April 1st, 1886.

2. Christian Women's Union - Report of Visitors' Committee, February, 1887.



Although the phrase appears momentarily startling, it conveys in as few words as possible what was expected of the matron.

The enlargement of the matron's responsibilities during this first period was not great. Indeed, some of the responsibilities given her seem so necessary as to be inherent in her work. The significant thing is, perhaps, that they did in fact come to her by the decision of the committee of management, and so were by implication seen as a transfer of responsibility. She was permitted to purchase necessary food supplies when the visitors were not available to do so. In October, 1886, by which time the matron was a permanent employee, the great need for domestic staff is mentioned in the minutes, and it was agreed to leave the selection of proper persons to the matron.<sup>1</sup> It is not clear whether this continued to be her responsibility, but it seems likely to have been so. The "lady visitors" and the board frequently discussed the wages of the domestic staff and their dismissal, but the minutes suggest that they carried full responsibility only for the hiring of senior, experienced or specially qualified persons such as the nurse and the matron. The matron

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1. Minutes of Meeting, Committee of Management Children's Home of Winnipeg, Christian Women's Union, October, 1886.

was given responsibility for the supervision of the domestic staff and of the "nurse" for the babies. Somewhat later, the matron was given authority to admit children in cases of emergency, subject to consideration of the case by the admitting committee at its next meeting.

She was at first the sole person responsible for child care, but was joined later by a "nurse" (1886) to assist with infants and toddlers, and later, as the numbers of children increased, by an "assistant matron" (1895). In 1887, the staff is listed as the matron and five servants for a population of twenty children.<sup>1</sup> Apart from an increase in numbers, the principle change in the child care staff during the period under consideration is the increasing emphasis on nurse's training. Various staff members are listed as "nurses" without a description being given of their qualifications. It seems safe to assume that at this period some at least were given the title by courtesy of their duties, while others came with experience rather than formal training. This is borne out by the fact that it is not until 1889 that the institution announces the hiring of a nurse with

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1. Minutes of meeting of visitors' committee, Children's Home, Christian Women's Union, February, 1887.

a "permanent Certificate."<sup>1</sup> However, reference is made previously (see, for example, minutes of meeting, October, 1886) to employment of persons with experience or training in hospitals.

The committee of management passed a by-law to the effect that "the medical board of the Children's Home shall be the same board as that serving the maternity home".<sup>2</sup> The physician from this board was to act each month as visiting physician to the Children's Home, and this duty was to rotate among the members of the board. Following the incorporation of the Children's Home, separate provision was made for medical services, for a time through a rotating board such as the above-mentioned, then by a single physician, but always on a voluntary, unpaid basis.

The nature of the provision made for the children's schooling varied during the period. The board preferred the provision of classes within the institution, and classes were begun in March, 1891, by arrangement with the school board. In the fall of 1895 it was found

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1. Annual Report of Children's Home of Winnipeg for the year ending December 31, 1899. Annual Reports of Children's Home, Vol. II.

2. Minutes of meeting of the committee of management Children's Home, Christian Women's Union, August 6th, 1885.

necessary to send the children out to public school, since the classroom space was needed for dormitories for increasing numbers of children. The original plan was discontinued reluctantly.

In summary, it appears that, in keeping with the general notion of providing a substitute family life, and with the usage common to such institutions at the time, the Children's Home selected child care staff on the basis of personal qualifications to give kind and motherly care to children. In the case of the matron particularly, it was necessary also that she should be able to manage the household with efficiency, thoroughness and thrift.

It is the need for special skill in regard to the physical care of children which is first recognized and met. Only the necessary minimum of administrative responsibility is regularly placed in the hands of the matron, while the balance is carried by the board and its committees.

CHAPTER IV

THE SECOND PERIOD; 1902 to 1919

Toward the end of the period described in the last chapter, the need for separate quarters for infants was mentioned with growing emphasis by the board of the Home. This appeared to have been the solution which the board saw as best for the problems of overcrowding, of confusion, inefficiency and heightened health hazards involved in caring for children of widely differing ages all together. It involved providing extra space for the increasing applicants, protecting the infants to some degree from exposure to contagious diseases, and grouping staff and children in such a way as to allow for routines suitable to the different needs of the groups of children.

These problems - growing child population, illness, methods of organization - along with certain developments in relation to other community agencies, form the basis of the Children's Home's history for the eighteen years covered in this chapter. During these years solutions more or less satisfactory to the Children's Home were evolved, which were to last without great modification until the termination of the custodial care program in 1945. The factor which had most to do with

bringing these problems into the foreground and shaping the solutions, was the change from a large but recognizable family-like setting to an institution designed for the mass care of children. The change had, of course, begun earlier, as the average population had doubled between 1885 and 1900, and staff and space had been increased. Nor was the board deliberately setting out on a plan of long-term and thorough-going change, with the opening of the infants' home in 1902. They were seeking to provide a particular solution for a particular set of problems. But the opening of the infants' home has been chosen as the beginning of this period, as it constitutes the first large step in bringing about the changes which followed.

The rise in the figure of total annual admissions<sup>1</sup> was phenomenal during the period. Total admissions for 1900 were 104; in 1902, 162; in 1905, 201; in 1915, 334, and 1919, 402. Population quadrupled during this nineteen-year period. Lack of space was a chronic problem. Remodelling of the existing quarters from time to time gave more room. Adjacent houses were rented in 1911 and 1912, increasing the Home's capacity by 68. The difficulty was more or less finally solved when the Home moved

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1. This figure always includes children in care on 1st January, as well as children admitted during the year.

to its new congregate building on Academy Road in 1916, where it remained until the close of its mass care program in 1945.

There had been lengthy negotiations with the provincial government between 1911 and 1913 in regard to new quarters for the Home. The government were prepared to lease to the Home one or another of its existing buildings - notably Roblin Hall - to cover the cost of remodelling, and some other expenses. This arrangement was at length given up in favour of constructing a new building. The new congregate institution was completed and occupied in 1916, giving accommodation for 170 children.

It is not possible to discuss the philosophy and objectives of the Home at this period without considering in more detail the internal problems which faced the board and staff. For there was, theoretically, no change in the philosophy and goals of the institution. It remained the Home's business to provide a "home for the homeless", but the practical embodiment of this intention was so altered by circumstances as to become a very different matter from the "home" of 1889. In 1913, when total admissions were more than five times greater than in 1886, the matron's report to the annual meeting stressed the intention of the institution to provide a

substitute home rather than a strict institutional regime. The annual report of 1917 emphasized as a feature of the child care program the individual attention given to each child. Quite apart from whether the Home succeeded in these intentions, it is significant that they were now being planned for, rather than taken for granted.

The physical health of the children presented serious problems of organization, administration and staff requirements. Minutes of the visitors' committee, during the early years of the institution, indicated that they were reluctant to admit small infants. This caution, along with the relatively small numbers of children cared for, permitted the board to state in their report for the year 1900 that while seven hundred children had been cared for during seventeen years of operation, only twenty-five deaths had occurred during the preceding fifteen years. In 1902, thirteen deaths occurred, twelve of them children under one year.<sup>1</sup> In the year 1913, twenty-four out of eighty-three infants died. The emphasis given year after year between 1902 and 1915 to the emaciated and diseased condition of many of the infants admitted suggests that there may have been criticism from the public regarding

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1. Eighteenth Annual Report, Children's Home of Winnipeg for year ending December 31st, 1902.



the infant mortality rate. In April, 1911, recommendations were presented from the medical board in which the doctors stated that they could not be responsible for children admitted under the age of six months. The admitting committee, as previously mentioned, was generally reluctant to accept such young children, but never refused an application without study, in keeping with the view expressed earlier, that "if the home is to serve one of the purposes for which it was founded, infants of the most tender age must be admitted".<sup>1</sup> Epidemics occurred with alarming frequency. It was not possible for the board to consider that mothering was the chief need of their children. They had to seek, above all, to give good physical care in an atmosphere of warm kindness, along with habit-training and a measure of security.

No change in admission policy took place during this period, so far as can be ascertained from the records. However, some changes in practice and procedure did take place. Since its establishment antedated that of other child welfare services in the community, their admission policy laid down no restrictions except with regard to age, and these were in any case frequently disregarded.

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1. Paraphrase from Minutes of Board of Management, Children's Home of Winnipeg, June, 1884.

The setting-up of other institutions and agencies and co-operation among them, began during these years to have some effect on admissions.

With the setting-up of Roman Catholic and Jewish institutions for children, and Knowles School for Boys, an undenominational institution, children eligible for these institutions were rarely accepted into the Children's Home. Some children were admitted on application by the Children's Aid Society, although when this first occurred is not known to the writer. The first mention made of such children is in 1911.

Applications for admission of children were for the most part still handled by a committee of the board, as in the earlier period. The procedure, according to the minutes of this committee, appears to have been that the child's parent or guardian should appear in person before the committee. Applications made by letter or other means were often deferred until the person could appear at a meeting himself. This practice was not strictly adhered to, however. Exceptions were made particularly in the case of applicants from outside the city of Winnipeg, and there is a record of applications made by some person such as a clergyman being accepted without a personal interview with the child's parents.

In an effort to ensure that admission should be made only where there was real need and to avoid having the institution serve as a dumping-ground for irresponsible parents, it was decided in 1906 that the committee should personally inquire into each application for admission, and visit the home of the person applying. However, in the following year it was decided to give the matron some freedom to admit children, and this was confirmed in 1912. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that responsibility continued to rest with the committee, however, since the minutes of its meetings showed no significant change in content.

Since there was no provision for contact or planning with the child's parents during his placement, discharge of children involved difficulties. The institution was concerned, evidently, about children placed for a temporary period, but not reclaimed. In 1907 a committee was formed to investigate the situation of parents living within the city, and to place the children in foster homes if necessary, or insist on the restoration of the child to his family if his parents appeared able to care for him, but had made no step toward doing so.

## PLACEMENT AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The Children's Home continued to place children in homes on an indenture basis. Between 1903, when a Superintendent of Neglected Children for the Province of Manitoba was appointed, and 1930, when the Children's Home placement committee was finally disbanded, this function of the agency was gradually taken over by the provincial government.

One step in this process appears in a report made to the meeting of the board of management February 6th, 1913, of a meeting held the month before between representatives of the Children's Home and the Superintendent of Neglected Children. At this meeting it was agreed that children available for placement should be listed by the Home with the Superintendent, who would be responsible for investigating and approving homes. At the same time, the Children's Home agreed to submit the names of all children surrendered for indenture placement to his office. The understanding was that the provincial government would then look into the reasons for the surrender of the child to ensure that they were valid.

A standing committee of the board dealt with applications for children and received surrenders but board members and senior staff were engaged from time to time in follow-up visits to the foster homes. In 1900 and

again in 1905, the matron spent some weeks visiting rural foster homes. In 1907, a secretary to the board was hired, and beginning in 1909, she made visits each year to a number of the rural foster homes. In general there is a trend toward systematizing this part of the agency's function, and toward its integration into the over-all provincial scheme for indenture placement.

No formal arrangement was made during this period for co-operation with the provincial government in the selection of foster families or the supervision of children placed by indenture. There were, however, isolated instances of inspection of each home by provincial workers, with recommendations about them being made to the Children's Home.<sup>1</sup> The government finally took over the supervision of indenture homes outside Winnipeg in 1920, at the beginning of the next period.

From its inception until the termination of its custodial care program in 1945, the sources of the institution's income remained essentially unchanged, although the relative proportions of contributions from these sources altered. These were: first, contributions in money and kind from private persons and business firms;

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1. Minutes of the board of management, December, 1912, and March, 1914, give instances.

second, grants from the provincial government and from the city of Winnipeg and other municipalities; and, third, maintenance paid to the Home for children by their parents or guardians. Grants from public bodies may have been an integral part of the Home's financing from the beginning, at least from the second year of operation. Reference is made to operational grants from the City of Winnipeg and the Province of Manitoba in the annual report for 1886. (It is to be remembered that the first annual report has not been found.) Arrangements were made in 1904 to place the provincial grant on the basis of estimated population and cost of services which continued in effect until 1945. Parents were, of course, often unable to contribute to the maintenance of their children. Where they were believed to be able, but unwilling, to do so, no effective machinery existed for enforcing maintenance.

The writer has found no reference to the Children's Aid Society in the Children's Home's minutes until 1911, when difficulties arose over the fact that the institution received no maintenance for children placed in the Home by the Society, had no authority over the children so placed, and no contact with their families or part in planning for them.

The Home was also involved in the work of the

Associated Charities. This organization, established in 1909, was one of the earliest attempts to co-ordinate the work of social agencies in the city. It worked in co-operation with Confidential Exchange Service - that is, a registry of clients served by participating agencies intended to avoid duplication of service and to make for co-ordination. The associated charities also helped to co-ordinate policies of agencies so as to avoid overlapping as, for instance, along denominational lines. Since it also gave relief, it may have helped some families to stay together where otherwise children might have been placed in institutions.

In 1919, the method of keeping records and statistics was being systematized to allow for periodic reports to such bodies as the Provincial Government and the Civic Charities Endorsement Bureau. The latter, established by by-law in 1913, approved applications for fund raising campaigns. By the close of the period the integration of the Children's Home into the social service structure of the community, while not close, was at least well established.

A direct consequence of the frequency of epidemics of contagious diseases, and the resulting quarantine, was the provision of schooling for the children within the institution. The 19th annual report explains that this practice was undertaken because of the great

amount of time which the children missed at public school because of quarantine. This decision was taken in 1903. Classes were held in the institution's dining-room, while a request was made to the School Board of the city that a building be constructed on the grounds for the purpose. In 1906 a two-room school was completed. The importance of this step for the future character of the institution can scarcely be over-estimated, for it had the effect of breaking the contact between the children in the institution and the community at large. The institution became in fact a community in itself, and the whole of the children's experience of the world. In a modified form this scheme continued until 1945.

Reinforcing the same trend came provision for organized recreation within the institution. Boy Scout and Girl Guide companies were among the earliest of the formal activities arranged. They appear to have been led by volunteers. It is significant that the self-contained nature of the institution's program, while it began out of problems arising from illness, continued after its initial cause had lost its importance, that is, after the control of contagious disease had been achieved. This appears to have been due in part to the established tradition, and later, to the natural tendency to use and develop the



existing resources of the institution for group leadership, equipment, ready volunteers, and so on. In this connection it is to be noted that the work of volunteer staff grew more diversified during this period. Volunteers had always been important in the Home, but during the first period they had been mostly board members. At this time, other volunteers came in, giving to the children some contact with people from outside the institution, a variety of organized recreational and educational activities, and a measure of individual attention.

Another compelling factor, however, was simply numbers. There were in the Home, for instance, enough girls for a Guide Company, and it would have been a complicated matter to arrange for these girls to join similar groups in the city.

Particularly during the first half of the period, efforts were made on the one hand to give the children chores they might be assigned in a family, and on the other, some degree of training which might help them in earning a living. Accordingly, the girls did some housework, and were taught sewing, cooking and a little nursing. The boys did some scrubbing, mending, darning and could take classes in shoe repairing and furniture making. After the move to Academy Road, gardening was added.

The arrangements for medical services were altered in 1909. The Home had been served for a number of years by a single doctor, but in this year a board of five doctors was set up, whose members were to act in rotation as medical attendants. After repeated urging by the medical board, arrangements were made for the temporary isolation of newly-admitted children, in an effort to control contagious disease. In 1910 a further step was taken, when it was arranged that sick children should be cared for in hospital rather than in the Home itself. Following the move to Academy Road, arrangements were made for isolation of suspected and actual cases of communicable disease at King George Hospital, the municipal hospital for communicable diseases. The City Health office and laboratory services were also used. A regular dental clinic with dentist and two assistants, served the Home.<sup>1</sup>

As early as July, 1886, the board was interested in finding a trained nurse for its staff. From time to time in the course of the next fifteen years a nurse was a member of the staff, usually as matron. The exact nature of her qualifications is never set forth, but her

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1. 33rd Annual Report of Children's Home for the year ending December 31st, 1917, Vol. 3, Annual Reports of Children's Home, 1912 - 1924.

professional training is inferred from her background in hospital work. The picture is confused by the fact that a variety of persons, evidently with no special qualifications, were engaged as assistant nurse, or "night nurse", so that it is often difficult to tell what is meant. During the second period, now under consideration, no doubt remains. In 1907 a Miss Wilson, who had been on staff for several years, became matron, and it seems clear that she was without doubt a trained nurse.<sup>1</sup> From this time onward there seems always to have been at least one trained nurse on staff.

As experience revealed needs, and as population, funds, and new facilities increased, the responsibilities of the matron and her staff became greater, better defined and more specialized. At length the matron's job was divided among several professional and otherwise especially qualified people, including nurse, dietitian, housekeeper and other staff. Due to the increased numbers of children in the Home, an "Assistant Matron" was hired in June, 1905, to relieve the matron of housekeeping duties. The annual report for the year 1905 lists the staff as follows: Matron, assistant matron, a "nurse" for the babies, a "nurse" for

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1. Taken from newspaper report of 24th Annual Meeting, 1908. Writer has found no printed copy of 24th Annual Report.

the toddlers, two "nurses" in "the new home" (presumably the infants' home opened in 1902), two seamstresses, a cook and assistant cook, three laundry maids, two general workmen and a furnace man. An extra trained nurse had been temporarily hired for an epidemic. This staff was regarded as adequate. Total admissions for the year were 201 children. The population ranged from 95 to 112. This meant an actual child care staff of four, plus the matron and assistant matron who may be assumed to have been involved directly in the care of the children to some degree. When an adjoining house was rented in 1912, accommodating 33 older girls, two "nurses and a maid acted as its staff".<sup>1</sup> This suggests one full-time staff person on duty for each group of children at one time, plus domestic and maintenance staff.

In 1912, the medical board came forward with rather more fundamental criticism than was implied in their recommendation of the previous year regarding the admission of children under six months of age. They felt, according to the board minutes, that the management and organization of the Home was unscientific and somewhat inefficient.<sup>2</sup> This they attributed, not to any one

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1. 21st Annual Report, 1905, and 28th Annual Report, 1912.

2. Minutes of meeting of Board of Management, April, 1912. The report submitted by the doctors is not available, but its recommendations are summarized in the minutes.

person, but to the whole system. Little seems to have been done at the time, since the board was very much occupied with negotiations with the government about new quarters and financial arrangements for the institution. Some clarification was made in the roles of matron and housekeeper. A note attached to the board minutes for July, 1912, stated that the matron was to have authority to admit and discharge children, while the responsibility for the management of servants, for food, cleaning, etc., was to be carried by the housekeeper. It should be noted that the responsibility for purchasing may still have belonged to the board, however. The 22nd annual report, for 1906, stated that "buyers" had been appointed from the board, to relieve the visitors' committee for other duties.

It has already been noted that the matron from time to time was given responsibility for inspecting rural foster homes. Others of the board's administrative duties were transferred to her gradually. The 30th annual report indicated that the matron had become secretary-treasurer to the board. In 1912, for the first time, a report by the matron as the assistant secretary was included. In 1912, the matron supplemented her report with much more ample service statistics, breaking the child population

down into age groups, for example.<sup>1</sup>

About 1918, after the move to Academy Road, the administrative set-up of the home was somewhat reorganized toward greater efficiency, as well as the child care arrangements mentioned elsewhere. This process was forwarded by a study made by the Social Welfare Commission.<sup>2</sup> In keeping with the recommendations of this group, the administrative and child care responsibilities of the matron were divided between a superintendent and a child care supervisor. The latter was to be a trained nurse, while the former was to be a person with experience in the administration of institutions.

The nature of the reorganization of child care services is well illustrated by the summing-up which appears in the Annual Report in 1921, when they had reached their completed form. The report refers to scrupulous hygienic measures, routines carefully planned to

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1. 28th Annual Report, Children's Home of Winnipeg, for the year ending December 31st, 1912. Annual Reports, Vol. 3, 1912 - 1924.

2. Due to lack of time for more thorough research, the writer has been unable to discover a copy of this report nor the exact reasons for its preparation. It will be clear from the material in this chapter that the Board had for some time felt the need for reorganization of administrative and child care arrangements. However, the writer is unable to say why the Social Welfare Commission was involved in this process.

This body was set up in 1917 under a municipal by-law, and took over some of the functions of the Associated Charities. These were, principally, the giving of relief, and the Confidential Exchange service.

ensure the children's physical health, and careful adherence in meal-planning to diet sheets made out by the medical board.<sup>1</sup>

In conclusion, it appears that there is no real change in function during this period, apart from the addition of education to the institution's services. There is, however, a change in goal, related to the greater size of the population. The goal was changing to the individualized care of large numbers of children, providing their physical health was first ensured.

There were, too, considerable changes in staff requirements, both in numbers and in their qualifications. The increase in number of staff is directly related to the number of children in care. The change to trained nursing staff came as an indirect consequence, following on the increased health problems. After methods had been developed of coping with illness, these qualifications were still seen as necessary in order to maintain the high standard of physical care.

The citizen volunteer retained a significant role during this period, since the board continued to carry a good deal of administrative work along with their policy-making functions. However, volunteers also began

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1. 37th Annual Report of Children's Home of Winnipeg for the year ending December 31st, 1921. Page 13, Annual Reports of Children's Home of Winnipeg. Vol. 3, 1912-1924.

to appear in a new capacity, supplementary to the role of the child care staff. As leaders of recreational and other activities they began to provide some limited individual attention which the child care staff could give only incidentally.

Administration became better organized and a little further delegated to staff from the board. It is to be remembered, however, in evaluating the role of staff, that it is less a case of transferring specific administrative responsibilities than of an increase in the amount of administration to be shared, due to the rise in child population. A degree of planning and supervision of the program was taken over by staff, because of their professional qualifications. Another factor bearing on the increase is the greater co-ordination between agencies, making more extensive record-keeping necessary. Administrative duties were at length separated from those of the senior child care worker and given to a person with suitable experience. The division of responsibility among staff became better defined. There is less clarity yet between the roles of board and administrator.

The necessary emphasis given during this period to the objectives of good physical care makes the high proportion of nurses in the child care staff more appropriate during this period than, perhaps, in the next.



Education is provided at this time less in keeping with a specific goal than as an expedient because of the health problem. An undefined beginning recognition of the value of group living for the social development of children may be sensed, together with the wish to preserve individual attention. This fostered the use of volunteers.

During this period new social agencies, public and private, were created, and there was a beginning of co-ordination and joint planning among them in which the Children's Home was involved. There were, most notably, clearing of admissions policies among institutions to avoid gaps and overlapping, and co-operation with the provincial government around indenture placements, and with various health services and hospitals.

CHAPTER V

THE THIRD PERIOD: 1920 - 1945

This period begins with the arbitrarily chosen date of 1920, which is intended to represent the point at which the institution had found workable solutions to the problems which came out of its population growth. It no longer offered, or tried to offer, a substitute for family life in the ordinary sense. It had become a smoothly running community in itself. It sought to give the best in institutional care for dependent children on a large scale. This is to say that it offered the best in physical care, and was beginning to take advantage of the values of its group life through educational and recreational activities and to seek for ways of individualizing its care of the children. During the period covered in this chapter there was no great change in the functions or methods of the program, but rather an elaboration and improvement of those arrived at during the previous period. There were some further developments in the institution's relations with other community services. These were on the whole of limited effect on the Home's internal operations, but ultimately brought about fundamental changes in the institution's functions. These included the transfer of adoption placement to the

provincial government, and partially, of admissions to the newly formed Children's Bureau.

Finally, the community set up a foster home program as the chief resource for the care of dependent children apart from their families and the Children's Home gave up this function, except for the more specialized activity of a receiving home.

The Home's new congregate building on Academy Road, where it remained throughout this period, accommodated about 170 children. Indeed, since the period coincides with the growth of a number of other social services, providing other resources for the needs of families, the building was not usually filled to capacity. There was still considerable demand for institutional placement, since the total numbers of children cared for during one year ranged from 185 in 1934 to 508 in 1942. More significant than this, however, was the change in the figures for the number of children in the Home at one time. On the first day of the fiscal year 1920 there were 162 children in the Home; the figure climbed to a high of 181 in 1926, and then began to fall. In 1927 there were 142; in 1930, 148; in 1935, 110. Even in 1942, when the number of children cared for reached the peak figure of 508, the Home was not filled

and it was possible to open a ward for post-polio patients in a wing of the institution.<sup>1</sup> Because of this unused space, and high standard of care, the Children's Home undertook the receiving-home service of the Children's Aid Society, that is, the giving of temporary emergency shelter to children until the placing agency and the parents could reach plans for the children's future care. This took place in 1936-7.

Like all institutions caring for children, the Children's Home, throughout its existence, felt the need to control the admission of children. As the institution's organization became more complex, and a degree of conformity to routine on the part of the children necessary to its efficient operation, the tendency to exclude the handicapped and difficult children increased. As late as 1943 there is a reference to the fact that the work of the home had been retarded by the placement in it of a group of mentally defective children.<sup>2</sup> This

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1. Admissions to the Home, and number of days of care fell sharply during the depression years 1932 - 1936. Due to lack of time for further research, the writer is unable to say whether this was the result in some way of economic conditions. It may, however, have been a direct reflection of the growth of other community services, since the subsequent rise in these figures may be due to the amalgamation of receiving-home services.

2. Annual report of the Children's Home of Winnipeg for the year ending August 31st, 1943.

selectivity never became a part of the admission policy of the Children's Home, or, probably, of any of the other institutions which practiced it. It was nonetheless real for being unofficial, however, arising in part, as has been suggested, as the line of least resistance, and reinforced by the fact that, for historical reasons, the program of the Children's Home had been developed to serve the more or less normal child. The population consisted, then, chiefly of normal children. The proportion of young children, under six years, was increasing as a further change, indicated by the fact that the building was somewhat remodelled to make more space available to the younger groups.

A change in admissions procedure occurred in 1926 with the establishment of the Children's Bureau. This was a new agency set up as the result of a study whose findings and recommendations will be discussed later in the chapter. The Children's Home, along with other child-caring institutions, agreed to handle applications for admission from residents of Winnipeg through this clearing-house. Applications from outside Winnipeg, as well as emergency cases, continued however to be received directly, in the one case by the admitting committee and in the other by the superintendent.

The Children's Home's function of placing children in indenture homes was during this period taken over by the provincial government. The change came rather gradually, having begun in the previous period, with the registration by the Home with the government of surrenders by parents for such placements. In 1919-20 supervision of homes in rural areas of Manitoba and Saskatchewan was taken over by the respective provinces while those in the city were visited by Children's Home board members, chiefly from the standing committee on placements set up in 1919.

In 1924, with the passage of the Child Welfare Act which contained effective provision for adoption, such placements became the responsibility of the province. Children placed under indenture prior to this year were taken to be legally adopted by their foster parents. The Children's Home continued to place children on terms of indenture, but these later placements were in the nature of free foster home arrangements. This ended in 1930, when the placement committee was disbanded, and the following year the board expressed its complete agreement with the government's attitude that adoption placement, after the year of probation, should end contact with the agency as completely as it ended contact between the child and his own parents.

The Home continually tried, in its child care program, to give individualized care. However, it was aware at the same time of the values which a group setting offers, and introduced many new features to capitalize on it, as well as to offset its disadvantages.

In child care methods, organization increased and became more formal. The practice of dividing the children into groups according to age and sex continued, and the numbers of the groups increased, as this appeared desirable - to make for smaller groups - and as facilities and numbers of staff allowed. Each group had its own arrangements for diet, schooling and routines suited to the needs of the group. Graduate nurses were in charge of the groups of children under five years of age, assisted by practical nurses.<sup>1</sup>

It was later found possible to reduce the number of graduate nurses. In 1944, practical nurses cared for the babies. At that time the staff of thirty-four included one graduate nurse, a housekeeper, child care supervisor and assistants, trained elementary and nursery school teachers, and a dietitian.

The services of a number of volunteers contributed to the functioning of the Home in a variety of ways.

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1. Forty-seventh Annual Report of Children's Home, for the year ending August 31st, 1931.

They helped with sewing, mending, darning, repairs to equipment and so on. They acted as leaders for some of the organized activities, and played with the children, especially the younger ones, adding a certain amount of individual attention which the staff had not the time to give.

Two years after the children were moved to the Academy Road home, that is in 1918, a school had been built on the grounds with provincial money. The Children continued to be taught within the institution until the end of its mass care program. After finishing Grade V they attended public school. However, the large majority of the children were in the lower grades. A nursery school was added in 1937, which was felt to be a great success.

A wide variety of additional educational and recreational projects were introduced from time to time. The list includes classes in mothercraft, domestic science, a variety of handicrafts, movies, a story hour, dancing, music, rhythmic gymnastics. Some of these, for instance the domestic science classes, were taken by arrangement from the public schools. Others were directed by staff members, and some were taught by volunteers.

Medical and dental services and precautions against the spread of contagious disease continued much



as in the foregoing period. Medical and dental services were given to the Home on a voluntary basis, supplemented by the services of City Health officers and hospitals.

The area of greatest change during this period was in the institution's relationships with other community services. The giving up of its indenture placements function by the Home has already been discussed.

One of the earliest of these changes was the formation of the Federated Budget Board in 1923. This was a forerunner of the Community Chest, and with its establishment the joint financing of private social agencies in the city came into effective operation. Several years passed before the arrangements were adjusted satisfactorily. Its initial effect on the Children's Home was a significant drop in income. The difficulty was aggravated by the initial effect of the Children's Bureau - reduced revenue in maintenance of children - but by 1928 both these problems were worked out.

The construction of the Home's congregate building in 1916 coincided with the beginning of a change in thinking in the child welfare field, which favored the maintenance of family life and the placement of children in foster families rather than in institutions. The provincial Mothers' Allowance legislation of 1916 may be taken

as one of the first signs of the change. In 1923, the Children's Home board presented the case in favour of its type of child care program, clearly indicating that there had been question in the community about its value.<sup>1</sup> In 1925 these stirrings in community opinion took shape in a survey of welfare service in the city.<sup>2</sup> The findings of the study, in connection with child welfare, were quite critical. There were too many children in institutions, and these were relatively normal children who might benefit from foster home care. Services for families in such crises as illness of the mother were inadequate, and investigation of applications for admission to institutions was inadequate, so that there were numbers of children in institutions who might have remained in their own homes. The report underscored too a fact clearly brought out by the minutes of the Children's Home's admitting committee and occasionally by its board minutes, that there was insufficient contact between the institutions and the parents of children placed in their care. This resulted in children remaining in institutions for unnecessarily

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1. Annual Report of the Children's Home of Winnipeg for the year ending August 31st, 1923.

2. Edward T. Devine, Welfare Work in Winnipeg, a report prepared for the Federated Budget Board of Winnipeg, 1925.

long periods with no plan or provision for their discharge to their own or foster families.<sup>1</sup>

In view of these findings the report recommended a number of changes. In recognition of the growing belief in the child welfare field generally that a child's need for family life could only be met in a family setting it advocated an expanded foster home program, and more selective intake on the part of the institutions. It further suggested that a trained worker be attached to the staff of each institution for the purpose of maintaining contact with the parents of children not to be placed for adoption. However, it put forward as a preferable alternative the notion of a central clearing-house responsible for admissions, work with parents, and discharge of children, and advised that it be a part of the Children's Aid Society. Finally, it suggested more careful investigation of applications, and the use of homemakers' service to keep families together.

The recommendations were only partially carried out. It may be inferred that there was as yet no strong support in community opinion for these new ideas, since no steps were taken to set up an adequate foster home ser-

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1. It will be recalled that the Children's Home made some isolated attempts to deal with this problem, notably in 1907 when a committee was asked to investigate a number of such cases in the Home's population.

vice. The child-caring institutions were still confident of the value of their programs, and far from ready for radical change. The Children's Bureau which came into being the following year as the community's attempt to implement this recommendation, was not an integral part of the Children's Aid Society as the report advised, but a separate body. It does not appear to have greatly altered the admissions picture. There was a sharp drop in the Children's Home's intake the year the Bureau began operations, but admissions rose the following year again, although not to their previous level, and show no marked change until the war years came toward the end of the period.<sup>1</sup> A side effect of the Bureau's operations at first was financial, since, while the Child Welfare Act made provision for maintenance of children who were wards of agencies, none of the children admitted to the Home through the Children's Bureau were eligible for it. This difficulty too was soon straightened out. In effect, the Children's Bureau came under the control of the child-caring agencies, and was by no means integrated into the total child welfare scheme in the community. The change, then, was chiefly one of procedure. The limited effect

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1. Admissions for 1924 - 191; 1926 - 68; 1927 - 115; 1928 - 146; 1929 - 117.

of this change, coupled with the growth of other services, such as provincial and municipal public assistance programs which met family needs more exactly, resulted in an over-all drop in the Children's Home's child population.

Increasing community concern brought about, in 1942, a study of child care and protection services in Winnipeg.<sup>1</sup> The report indicated that the situation was much the same as in 1925. The proportion of children being cared for in institutions was much too high. Many of these were relatively normal children, while handicapped and difficult children were in foster homes. There was a lack of continuous purposeful contact between the institutions and the parents of children in care. Its findings, in short, bear striking similarities to those in the survey of 1925.

The principal recommendation of the Mills Report was for an expanded foster home program. By this time widespread support had grown up. While the use of foster homes as the principal child placement resource developed earlier in many places, it can rarely have happened within so brief a space of time. Its growth was phenomenal, and left the Children's Home, along with other child-caring

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1. Robert E. Mills - Report of the Child Care and Protection Survey of Winnipeg, 1942.

institutions, almost completely depopulated by the beginning of 1945. Its Academy Road buildings were closed and sold in February, 1945, while the few remaining children were moved, the older children to 422 Assiniboine Avenue, and the babies and toddlers to 123 Matheson Avenue.<sup>1</sup>

The changes in the division of responsibility among personnel were relatively slight during this period. There appears to be no actual change in the division of administrative responsibility between board and staff, but the roles of each were clearer and the division more static. One does not find the fluidity in this area which was present at least during the first part of the preceding period.<sup>2</sup>

Still much of the decision-making power rested with the board, not only with regard to agency function and policy, but also to the outlines of procedure and planning of program, the selection and oversight of senior staff, and most aspects of relationship with the community. Staff acted as resources for information in the decision-making process in these areas, and had responsibility for implementing these plans on the basis of their training

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1. Formerly the annex to the Jewish children's institution.

2. When at one time the matron, and at another time a board member, inspected foster homes, for example.

and experience. There was, however, a transfer of responsibility, or, one could say, a sharing of responsibility between the Board and the community, through relations with the provincial government, the Federated Budget Board and the Council of Social Agencies.

Among child care staff, there was a slight increase in numbers, it would appear, although this cannot be verified from the information available. There was a greater clarity of roles as the grouping of children into units became more definite, and the routines within each group more fully differentiated. There was a trend away from the use of fully-trained nurses as preventive measures of hygiene and diet proved effective. Again, the untrained child care worker with suitable personal qualifications and related experience appeared on the staff in senior positions.

There were qualified teachers in the nursery and elementary schools. Volunteers were more numerous and were used in more diverse and carefully planned ways as an integral part of the educational and recreational set-up.

The most significant feature of the period lies in the interaction of the Children's Home with the growing pattern of child welfare services in the community, bringing about the transfer of its functions to child-

placing agencies, and, in the process, the sharing of the board's responsibility for determining functions and policies with community's welfare-planning organizations.



CHAPTER VI

THE FOURTH PERIOD: 1945 - 1955.

During these last ten years covered by the study radical changes took place in the philosophy, functions, structure and staffing of the Children's Home, and also in its relationship to other social services in Winnipeg. The only period of the institution's history that is in any way comparable for extent of change is the second, 1902 to 1919, as the Home embarked on a mass-care program.

From early in 1945 to the end of 1950, the board was occupied with study, re-organization and preparation for its new function. At the same time, its assets in knowledge, skill and staff were utilized in carrying on a receiving home for the Children's Aid Society, as has been mentioned. As the implementation of the Mills Report went forward, a committee, convened by the Council of Social Agencies of Winnipeg, studied the administrative structure of the Home and, among other changes, recommended complete revision and modernization of the Act of Incorporation. The rapidity of the change to foster home placement left child-caring institutions no time to discover and prepare for whatever specialized services might be needed in the community. When the new act of incorporation was prepared, it was not yet certain whether there was work in the city

for a children's institution, and the act allows the Home a wide range of possibilities. The objects of the corporation are stated to be "the care and training of children and of adult persons who by reason of age, infirmity or disability, mental or physical, are unable to care for themselves."

As early as 1946, the board's efforts to gather information about community needs brought out the suggestion of residential treatment for pre-delinquent adolescent girls.<sup>1</sup> The idea received support from the board, but a final decision was postponed until after the completion of a study of child-caring institutions in Winnipeg, generally known as the Meyer report. It was not until December, 1949 that the board decided to go ahead with plans to establish a home for "educable adolescent Protestant girls" with accommodation for not more than sixteen.<sup>2</sup> This was the basis on which after further study they built a treatment program for emotionally disturbed children. At this point in their thinking the term educable seems to express their concept of remedial treatment.

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1. Minutes of Board of Directors meeting, April, 1946.

2. Minutes of Board of Directors meeting, December, 1949.

The new act of incorporation brought about changes in the board itself, by introducing the scheme of rotating membership. This involved a maximum of six consecutive years of service on the board for any member, with the possibility of re-election after a period of absence. This change served to bring onto the board new people who, of course, brought with them new ideas and new approaches. The change was considerable for the Children's Home, as it has been for many other agencies who have adopted it. The board had formerly been composed of women whose interest and experience had been given to the board for long years. This long and extensive experience was of course valuable to the board, but, as the membership remained static, the board's approach to its work tended also to remain static.

The board had remained, until this time, an executive as well as a policy-making body. The members of the board had supervised personally the operation of the Home, dealt with admissions, and had no doubt found satisfaction in direct contact with the children. The details as well as the broad outlines of policy and practice were worked out by the board, with varying degrees of participation by staff. The involvement of staff in the process depended on expediency more often than on delegated responsibility.

The revised act of incorporation altered not only the composition, but the function of the board, by creating the office of Executive Director. An ad hoc committee had been set up by the board to study and report on the implications of the new legislation. Its report said, in summary: "We are no longer a board of management. We are a board of directors."<sup>1</sup> This change was set out in essence in the new act of incorporation. The act, thus changed, and its effective implementation by the board, were brought about through strong community pressure, exercised mostly through the Welfare Council. This change was in line with the general trend throughout the country to assign policy-making to the Board and the administrative role to an executive. The following years show a series of meetings intended to help the board grasp the full meaning of these changes, including, for instance, speakers from other agencies who discussed the role of an agency board and the functions of an executive director.

The change was not effected at once, particularly because no executive director, on whom the executive and administrative duties of the board were to devolve, was

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1. Minutes of Board of Directors' meeting, Children's Home, March, 1946.

appointed to the staff until 1950. During the interval before the treatment program started there were a few isolated instances of administrative matters being dealt with at board level, as for instance, ensuring that proper medical consent forms were sent by the Children's Aid Society for children placed in the receiving home.<sup>1</sup>

First, then, adjustments were being made within the board, and in its relationship to its staff and to the administration of the Home. The revised act of incorporation placed administrative responsibility in an executive director. The board had become a policy-making body. It is difficult to trace the actual course of the transfer of responsibilities. The responsibility for admissions, for the administration of funds, for planning and supervision of the program, gradually devolved from the board and its committees to the executive director. A slowly increasing degree of responsibility for working relationships with outside agencies fell to the director. This process continued into the first years of the treatment program which began in 1950.

Attention must be drawn to the degree to which the Children's Home, formerly somewhat isolated, with a

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1. Minutes of Board of Directors' meeting, Children's Home, April 1st, 1948.

relatively self-contained program, was integrated during this period into the complex of the community's social services, and became intensely aware of community needs and issues. This seems to have begun along with the implementation of the Mills Report, and continued during succeeding years by a variety of panels discussions, study of existing child welfare agencies, consultation with case work and group work agencies, about the needs they found for institutional service. This experience in working closely with other agencies, and with the Welfare Council, proved valuable in the new set-up, which involved close working relations with a wide range of agencies and community services; particularly so, since further change or expansion beyond the experimental phase had to depend on the needs experienced by agencies in the child welfare field.

Before looking at the Children's Home's new program in detail, that is, the treatment program as decided upon in December, 1949, it is necessary to examine briefly the nature and purposes of such programs in general. This kind of treatment program is intended for the emotionally disturbed child who needs intensive help touching every area of his life experience. One writer describes its objectives as follows:

.....The child comes to the social agency with an inner psychic disturbance which is, in one way or another, projected outward so as to cause serious relationship disturbance. Our objective is to bring about that child's social rehabilitation, to help him attain a sufficient measure of social adjustment that he can function satisfactorily in the world of persons with whom he must live.<sup>1</sup>

In order to achieve this objective, the program aims to give the child opportunities for corrective experiences which would not be possible in a family setting, a setting, moreover, whose demands for close relationships, for instance, the child is not able to tolerate. Too, child care and other staff offer a choice of parent figures, and respond to the child in a new way - by accepting extreme hostility toward themselves, for instance. At the same time, the child receives individual psychotherapy, from a social worker or psychiatrist designed to help him understand and deal with current problems and earlier damaging experiences. His family too receives psychiatric or case-work service to help them modify their attitudes and response to the child. All these services are carefully co-ordinated in terms of a diagnosis of the individual child's needs.

The Children's Home, then, determined to set up

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1. Swithun Bowers: "The Social Worker in a Children's Residential Treatment Program", Social Case Work, Vol. XXXVIII, June, 1957, p. 284.

a residential treatment centre for emotionally disturbed children, in accord with one of the recommendations of the Meyer Report. This was conceived as having one or more small residences and separate office quarters. A former family dwelling at 766 Victor Street was bought as the first residence unit, accommodating about ten girls. This was the only residence in operation during the time of the study. Office space was acquired a few blocks away at 871 Notre Dame Avenue. The plan for staff included an executive director, a case worker, two full-time house mothers as child care staff, along with necessary maintenance staff. Psychiatric and related diagnostic and consultative services were to be obtained through the Child Guidance Clinic of the Winnipeg School Board.

The centre began operations in December, 1950, with the admission of the first girls. During the following four-and-a-half years, 23 applications were accepted. The girls ranged in age from ten to fifteen. The average length of stay of nineteen girls accepted up to November, 1954, was fifteen-and-one-half months, the longest thirty-eight months. The population for any one year ranged up to eight. With this development the Home returned to the rather small family-like setting with which it began in 1885, and was again credited with a "first" in having established this type of treatment centre in Canada.



Admissions were limited to girls between ten and fifteen, with decided preference being given to the younger applicant. The restriction to Protestants was abandoned in 1951, since the specialized service was not available elsewhere in the community to other religious groups.<sup>1</sup> In October of the same year, after discussion with the Provincial Department of Welfare and the Welfare Council of Greater Winnipeg, it was decided that, if local applications were not too numerous, children from the province of Saskatchewan might be admitted. In addition to the limit of sex and age, acceptance of a child depended on the decision that she was emotionally disturbed, could not be helped in her own or a foster family, and could be helped by the resources of the treatment centre. Since the institution provided an "open" setting - that is, one in which the children attended public school, participated in community recreation groups, and mingled with the children in the neighborhood, severely disturbed children could not be accepted. Their behaviour in these situations needed to be at least on the margin of what was acceptable and safe. The limited facilities of the building and grounds added another difficulty, since they afforded little opportunity

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1. Minutes of the Board of Directors' meeting, April, 1951.

to reinforce, even temporarily, the crumbling inner controls of a youngster who was going through a period of serious acting-out behaviour. Therefore, it was impossible to admit children whose disturbance was such as to need a high degree of external control.

The institution did no direct intake. Applications were accepted only from social agencies, and after study and evaluation by the Child Guidance Clinic. At the conference held at this time, including representatives of the agencies involved, general plans of treatment and objectives were drawn up with regard to the child and her family (if any). The majority of the children admitted to date have been wards, temporary or permanent, of child welfare agencies.

The residence was furnished and run much like a family home. However, the resemblance to a family did not go very far. The group consisted entirely of girls in the early teens. There were two fulltime house mothers, one on duty in the daytime, the other on for the evening and breakfast hours, and living in. Their duties were comparable to those of the matron during the first period of the institution's history. There was also a relief person during the time off of the two others. This gave the girls a group of possible mother figures. Discipline was generally the job of the house mother, but in extra-ordinary

circumstances, like a runaway, was handled by the executive director.

In future when reference is being made to the house mothers and the household staff, it will be called the child care staff. There was also case work service, involving appointments at least once a week for each girl, directed to helping her recognize and cope with her problems in current and previous experience. With help from both these sources, she could begin to experiment with new ways of relating and new behaviour. The girls attended public schools in the district, except when special school placements seemed advisable. They might also take up group activities in community clubs, recreation agencies, or church, or classes in music, acrobatics or other things as their interests and capacities warranted. Psychiatric and psychological evaluations were done prior to admission and discharge, and if indicated, at other times, but no on-going psychiatric treatment was given.

Contact with teachers, group leaders and others interested in the child was kept up constantly by the case worker. The case worker and house staff shared information about the children frequently, while the supervision of both house staff and case worker and the co-ordination of their services was handled by the executive director. During the first four years of the program's operation, case

work service to the child's family was given by the referring social agency, in close consultation with the institution's case worker. Recently, at the request of the Welfare Council, the institution was undertaking case work service to families of the children on an experimental basis, so as to ensure the closest possible co-ordination of treatment.

The institutional setting offered the child who had had painful experiences in relationships with adults the opportunity to relate in her own way and in her own time, without pressure, to any of a group of adults differing in personality but similarly able to give affection to the child without burdening the unready child with the need to return this affection. In these relationships the child was able to work through conflicting feelings which had grown out of unsatisfactory experiences with parent figures.

Intensive case work treatment was given to each child. There was a single case worker on staff to serve this group of girls. The case worker's role was to help the child identify and work out his difficulties and conflicts. During the first years of the centre's operation, regular case work interviews were scheduled only with certain of the children, while others were seen only in relation to incidents in their current experience. During the

past year and a half (1954-55) regular interviews, once a week or oftener, have been used for all the children.

The senior child care worker (house mother) was responsible for the supervision of domestic staff - cook, cleaning woman, handyman - purchasing of groceries, ordinary repairs and replacements, and general household management. She was also the person who shopped for clothing with the children.

The main function of child care staff, however, was the day-to-day care of the children in the role of actual or potential parent figures. In this, they had to create an atmosphere of warmth, acceptance and strength; set limits to protect a child from her destructive impulses, while allowing her to act out her feelings within those limits in the way that was most satisfying to her. Beginning with good physical care, this atmosphere extended into all areas of the child's daily experience, giving a sense of stability and security in which growth could take place. The house mothers were responsible for discipline, ordinarily. This was usually in the form of deprivation of privileges. Generally, scheduled activities - such as a C.G.I.T. group - and visits with family were not subject to cancellation, however, because of their importance to the child's treatment.

Because of the great personal demands which their

work placed on child care staff - due to the children's very difficult behaviour and inability to return affection consistently - it was hard to find suitably qualified people, and harder to keep them. During the first three years of the program's operation, child care staff came and went quite frequently, seriously hampering treatment. Staff were selected on the basis of personal qualifications, since no formal training was yet available for the work. They needed to have a good deal of inner security, understanding, an ability to give affection without receiving it in return, and the capacity to develop these qualities through in-service training.

In order to give the children opportunity to work out relationships with a father figure, a resident married couple instead of a house mother, was added to the staff in 1953. This arrangement proved helpful. It was of course difficult to find a suitable couple interested in the work, and when the couple left the institution it was decided not to seek another in view of the fact that the role might be carried by the executive director.

The services of a psychiatrist and psychologist were provided by the Child Guidance Clinic. These were diagnostic services in relation to admission, discharge and periodic evaluation. There were also weekly conferences between the case worker and the psychiatrist intended

to clarify the diagnosis and current treatment needs of the children. There were certain disadvantages to this arrangement, chiefly connected with the fact that the psychiatrist had no direct contact with the house staff, and no firsthand knowledge of the group. The pressure of work at the Clinic also meant that there might be considerable delays before a child could be seen personally for testing and evaluation.

The executive director was responsible, on the one hand for putting policy into practice, and on the other, for giving leadership and information to the board in formulating policy. In so highly specialized a program, involving various professional disciplines, it was not possible, for instance, for a board of lay people to have all the information necessary to see and decide on the issues involved in the giving of case work service to the child's family by the institution or by the referring agency. He was expected to make recommendations to the board in regard to the institution's budget, hiring of personnel, relations with other community services, changes in policy and services. He planned and co-ordinated the treatment program within policy limits. He supervised case work and child care staff. He took on the setting of limits and discipline with children when serious difficulty occurred, and was readily available to them for com-

plaints or special requests. He conducted in-service training of child care staff, partly through individual supervision conferences, but also through weekly staff meetings. A good deal of this latter responsibility was formerly carried by the case worker - during the first four years of the new program. The change was made when the body of experience of the treatment program seemed great enough that it was no longer necessary to evaluate each new step jointly, and it became preferable to give the child care staff a chance to discuss more thoroughly their own area of work.

Frequent individual conferences between case worker and child care workers were also given up since, while they allowed for valuable sharing of information, they confused the relationship between staff. The lines of communication were through the executive director.

The relation between agency function and staff requirement stands out very clearly in this period. Having determined upon its new function of remedial rather than custodial care of children, the board selected staff on the basis of professional competence to deal with problems in psychosocial adjustment. As in the earliest phase of the institution's history, there was a limited similarity to a family setting. In the later period, however, differences were consciously introduced to further the



goals of the program. The house mother, carrying responsibilities quite similar to those of the matron, was expected also to carry out her parental role in terms of an understanding of the treatment plan for each child and the needs of the group. The need for concurrent case work service to the child's family was fully accepted and met in keeping with the objectives of the program. The role of the case worker in direct therapy for the child was a totally new one, along with the highly skilled diagnostic services. The combination in the program of environmental treatment and psychotherapy led, as in many such institutions, to the employment of a social worker as administrator. This choice was further indicated because of its appropriateness to the administrator's role in the supervision and training of staff, a role which might, in a larger institution, have been delegated to an additional staff person.

There was, by the end of the period, a clear definition of staff roles, arrived at after a degree of experimentation and confusion. The work of the lay volunteer during the period was confined to the board.

The division of the responsibility for administration between board and staff has already been explored quite extensively. It may be summarized by saying that the board delegated to the executive director, because of community pressure and the necessity for professional

knowledge, responsibility for the direction, oversight and planning of the program, retaining the responsibility for policy formation, with its implications of determining and clarifying function of agency and interpreting between the agency and the community.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter gives a summary of the findings of the study in regard to the staff requirements of the Children's Home during the four chief periods of its history, to date, as they relate to the function and goals of the agency during those periods. It will then be possible to assess the degree to which they support the hypothesis that the principal determinant of staff requirements is the function of the agency. The findings will be reviewed by tracing the changes in the division of responsibility for the various categories of direct service to children, e.g., mothering and education, and in administrative functions. The latter term is taken to cover the wide range of responsibilities from the determination of agency function to the purchase of necessary supplies.

Throughout its existence the institution had, as a part of its objective, to provide a home in one sense or another, for children who were temporarily or permanently separated from their families. This entailed the constant requirement of provision for children's emotional and physical needs. During the first period, when the setting was small and bore a resemblance to a large family, these responsibilities were united in the job of the matron, a person

chosen for personal qualifications as a mother and house-keeper. As the population grew, subordinate child care staff were added, with similar duties. With greater population and consequent problems of illness, the goal emphasized in the second period was the physical health of the children. Child care staff with nursing skills were employed, and while the need for mothering was not lost sight of, it became subordinate and almost incidental. There was in this period a struggle to work out a philosophy, goals and methods adequate to the circumstances of a mass child care program, for the growth in population involved more radical changes than had been anticipated by the administration. By the beginning of the third period the objectives were rather clearly formulated in terms of the individualized care of large numbers of children. As the problem of illness was controlled, the amount of nursing skill provided diminished and the child care person chosen for personal qualifications joined the staff again. Concern for the children's physical care was diversified into the provision of healthful conditions through hygienic and dietetic measures planned by medical and nursing personnel and dietitian. More numerous groups of children were set up, with an unchanged population, presumably increasing the proportion of child care staff to children, and allowing for more individual attention. To supplement this new form of

limited mothering, lay volunteers were used to some extent. Inevitably this arrangement failed in its object, since the objective itself failed to meet the real need of the children, at least of the youngest children, for intimate personal relationships with consistent parent figures. For this reason the program was given up in favour of foster home placement of children through other agencies.

With the setting up of the new treatment programs in the fourth period, care of the children's physical and emotional needs were again reunited in the responsibilities of the house mother as in the first period. House mothers were again selected on the basis of personal capacities. There were considerable differences, however, arising from agency function and goals. The factor of size of child population which accounted largely for the joining of these two child care responsibilities in the first period was not significant here, for the ratio of child care staff to children in the latter instance was much higher. Since the object was to bring about changes in the child's pattern of behaviour and inter-personal relationships, child care staff was oriented to the emotional needs of the child and provided for her physical care in a way which was meaningful in terms of her emotional needs.

As the "emotional care" of the child - having

a remedial purpose - became the dominant feature of the program in the fourth period, staff requirements expanded to ensure highly skilled diagnosis and treatment of the child's intrapsychic problems in their relation to people and events in her environment. A social case worker was added to the staff for treatment purposes, and psychiatric and psychological services arranged for diagnostic purposes. Some comparison may be made here with the definite change to the use of medical and nursing staff in the second period, when the care of the children's physical health became the predominant emphasis.

Education of children by the institution was not an integral part of its function during the first period, although it was seen as a desirable adjunct. It became a part of the institution's work in the second period, when the responsibility for education could not be adequately discharged by arrangement with the public schools because of illness. It was retained during the third period because the size of the child population continued to warrant it in the elementary grades, and because it could be utilized to good effect in the total child training program. Particularly with children of nursery school age and primary grades it took advantage of the group setting for guiding the children's social development. In the treatment program of the fourth period, children attended public

school. There are values to provision for schooling in the institution for those emotionally disturbed children who cannot use the public school setting. However, the size of the population, and the experimental nature of the program at the time did not justify such an arrangement, and the limitations of building and grounds did not, in general, permit the admission of such children in any case.

Organized recreation did not become a part of the institution's program until the second period. During the first, it was informal and so to speak, "in the family", according to the pattern of the community at large. In the second, specific groups appeared, chiefly with some contribution to make to character training and useful skills, as in Boy Scouts and manual training classes. Volunteers played a part in the leadership of these, although some of the classes were taught by employed staff. In the third period, athletic, artistic and purely recreational activities were added, mostly within the institution itself in order to capitalize on the group setting. There was an increase in the number of volunteer leaders. In the fourth period there is a return to the informal recreation in the Home, along with the use of the community's diversified resources for recreation and skills training, utilized with a more differentiated grasp of

the child's needs for achievement, recognition and self-expression.

Placement and supervision of children in indenture homes began and remained a function of the board and committees, for the delegation of inspection duties to the matron and board secretary during the second period appears to have been on an ad hoc basis. The transfer of responsibility in this case was from the board to the provincial government by gradual stages.

The indenture placement function serves as an illustration of the pattern of development in relations with community services. At the level of operations the relationship, really beginning in the second period, was chiefly around admission and discharge of children, and the hospital care of children. In terms of its major function of child care, the Home was a community in itself. It was in the area of philosophy and goals of child care - institution as opposed to foster home placement - that struggle occurred during the third period, bringing about a change in agency functions, and a transfer to the community's welfare-planning service of a share of the board's responsibility for determining agency function. This change, brought about by strenuous community pressure, was followed up in the fourth period by a growth of close working relations with other welfare agencies at



the operational level, consequent upon the specialized and complex nature of its program.

Administrative responsibilities of all but the most elementary kind remained, in the beginning, with the board. As the child population grew, two things happened in this area: the number of staff increased, and the amount of administrative work increased. Supervision of domestic staff, routine household management and related duties were transferred from the matron to a housekeeper. Because of the orientation to physical care, professional - that is, nurse's training - was needed for the senior child care worker, who had responsibility for supervision of other child care staff and for the oversight of the program. As these child care duties became more organized and demanding, and a degree of prestige came to be attached to her work, a secretary took over the routine administrative and clerical duties, such as record-keeping under direction of the board. As the "management" aspects of the Home became more extensive - maintenance of buildings, co-ordination of services (under committee supervision) and became systematized, they were vested in a superintendent, a step which involved a further transfer of responsibility - quantitative rather than qualitative - from the board, as well as from the matron. Little further change occurred until the fourth period, when fairly rapidly,

the board's work in planning, co-ordinating and directing the program was delegated to an administrator, along with the selection and supervision of staff. The change, initiated by community pressure, became operative only in the middle of the period, with the beginning of the new treatment service, that is, only with the change in function, goals, methods and staff.

One could say, then, that the experience of the Children's Home tends to support, in the main, the hypothesis that the functions and inter-relationships of staff and board will be primarily determined by the function of the agency. At the same time, a multiplicity of other factors are brought to light which also contribute to the staff requirements, functions and relationships. These include the size of the child population which has had a variety of direct and indirect effects, of which the most obvious was the increase in number of staff during the second period. The clarity with which the institution's function and goals was formulated at any given time is reflected in the relative clarity or confusion of the roles of child care staff. This is borne out, for instance, by the contrast between the second and third periods in this regard. Pressure from the community had a very direct effect in altering the division of administrative responsibility between board and staff during the fourth period.

It must be pointed out that, in considering these findings in relation to other institutions, the scope of the study has been limited to the history of one child-caring institution in a particular community over a particular period of time, and that its findings carry no validity outside of this context. It is possible to state only that throughout, the constant feature associated with changes in staff requirements is a change or re-formulation of the function and goals of the Children's Home.

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