

Dep. Col
Thesis
P985

DEPOSITORY
COLLECTION
NOT TO BE
TAKEN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATE RELIEF

IN

THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA.

BY

DOROTHY F. PUTTEE, B. A.

Submitted to the Department of Economics, University of Manitoba,
in partial fulfilment of requirements of the degree of Master of
Arts.

April 1927.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
LIBRARY

C O N T E N T S

Chapter I - The History of Relief to poverty and indigence in Manitoba.

Chapter II - Legislation.

- (1) Medical and Institutional.
- (2) With regard to children.
- (3) With regard to Public Welfare.

Chapter III - British History and Principles.

- (1) Early English laws.
- (2) The Poor Law of 1834, the Majority and Minority Reports of 1907, with reference to Relief to the able-bodied, Settlement, Children, and Medical Aid.

Chapter IV - State Relief vs. Charity, and the Case-work Method.

Chapter V - Manitoba Relief Organizations, in the light of 1834 principles.

- (1) The Municipal System.
- (2) Medical Relief.
- (3) The Social Welfare Commission.
- (4) The Child Welfare Division.
- (5) The Emergency Unemployment Relief Office.

Chapter VI - General Trend.

The Principles governing our institutions.
Suggestions for the future.

Bibliography.

References.

Statistics.

Foreword -

It is the object of this paper and the hope of the writer, that, by tracing the development of relief through its various 'charity' stages, by examining the organization, aims and policies of the various relief channels as found today, and by examining the records of those organizations, it may be possible to apply the principles of relief as found in the history of the English Poor Law, to our Manitoba system, and to estimate whether or not the policies followed have stable economic foundation. The problem of relief is so far-reaching in its causes and its consequences, that it has been necessary to confine consideration to very definite channels. For this reason we have omitted Soldiers' Pensions as being rewards of service, the Deserted Wives' Fund and the Red Cross Society as having arisen out of the war, Workmen's Compensation as being in lieu of wages, and Rural Credits and Settlement Schemes as investments on the part of the Government, in the land.

To avoid confusion we have used the terms 'indigent', 'necessitous' and 'destitute', when referring to those unable or unwilling to provide the necessities of life for themselves, and their families, and have refrained from using the terms 'pauper', 'poor' and 'poverty', which terms are generally used without specific meaning.

Chapter I - History.

The history of the development of relief organizations in the Province of Manitoba, falls naturally into three divisions coinciding with the periods of the growth of the province. From the Red River Settlement to about 1890, the little group of pioneers attained its status, the regime of the Hudson Bay Company passed, and the Settlement became a Province. From 1890 to 1910, roughly, the few grew to the many, the rapid growth brought its wake of attendant evils, and the Province attained a solidarity. From 1910 to 1927, the evils of the former period have been more or less systematically attacked, and an effort made to improve conditions for the entire province. The periods might well be characterized by the terms "Settlement", "Growth" and "Progress".

The early period began with the paternalistic regime of the Hudson Bay Company, (the feudal system applied to trade), and no relief or charity records were kept. Tuttle, in his History of Manitoba, mentions that in 1829, after the barren summer of 1828, the early and cold winter of 1828-9 drove the buffalo beyond the reach of the white man, and food became very scarce. Spring brought the great flood, and retreat was made to the hills to the west. Assistance was given by the Hudson Bay Company.

The earliest recorded relief was in 1868. In Tuttle's History we find the following statement:- "The crop of 1868 was entirely destroyed by grasshoppers, the fall buffalo hunt proved a failure as well as the fall fisheries, so that starvation stared the colony in the face. Under these circumstances, aid was solicited from England, Canada, and the United States of America, and a committee called the Red River Co-operative Relief Committee, composed of the principal gentlemen of the

colony, was formed. The appeal resulted in £3,000 coming from England, \$3,600 from Canada, and £ 900 from the United States of America."

Supporting this statement, there is in the Provincial Library, the Minute Book of the Red River Co-operative Relief Committee. Under the date of October 9th, 1868, is the record of an organization meeting, with a preamble as follows:- "Pursuant to a call issued by the Editor of the Nor'Wester newspaper, the gentlemen delegated to form this committee, met at the Nor'Wester rooms, in the town of Winnipeg, for the purpose of organization and for the transaction of other important business." Thereafter is recorded the organization of the Committee, the appeals for assistance, and the methods of distribution to those in distress. It is interesting to note that, in these minutes, three very modern aspects of the relief problem come to light. An effort was apparently made to set people to work, for the sub-committees were asked, "to report whether there were any male members in any family, who are able to work and can leave home," to work on the construction of the Fort Garry section of the Lake Superior road. By the twenty-fifth meeting, April 14th, 1869, it was found necessary to put a limit on the amount of relief issued,-"Be it resolved that the extreme limit of gratuitous giving be five bushels, which shall be given only to those who are in circumstances of actual poverty." Lastly, monies voted were never received. From the record of the thirty-first meeting, June 2nd, is the following quotation:-"It was proposed that Governor McFavish should write an official letter to the Hon. John McDonald, requesting him to remit to the Committee, the funds voted for the relief of the Red River sufferers by the Ontario Legislature."

The end of our first period reveals a City, with a Charter,

and with relief organized under one of its departments. The Comptroller's Report of 1884, the earliest accessible, shows relief administered under the Health and Relief Committee. This Committee apparently became defunct sometime between 1886 and 1888, for the Report of the latter year shows \$2,062.28 expended on relief under the administration of the License Inspector and City Relief Officer.

The second phase, the period of growth, saw the rapid extension of boundaries, the population doubled and trebled, frantic efforts made to house, feed and clothe the ever-increasing tide of immigrants. Most of the population was transient, much of the accommodation temporary and inadequate. By the end of the century, conditions began to get very bad. Over-crowded, ill-ventilated, unsanitary houses, unwholesome water supply, inadequate sewage system, scant educational facilities, seasonal unemployment, and unrestricted immigration, are but a few of the evils which combined to imperil the health of body and mind. To alleviate distress many societies, supported by private donations, were organized. In 1897 Mrs. Margaret Scott left her office and typewriter, and went to seek the poor and the sick. From door to door in the worst parts of the city she went, asking for those who were sick or in trouble. Later the Nursing Mission was organized. Similarly, each filling a specific need, the Children's Aid Society, the Anti-Tubercular Society, Free Kindergarten, All People's Mission, the Young Women's Christian Association and the Young Men's Christian Association found spheres for their labours, and the various Churches and the Salvation Army filled in the gaps, with the result that a leisure-loving man of a family or a scheming mother, could appeal first here and then there, tapping the many sources and living at ease; or the "road scholar" with a genius for religion could become converted to the kindly-intentioned minister or parishioner who would give

him bed and breakfast, or cash, easily convertible at the nearest saloon. Comparison of the Comptroller's Report of 1888 with that of 1898, reveals an increase in civic expenditure for relief, of only \$1,700, but, where the former (\$2,052.28) was almost the sum total expended on relief throughout the city, the latter (\$3,715.23) was but a small portion, being supplemented by clothing and extra aids from numerous private organizations.

During the period when Mr. A. J. Andrews was Mayor of the city, the first actual relief society came into being. Of its "raison d'etre" Mrs. Margaret Scott tells the following story:- A woman, whom we will call Mrs. Mary Jane Smith because she is English, had a husband somewhat shiftless, and several children, one of whom was crippled. Being conversant with all the methods of getting something for nothing, she one day, in the dead of winter, dressed all her children in as little as possible, and appeared with them before the Mayor, requesting help. In response to such urgent need, he called representatives of all the churches and duly outfitted the family. The Citizens' or Central Relief Society, resulted. It was representative of the Roman Catholic and all Protestant Churches, the Icelandic settlement, and the Jews. It had a part-time paid secretary and a number of volunteer workers. No investigations were made or records kept until 1904. It is worthy of note that Mrs. Smith is case 1050 of the Social Welfare Commission, and was on relief throughout the month of March 1927.

In 1908 the "homeless man" situation brought about the Charity Organization Society. The homeless man had become a problem, a nuisance, and an expense. The Society undertook to study him. Their more general aims were, to apply the principles of social treatment to a particular situation, to provide a clearing house for social agencies, and unite, in a co-operating spirit, all the agencies of social reconstruction. Full-

time paid workers, increased accommodation, and success with the "homeless man" problem, led the Society to extend its field. Investigations had been undertaken for all societies, but no family relief was given until 1909, when, under the name "Associated Charities", the Society became the relief-giving organization for the city, with the department under the License Inspector merely contributing food and fuel as requested. In all relief and service cases, certain principles which had been accepted by the Charity Organization Movement in England and in the United States of America were adopted by the Association. These principles were outlined in newspaper article number four, as follows:-

- (1) Poverty is largely a preventible disease.
- (2) Material relief will never solve the problem of poverty for society, and seldom for the individual.
- (3) Material relief tends to destroy that spirit of independence which is essential to the rehabilitation of any self-respecting individual.
- (4) Poverty, whilst in the last analysis an economic or social problem, in the first analysis of the individual case is often a problem of human weakness.
- (5) Whether attempting to deal with poverty in the mass as a social or economic problem, or dealing with the individual case, it is necessary to diagnose and observe symptoms of this disease as a doctor does with any other disease, in order to arrive at a correct decision as to the whole problem of poverty, or as to how the problem of the individual case can best be dealt with.
- (6) Given a thorough diagnosis of the individual case of poverty, the treatment must be adequate to cover every need of every member of the family.

(7) Poverty as a social disease, can only be prevented by acting on the evidence of its causes, supplied by the careful examination of the records of many individual cases."

These principles pervaded the actions of the Associated Charities, until the outbreak of the War.

The Great War hastened the acceptance of responsibility of the State, for those unable to provide for themselves. It is difficult to estimate by how many years the progress of relief was advanced, but that it merely quickened and did not alter the course of progress, is fairly certain. Millionaires and multi-millionaires are necessary to a satisfactory voluntary system of relief, for only those few of untold wealth can contribute lavishly enough to supply the required funds. These Winnipeg did not have, nor was she likely to have. The first extra strain of the war upon the public pocket for large sums, made it necessary for the Associated Charities to cancel all appeals. The appeals of the Red Cross had priority. The City Charter was amended, and provision made for a Social Welfare Commission under the City Council. In the same year, (1916), the Mothers' Allowances Act was passed, and the Provincial Government, with assistance from the Municipalities, undertook to care for widows and their families of two or more children under fifteen years of age. This Act removed many families from the books of the Social Welfare Commission, and saved many others from accepting relief. The aim of the Act was to subsidize families unable to provide for their own needs by an allowance system which would carry as little as possible of the stigma of the traditional poor relief, and would, at the same time, permit of the supervision of children whose fathers' control had been withdrawn by death or disability.

The Mothers' Allowances' Act remained in force, and relief

7

organizations continued unchanged, until the Act was repealed, together with several others affecting children, by the passing of the Child Welfare Act in September 1924. This forward-looking piece of legislature gathered into a single statute, the laws regulating child life in the province. The new Act has made possible the care and supervision of all bereaved and dependent, neglected, and mentally or physically defective children; it has guarded the welfare and interests of the child born out of wedlock; and has extended its protection to the many children who are cared for by foster-parents.

Parallel to the development in Relief Organizations proper, has been the development of medical agencies. The Winnipeg General Hospital, which was originated under private charter, became a municipally controlled institution in February 1914. In 1910, it established a Social Service Department, the first in the Dominion of Canada. In the same year, a similar service was opened in the Children's Hospital, and in October 1919, after the passing of the Mental Diseases Act, another in the Psychopathic Hospital. The Winnipeg Board of Health, a purely civic organization, was organized in 1909 with a view to curtailing the rapid spread of tuberculosis. The Women's Service League, following the Margaret Scott Nursing Mission, undertook Infant Welfare in 1909, but the City took over this service under the Bureau of Child Hygiene in May 1914. The Provincial Department of Public Health Nurses in 1916, and the Provincial Clinics for Venereal Disease in 1920, complete in outline the State medical service, as organized today.

Chapter II - Manitoba Legislation.

The noteworthy fact regarding legislation in our Province in behalf of the poor, is the scarcity of it; up to 1916 almost the absence of it. The British North America Act of 1867, by Clause 90 Section 7, established the responsibility of the province for "the establishment, maintenance, and management of hospitals, asylums, charities, and eleemosynary institutions in and for the Province, other than Marine hospitals." In the provincial statutes likewise, responsibility is delegated to the municipalities, (Municipal Act, Clause 580), "The Council of every municipality may also pass byelaws, not inconsistent with the Public Buildings Act, or the Public Health Act, or with the regulations of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council thereunder, or with any other law, for aiding or maintaining any indigent person belonging to, or found in the municipality, at any workhouse, hospital, or institution for the insane, deaf and dumb, blind or poor, or other public institution of a like character, or for the granting of aid to any charitable institution, or out-of-door relief to the resident poor and to such persons as may be afflicted with any contagious or infectious disease, and who are unable, through poverty or other cause, to care for themselves." Thus is responsibility established.

We will now look at further legislation for the aid of poverty and destitution in our Province, under the divisions, "Medical and Institutional", "Children", and "Public Welfare".

In the early period of Manitoba history, the main cause of destitution was illness. It is not therefore surprising to find that the first legislation to assist was in aid of the sick. In 1884 (46-47 of Victoria), an Act Respecting Hospitals and Aid to Hospitals was passed. Clause 13 made it possible for a Municipality to arrange for the care of its indigent patients at so much per year, irrespective

9

of the number of patients, and permitted the hospital to fix a price, not to exceed 75¢ per day per person, and to hold the Municipality responsible. Important amendments were passed in 1911 (10th George V.), which tell little stories of the difficulties the hospitals had in collecting, the disputes regarding residence, and endeavours to collect on outstanding accounts. Clause 17, introducing a section called "Municipal Liability to Hospitals", lays down definite regulations regarding admission, notification, and municipal responsibility for patients. The Municipality becomes responsible for residents, and a resident is defined as including "any person who has resided in such municipality continuously for one month, or who, though not having so resided, was actually employed therein by a ratepayer thereof, immediately prior to being admitted to hospital." Clause 21 holds the Municipality responsible for funeral expenses up to fifteen dollars per person. In the Charity Aid Act of 1920, further clauses were inserted whereby a beneficiary under the Act owning property, might be forced to pay charges when the property changed hands. Section 1 Clause 37 reads:-

"Where any beneficiary under the Act has received any relief from any municipality, or from any duly authorized committee or association acting for any municipality or the Provincial Government in expending public moneys for relief purposes, is the owner of real property, or of any estate or interest therein, a statement over the signature of the Attorney-General of the Province, certifying that such person has received, or is in receipt of, relief under the provisions of the Act, may be registered in any registry office or land-titles office of the Province, which statement shall be registered in the form of a lien"

etc., etc.

Prior to 1886, insane persons were detained in penal or semi-penal institutions. In that year the Insane Asylum at Selkirk,

(later, under the Mental Diseases Act, "The Hospital for Mental Diseases at Selkirk"), was incorporated under Provincial Act, in 1890 Brandon Hospital similarly, and in 1891 the Home for Incurables (later "The Home for the Aged and Infirm"). All Acts made provision for the care of indigent inmates. Clause 14 of the Home for Incurables Act, adequately represents the group, - "Where any indigent person is admitted to the institutions and is not possessed of sufficient means for the purpose, or whose relatives are incapable of providing the same, the cost of his or her maintenance shall be defrayed by the Province". This is re-asserted in Clause 24 of the Mental Diseases Act of 1919, but Clause 25 makes persons possessing real property liable for maintenance, and a husband possessing real property liable for his wife's maintenance.

Prior to 1891, the only legislation affecting children directly was the Infants' and Apprentices' Act, an Act caring mainly for the estates of minors and the powers of their guardians. The Children's Protection Act, passed in 1899, (61 Of Victoria), provided for a Superintendent of Neglected Children under the Provincial Government. This position was one of investigation and supervision only, but the Act led to the forming of the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg in 1899 and the St. A delarde's Society in 1905. These societies (Protestant and Catholic), both of which are functioning effectively today, were supported by private funds, but received grants from the City of Winnipeg and from the Provincial Government, and were the active protective societies until the passing of the Mothers' Allowances Act and the Child Welfare Act. By Clause 35 of the Children's Protection Act, support may be forced from the Municipality:- "A Judge may, upon application of any Society to whose custody or control a child is committed, make an order for payment by the municipality to which the child belongs, of a reasonable sum, not being less than

one dollar weekly, for the expense of supporting the child by the Society in any foster home, where such children are not cared for without compensation, in which the children might be placed by the Society," etc.

Clause 35 Section 2, provides a definite legal residency for the child,- "For the purpose of this section any child shall be deemed to belong to the municipality in which said child has last resided for the period of one year".

Thus far, the Municipality plus private organizations have been the responsible parties. As previously stated, the outbreak and continuance the War led to a unifying process throughout the Province, and the appeals of the Red Cross and other war organizations made it difficult for private organizations to function, with the result that some responsibility for maintenance had to be assumed by the Province. On March 10th, 1916, the Mothers' Allowances Act was assented to. By it, "the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may set aside ----- to provide support or partial support for mothers of dependent or neglected children within the Province, and an allowance may be made - - - - - whenever such mother is a widow, or her husband is an inmate of a penal institution or an insane asylum, or because of physical disability is unable to support his family, and the dependent and neglected condition of such child or children is due wholly or in part to the poverty of the Mother, and the want of adequate means to properly care for such children, and the mother is otherwise a proper person to have the custody of such child, and the welfare and best interests of such child will be subserved by permitting it to remain in the custody of its mother". The physical disability and the penal cases referred to were never brought under the beneficence of this Act. Clause 3 appointed a Commission to administer and to make rules, such rules not to have force until assented to by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. Clause 4 authorized "the Municipal

Commissioner to levy upon the respective municipalities of the Province for such portion of said moneys as may be just".

The foregoing Act remained in force until September 1924, when it was supplanted by the Child Welfare Act which repealed The Children's Act and The Infants' Act, which had to do with the regulation of infant and foster homes; The Illegitimate Children's Act, which regulated the status and disposition of children born out of wedlock; Sections 15 and 16 of The Humane Societies' Act, which gave them the right to interfere where children were ill-treated, and to receive the custody of children; and Section 337 of The Public Health Act regulating the placing of children for adoption; and The Mothers' Allowances Act, which provided maintenance.

The Child Welfare Act provided for a Provincial Department of Public Welfare, with a Division for Child Welfare, under which various classifications of children would be supervised, maintained or controlled. It provided for the supervision of children placed in foster homes and of immigrant children, the disposition and supervision of children born out of wedlock, the examination and necessary maintenance of feeble-minded and mentally deficient children, and the maintenance of bereaved, dependent and neglected children.

The Act is divided into twelve parts. Part I established the Department of Public Welfare and the Child Welfare Division, and outlined the duties of the Director, foremost among which is that the Director "shall encourage and promote the conservation of child life in the Province of Manitoba". Part II established "a court or courts for the purpose of dealing with juvenile delinquents under the provisions of the Juvenile Delinquents' Act, 1908". Part III re-states, in greater detail, the Mothers' Allowances Act of 1916, and transfers the stress of the provision from mothers to children. The Allowance is thereafter a Child Welfare

Allowance.

It is as well here to note that, though Clause 22 makes it the duty of the Director of Child Welfare, when information respecting any bereaved or dependent child has been given, to take immediate steps to obtain all possible information, Clause 23 states that "if the Director, upon investigation, is of the opinion that any child is a bereaved and dependent child within the meaning of this Part, he shall report thereon to the Child Welfare Board, who shall have power to enrol the said child as a bereaved and dependent child under this Act." There is apparently no obligation placed upon the Board. There is an arbitrary power. The Act, thus stated, precludes the possibility of the provision becoming a "right" in the minds of the beneficiaries. Part IV permits of the apprehension of a child without warrant "by a constable, policeman or policewoman, or other police officers, or any school attendance officer, or any officer of a child welfare association, children's aid society, or any investigator of the juvenile court, or the Director", if that child is believed to be a neglected child according to one or more of the definitions of a neglected child enumerated under Chapter 29 of the Act. Upon conviction, provision is made for supervision, or, if advisable, maintenance.

Part V holds both parents of a child born out of wedlock responsible for the support of the child until it attains the age of sixteen years, unless the child legally adopted into another home. All cases where the alleged father denies paternity are settled in Court. All others may be settled with the Director of Child Welfare, out of Court.

Feeble-minded and other mentally defective children are the care of Part VI, which makes possible an examination for each child by

the Provincial Psychiatrist, and the following disposition:- "If, on the report of the psychiatrist, the judge finds that the child is a defective child within the meaning of this Act, the judge may order that the child be returned to the care of his or her parents or guardians, with or without the supervision and inspection of the Director, or he may order that the child be committed to the care and custody of the Director as a neglected child". (Clause 92).

Part VII requires investigation of handicapped children, and provides four months schooling for all deaf children per year, and a penalty for neglect, and Part VIII similar investigation and supervision of immigrant children. Parts IX to XII have to do with forms of Child Welfare Organizations, Adoptions, Guardianship, and General Provisions respectively.

Few of the Acts for the public welfare have specific clauses concerning the poor and destitute alone. In 1917, the Winnipeg Charter was amended, and provisions made

- (1) for appointing a Social Welfare Commission;
- (2) for giving assistance in the form of advice, care, or relief in cash or in kind, or both in cash and kind, to bona fide residents of the city;
- (3) for undertaking such works as may seem necessary in order to supply a work test or training for applicants for material relief, preparatory to endeavouring to find suitable employment for such applicants;
- (4) for securing, by byelaw or other means, improvement in social conditions, with a view to the prevention of poverty, sickness and crime;
- (5) for giving authority to the said Commission to make restrictions

for the management and control of any officers or employees appointed by it, and prescribing rules and regulations for the recipients of any assistance directed to be given by the said Commission".

Thus was State relief established in the City of Winnipeg.

Part XII (Miscellaneous Provisions) of the Municipal Act, legislated against an abuse prevalent in small towns and rural communities. The attitude of the country has ever been that the city is a unit of boundless wealth. When cases of destitution occurred, it was customary to buy the indigent ones tickets to another town or another municipality. Eventually, they drifted into the larger towns or cities, and became established. Against this, we now have Section 764, saying:- "It shall be unlawful for the Council of any Municipality or any mayor, reeve, or alderman, councillor, or other officer of any municipality, to transport or cause to be transported, any indigent person or any persons suffering from a contagious disease, from the municipality in which such person may be found, to any other municipality within the province, for the purpose of transferring from the municipality in which such person has been found, to such other municipality, the burden of the care and maintenance of such person". Thus it is, that though a destitute family may suffer much at the hands of the municipality, it cannot now be shifted from pillar to post, and only thus far is the municipality held responsible by statute.

Chapter III - British History and Principles.

Our Manitoba position is unique. We stand half way across a continent, between East and West but with an inclination toward the West. We are British, but a considerable percentage of our population is French, and the French minority affects our every move. We are Canadian, and our conglomerate population and our geography are not unlike those of our American kin; with theirs, our institutions and traditions have much in common, but we aim to cherish, they to forget; we to build on the old, they to construct afresh. We have the old and the new in a combination that should permit us to get the best from each, and to build an edifice which will stand the test of time, and permit the development of a race rugged as our climate, self-reliant as our Saxon ancestors, and responsible as our ideal of civilization.

The Anglo-Saxon has risen from serfdom. The emancipation has been partly selfish, and largely blind, but in the process Circumstance has forced to the fore the "rights of the people", and made it the dominating principle of British political life. The political issue settled, the principle became transferred to the economic field in the early nineteenth century. The political quarrel was ever the people, or a portion thereof, against the arbitrary use of the power of government. With government by the people established, 'the State' and 'the governing power of the people' became synonymous, but the minds of men were not so easily changed, and when "the rights of the people" were interpreted to include the 'right to labour or to maintenance', the ancient feudal tradition clung with them and they demanded aid from the State. But the governing power was no longer the feudal lord or arbitrary king, but Parliament, their representatives, and the acceptance of this principle, carried over from a paternalistic regime by their representatives, so nearly brought the country to ruin, that the revolution brought about by the Act of 1834, was essential to save England from becoming entirely pauperized.

With this brief explanation, let us look at the British legislation which is the background of our present system.

Just prior to the Peasants' Revolt in 1388, that is, in the reign of Richard II, we find the first legislation and the earliest forerunner of our idea of 'legal residence'. The peasants were fast breaking from the manor, task-work had a money value, land a rental, and the peasants a degree of independence. That Act (12 of Richard II) prohibited any labourer from departing from the hundred etc., without testimonial, and stated that "Impotent persons are to remain in the towas in which they be dwelling at the time of the Act". Again, in 1495 Henry VII required beggars not able to work "to go where they last dwelled", and then in 1504 "to the city or hundred where they were born". Henry VIII, in 1531, directed the Justices to assign to the impotent poor a limit in which they were to beg; also, "An able-bodied baggar is to be whipped and sworn to return to the place where he was born - - - and there put himself to labour". Five years after, was passed the Statute (27 of Henry VIII) which introduced the system of compulsory charity, showing as the motive the desire to repress vagrancy. It re-cited the preceding Act, and added that "Such poor creatures or sturdy vagabonds that shall repair in obedience to the Act, shall be most charitably received, and shall be kept by mercy of voluntary and charitable alms within the respective cities". It then cited the punishments:- whipping, loss of an ear, gaol and death - which were too severe to be generally executed. Between Edward VI and Elizabeth, legislation permitted three years residence to take the place of birth for chargeability, and instituted the keeping of records for the weekly collection of alms and gentle exhortation of those unwilling to contribute. The fifth of Elizabeth permitted the justices to tax "such obstinate person", and if he refused commit him to gaol until "he shall pay the sum so taxed with the arrears". The fourteenth of

Elizabeth extended the power to tax to "every person in their division, and to direct the application of the sums so raised." It also made legal terrible punishments for the sturdy beggar, and made the justices responsible "for the care and inquiry of all aged poor, and impotent and decayed persons born within their said divisions"; a register was to be kept, estimate to be made, and assessment of all the dwellings in the division. The thirty-ninth of Elizabeth differentiated between rogues and vagrants, and committed the former to the house of correction or to the common goal or to banishment. The forty-third of Elizabeth, from which the present English poor-law dates its beginning, was a logical attempt to solve the problem of the time:- to do away with begging and the need for begging. It was not so much a remarkable piece of legislation as it was practical. It demanded that the able-bodied who would not work be punished; that the unfit be cared for; that impotent children be taught a trade; and that those who would work be given work by the parishes, a rate on the occupier being levied to bear the expense. It remained legally in force, though largely in practice unenforced, until 1834. Legislation in 1722 curtailed the power of the Justices, and established a workhouse test which resulted immediately in the diminution of expenditure, and in 1762 the parishes were permitted to become incorporated into Unions for the building of workhouses. An Act of 1795 repealed that of 1722, and the rates increased rapidly until they reached their height in 1816, and rose almost to that height again in 1832.

Three extensive documents might almost together be considered the Bible of the English Poor Law:- The 1834 Report, The Majority Report of the Royal Commission, and The Minority Report of that same Commission in 1907. Since we are mainly interested in applying their deductions to our own system, we will make no attempt to review or criticize the Reports as a whole but will examine the conditions and recommendations which do or may apply to

conditions and systems in the Province of Manitoba.

From the Poor Law Report we learn that relief to the able-bodied, caused presumably by the inability to obtain employment, was relief with or without labour. The latter, under the allowance system or relief in aid of wages, was intended to bring the income of a man to a certain weekly sum sufficient to the needs of his family. In some parts this matured into a system under the name of 'scales', since it was reckoned on the price of bread. This was found generally to have caused a reduction in the wages offered, or an increase in the profits of the employers. The workman naturally lost his desire to better his position, since increased value had lost its competitive power, and could no longer bring his wage above the standard set by the 'scales'. A single example of this will suffice to show the extent of its degrading powers:- "In Gisburn a man had a sickly wife and was allowed five shillings a week for her and a woman to attend her. She died, and in about a year the man married again; and on the very day of his marriage, said, "Now I will work Gisburn for another round", and he has had three children by the second wife, on account of which he has received £21. 11s. from January to September."

Relief with labour, advocated in 1701 and generally accepted as being the more theoretically advisable, was provided under three separate systems. The first or 'roundsman' system, demanded that each employer of labour employ a number of men proportionate to the size of his holding, the rates to make up the deficit in their wages. This reduced the assessment but increased the real tax, because the number of men employed had insufficient work, and, through lack of competition and lack of fear of losing their job, did less than allotted and did that so badly that it was often worthless. The report of a contractor and a churchwarden of Hogthorpe, Lincolnshire, illustrates the effectiveness of this:- "The practice of work

being done for individuals and partly paid for by the parish, has proved more injurious than any measure ever adopted, having brought numbers of the most hale labourers on the list of paupers, who previous to that would have shuddered at the thought of coming to the parish". (Poor Law Report, page 34)

Lastly, the parish provided employment within the parish, and paid the standard rate for it. In a few districts where adequate supervision was provided, and where as many hours and as hard labour as in private employment was demanded, the system worked not too badly; but elsewhere, men were found to be willing to work only to provide the bare necessities for their families, and, there being no competition for the work, they stopped when they wished and started back again at will. Where a man was paid by the hour, he learned that an hour was made up of sixty minutes whether of labour or of lounging, and when the whole gang was united on a 'no work' policy, no overseer could enforce labour. Frequently, this system was discontinued because it gathered the men into groups and inspired discontent. In the report from Pollington, Yorkshire, - "They send many of them upon the high-ways, but they work only four hours per day; they sleep more than they work, and if any but the surveyor found them sleeping, they would laugh at them". (Poor Law Report, page 37).

Summing up; the Commission concluded from the reports received, that relief to the able-bodied, either in kind or money, with or without labour, increased the rates until even the landowners and shopkeepers were coming upon relief; reduced the production, particularly of farm produce, since employers were forced to employ paupers who would not work, and who received their pay and could not be dismissed; and, most important, demoralized the recipient and his whole family. "The difference in the appearance is most striking", said Mr. S. Miller, Assistant Overseer, "I now, almost immediately, on the sight of a roan, can tell whether it is the

room of a pauper or an independent labourer". (Poor Law Report, page 90). The effect on those not on relief was equally bad. The industrious and ambitious worker was ridiculed by the paupers. The overseers, justices, vestrymen and parish officers, were farmers, shopkeepers, etc., and were dependent on their trade, to protect which it was frequently diplomatic to accede to the demands of the paupers. Their services were forced and unpaid, and all except the most scrupulous regarded their own labourers indirectly. To abolish the foregoing evils, the Commission recommended that relief be permitted to the able-bodied in well regulated workhouses only. Such well-regulated workhouses had been tried and found satisfactory in Lechbarnstead, Berkshire, and at Southwell. Their recommendations read as follows:- "By adhering strictly to the forty-third of Elizabeth, and by setting all the children that required relief to work, feeding and lodging them in the poorhouse, we have done away entirely with the bread system". This and similar instances led the committee to recommend that "all relief whatsoever to able-bodied persons or their families, other than in well-regulated workhouses, shall be declared unlawful". (Poor Law Report, pages 262 and 251). Back of this recommendation for the able-bodied, lay the principle known as 'less eligibility', that a destitute person will not apply for assistance which is less pleasant than the subsistence he could supply for himself, unless he is utterly unable to help himself, and no alternative presents itself. Supervision, restraint, segregation and labour, were to act as deterring forces, while cleanliness and adequate food satisfied his physical needs. This policy apparently worked well, so far as the rates were concerned, for over a quarter of a century, (though it must be remembered that out-relief was still allowed to the sick), until 1838 when Mr. Chamberlain issued a circular authorizing relief work to be provided by the parishes on account of unusual need.

This was re-stated later, and became the general custom, even when not encouraged by Act of Parliament.

The Majority Report of the Royal Commission, 1905-9, found conditions again impossible, and with respect of relief to the able-bodied, recommended no actual relief other than in the workhouses under a single poor-law authority, but did recommend several preventive and constructive measures for the employable. These included a national system of labour exchanges for assisting the mobility of labour, with railway passes for men going to employment at a distance; the education and training of the young for industrial life; the regularization of government and parish work, and the establishment and promotion of unemployment insurance. The Minority Report, on the other hand, advocated a National Unemployment Authority to take care of the merely unemployed, while the various other authorities, - Lunacy, Health, etc., - would take care of many others then included among the unemployed able-bodied.

The second great problem tackled by the Commission, was the trying intricacy of Settlement. The 'legal residence' qualification, which is the modern settlement, is traditional, a relic of ancient feudal days. It obtrudes itself into the earliest poor law legislation, and clearly shows itself to be an idea retained from days of serfdom. It has ever been found a convenient method of deciding who, apart from himself, is responsible for the individual. It has three definitions in early legislation, - the place of birth, three years' residence, and one year's residence, - and all other enactments dealt not so much with the theory of settlement, as with the claims of residence and the modes of acquiring settlement.

The effects of these clauses in poor law statutes, apart from the confusion and petty quarrels over chargeability, were detrimental to employment. A labourer feared to leave his parish to go where work might

be had, lest he lose his 'right' to relief; the employer dared not hire a non-resident, because he would be held personally responsible by the parish unless he could arrange to have him sleep outside the parish. Again, long contracts (a year or more) gave place to short ones to prevent acquiring of settlement, and when a family applied for relief there was the expense of returning them to their own parish to add to its encumbrances. This seriously affected the mobility of labour, and increased the expense to all parishes. Adam Smith in the *Wealth of Nations*, 1776, pointed out its pernicious effect on wages and its oppression of the would-be independent labourer. He shows that the Act of 1662, which affected not only those who became chargeable in a parish but also those likely to become chargeable, was "an evident violation of national liberty and justice". Yet, strange to say, none of the works under consideration, (not including the *Wealth of Nations*), give any substitute or advocate a system in which it would have no place or power. The 1834 Report states, "We cannot better characterize the evidence on which the justices have to decide in matters of settlement, than by saying it is almost as unsatisfactory as that which guides them in matters of relief." (Poor Law Report page 164). Nor does the Majority or Minority Report make its recommendations at all clear. All seem to have overlooked this very interfering and ancient tradition.

The 1834 Commissioners were so filled with the abuses of the existing system, that almost no consideration was given to children or their welfare. Mention is seldom made of them, apart from the question of bastardy and settlement. Children admitted to poor houses were to be quartered in separate buildings. Regarding apprenticeship:- "We recommend that the Children's Board be empowered to make such regulations as they shall think fit respecting the relief to be afforded by apprenticing

children, and that, at a future period, when the effect of the proposed alterations shall have been seen, the Children's Board be required to make a special enquiry into the operation of the laws respecting the apprenticing children at the expense of parishes, and into the operation of the regulations in that respect which the Board shall have enforced."

m In the fourth annual report of the Commission, (Majority Report page 233), they reported that the children raised in workhouses regarded it as their home and the ultimate asylum for old age, thus increasing the number of inmates. In 1835 Orders and Regulations, provision was made for the appointment of a schoolmaster and mistress for workhouses. Little more was done until 1894, when public opinion demanded a further investigation.

The recommendations of the Majority Report removed children entirely from the workhouse, and advised boarding homes, adoptions, and institutional care, with strict investigation of foster parents, and constant and adequate supervision of adopted children up to twenty-one years of age. Voluntary agencies should be recognized by the Public Authorities as regards after-care of poor-law children, should report to the Public Authorities and reports should be entered on a record. With regard to children of parents on out-relief, it advised medical supervision, and removal of children if parents were neglectful, or unworthy, or immoral. It advised that investigation be made to show that the income was sufficient to afford proper food, clothing and housing for the whole family, and that the Public Assistance Authorities should ascertain that the children were being properly nourished, but that poor children should not be entirely transferred to the local Education Authority. (Majority Report, Part IV, Chapter 8).

The Minority Report, on the other hand, advised the entrusting

of all school-children (not being sick or mentally defective) to the local Education Authorities, the reason being that they had already the necessary staff and equipment for medical examination, school feeding, residences, and for searching out every destitute child, enforcing parental responsibility, and for alleviating the actual crisis of destitution. (Minority Report, Part I, page 210).

Sidney and Beatrice Webb, in "Poor Law Policy", endeavour to show that though in 1907 the Poor Law was in effect, it had in three-quarters of a century, been gradually modified in practice, until the ancient principles set forth were no longer active. Out-relief they again found to be generally prevalent, and in place of stressing National Uniformity, Less Eligibility, and the use of the workhouse, there was a tendency to shift the burden of consideration from the rates to the individual. As we read through the legislation prior to, and including the 1834 reports, and also the Majority Report, and, to a lesser extent, the Minority Report, we are apt to pause and ask ourselves, - "These indigent, - the poor, the paupers, the necessitous, sturdy beggars and vagrants - who are they? and why are they? and are they less or more important than the rates?", - and we are more or less relieved when we read "Poor Law Policy" to discover that the individual may arise again. Mrs. Webb's definition of the principle of curative treatment, - "bringing about in the applicant actual physical and mental improvement, so as to render him more fit than if he had abstained from applying for relief", - assures us that whether or not this principle is as definite and well-established as she would have us believe, it must at least be awakening.

Curative treatment, universal provision, and compulsion are the principles the Webbs believed to be in power. Curative treatment, defined in the last paragraph, intimates the recognition of a social evil, not incurable but responding to treatment; not, however, to be cured by repression.

but by directed expression. Sickness and poverty are almost synonymous terms, so much is the one the cause of the other. Free medical aid on an equality with that procurable by the more fortunate, was naturally the first evidence of this principle. Children were also fast coming under its sway, but even the Webbs made only suggestions for the further development. More modern developments of curative treatment with reference to children, will be discussed later.

Universal provision means provision by the State of particular services for all who will accept them, irrespective of ability or otherwise to provide them independently, and is illustrated in State provision of parks, libraries, vaccination, sanitation, education, etc., all of which are now accepted as a matter of course, with playgrounds, swimming baths, recreation grounds, conservatories, and high schools added.

The principle of Compulsion, in the sense of treating an individual in the way that the community deems best whether he likes it or not, was discarded, after many centuries of use, by the 1834 principles. Free-will was, in a sense, the dominating principle regarding the workhouse, because no one could be forced to go there except by circumstances, which we are led to believe he could in part control, nor forced to remain there when he wished to depart. By 1907 many were forced to remain a day if provided with a night's lodging, or much longer in certain cases in order to deter them from becoming 'ins and outs'. Children also had come under this force, and were detained against the will of any but their parents. Compulsion had attained a three-fold value. It was used as a protection to children, as a disciplinary force to adults within the house, and as a deterrent to those without. The Webbs foresaw this power dissociated from the workhouse, and applied to indigents on out-relief under the various State Authorities; children protected, idleness and shiftlessness discip-

lined, and those on the border-line of pauperism deterred. To what extent did they accurately forecast the future?

Chapter IV - State Relief vs. Charity.

"Where cases of real hardship occur, the remedy must be applied by individual charity, a virtue for which no system of compulsory relief can be, or ought to be, a substitute", says the 1834 Report (page 263), when discussing remedial measures.

The Majority Report recommends that the Voluntary Aid Committee aid, - 1. Persons in distress whose cases do not appear to be suitable for treatment by the Public Aid Committee, and, 2. Applicants for public aid whose cases have been referred to the charity by the Public Aid Committee, (Majority Report Recommendation E, page 273), concerning which the Webbs, in English Poor Law Policy (page 282), conclude that the assistance of the "Poor Law Authorities is designed and extended only for the undeserving", it being assumed that those worthy of anything better than the Poor Law supplied, ought to be provided for by organized charity. The Minority Report does, however, give a place to voluntary agencies in their scheme of things:- "We are definitely of opinion that no encouragement should be given to any distribution of money, food, or clothing in the homes of the poor, by any private persons or any charitable societies whatsoever". "It is not that we undervalue the utility of the personal visits of sympathetic and helpful men or women. On the contrary, we wish to see much more use made of this devoted service, which could, we think, be greatly augmented, if it were called for by the Public Authorities".

Again, J. St. Lee Strachey, editor of "The Spectator", 1906, writing of the concluding chapter of a series of lectures on the different aspects of the Relief situation, maintained that "in the exceptional condition of destitution, the State should provide what is necessary; that it should, as far as possible, prevent permanent dependence; that voluntary resources should be organized to meet other exceptional conditions,

and in such a way as to promote self-support and permanent independence."

Today we find in the cities of the United States of America and in Eastern Canada, two systems of relief at work:— State Relief, which keeps body and soul together and thus discharges civilization's responsibility for the individual who cannot help himself, and Organized Charity, which supplies those things that people could possibly exist for some time without. This latter is a system whereby the wealthy show their pity for the condition of the poor, by donating sums, large or small, to a fund, and paying someone, or a group, to see that it is expended in the wisest and most helpful way. It is mis-named "Charity". Charity involves love and kindred spirit, and places the needs of the receiver before the comforts and pleasures of the donor. It would be better named "Voluntary Relief". Hence our consideration becomes, Relief - Voluntary or Compulsory?

Each of these systems may be effective; each has its advantages. Voluntary relief (meaning relief from voluntarily subscribed funds) frequently provides more money, but the amount is unstable and varies from year to year and from appeal to appeal, and has a tendency to be most abundant in good years when it is needed less, and scanty in lean years when most needed. It may pay better salaries and so get better service, but it frequently employs the social dependents of large contributors. It may be more freely directed from one channel to a more necessary one, or it may just as easily be directed toward political ends. Compulsory relief, or relief from public funds, suffers generally from being inadequate in amount, is the expression of man's acceptance of his responsibility for his fellow man, and the responsibility falls proportionately on the rate-payers; it is unhampered by the demands of individual donors, and by the fanaticisms of the wealthy; it covers all destitute persons, irrespective of creed, colour or morality. It may not even differentiate between worthy and unworthy, but merely asks

and investigates, - 'destitute or not destitute?', 'able to be self-supporting or not able to be self-supporting?' The amount assessed for relief purposes over a period of years, expresses indirectly the general attitude of the people toward relief, since the representatives of the people are controlled by the majority voice. The efficiency of the service rendered, depends on the efficiency of the people's representatives in power. Therefore the education of the man on the street will make possible more adequate preventive and constructive relief.

In view of the more apparent advantages of a charity system, it is not surprising to find that on this North American continent, there are two authorities as advocated in the Majority Report, - a State Relief Office and a Private Charitable Organization, the former giving bare necessities inadequately, the latter supplementing and looking to the rehabilitation of the family on a self-supporting basis. The Charity Organization is the organization of Social Work and employs professional, often trained, workers, while the Relief Officer is the generally inefficient distributor of food and fuel and money doles.

In having done away with Charity and substituted State Relief, Winnipeg is unique among the larger cities of the United States of America and Canada, though the smaller western cities, whose population does not call for any considerable staff of social workers, are organized under a single State Relief Officer, and will, in all probability, develop on the same system though not by the same process as Winnipeg, from a private to public fund system.

One, the most effective, argument against the State Relief System, is that it engenders an attitude of dependence by 'right'. Any Social Worker will agree that the most objectionable attitude is that of the person who says, "I cannot help myself, the State must keep me". "I

have paid taxes for ten years, the city ought to help me". We all agree to mutual dependence and to civilization's responsibility for the individual, but at the same time object to this attitude. In the first quotation, the major premise of the argument is understood if the minor is established then the conclusion is correct. The person making the statement, however, does so to convince himself and his hearers that he cannot help himself, and that there is no individual on whom he has greater claim than on the State. "Then we will starve, you will let us freeze", is a defence reaction and not a shifting of responsibility. The 'right to maintenance' idea, is not an outgrowth of Civilization's Contract (Fowle page 12), and it is just as evident in voluntary systems, and is merely an argument used to establish a particular case.

Since the source of the funds and the attitude engendered in the recipient, gives neither system a decided advantage, it would appear that the type of administration might be the deciding factor. 'Case work' is now the accepted method in the administration of relief. It has innumerable meanings and is applied over a very wide field. Miss Richmond's two definitions are the most generally accepted. Both are taken from her book "What is Social Case Work?", which is an authoritative text. In broadest generalization, "Its theories, its aims, its best intensive practice, all seem to be converging of late years, toward one central idea; namely, toward the development of personality." (What is Social Case Work? page 90). This statement is rather too broad to be accepted or seriously considered from an economic point of view. The second, though, gives a better clue to actual procedure. It runs, -"Social Case Work consists of those processes which develop personality, through adjustment consciously effected, individual by individual, between men and their social environment". (What is Social Case Work?, page 98). Behind the process of Case Work, is the belief or opinion

that the human misery which prompts people to apply to any organization for assistance, is due to the individual's inability to solve his own problems or supply his own needs, that is, to successfully shoulder his own responsibilities. Life, from beginning to end, consists of making adjustments, each with every other with whom he comes in contact. It is the inability to make adequate adjustments that produces the need of assistance. 'Social environment' is the term applied to all those forces, which, together with physical environment, act on the personality of the individual so that his adjustments are adequate or otherwise. Illness, industrial change, lack of education, lack of training in childhood, oppression, physical defect, malnutrition, intemperance, child labour; - these are among the most outstanding of the causes of social and industrial inefficiency. The Social Case-worker, in whatever branch of social work, seeks to find the cause or causes, eradicate as many as possible, and assist the client to overcome the effects of the others as much as possible. In addition, he seeks to prevent the same causes from acting on others. Sickness may be cured or, if incurable, precautions taught to prevent its spread; industrial change overcome by showing the individual the need and means of advancing with the times; lack of education, by education and appreciation of the educational facilities for children; character defects by discipline and encouragement; and so forth. It becomes evident, then, that Social Workers must be not only those who can and do successfully make the adjustments of their own lives, but who have as well knowledge and understanding. Understanding is essential, but without Knowledge it may do harm where good is intended. It is therefore necessary that a Social Worker must have, not only a good general education, but a specialized knowledge of those branches of learning which assist in the understanding of Social Systems, that is, of History, and Economics; and of persons, - Sociology and Psychology. The better system is, then, the one which can

employ the best Case Workers. If the representatives of the general public cannot be made to see the need of trained workers, and the Private Organization Board can, then the latter will function the more effectively; if the contrary, then the State Relief system.

Chapter V - Manitoba Relief Organizations.

The Church divided England into parishes long before parochial relief became law, and because the parish and its officers were already there, it became the unit area of relief. Similarly with our municipal system. The municipality is the legislative unit, of which there are at present in the province one hundred and twenty-one. Each is controlled by an elective Council, and employs a Clerk to attend to its business, including assessment and collection of taxes. Municipalities vary in size, in population, in wealth, and in number and variety of nationalities. With the Manitoba Act, the Province accepted its responsibility for relief, etc., from the British North America Act as shown in a preceding chapter, then, by custom and agreement rather than legal enactment, delegated the care of its people to the local unit.

The system has its advantages. Rates are kept down. Nothing is so conducive to this as a small group responsible unto themselves. All relief comes directly from their own pockets, and is grudgingly given, so that the recipient prefers to be self-supporting. Malingerers are few. The tendency to mutual responsibility is fostered, because in the long run it pays to help your neighbour to help himself. Its dangers, too, quickly become evident. In poor communities, the necessitous provide for the destitute, thereby making their own condition worse, and at the same time providing insufficiently for those less prosperous. In the depression following the war, and on account of successive crop failures in certain districts, several municipalities have found themselves unable to function, and have placed assets and liabilities in the hands of the Receiver. Business management has been assumed, in part, by the Provincial Government, and relief to the destitute administered through the office of Relief to Unorganized Territories. This may be the beginning of a Provincial Relief System.

Medical Relief -

As has been seen in former chapters, legislation to provide medical care to all, has been most abundant in the Province, and was most notably absent from English legislation. Today, we have a system which makes the best medical and surgical care available to rich and poor. The wealthy go to private specialists and pay enormous fees, the poor go to public clinics and obtain the combined services of the outstanding medical men free of charge. The middle class are, if any, the ones to suffer. They can afford to pay, but not the high fees of the specialist. Their options are the public clinic or the smaller fee, less experienced, younger or less successful doctors. The Hospital Aid Act (see Chapter 2) throws the responsibility of collection for hospital care back on the municipality. The clerk of the municipality collects if he can. If he cannot, and the person is able to pay, he may, upon satisfying the judge, obtain a court order, or, if the person has property, he may file a lien, in the manner of a judgment against the property. The lien is honoured only second to a first mortgage. Similarly, the Mental Diseases Act of 1918 provides the same care and treatment to indigent patients as to wealthy, and collects one-half from relatives if they are able to pay, and half from the Provincial Government. The same methods of forcing payment may be made as in ordinary hospital accounts.

If a person in the City of Winnipeg, Province of Manitoba, falls ill, be he poor, in moderate means, or indigent, the following medical services, apart from hospital treatment, are at his service when notified. The Margaret Scott Nursing Mission nurses will call at his home and give nursing service free while he is a bed patient, and will call a doctor if necessary. If he has independence and some income, the Victorian Order of Nurses will give similar service at a nominal charge. When he is well enough to travel, he can go to the Winnipeg General Hospital Clinic, the St. Boniface Hospital Clinic, or, in the case of a child, the Children's Hospital Clinic. There he

will be examined, generally, and in the Medical Clinic, and referred to whatever special clinic his ailment calls for. The following Clinics are in regular session:- Cardiac, Chest, Children's, Dental, Diabetic, Eye, Ear, Nose and Throat, Goitre, Medical, Nutritional, Orthopedic, Pre-natal, Skin, Surgery, Urology, and Women's Diseases.

If medicine is prescribed by the Clinic doctors, he can obtain the same from the Dispensary, at a cost, or less than cost, rate. (Nothing over fifty cents.)

Since 1921 the hospitals have kept records of their patients. Face-card information, including name, address, age, family, race, etc., - is recorded, together with a statement of financial position and a medical history. Any person referred by letter by a Social Service Organization is accepted for free treatment, and others may be investigated by Hospital Social Service Workers, if the case seems to warrant same.

The Clinic doctors are the best in the profession, who give their morning hours in three-month periods. Under them work the student doctors, but the number allowed to attend any clinic is limited. Patients are examined individually, and a nurse is in constant attendance, thus eliminating as many embarrassing features as possible.

Babies are attended by public clinic at the Baby's Milk Depot. Originally organized under the Margaret Scott Nursing Mission, it was founded by the City of Winnipeg in 1906, in an endeavour to reduce the infant mortality in the north part of the city. From the babies of the indigent and of foreigners, its usefulness has spread to all classes, and from the North End to Greater Winnipeg generally. Morning hours are given to those who cannot pay, afternoon to those who can. Even provincial applicants are not turned away, though the city will not provide free milk to babies of those resident outside the city.

If our fictitious indigent individual finds, upon examination, that he is suffering from a communicable disease, he will find that his case has been automatically reported to the Civic Health Department, by which organization he will be quarantined or supervised, until there is no further fear of the disease spreading.

If he resides outside of the City, he may have the gratuitous services of the Public Health Nurses' Department, which is "A State service designed to safeguard childhood and to protect public health". The cost is defrayed by the Provincial Government and the Municipalities, and the scope of its work includes, besides generalized Public Health Nursing, sanitation, detection of defects in children, health education in the schools, detection of unreported communicable disease, bedside nursing, nutrition and first-aid classes, and supervision of maternity homes, boarding homes for children, and day nurseries. If he comes to the city for treatment, the clinics and all other facilities are at his service as with city residents.

The actual scope of the Public Health Nurses' Department, can best be illustrated by its 1926 Report, which shows 13,851 children examined, 7,146 found with defects; 3,521 school classrooms inspected; 9,983 first-aid treatments given; 1,343 children excluded from school; 4,442 referred for treatment; 3,026 classroom health talks; 411 Little Mothers' Leagues formed; 177 first-aid and 45 nutrition classes conducted. Seven percent of 10,853 (or 3,061) children were found to be under weight.

The Social Welfare Commission -

Let us now turn our attention to relief other than medical. The only organized channel of relief, other than to returned soldiers, in the city, is the Social Welfare Commission; - a Commission consisting of the Mayor, seven aldermen, and six citizen members appointed by the Council on

the recommendation of the Commission. A full-time Secretary combines the offices of Secretary and City Relief Officer and is responsible to the Commission.

The Social Welfare Commission, - a development of the Associated Charities, a private fund organization - combines the functions of relief-giving with the ideals of a charitable organ. It began life, not with the cold, calculating outlook of reducing dollars and cents, but with the warm glow of making human adjustments. When the Associated Charities gave place to the Social Welfare Commission, the case-working staff was transferred in toto, the result being that the ideal of the charities prevailed. After ten years of Finance Committee domination, we find some of the old spirit expressed in the Annual Report of 1924:- "We have endeavoured to give adequate relief and to prevent overlapping, at the same time using all the family's known resources to assist us in re-establishing the home on a self-supporting basis wherever possible." "The real work of the Commission, however, is to build up the character of the people with whom we come in contact, character-failing being responsible for the difficulties in which a large number of our clients find themselves, and only as we assist in the building up of character, can we assist in the preventive work we are endeavouring in the community".

The eighth Annual Report - 1925 - referring to the Social Welfare Commission, says, "To this Department of the city is entrusted the care of our city's needy families, and homeless men and women," etc. "It would save many anxious hours to mothers and fathers, and some money from public funds, if we could get in touch with them before they get to the end of their resources."

The Amendment to the Charter, March 1917, giving the City power to appoint a Commission, put it that "The Commission's duties and powers are to

give aid and service to dependent families and homeless men resident within the city limits - - - and to endeavour to secure improvement in social conditions, with a view to prevention of poverty, sickness, and crime."

Not until 1924 was City Byelaw No.11327 passed, which appointed the Secretary of the Commission to the office of City Relief Officer.

Hence we find that in practically all statements of the aims and duties of the Commission is expressed the idea that it is more than an organization for the relief of the destitute.

But let us examine these aims. Do we find them possible of fulfilment? First, can a relief organization be constructive? Let us look at the actual workings. - - - A family in distress either apply or are referred by a third person. If personal application is made, the clerk at the desk gets certain information which permits her to decide whether the applicant is a 'case' (either service or relief) or not. If the decision is affirmative, the 'case' is entered on a Case Reference sheet, and the applicant is told that a visitor will call the next day. The visitor checks the name and address at the Confidential Exchange to find out whether the case is known to any other society, and forthwith proceeds to call. From this point the matter lies between the visitor and the regulations laid down by the Commission. Now to examine the regulations:-

- (1) The Commission believes in the principle that people should be required to help themselves, and that its work is to supplement the earnings of a family, and to prevent pauperism of a recipient and imposition on the citizens generally. Where co-operation is refused, there is no alternative but to eliminate from the family's relief certain services which the family could, through co-operation, supply for themselves from earnings.

- (2) Where the husband is not working and is able to look after the children, it is fair to expect that the woman do some work, providing her health is not imperilled thereby. Medical reports from the Winnipeg General Hospital are insisted upon for those persons who claim to be unable to co-operate in carrying out this policy.
- (3) As the Commission does not supply all clothing necessary, the woman should be allowed to retain some of her earnings for clothing and extras. In temporary cases on relief (less than six months) earnings are used first for rent, then for meat, then for light and sundries, milk, and finally clothing. In permanent cases almost the reverse is followed, clothing being purchased first, then light and sundries, meat, milk, and finally rent. The amount allowed for clothing according to the Social Welfare budget, compares favourably with the allowance made by the Child Welfare Act, allowance in both cases for an adult being \$4.50 per month. Child Welfare Allowance for a child from eight to eleven years of age is \$4.00, and for a child from twelve to fifteen years of age \$4.50 per month, while the Social Welfare allows \$2.50 per month for each child, irrespective of age.
- (4) Earning children keep \$12.00 per month - \$6.00 for clothing and \$6.00 for car-fare, recreation, etc. - paying the balance of their income into the home.
- (5) Each case must be considered on its own merits, and judgment exercised.
- (6) Where a family is operating a rooming house, the Commission will not consider the granting of relief, as same would be considered as subsidizing a business.

- (7) Relatives. Where a family has relatives, either in or out of the City, they are communicated with, with a request that they co-operate in giving information that would help the office in planning for the family's welfare, and to assist when possible.
- (8) That pending full investigation, emergency relief is sent when necessary, or at the request of reputable citizens.
- (9) Meat allowance is given monthly by cheque as per schedule, and only to those families where there is no other source available, or where investigation shows relief to be of more than a month's duration.
- (10) Milk tickets are sent every eight days with the grocery order as per schedule, to those families without income sufficient to purchase same.
- (11) Rent for permanent families is paid where income is insufficient to purchase clothing, meat, and milk, as well as pay rent. For temporary families, no rent is paid unless an eviction notice is served through the Court. The Secretary is then authorized to arrange accommodation for the family.
- (12) Family groups. That where members of the same family are living together in the same house, the income and expenditures (based on the Commission's budget) for the whole group, be taken into consideration in the granting of relief.
- (13) Male roomers. The policy is to prohibit their presence in the house where the husband of the applicant is not living in the home.
- (14) Non-residents. The Commission believe that it is in the interests of the citizens to refuse assistance to families who have not been residents of the city for one year previous to application, without being in receipt of public or private charity.

Pending arrangements for the re-establishment of the family at their place of legal residence, emergency assistance is given. Transportation for the family and their effects is provided, after the municipality has been notified that the Commission are arranging for their return. In the event of their refusal to accept transportation, the Children's Aid Society is notified so that the children may be safeguarded.

- (15) Registration against property. Under the Charities Aid Act, any municipality may register the amount of relief given any family as a lien against the property, and the Commission's policy is to register a claim where a case has been in receipt of relief for three consecutive months, or has received relief totalling \$50.00.

"We have endeavoured at all times to give 'adequate' relief". On what is adequacy based? Upon examination of cases, we find a wide variation. Case number 15634, with a family of four little ones, no income and a sick husband, gets free medical aid at the Winnipeg General Hospital, a grocery order every eight days (including bread and milk but no meat), and cooking or heating fuel (wood) in quantities according to season. No rent is paid until an eviction notice is served, no water until a final notice is served, no light unless there is danger of it being discontinued, no clothing except what is obtainable at the Home Welfare Clothing Bureau. After the first month a small cash allowance (\$2.00 to \$2.50) may be given for meat, eggs and sundries, per month. 'Adequacy', in the early stages, apparently means prevention from death by illness, starvation or cold. But as time goes on, and the family are found incapable of self-support, the term broadens, enlarges and deepens, until with the X family (Case number 19660) with nine children, (two feeble-minded), a feeble-minded father who earns \$70.00 per month, a mother capable, scheming, and with a high idea of what the State ought to

provide, in the month of March 1927 received \$114.42 relief, apart from her husband's cheque. This covered rent, light, water, wood, food, clothing, back debts, etc. Case number 1248, a more normal permanent case, for one adult and two children received \$14.74 for food, \$14.00 for rent, and \$11.15 for fuel. The mother works for clothing and extras.

"The real work of the Commission is to build up the character of the people with whom we come into contact". In how far is this possible? The visitor is in contact with the client, at most half an hour per week. Though she may accurately diagnose his case, though she may have a detailed history, know his relatives, his employers, the teachers of his children, and his medical history, yet it is almost impossible to materially change the current of his life, build up the character of a character-failure, strengthen his strengths, jack up his weaknesses, and carry from sixty to one hundred cases per month. If the Commission aims to build character, let it double its staff, hire psychologists and psychiatrists who will understand the character-failure and constructively work on him and with him. And yet - - - if you were at your wits' end, and were visited by a kindly middle-aged Scottish woman who gave a listening ear, then firmly showed you the only possible way out, or the better choice of two ways, and by the time she left you you had a friend, unbiassed, sensible, kindly, of rare judgment, and of inborn independence, would it not inspire you to your best? And is not this character-building?

Aside from its relief-giving functions, and its uplift aims, the Social Welfare Commission Agents handle a group of cases known as 'Service Only', including legal aid, domestic difficulties, and advice. This follows in a mild way, the American tendency toward courts of Domestic Relations and free Legal Aid Bureaus. It places the machinery of justice in the hands of the poor, and tends to prevent the submerging of that part of the population

that is only just able to keep its head above water. The real value and effectiveness of this branch cannot be estimated by statistics, because one cannot fathom the depths of miserable possibilities. When we examine closely, we find these two branches of the case-work of the Social Welfare Visitor, frequently in opposition. In times of stress and overwork, relief-giving combined with a minimum of case-work and a maximum of regulations gains dominion; but when work slackens and time permits, then the worker attacks the problems of the pauper, with a view not merely to relieving, but to educating, and stabilizing the position of the family. Here preventative work may be, and is done.

Now let us examine the work and methods, against those principles laid down by the Poor Law of 1834. The Ruling of the Social Welfare Commission is certainly not uniform for all paupers within each class. Each case is considered individually and the individual need catered to within certain well-defined limits.

Does 'less eligibility' apply? What is the standard of living of the lowest grade of independent worker in an urban community? Certain things his wage must cover if he is to remain independent:— food, clothing, fuel, rent. In Winnipeg, it need not cover medical care, since this and hospital treatment may be freely obtained without the stigma of dependence. Food must be of sufficient quantity and quality to maintain his family in health, and need not be more abundant nor of better quality than that provided by the Social Welfare Commission for dependent families, whose food schedules, varying with the size of the family, are adjudged adequate in all food values by the Agricultural College dietitians, and are a little more than adequate to allow for possible bad management on the part of the house-keeper. The independent labourer may have a little more meat, but frequently has less milk, butter and cheese. In our Canadian climate, the lowest grade of independent worker cannot hope to do better than keep his family

adequately covered in the summer, and reasonably warm in the winter; the unfortunate on relief cannot be suffered to do worse, but instead of providing new material, he is provided with cast-offs and old garments to be made over. Frequently, however, the independent labourer would be only too glad to eke out his slender means by receiving discarded wear. Thus it occurs that the dependent are sometimes more fortunate than the lowest salaried class. Fuel is provided in sufficient quantities, but in wood only, the employed thus gaining in the privilege of buying coal and keeping warm without bestirring himself at night to keep from freezing. The last, the question of rent, is the one point which makes dependence an unenviable lot. One of the most hard and fast rules of the Social Welfare Commission is that no rent will be paid unless the family is placed upon the permanent list. An eviction is generally preceded by a bailiff's visit, after which the family have only the bare necessities of furniture left,-- stove, table, beds, one chair each, and a minimum of utensils. The family is then poverty-stricken indeed. Under the existing regulations, rent is never paid where there is the possibility of the bread-winner being fit to obtain employment. The principle of 'less eligibility' is therefore in force, provided that one does not estimate the discomfort of work as equal to the discomfort of an uncertain roof and the bare necessities of furnishings.

The means of enforcing the principles of 1834 - the workhouse - is practically unheard of in this city, but an odd relic or so remains, in the Home of the Friendless, (a private organization), where a mother and her children may find a restricted resting-place, when relief is refused for lack of co-operation or other reasons; and the employment in the City wood-yard corresponds to the ancient work-test of the workhouse. The test is used only with the able-bodied men on unemployment relief. Our only method of enforcing compliance with regulations, is that very negative one of refusing relief; and it has the unfortunate effect of punishing the innocent rather than the

guilty.

The Child Welfare Division. -

A glance back to the Child Welfare Act of 1924, as outlined in Chapter II, will show why Part III of the Act affects a relief policy. The section repealed the Mothers' Allowances Act of 1916. It provides maintenance to children under fourteen years of age, or incapable mentally or physically, who are British by birth or by the naturalization of their father, and children born in Canada, bereaved or dependent. All children under the above conditions, residing in the Province of Manitoba, are, by virtue of the Act, eligible for allowance, but only a portion of these are accepted, and that portion includes only those who come under the regulations (Clause 21, sections 1 and 2). Individual orphans are accepted, but a mother must have two children under fifteen years of age to be eligible, it being the policy that an able-bodied mother can support a single child herself. In the case of a mother suffering from an incurable disease (cancer, epilepsy, tuberculosis, etc.), allowance is granted for one child. If there sufficient children of earning age to provide for the smaller children and the mother, (i. e., income sufficient), no allowance is granted; or if there are sources of income (property, willing relatives, compensation, or other benefits) as great as the Child Welfare budget, the allowance may be refused, or passed temporarily to allow time for necessary adjustments to be made. Eligibility also depends on residence. The family must have two years' residence in Manitoba prior to the father's death, and the father must have died within the Province. The allowance is subject to the good behaviour of the mother, her ability to give adequate care to her children, and her willingness to co-operate.

Manitoba has need of Canadian or British-born children, educated to a certain standard, and this legislation was passed with a view to giving fatherless children schooling and supervised training, and necessary

financial assistance without pauperization. The value of normal home training is rated much higher than that of institutions, the care given by mothers higher than the care given by grandmothers or other relatives. It is an endeavour to diminish the population of orphanages by making it unnecessary for a mother to break up her home in order to support her family.

Economically, the policy is not sound, since the State undoubtedly supports many families who could be self-supporting, and it makes it unnecessary for a man to make provision for his family in the event of his death. Each of these may be well-founded objections, and may cause the repeal of that part of the statute. The former depends on the thoroughness of the first investigation, which is made by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Municipality who is also Secretary of the local Child Welfare Committee; upon the discernment of the official visitor who prepares the case for the Board; upon the judgment of the Board; and, finally, on the follow-up investigation of the visitor; or, in other words, the effectiveness of the case-work method. The latter - that it obviates the necessity of provision in case of death - may become a real objection, but at this stage does not come into play.

One of our great needs as a Province today, is an effective population. Our cities cannot grow, our industries increase, or our commercial life expand, beyond the population limits of our rural districts. We cannot hope to compete with, or even hold our own against, American trade, if we have not first a local demand. Once the demand is established, the supply will, in due course, follow. The pressure of population is needed to bring under cultivation those now-called 'waste-lands' of the province. The comparative failure of the Soldiers' Settlement scheme, adequately illustrates the uselessness of trying to force an unwilling population on these lands. Necessity is still 'the mother of invention', and only a pioneering population by experi-

ment will make those lands 'to blossom like the rose'. History teaches that the demands of population create the ingenuity and effort, which in turn find the means for the supply. An effective population is therefore what we need. The Red Indian is the only true Canadian, and his day is past. Our population must of necessity be conglomerate, and, to become effective, must be, by the ideal of its citizenship, unified. The great melting-pot is the school. The Act therefore, endeavours to maintain the children at school for the full time that an independent workman must afford, i.e., until fifteen years of age, though the school act makes it compulsory only to fourteen, provided that the child then goes to work. The present need is that a child be permitted to continue to the age of sixteen years. Apart from the individual need, and the desire of the mother, this is deemed expedient on account of the regulation of the factory Acts, in which the industrial age is sixteen years, and the shortage of employment suited to boys of fifteen years throughout the winter months. The 1924-5 report shows that of 352 children of earning age, 216 are working out, 56 working at home, 54 in school, 6 ill, and 36 unemployed. Of the 54 at school, undoubtedly a percentage attempted to get work and returned to school in preference to being quite idle. There were 2,230 children under allowance in 1924-5. Of the fathers, 202 were labourers, 41 clerks, 246 tradesmen, 30 business men, 10 professional and 227 farmers. It requires 10,000 dollars insurance to net an income of 700 dollars per year, which amount would keep a mother with ~~two~~ or three children according to allowance standard, and would cost, roughly, twenty dollars per month. In preference to the old method of putting a premium on every child over a certain number, the Province subsidizes families when their condition is such that they can do little to help themselves, and are willing to tolerate supervision in preference to being separated.

The amount is allocated on a budget system. Adequacy, based on individual needs, is the keystone. The limit of allowance for rent and fuel,

and the amount allowed for a mother, are the only invariables. The amount of rent paid, an amount to cover light, water and incidentals according to the size of the house, food and clothing for each child according to age, deductions for roomers, income from earning children according to the amount received, the age of the child and the type of work engaged in, and, in small families, the earnings of the mother, all are variables. The X family (Case number 1773) have the following budget for a mother and six children under fifteen years of age:- Carrying charges on property, (including interest, taxes and insurance) and a small payment on principle, \$25.00; light, water, cooking fuel and extras, \$7.00; food, \$41.00; clothing, \$19.00;- Total \$92. Her actual allowance is \$88.00, as relatives assist to the extent of \$4.00. \$16.00 per month for winter fuel, is added in the winter months.

The budget is applicable only in the city. No fixed system exists in the rural municipalities, the amount depending on the judgment of the local Committee and the official visitor. Rural allowances run generally from \$15.00 to \$50.00.

The most serious charge that can be brought against this piece of legislation is - that it creates dependence (a) in the mother, (b) in the children. If in (a) she, and possibly part of the family, goes off the Mothers' Allowance to go to some other form of relief. If (b) the children have an attitude of getting something for nothing by 'right'. Again it is charged that it creates a desire for dependence in others. Evidences of this are found in rural foreign communities, where Canadian ideas have scarcely penetrated. The oppressed from Central Europe are, upon arrival here, impressed by the freedom of our movements from place to place, and other like privileges which we take for granted. They find later that the Government sends money - convertible into actual cash - to one of their number, who, under usual circumstances, after the death of her husband would marry within six months. The one or two beneficiaries in a district become an aristocracy,

and it becomes a desire in life to be assisted by so maternalistic a government. A survey of cases will be necessary to give any adequate estimate of the effect of the Act, and this to include statements from municipal secretaries, members of the local committees, local magistrates, and official visitors.

A hundred cases of present beneficiaries shows the following conditions existant:- fifty-one might possibly have been self-supporting without seriously breaking up the family, had there been no allowance; eight have large families of small children; sixteen others have no resources apart from the allowance. In twelve cases the mother might be able to support the family, if times were good and work obtainable; twelve mothers are definitely in too poor health to earn; twenty-two families have grown children helping, while eleven have children who will not or cannot help. In nineteen cases, relatives might have come to the rescue had the Province made no provision.

Unemployment Relief. -

Prior to the winter of 1920-1, unemployment was one of the minor causes of relief of the Social Welfare Commission. In 1917-8, the total number of cases under the division of 'labour and wage conditions' did not exceed 94, and of these only twelve were active lack of employment. In 1919-20, the total number was 45; yet in 1920-1, after a good crop in 1920, unemployment became acute. (Sessional paper No. 19, Appendix to the 6th Annual Report of the Bureau of Labour, Department of Public Works). In the report of the representatives of the Manitoba Government, appointed to cooperate with municipalities re unemployment relief - year ending November 30th, 1921 - it states:- "Early in December 1920, the falling off in the abnormal industrial activity due to the war, resulted in a large surplus of labour in urban centres, - - - in other words, unemployment". "This condition prevailed throughout Canada, and while the conditions in Manitoba were

not so bad as in other parts of the country, they were sufficiently acute to demand relief measures". "As a result of several conferences between representatives of the Provincial, Federal, and Civic Governments and public bodies, the Manitoba Government agreed to co-operate with the Federal Government and municipalities, on the basis of one-third each of the cost of relief of distress due to unemployment, and to share the cost of administration equally with the municipalities of such relief".

Thus was the relief of the able-bodied established in Winnipeg, in Manitoba, and in Canada. The initial movement towards establishment was made by the Federal Government "in a spirit of co-operation, and, in part, as an obligation arising out of the war and conditions as they have been left in consequence of the war, rather than any obligation which the Fathers of Confederation, when our constitution was framed, intended should be assumed by the Federal Government." (Premier McKenzie King's speech at the Unemployment Conference, Ottawa, September 5th, 6th, and 7th, 1922.)

On Sept. 15th, 1921, a Provincial Conference was held in Winnipeg. Representatives of the Federal and Provincial Governments, Municipalities having urban centres, Women's Institutes, Agricultural Societies, the Local Council of Women, the Trades and Labour Council, the Joint Council of Industry, and the Employers' Association were present, and the discussion centred round three points:- (a) Definition of the term unemployed; (b) Causes; (c) Suggested measures for relief.

The definition finally agreed to was - "The condition of those workless people in the community, who, though fit and willing to work, are, through no fault of their own, but owing to the condition of industry in their community and in the country generally, unable to get work." This definition excludes from the ranks of the Unemployed, properly so called, the following classes:- those incapacitated by disability, those unwilling to work, and those constitutionally lazy and shiftless.

"Causes of unemployment are many and varied, but in so far as the Province of Manitoba is concerned, the main causes in our opinion are" -

- (1) The influx of men and families engaged in agricultural pursuits, into the cities and towns to engage in other industries, due to the keen demand for labour during the abnormal industrial activity as a result of the war. The urban population has also been increased, through the large number of men who enlisted in the country taking up residence in the cities after demobilization. Now that the abnormal industrial activity no longer prevails, we find a surplus of labour in urban centres. On the other hand, there appears to be little or no unemployment in Manitoba towns, and there is certainly a demand for farm labourers. This shifting of workers from agricultural districts increases unemployment, because it withdraws them from possible work, which could be found in the country but which is not available in the cities.
- (2) Seasonal conditions are the cause of a great fluctuation in the labour market, particularly in the building trades.
- (3) Fluctuations in industry are caused by market changes brought on by world conditions and social habits.
- (4) Lack of relation between systems of education and the labour market, in order that the youth may be trained in occupations in which workers are in demand.
- (5) Allowing men and families to immigrate to Canada, who are not equipped, either physically or financially, to take up farm work, and who are not desirous of taking up this work, but who wish to take up other industrial activities wherein there is no demand for labour.
- (6) The lack of organization of productive industry, with a view to continuous employment.

(7) Immobility of labour as between the various parts of our Dominion.

Numbers 1, 2, 3, and 5 of these, Mr. Graig placed before the National Conference on Unemployment, in September 1921. Representatives of other provinces similarly lined up the causes, and they varied widely - transportation and fishing in the Maritime Provinces; inadequate transportation facilities for the lumbering trade in British Columbia and New Brunswick; underpopulation and distance from the market in Alberta and Saskatchewan; and high freight rates both east and west.

The year 1920-1 relief was given in cash doles. All departments readily agreed that this was extravagant and demoralizing. No record of men relieved or amount of individual relief was kept. By the winter of 1921-2, methods had been systematized, and types of forms and instructions issued throughout the Province. Application by written form containing statistical information re nationality, residence, relatives, income, sources of income, family, length and place of employment, time unemployed, sworn to before the Department Clerk, was demanded. Until the winter of 1924, no attempt was made at checking information, or at further investigation.

The policies of the relief may best be summed up under the following heads:-

Eligibility - Married men. - Men who have been out of steady work (or reasonably steady casual work) and who have registered at the Employment Service of Canada.

Relief to married men - at their homes, according to the size of the family. Supplies of food including bread, rolled oats, wheat granules, rice, macaroni, beans, sugar, tea, jam, syrup, prunes, potatoes, onions, carrots, cheese, butter, lard, milk, meat and fish, weekly; and yeast and flour, baking powder, salt, laundry and castile soap, soaps and matches, by the month. The orders were varied from week to week, but not from month to

month, and were in amount larger than those of the Social Welfare Commission orders, and therefore more than adequate for proper nourishment. Fuel is sent as investigation indicated was required, cash for gas to the amount of 75¢ per week, water to a maximum of 75¢ per month, electric light to \$1.00 per month, and coal oil for cooking to 90¢ per week. From 1924 to 1926 no relief was granted to a family with less than two children, if either the man or his wife were able to work.

Relief to single men - Meal tickets and lodgings were provided from 1921 -3.

Rooms were sometimes provided at lodging houses and in hotels and in the Salvation Army Hostel, but in 1922 an attempt was made to put the men up in 'Quarters' in the Immigration Hall. The plant and equipment was expensive, the upkeep heavy, and the men frequently objected to having to go through the delousing process before being admitted. It was discontinued the next year.

The reports of 1923-4 stated that no relief be given to single, physically fit men, when work was offering either in the city or in the country. In 1925, relief was in transportation either to jobs or to rural homes, to the extent of \$15.00 only, and in 1925-6 no relief was granted to single physically-fit men.

Rent - Many and long were the conferences on the question of rent; loud and angry were the haranguings of landlords and agents. In 1922 the committee agreed to pay rent when the arrears were two months, to pay for two months only, and at a rate of not more than \$25.00 per month. Application had to be made by the landlord or agent in writing, with account showing when the last payment was made. The next year the committee dealt with applications for rent on their merit, and in the following year the arrangement was made with the city workyard that, when a man's rent was in arrears, he might earn to pay it by cutting cordwood at the rate of \$1.75 a cord. Where this plan proved impractic-

able the cases were dealt with on their merits, and payment made in cases of distress.

Work - From 1921-6 there has been a work-test. The reports say - "It has been advisable to operate a wood-yard for the work-test purposes", - and since the wood-yard is conveniently situated on the outskirts of the city, many have fallen by the wayside.

Various forms of employment have in their turn been tried. From 1921-5 there was a city wood camp at Mile 89 on the Winnipeg Water line." Many were willing to avail themselves of this employment and were outfitted, but few remained to work", says the Report of 1924, and the Superintendent of the Prison Farm, who assisted in the care of the men, is even less conservative in his statements. He told the story to the writer, that they went out warmly clad in new clothes with new axes, and, after a day or two, they would return to quarters with axe-handles severed from heads, or shoes cut to pieces, or mackinaws torn, and complain that it was the poor quality of the material, and they would then have to lie around for a week or more, waiting for new tools. At any time of the day or night, groups could be found sitting around playing cards, etc. It is worthy of note that the proportion of men willing to take work in the bush steadily decreased from 1922 on, as follows:- in 1922-3, 160 men, or 5.49 percent; in 1923-4, 110 men, or 4.04 percent; in 1924-5, 167 men, or 3.95 percent; and in 1925-6, only 23 men were placed in the camps.

Municipal work was strongly advocated by both Dominion and Provincial Authorities, it being argued that the cure for unemployment was employment. The federal Government made particular offers regarding the provision of employment, acceptance of half of the extra cost to be granted. On this basis, work on roads and sewers was provided in 1923-4, and the Report for the following year judiciously states that "from previous experience, it was advisable to refrain

from providing special relief work with the Public Works Department of the City, whereas the previous season some six hundred men were employed for a total of 28,000 days, and although this appeared advantageous at the time it was later proven to be of very little value, and did not justify the amount expended, owing to the excessive cost of such work during the severe winter weather". In the fall of 1926, a recommendation came through from the Improvements Committee, that consideration was to be given to the spreading of crushed stone on streets and lanes. This work employed many who worked for their relief supplies only, but it was not relief work, in that it was necessary work done in the reasonable time of the year.

In 1924-5, an endeavour was made to find work for men. Besides the twenty-three who went to the bush that year, fourteen were found work as experienced farm hands, and fifty were placed on extra gangs. Success in this line led to the establishing of a sub-department, and a representative called on all the large employers in the city, and with gratifying results. Circulars were mailed to farming districts, and broadcasting by radio made many placements. Between February 4th and April 30th, 1925, over 600 men were placed.

After the winter of 1921-2, the Federal Government refused further assistance, claiming that the situation was no longer sufficiently acute to call for Federal interference. Requests and petitions from the city finally prevailed on them to the extent of one-third of the cost of supplying food, clothing and shelter, providing the Provincial Government did likewise.

With Unemployment Relief we approach nearest to the principle of National Uniformity, and at the same time find no trace of the principle of 'less eligibility'. Far from being 'less eligible', our treatment of the unemployed was so eminently satisfactory that the percentage of those on relief who had been in the city less than three months, increased from 9.15 percent in the winter of 1923-4 to 16.79 percent in 1924-5. It was reported throughout the Province, though the evidence is only hearsay, that many farmers

from the districts within a short radius of Winnipeg, left their farms and came into Winnipeg for the winter. Nor did the fact of the Relief being apparently uniform throughout the country, tend to keep men in rural districts. It is evident that when food and fuel are provided without effort, a man must have something to occupy his mind. Pleasures in the country are few, and if the recipient of out-relief spent money on pleasures, or on luxuries at the local store, his means would soon be discovered by his fellow-countrymen. The crowds of the city make detection of income almost impossible.

Chapter VI - General Trend.

Our Government is democratic in form, and, being so constituted, may be democratic or autocratic in action. The fact of government shows an acceptance of mutual interdependence and of agreement to have our individual liberty curbed to permit of our exercising our liberty. The scope of Government is the welfare of its people. This may be attained by two methods—interference or non-interference. By the former, Government maternalism and paternalism, we refer to those attitudes reflected in legislation, which consider Society a child and endeavour to provide for its care and protection by statute. By the latter, called *laissez-faire*, we understand the minimum of interference on the part of Government in the affairs of men, and non-interference in those actions of the individual which do not affect the life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness, of society in general.

In this discussion it must be clearly understood that the argument for or against the present competitive system does not enter. We have found here in Canada on our entrance, either by birth or immigration, a history and a social system. As we did not individually or collectively produce either, we will not consider destroying either. We might, in our wisdom, have builded better, but we were not called to that task.

I hold that an individual's most valued possession, and a nation's greatest asset, is Independence. The Spirit of Independence is never passive, cannot be bestowed, is a characteristic acquired by labour, striving, endurance and hardship. The tendency of the paternalistic regime has been to repress it. Under repression, it thrives and breaks forth with added vehemence. We have, as noted historic examples, the parliamentary outbreak after Cromwell from British history, and the Revolution after the Bourbons in France. A maternalistic rule is more devastating, for it weakens and destroys the spirit. It makes the way easy. It moves so much of what might have been our individual responsibility, that we become increasingly

unable or unwilling to carry the remainder, until, in time, it would provide our food and raiment, decide our pleasures, tell us what is right and what is wrong, hem us about with laws prohibiting the latter, endow us with a church which would act as a substitute for religion, and leave us with only the labour of being born, tolerating our existence, and dying. The logical outcome of intervention is our principal objection. If we make the State, or permit the State to make itself, responsible for our care and support from birth to death, we must, in time, belong body and soul to the State, and its powers might in time so control our destinies, that we would be under a form of conscription at all times, and human variability be largely lost.

Laissez-faire, on the other hand, tends to give the race to the swift and permit the slow to be trampled under foot. Today we could not, with the history of the last century so vividly behind us, countenance an unrestricted non-intervention. W. Jethro Brown, in his chapter on Government-Maternalism, submits a qualification:- "A government is not necessarily precluded from doing things which the citizens ought to do for themselves, if as a matter of fact there is no reasonable probability that the citizens will do these things, and if the ends to be gained are of great importance." (Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation, page 161). Jexons gives an example:- "It is a fact that people live in badly drained houses, drink sewage water, purchase bad meat or adulterated groceries. It is of no use urging that their interests would lead them not to do so. The fact demolishes any amount of presumption and argument." (The State in Relation to Labour, page 43). It is on this qualifying principle that all our sanitation laws, industrial regulations, child welfare and factory acts are based, so far modifying the laissez-faire system.

A further principle we must grant, however, is that a State may legislate on its own behalf of its own life in time of danger. The good of the community holds priority over the rights of the individual. Fowle,

quoting from Babbage, ("Principles of Taxation"), thus puts it/- "The usual restraints which are sufficient for the well-fed, are often useless in checking the demands of hungry stomachs. Hence it may be expedient, in a mere economical point of view, to supply gratuitously the wants of even able-bodied persons, if it can be done without exciting crowds of additional applicants." In such a statement we find adequate ground for the action of the Federal Government in 1920, and for their refusal to continue when the particular danger was averted, and the continued relief was only increasing the crowd of unemployed gathered in urban centres. Statistics for the City of Winnipeg, show that the numbers on relief increased from 2,561 in 1922-3, to 4,228 in 1924-5.

Again, legislation and practice must not advance too far ahead or lag too far behind, the popular demands. This is particularly true in matters of relief, and more definitely so when relief is administered through State channels; and in this matter an ignorant public is more difficult and dangerous to handle than one enlightened. Nothing excites sympathy like the cause of an apparently destitute and seemingly oppressed family. Men and women alike will champion the cause, and arouse public opinion in behalf of somebody who pleads unfair treatment at the hands of a State organization, and long before the truth is arrived at, the spark becomes a conflagration.

Bearing in mind these few governing principles, and adding to them those laid down by the Report of 1834 - that the position of the able-bodied pauper should be less-eligible, and that within the same class relief for paupers should be uniform - and by the Minority Report of 1909 - that treatment should be curative; compulsion used to make people conform to the standards of society; and that indigence be subdivided according to cause and each group be made a separate department, i. e., sickness being cared for under a Health Authority, children under an Education Authority, unemployment

and casual labour under a Labour Authority, etc., etc., which, in other words, means abolish the poor-law, - let us now pick up the unfinished strands and endeavour to see the way travelled and whither bent.

Documentary Poor Law we have in tradition only, so, in the matter of legislation we have very little that we could, if we would, retrace. Poor Law exists, nevertheless, in the customs of our people, and the organizations operating. When our British brothers refer to the Poor Law and those under the Poor Law, they refer to that mass of people who, from any cause whatsoever, are unable to provide their own maintenance, and who have to apply to the State for aid, and have been accepted as temporarily or permanently unable to support themselves. Dependence upon public funds through the channels of relief, constitutes the pauper under the Poor Law, and in this sense we have our people under Poor Law. Ours is an unwritten code, but none the less rigid on that account. Sickness, including tuberculosis and other virulent diseases, old age, the homeless man and woman, the widow ineligible for allowance, the deserted wife and her family, the unmarried mother, and people of inadequate wage, are all under the care of the Social Welfare Commission. Gradually, however, as conditions and population warrant, different groups are being, or will be removed from the general relief system. The Mothers' Allowances Act took widowed mothers of two or more children from the stigma of pauperism; the Child Welfare Act increased this group to include orphaned children, and has been further increased in 1927 to admit families where the father suffers from an incurable disease which totally incapacitates him. It is possible to bring practically all dependant families over a long period, where there are children of school age, under the allowance system. In discriminating, thought should be given to those natural results pointed out in British history.

The Incurables group should not increase with the years, providing that barriers are raised against those coming into the Province after the dis-

case has set in. Cancer, tuberculosis, and paralysis, which form the major group, can hardly be encouraged or welcomed by the unfortunate sufferers, even for the privilege of a pension. Nor are the more preventible diseases, such as locomotor ataxia from venereal disease, likely to increase. To provide for the offspring of an unmarried mother by so bountiful a system, might on the other hand, result in a steady increase in the number of beneficiaries under the Act, and a return to the conditions reported in England in 1932.

Desertion and separation came fourth on the list of 'causes of destitution' in 1925, and the Report of that year claims "a steady increase in this problem all over the continent". (Social Welfare Commission's Report, page 11). If a steady income were assured, men might raise several families and support none, tire of one mate and choose another, or desert in the bad years and opportunely turn up in the good. Similarly, children born out of wedlock may not wisely be tolerated under the allowance system.

So much more adequate and independent is our allowance system, than a relief system, that its greater desirability makes possible curative treatment and a raising of the standard of homes of those below the certain level. To retain this standard and effectiveness, a set of regulations guaranteeing moral environment and adequate care to every child the State seeks to help, is indispensable. The Child Welfare Division has three principal regulations:- that a mother on allowance may not keep a male roomer, except by special permission; that immoral conduct or well-founded allegation of immoral conduct, and specific or general lack of co-operation, will cancel the allowance. It is important, in the absence of economic restrictions, that these be adhered to strictly, and that there be no question of continuance. It has been argued recently in Child Welfare circles, that under an Act like the Manitoba one, the welfare of the child comes first, and that a mother is less able to support or assist in the support, while pregnant or encumbered with an infant, than

previously. To follow such a line of reasoning would soon lead us to a position similar to that of 1834, when a mother, married or unmarried, widowed or otherwise, pointed out those children who were legitimate and those born out of wedlock for whom she should receive parish aid. Our Act is 'An Act Respecting the Welfare of Children', including, besides those already on allowance, all those future bereaved and dependant children whose numbers must not be swelled by those once called 'bastards'. The small group of children who in this generation, suffer because their mothers failed to adhere to the established code, suffer so that many hundreds may be raised under more ideal conditions later; and if those are not permitted to suffer, hundreds to come will strive through an undernourished existence provided by an independent, clean-living mother, who will not accept assistance from a government which encourages immorality by subsidizing it, and added to those will be the group who never would have been born to unlawful parenthood had such propagation not been sanctioned, nay, even encouraged, by the State.

The family of a man committed to gaol or penitentiary is a further group which must not be accepted without forethought. Many a man with a family beyond his means and ability to support, may see that to commit a crime may be the greatest kindness he can do to his family. He would thereby assure them a steady income, and a government official would take his place as counsellor to his wife in the responsibility of the proper development of the family. Then again, the man next door is chafed because he who is honest can provide only less for his family than the government provides for his dishonest neighbour. When you ask, "Must these children suffer for the sins of their father?", we can only answer "They must," since if they do not many others must suffer for the sins which were not their fathers'. In actual fact, however, the children must not suffer either in body or mind. They must by law attend school, and they must be fed and clothed, but these must be provided from local channels which offer no assurance to the bread-winner before

the crime is committed. It is a common fallacy that an organization or a State, invested with certain powers, can abolish certain evils by mere subsidizing.

The Workmen's Compensation Act has removed most cases of industrial accident from the Relief System since 1920. With the removal from relief of widows, orphans, the families of the incurably-ill breadwinners, and those suffering from industrial accident, we have removed practically all who might be considered dependent over a long period from unpreventable causes. In this group it is at present questioned whether we should include the aged. Since the Federal Government in the last session passed an Act providing a fifty percent Federal Grant to provinces wishing to establish Old Age Pensions, it now rests with the provinces individually. In Manitoba, two questions must be answered, - 1. Is it necessary? 2. Is it advisable?

To decide the first question we must have fairly accurate statistics of the number of old people in the Province, the number at present on relief, the number eligible for pensions, and their resources. The Social Welfare statistics for 1925 show 436 on out-relief, and 137 paid for in homes. These figures we might accept as an accurate estimate of those in the City who have no resources. In the rural municipalities the percentage is much lower. Rockwood Municipality of 4,700 and the town of Stonewall of 1,000, together care for four old people in out-relief and three in institutions. These are aged and indigent, but not necessarily eligible for pensions.

"Is it advisable?" Our aged, today, are for the most part, people from other countries, many had little or no schooling, and are the victims of fraud and hard times and irresponsible children, due in nearly all cases to ignorance. As time goes on and the influence of our own educational system is felt, the average productive age should extend, real wages become higher, and children become increasingly better able to assist their parents. Mrs. Bosanquet traced the fluctuation of relief to the aged in England, and deduced that the increase

in general education and preservation of child life, tended to reduce the number of indigent aged, when taken over a period sufficiently long for the influence to become effective. If this is plausible, one should endeavour to withhold old age pensions until the effects of our Child Welfare legislation, School Acts and Factory Acts can be estimated.

A further issue to be considered is,—"should children be held responsible for their parents?" Children are dependent for at least fifteen years on parents - should the tables be turned? Consideration for the feelings of the aged, sometimes causes people to argue that when a man has given the best years of his life to his country (by birth or adoption), that country should be responsible for him in age. The argument is fallacious in that the average toiler does not give his best years to his country. He gets a living for himself and his family within a State, by whatever means he chooses. He obtains conveniences, protection, and education facilities from his taxes, and is more benefited by the State than the State by him. If, then, he becomes dependent, it should be on those who have been dependent on him. Poor law history in England has shown that to break this bond of inter-dependence is to destroy one of the essentials of family life, and to weaken the ideals of the home. In the event, therefore, of Old Age Pensions being necessary, legislation insisting that children should support parents should precede.

Again, unless a considerable staff of investigators is employed (and this has not been anticipated) it will be very difficult to find an adequate, but not too lavish scale, for rural communities. The needs of the old people on the farms are few and simple. If they have worked the land in their day, a living should be forthcoming from it even if the management has passed to younger hands. There will undoubtedly be a tendency to under-rate the productiveness of the farm, and the young will endeavour to make a little profit out of those who should be an accepted responsibility. A uniform pension throughout the Province, would provide luxury for those on the land,

when it would give only bare subsistence to those in the cities.

At present the City of Winnipeg is paying \$20.00 a month board and room for its old men outside of institutions, and supplying groceries, fuel, etc., to the aged couples. This has been found to be the cheapest and most generally satisfactory provision. In summer, some of the more independent get odd jobs on the farms, and provide for themselves for three or four months. The aged couples have their own hearth and are content.

Should Old Age Pensions materialize, there will still remain on the straight relief system the temporarily sick, the character-failure, the widows ineligible for allowances, and the industrial misfit. To adequately deal with these, the Social Welfare Commission, to be effective, must come to a definite decision between the principle of 'less eligibility' and the principle of 'curative treatment.' At present they seem to try a little of each and the two are mutually exclusive. 'less eligibility' insists on relief being inadequate, to prevent people from applying; 'curative treatment' necessitates extra help to make it possible for the applicant to later come on without assistance. In the case of the temporarily sick, nothing is gained by privation; the industrial square-peg is less capable if over anxious; the character-failure is no more dishonest, no more drunken, no less moral, or no less responsible, when his rent is paid than when it is not. More time, more and better-trained workers are needed, and most regulations must be abolished, if the advice of Sydney and Beatrice Webb is to be followed. The rooming-house keeper, and the nonresident, are as fit subjects for casework as any else. If, on the other hand, deterrence is to be the main object, then the system of Deposit Accounts for groceries should be cancelled, since we all prefer choosing our food and spending our money, to having others do it for us; all wood should be sent uncut; and a workhouse should be established instead of paying individual rents; or, in other words, the lot of the family upon permanent care should be no better than the lot of the family

upon temporary relief.

Similarly, in handling Unemployment Relief, our aims and methods must be classified. Upon examination we find that the unemployed, so-called, are really three groups:- (a) those generally employed but unemployed through trade depression or bad crops; (b) those seasonally unemployed; and, (c) those continuously unemployed,- often called the unemployable. If we are to achieve results, we must attack our subject, not as a single problem, but as three distinct problems. To decide to which class an applicant for Unemployment Relief belongs, a case-history is needed. This could be taken by a central office, and, if taken once and properly preserved, should do for all time. From the information received, some parts of the work record should be checked by correspondence immediately. Those found to belong to the (c) group - unemployable - should be recognized as character-failures, and transferred to the Social Welfare Commission. They should never be allowed to mingle in the same relief office as the temporarily unemployed. They invariably become the agitators, the grouzers. They harangue, they sound plausible, but they have no facts. They will generally be well known to the Commission. Though they manage with numerous small jobs, to get along without assistance for months at a time, they turn up with the first unemployed and go with the last. Relief for them must always tend to be 'less eligible'.

The second group consists mainly of building-trades people, factory workers, and day labourers. In normal times their seasonal wages are large enough to carry them over the slack season and to help out they do odd jobs or go to the bush. To bring the odd job and the man together in times of need, the system established by the Unemployment Relief Office in 1924-5, (i. e., having a man to find jobs) should be satisfactory, though it would be better linked up with the Employment Service of Canada than the Relief Office. Seasonal Unemployment Relief should not generally be granted, though in individual cases assistance might be given over a short period to the family, if the

man took a job at a distance.

In the event of an industrial depression, like that which followed the war, and made relief necessary in 1920, it may be best to organize relief forces along two lines:- an administration staff which could adequately investigate each case, which investigation would include an inquiry into income and sources of income; and an employment staff to ferret out all the farm jobs and all the wood camp jobs in the country. No work should be found in the city. At the same time, relief should be kept down to absolute necessities, and a work-test given and co-operation demanded. A survey of provincial resources might prove invaluable.

Statistics of the Bureau of Labour for the City of Winnipeg for 1922 - 25, (see appendix) show that the number of applicants increased from 2,561 in 1922-3, to 4,228 in 1924-5. Undoubtedly, some of this increase was due to the weakening of resources while the depression continued, but just as assuredly some can be accounted for by the fact of relief being obtainable. The increase in the number applying in the earlier part of the year might also be read both ways. Unfortunately, records for 1920-21 were not kept at all, and in 1921-2 not in any way suitable for comparison. It is therefore difficult to come to any conclusions, since sufficient time had elapsed for those who wished to to learn the easiest way to secure relief. It is noteworthy that through through all these years there were more people resident from two to ten years in the City of Winnipeg, than had resided that length of time in the Province, (e.g., 2-10 years in Manitoba in 1924, 826; and in Winnipeg, 993). Assuming the statistics to be correct, we could conclude that from 81 to 85 percent of the applicants were resident in Manitoba over two years, and from 62 to 68 percent resident in Winnipeg over two years; that from 44 to 48 percent were between 25 and 40 years of age; 44 to 50 percent were married; that from 88 to 96 percent were in good health; and that less than half were on relief less than a month. The fact that 47 to 59 percent lived in one of two

rooms, makes it look as if many were transients and had never established homes. Less than 30 percent were living in rented or purchased houses. This deplorable, and is more likely correct than the other figures.

Sydney and Beatrice Webb, in advocating the State responsibility for care of all kinds, allocated to the private organization the task of visiting and working with the people without contributing to their support. We have gone one step further, and we have today paid case-workers. What is left for the benevolently-inclined individual? He may give his money to the Federated Budget, but there is little human interest in that. The many clubs and church groups, and women's organizations, still carry on extensive social service, acting as friendly visitors, supplying extra requirements, arranging summer camps, and assisting the Tribuna Stocking Fund; but 'charity' in its accepted sense, is slowly dying through lack of activity. Each winter there is an unusual and unnecessary outburst, which, if continued at its present extent, may in time cause people to look for a State-provided Christmas, with the so-called 'poor' doing all the receiving. If our State system is to continue, our people must be taught that 'Charity' is not money, but true interest, consideration and friendship.

A State can seldom see its way clear to any but the urgent needs. It is easier to convince or educate the few than the many. Therefore the logical place for surplus funds is "Research". At present the problems are many and the resources few.

In conclusion, may we hope that with the mistakes of others so evident in the past and in the present, we may, in our Province's childhood, establish institutions so efficient that we shall be known the world over for our strength, reliability, interdependence and independence.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- Report of the Poor Law Commission.....1834
- Majority Report of the Royal Commission - Vol. I & II - 1905
- The Break-up of the Poor Law -
The Minority Report of the Royal Commission, Part I.
Sydney and Beatrice Webb.
- The Public Organization of the Labour Market.
The Minority Report of the Royal Commission, Part II.
Sydney and Beatrice Webb.
- English Poor Law Policy. - Sydney and Beatrice Webb.
- The Prevention of Destitution - Sydney and Beatrice Webb.
- Industrial Democracy - Sydney and Beatrice Webb.
- Poor Law Report of 1909 - Helen Bosanquet.
- The Strength of the People - Helen Bosanquet.
- The Underlying Principles of Modern Legislation - W. Jethro Brown.
- Charity and Social Life - G. S. Lech.
- Principles of English Poor Law - Fowle.
- Progress of Poverty - Chalmers.
- English Poor Relief - Leonard.
- Economic History of England - Ashley.
- History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts - Robert W. Kelso.
- The Manufacture of Paupers.- J. St.Lee Strachey.
- What is Social Case-work - Mary Richmond.
- Social Diagnosis - Mary Richmond.
- Misery and its causes.- Howard T. Devine.
- Broken Homes - Miss Celcord.

S T A T U T E S and R E P O R T S

- Minute Book of the Red River Relief Co-operative Society.
- Comptrollers' Reports of the City of Winnipeg - 1884
1886
1888
1898

Statutes and Reports (continued)

Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare - 1926

Annual Reports of the Associated Charities.

Annual Reports of the Social Welfare Association - 1909-15.

Annual Reports of the Social Welfare Commission - 1917-18
1920-23
1924
1925.

Annual Reports of the Emergency Unemployment Relief Department -
1922-3
1923-4
1924-5

Annual Report of the Child Welfare Division - 1925.

Report of proceedings, Dominion-Provincial Conference on Unemployment -
September, 1922.

Dominion Statutes -

British North America Act.

Manitoba Act.

Provincial Statutes -

Municipal Act.

Hospital Aid Act.

Charity Aid Act.

General Hospital Act.

Home for Incurables Act.

Brandon Asylum Act.

Selkirk Asylum Act.

Mental Diseases Act.

Children's Protection Act.

Infants' Act

Illegitimate Children's Act.

Humane Societies Act.

Public Health Act.

Mothers' Allowances Act.

Child Welfare Act.

The City of Winnipeg Charter.

City Byelaw No. 11327.

Page

- 37 Annual Report of the Department of Public Health, 1926.
- 38 Annual Report of the Social Welfare Commission, 1924
" " " " " " " " 1925.
Amendment to the City Charter, 1917.
- 39 City Byelaw No. 11327.
- 42 Social Welfare Commission, Case #15534.
" " " " #10660.
" " " " # 1248.
- 49 Child Welfare Case #1773.
- 50 Sessional Paper No. 19, Appendix to the Sixth Annual Report
of the Bureau of Labour, Department of Public Works.
- 51 Premier King's speech at the Dominion-Provincial Conference on
Unemployment, Ottawa, September 1923.
- 55 Annual Reports of the Emergency Unemployment Relief Department
for 1922-3, 1923-4, and 1924-5.
-

REFERENCES

- Page
- 1 History of Manitoba. Tuttle Chap. XIV. page 325
" " " " XIV " 325.
 - 2 Minute Book of Red River Co-operative Relief Society - Provincial
Library - 1st meeting Oct., 9th, 1868
25th " April 14th, 1869
31st " June 2nd, 1869
 - 4 - Comptrollers Report of 1898
 - 4 ✓ Case #1080, Social Welfare Commission.
 - 5 Article No. 4, written for the Winnipeg Free Press, by Mr. C. B.
Clarke, then Secretary of the Social Welfare Commission.
 - 8 British North America Act, Clause 20, Section 7.
Municipal Act, Clause 580.
Hospital Aid Act, Victoria 46-7, Clause 13.
" " " Amendment, 10th George V, Clause 17 and Clause 21.
Charity Aid Act, 1920, Clause 37, Section 1.
 - 10 Home for Incurables Act, Clause 14.
Children's Protection Act, Clause 35.
 - 11 Mothers' Allowances Act, 1916, Clause 1, 3, 4.
 - 12 Child Welfare Act, 1924, Part I, II, III, Clause 23, Part IV, V, VI -
Clause 92.
 - 14 Winnipeg Charter, 1917 Amendment.
Municipal Act, Part XII, section 764.
 - 17 Preface to the Poor Law Report.
 - 19 Poor Law Report, pages 6 to 13; pa
 - 20 " " " page 34, 37, 90, 262 and 231.
 - 23 Wealth of Nations - Adam Smith - Vol. I.
Poor Law Report, page 164.
 - 24 Majority Report, page 233.
" " Part IV, Chapter 8.
 - 25 Minority Report, Part I, page 210.
 - 28 Poor Law Report, page 263.
Majority Report, Recommendation E, page 273.
English Poor Law Policy - Sydney and Beatrice Webb - page 262.
Minority Report, Chapter XII, Section E.
The Manufacture of Paupers - J. St. Lee Strachey - Chapter XII.
 - 31 Principles of English Poor Law - Fowle - page 12.
What is Social Case-work? - Mary Richmond - pages 90 and 98.

EMERGENCY UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

City of Winnipeg.

	<u>1924-5</u>	<u>1923-4</u>	<u>1922-3</u>
Total registration -	4228	2721	2561
Percentage applying in December -	59%	57%	27%
Percentage applying in January. -	20%	31%	35%
Under 18 years -	1% - 75	1% - 32	.86% - 22
19 to 25 years -	18% - 780	14% - 401	18% - 462
26 to 40 " -	44% - 1901	43% - 1192-	47% - 1225
41 to 50 " -	21% - 894	24% - 662	20% - 517
51 to 60 " -	9% - 404	12% - 338	9% - 234
over 60 " -	4% - 176	5% - 96	3% - 101

Residency - City

3 months	16% - 710	9% - 249	19% - 491
6 "	3% - 145	4% - 120	5% - 144
1 year	4% - 198	7% - 204	4% - 126
2 years	5% - 231	6% - 168-	6% - 167
2 - 10 years	23% - 993	25% - 693	26% - 683
over 10 years	45% - 1907	46% - 1266	36% - 928
No record	1% - 44	.77% - 21	.86% - 22

Residency - Manitoba

3 months	9% - 386	4% - 110	6% - 173
6 months	3% - 150	2% - 80	3% - 84
1 year	3% - 164	4% - 120	4% - 108
2 years	4% - 187	4% - 113	6% - 169
2 - 10 years	19% - 826	21% - 593	26% - 678
Over 10 years	58% - 2473	62% - 1689	51% - 1327
No record	.99% - 42	.58% - 16	.86% - 22

Residency - Canada

3 months	.49% - 21	.25% - 7	.27% - 7
----------	-----------	----------	----------

	<u>1924-5</u>	<u>1923-4</u>	<u>1922-3</u>
<u>Residency - Canada (continued)</u>			
6 months	1% - 45	1% - 31	.58% - 15
1 year	3% - 132	1% - 47	1% - 38
2 years	4% - 200	1% - 53	3% - 81
3 - 10 years	8% - 369	10% - 282	13% - 353
Over 10 years	80% - 3419	84% - 2311	80% - 2057
No record	.99% - 42	.37% - 10	.78% - 20

Social State -

Single	47% - 1999	36% - 1006	38% - 990
" with dependents	1% - 75	2% - 70	2% - 54
Married	44% - 1898	60% - 1645	59% - 1515
No record	6% - 258		.08% - 2

Children -

Under 16 years	94% - 5554	88% - 4083	91% - 3627
Over 16 "	4% - 270	6% - 320	8% - 331
Working	3% - 187	4% - 186	151

Housing -

House rented -	15% - 666	21% - 586	22% - 879
Owner or buying -	6% - 289	10% - 296	5% - 152
Rooms or suites	46% - 1945	52% - 1425	71% - 1830
With parents	.26% - 11	.51% - 14	17
Salvation Army	18% - 777	13% - 355	454

Rooms -

1	37% - 1578	43% - 1187	46% - 1186
2	9% - 241	11% - 309	12% - 316
3	10% - 457	14% - 396	10% - 259
4 - 6	19% - 855	22% - 606	23% - 603
Over 6	3% - 168	5% - 143	5% - 130

Health of Applicants -

	<u>1924-5</u>	<u>1923-4</u>	<u>1922-3</u>
<u>Health of Applicants</u>			
O. K.	96% - 4077	86% - 2343	68% - 1744
Light work	2% - 84	7% - 199	15% - 418
Crippled	.02% - 12	2% - 55	3% - 85
Hernia	.19% - 8	1% - 28	1% - 32
Rheumatism	.38% - 16	1% - 44	3% - 82
Tuberculosis	.05% - 2	.14% - 4	.18% - 5
War infirmity	.02% - 1	.14% - 4	2% - 54
Veneral disease	.52% - 22	.55% - 15	.58% - 15
Mental		.11% - 3	.08% - 2

Relief of Infirmity

1 week	14% - 599	24% - 654	25% - 663
2 weeks	15% - 652	8% - 221	10% - 276
3 - 4 weeks	13% - 577	13% - 354	15% - 406
2 months	18% - 793	15% - 419	16% - 410
3 "	10% - 446	10% - 279	10% - 271
4 "	7% - 296	6% - 182	7% - 180
over 4 months	15% - 649	5% - 146	7% - 197

Disposition -

City work	.71% - 30	10% - 286	7% - 224
Farm work	16% - 708	.77% - 21	5% - 167
Bush camp	4% - 167	4% - 110	5% - 160
Given transportation	2% - 85	4% - 111	10% - 307
Temporary work	4% - 203	19% - 517	
Did not return	20% - 858	2% - 55	2% - 81
Single - cut off	15% - 659	22% - 613	12% - 276
Married - cut off	29% - 1251	31% - 844	13% - 393
Transferred to S.W.C.	3% - 163	4% - 117	17% - 509
Refused work	2% - 104	1% - 47	23% - 697

<u>Rent paid</u>	<u>1924-5</u>	<u>1923-4</u>	<u>1922-3</u>
1 month	5% - 123	.85% - 132	30% - 767
2 months	.72% - 16	1% - 52	7% - 192
3 "	.18% - 4	.11% - 3	2% - 63
None	93% - 2086	93% - 2554	60% - 1539