

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY:
A CASE STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILD
WELFARE POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES
IN MANITOBA 1870 - 1924

by

Lorna Fay Hurl

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Abstract

This study traces the development and implementation of child welfare policy in Manitoba during the period 1870 - 1924. To determine the purposes and goals which were incorporated into early child welfare legislation and programming, an attempt is made to identify the dominant societal forces - social, political and economic - as well as the attitudes of individual participants. Those policies forming the focus of study are child protection, school attendance, mothers' allowance, juvenile delinquency and mental hygiene. Reference is also made to developments in the fields of child labor, health and education.

The forces which are identified as contributing to the design of child welfare policy are three-fold. Anglo-Canadian nativists sought through children's legislation to assimilate or 'Canadianize' the children of the multitudes of lower class British and 'foreign' immigrants who had flooded Manitoba after 1896. Efforts towards environmental reform were spurred on by the evolving philosophy of the Social Gospel, a humanitarian and religious movement which sought through the ideals of brotherhood and equality to create the "Kingdom of Heaven on Earth." Both of these forces, at times contradictory and at other times complimentary, were bounded by the needs of the prevailing laissez-faire economy. The economic pursuits of provincial and municipal governments limited the funding available for child welfare programmes and reinforced the tendency to view the needs of

children as separate from those of their families, with the resulting growth of programmes for children outside their own homes.

The philosophy of each incumbent provincial government determined which of the foregoing forces would predominate during its period of administration. Nativist sentiments were influential throughout the entire period under study as Anglo-Canadians gained early control of essential social and political institutions. Economic interests prevailed, almost unfettered, in all but the administration of T.C. Norris (1915-1922). Under the reform impetus of W.W.I., and with the guidance of 'professional' social welfare workers, the Norris government embarked upon a series of reforms which introduced the philosophy of the progressive wing of the Social Gospel into government planning. The resulting Child Welfare Act, acknowledged by contemporaries as the most comprehensive and constructive in all Canada, forms the basis of the current Manitoba child welfare system. However the election of the 'business' administration of John Bracken signalled the defeat of the policymakers' intentions as the economic concerns of the Farmers Government took precedence.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

It has often been said that the true measure of a society is reflected in the manner in which it cares for its children. It has followed then that the existence of programmes and policies purporting to enhance the welfare of children has been accepted as proof of a caring society. On the assumption that 'good' is intended and is, in fact, being done, little effort has been directed toward examining the nature and functioning of children's policies. This thesis will attempt to overcome this tendency to accept, as given, the benevolent nature of such policies, and will trace and analyse the origins of the Manitoba child welfare system from the province's inception in 1870 to the proclamation of the Child Welfare Act in 1924. Accepting George and Wilding's assertion that "it is impossible to understand the nature and functions of social policy without an analysis of the social, economic and political system in which it operates,"¹ an attempt will be made to examine child welfare legislation in relation to the individual actors and the political, social, religious and economic circumstances which shaped it.

Defining the Boundaries of Study

The first task to be addressed is the definition of the terms 'social welfare' and 'child welfare' policy. Some writers, like Titmuss² and Rein³ have on occasion indicated an unwillingness to

allocate much time to the definition process, feeling it could be 'invidious or boring' or wasted labor. Nevertheless, boundaries are required in order to determine which policies constitute the field of social welfare and child welfare study.

It is easily seen that child welfare policies are a specific type of social welfare policies, yet it is difficult to make a clear distinction between child welfare policies and the host of other policies which influence the circumstances of children and their families. This dilemma reflects the confusion arising from the debate on where to establish the boundaries of social policy. Titmuss⁴ and Gil⁵ argue convincingly that social policy should encompass a very broad sphere, incorporating all activities which contribute to citizens' general welfare whether the policies' primary orientations are occupational, fiscal, or social welfare. Other writers such as Marshall,⁶ Kahn⁷ and Rein⁸ consider such expansive definitions as too vague, inclusive of much of what might more properly be termed 'public' policy. They prefer instead, to limit consideration to those government policies which have 'the experience of well being' as their immediate objective - including, at least, education, medical care, housing, cash transfers, and social work services.

The issue being debated between the opposing schools of thought concerns the immediacy of intent - are all policies which have social purposes and/or consequences the subject matter of social policy study, or only those with the immediate objective of affecting

welfare? Acceptance of the latter concept would suggest a restrictive, fragmented approach to policy study, one which precludes seeing social policies as elements of a comprehensive system of policies which combine to shape welfare and quality of life. This would appear too narrow a focus. The more appropriate position would be to accept the broader interpretation of social policy put forth by Titmuss and Gil. Within the domain they advocate the policies of immediate intent favored by Rein, Kahn and Marshall, would form a core type of social policy - distinguished the name 'social welfare' policy.⁹

Child welfare policies are one kind of social welfare policy. Although in many ways it is impossible to isolate child welfare policies from other policies which make provisions for whole families or even communities, there is a small cluster of policies which focus directly upon the welfare of children themselves. While this thesis acknowledges the intricate relationships amongst child welfare, family, and even broader social policies, it restricts itself to the analysis of those policies which developed during the period 1870-1924 and stated as their immediate intent the welfare of children. With a focus on the evolution of the 1922-1924 Child Welfare Act, this study traces the development of the following related policies - child protection, juvenile courts, mothers' allowance and school attendance. A more complete analysis of education policy has been excluded as the topic is far too large and has already been studied in considerable depth; however the issue of school attendance was central to early child protection legislation. Reference will also be made to other

pieces of legislation which have a bearing on the core policies under study - e.g. guardianship, financial support, infant health, education.

The study of the aforementioned child welfare policies will be divided into four time frames, each roughly corresponding with a particular stage in the development of child welfare legislation. The first period dealt with is 1870-1900. Unlike the latter three periods, this era was not characterized by the dominance of any one political party, for until 1900 philosophical differences were sufficiently blurred to prevent identification of distinct party allegiances. During this period, however, economic disparities created a division of social classes, and Anglo-Saxon settlers triumphed in their struggle for control of the province's political and social institutions. Developments within this period culminated with the acceptance of public responsibility for certain types of children, acknowledged in the enactment of the first children's protection legislation. The second division, 1900-1915, encompasses the years of the Conservative administration of R.P. Roblin. During this period children's legislation became party to government attempts to balance cultural conflicts and offset reform pressures while Roblin pursued economic development. Under a philosophy which favored private enterprise, private children's institutions and societies proliferated. The third section, studying the reform administration of T. C. Norris 1915-1922, gives evidence of a more rational approach to child welfare planning. Under the guidance of emerging social work professionals, a comprehensive Child Welfare Act was drafted and

passed with the intent of co-ordinating and directing services of the numerous private institutions. The final period, 1922-1924, details the proclamation and the operationalizing of the Child Welfare Act by the 'business' administration of Premier John Bracken.

Issues to be Examined

Goals

To distinguish social welfare policies from the overall field of social policies, common objectives, more specific and finite than those of 'welfare' or 'quality of life' must be isolated. Boulding¹⁰, writing about this 'common thread' found it to be the objective of "improving the integrative structure of society." He hypothesized that through unilateral transfers (material or symbolic) justified by appeal to a status, identity or community, social welfare policies attempt to "build the identity of a person around some community with which he is associated" and are therefore profoundly concerned with "questions of identity and alienation". Titmuss, in reference to the aims of social services and social welfare systems agreed, stating "primary areas of unifying interest are centered in those social institutions that foster integration and discourage alienation."¹¹ In other words, through manipulation of resources, rights and relationships, social welfare policies seek to attain a more comfortable fit (integration) between individuals, groups and society at large.

Each social welfare policy within a society's network of social policies has some contribution to make towards this common goal, though this is not to imply that the policies are necessarily consistent or in harmony with one another. To determine how a particular social welfare policy contributes to the system, the analyst must discern its individual objectives. In order to accomplish this, the policy analyst must adopt a framework by which (s)he can pursue the study. Among the best outlines of the issues to be considered and the tasks to be undertaken are those found in the writings of Rein and Gil. Rein has defined the areas of study as those

"concerned with how social services have developed and changed over time, the assumed needs and problems with which they cope, the ideas and principles by which they are distributed, the purposes and functions they are designed to fulfill, the experiences that emerge in the implementation of these ideals, and the consequences that emerge when services are organized and distributed along certain lines (i.e. who are their ultimate and immediate beneficiaries and what outcomes are related to the use or non-use of services). Finally, if these outcomes seem undesirable or inadequate, what changes are required, and how can these be brought about under particular historical, political, economic and social circumstances."¹²

Rein acknowledges that the latter task refers more directly to planning than analysis, but incorporates it as the next logical step in the policy process.

Gil has formulated the foregoing description of objectives into a concise framework based on three fundamental tasks:

1. to gain understanding of the issues that constitute the focus of a specific social policy or social policy cluster which is being analysed or developed
2. to discern the chain of substantive effects resulting from the implementation of a given social policy, including intended and unintended, short and long-range effects and
3. to generate alternative policies aimed at the same or at different objectives concerning the focal issue.¹³

Although Gil's Task description, like, Rein's, includes references to the planning activity of generating alternative policies, he recognizes that, under a variety of constraints, the social policy analyst may wish to limit study to the strictly analytic tasks - i.e. the first and second tasks outlined above.

To accomplish the above tasks, Gil has posed five basic questions which the analyst must seek to answer:

1. Which of the many domains of concern to a society constitute the focus for this policy?
2. How would the policy affect this domain in substantive terms?
3. How would society as a whole be affected by the substantive consequences of the policy?
4. What effects may be expected from the interaction of the policy with various forces within and outside the society?
5. What alternative policies could be designed to achieve the same or different policy objectives concerning the specified domain?

Aucoin¹⁴ in his discussion of concepts of social policy analysis refers, in the main, to much the same tasks as Rein and Gil outlined above. However, in addition he emphasizes the necessity of distinguishing between the differing perceptions of policy-makers, opposition groups, and public opinion as they view a specific policy, its intentions, and its consequences.

When analysing a given social welfare policy, the policy analyst cannot simply accept the objectives as they are stated for analysts and writers such as Piven and Cloward, Finkel, and Galper¹⁵ have presented arguments indicating that covert, or latent, objectives may also exist. These unstated objectives may be equally important to, more important than, or in conflict with the stated objectives. Thus a policy with a stated objective of augmenting income may have a covert objective of controlling behaviour; one purporting to supply inexpensive housing may regulate the manner and geographic area in which people live; one professing to protect children may undermine family or ethnic ties, and so on. Although there are convincing arguments that some of these latent functions result from intended, though unstated, objectives Kahn has warned

"Not all latent functions reflect 'plots' to divert or distort. In all public policy and action there is a multitude of motives and goals as actors join to promote or compromise on programs. With many unknowns in the equation, participants are often unable to anticipate fully what they have wrought or to perceive the functions discharged."¹⁶

Logically, if the consequences (intended or otherwise) of a policy are undesirable, attempts will be made to correct them. Thus, in addition to studying the stated objectives, the policy analyst must be alert to the possible existence of latent functions, and must examine responses made to the consequences of programmes which implement the policy in order to determine its true objectives.

Gil, taking the analysis of objectives a step further, identified what he considered to be the three interrelated universal processes

which social policies manipulate to produce the desired changes in society. He outlined these as follows:

1. resource development: the development of material and symbolic, life-sustaining and life-enhancing resources, goods and services;
2. division of labor, and task or status allocation: the assignment of individuals and groups to specific tasks which must be performed in order to develop, and distribute throughout society, these life-sustaining and life-enhancing resources, goods and services, and to assure society's survival; or, in sociological terms the allocation of individuals and groups to specific statuses within the total array of societal tasks and functions, involving corresponding roles, and prerogatives intrinsic to these roles;
3. rights distribution: the distribution, to individuals and groups, of specific rights to material and symbolic, life-sustaining and life-enhancing resources, goods, and services, through general entitlements, task or status specific rewards, and general and specific constraints."¹⁷

Gil theorizes that individual policies reflect unique positions on these key variables, and unique configurations of the interaction between them. To produce a change in societal relationships or in the 'quality and circumstances of living', appropriate modifications are made to one or more of the variables and to the relationship between them. Policies involving no or only slight modifications cannot be expected to produce significant change - in fact, they are probably not intended to do so; policies involving major alterations have the potential to produce fundamental change. Therefore, by identifying the manner and the degree to which these variables have been altered, the analyst can determine the type of change the policy sought to effect.

Political Ideology and Value Systems

The nature and extent of change a policy will seek to make are

related to and dependent upon several factors - eg. the physical properties of the society's natural setting, the state of economic and technological development, the society's size and complexity, the configuration of intra and extra societal relations, etc. But over-riding all these factors and underlying all social policies are the issues of values and political and economic ideology. The ideology a society has and the values it upholds will be the basis for the policies it develops. Knowledge of a society's political and economic ideologies will help explain its social policies; conversely, the aggregate of its social policies will reflect a society's dominant political and economic thought.

Titmuss¹⁸ and George and Wilding¹⁹ have examined and categorized types of social policy, relating them directly to underlying ideologies and values systems. Both have identified three policy types, labelled by Titmuss the Residual Welfare Model, the Industrial Achievement Model, and the Industrial Redistribution Model; roughly equivalent are those labelled by George and Wilding as the Anti-Collectivists, the Reluctant Collectivists, and the Fabian Socialists. Briefly, the first is characterized by its commitment to capitalism, espousal of the values of freedom, individualism, private enterprise, self-help, and inequality of reward; it proposes minimum government intervention - only when family and private market break down, and only then temporarily; its programmes are typically individual-oriented, means-tested, temporary, and at a minimum level. The second category is characterized by values and commitments very

similar to the first but tempered with a strong humanism; it proposes considerable government intervention to regulate the economic system, to meet (at a minimum level) needs not being adequately met by the private market and to abolish want due to low or interrupted incomes; it endorses some universal programmes (again at a minimum level); others are means-tested, designed to reduce inequality and encourage independence, and based on merit and work performance. The third model is characterized by its socialist ideology, by its espousal of the values of equality, freedom and fellowship; it advocates a major role for the government in correcting, supplementing and replacing the market system in the interests of equality, freedom, fellowship, and welfare; its programmes are typically universal, intended to redistribute income and opportunity, and based on need. Elements of this latter model may exist in a capitalist society gradually moving towards a form of socialism. George and Wilding examine also a fourth model of welfare policies which they label the Marxist view. Marxists advocate a strong and active government role in the social and particularly the economic aspects of society in order to achieve the three central values of liberty, equality and fraternity. However, believing changes in the economic structure to be the ultimate source of all other change, they have rarely focussed on the role of social services. In general, they have an ambivalent view of social legislation - it has provided necessary improvements in the standards of living of the working class but, in doing so, it has delayed and perhaps averted for good the collapse of capitalism. Nevertheless,

the Marxist view on the provision of social services is very similar to the Fabian view, though Marxists lack the Fabians' faith that social legislation can solve the essential problems of poverty and inequality.

In all four models, differing ideologies produce differences in the priority given social legislation and in the form it will ultimately take. To understand the purposes of a given policy therefore, the analyst must gain an awareness of the major social, political and economic forces within the society. However it cannot, and indeed should not, be assumed that any one set of values will shape a society's social welfare policies. It has long been recognized that within every society exist groups and individuals with diverse, often opposing value systems. The analyst must determine which or whose values have been incorporated into the policy under study - those of an economically, politically or socially elite group who have influence over government decisions; those of a minority group who were able, through pressures and alliances, to influence government; those perceived by government authorities to be the values of the majority of the citizens, etc. Only when it is known whose values underly the policy can it be determined whose purposes it serves.

Policy-Making Process

In order to determine who has the ability to influence social policy, it is necessary that the analyst become familiar with the policy making-process and the structure through which it is accomplished. George and Wilding²⁰ have suggested there are two stages

to the process of social policy formation - the first in which the decision is made whether legislation will take place, and the second in which the form and the shape of the legislation is decided. The first stage is characterized by value conflicts, unrest, or pressure group activity; the second by "pressure group 'pecking' activity" which is usually won by the more powerful upper class interests which predominate in this stage. Thus, though an individual or group may be influential in setting the policy process in motion, their interests and values are not necessarily reflected in the resulting social policy.

Other writers, examining this second stage have described in more detail the activities involved. Three basic models describing the formation of social policy have been hypothesized - the rational model,²¹ the incremental model,²² and the mixed-scanning model²³ - The rational model suggests policies are formulated through a series of sequential steps which include 1) recognition of a problem, 2) definition of the problem, 3) presentation of alternative solutions, 4) ranking of priorities, 5) predictions regarding risks and consequences of alternatives and 6) making a final decision. Each of these steps (which Gergen²⁴ refers to as 'leverage points') indicates a point where different individuals may make input in attempts to influence the final outcome. However access to the 'leverage points' becomes increasingly restricted as the process progresses - for example, pressure groups may contribute to recognition of the problem or presentation of alternatives, but participation in more

crucial tasks such as predicting outcomes and selecting amongst alternatives is usually restricted to experts, professionals, or government authorities. Therefore in this model it is necessary for the analyst to learn the values and interests of these 'upper echelon' participants if (s)he is to understand the form of the resulting policy.

The incremental model suggests that social policies do not undergo the thorough process that the rational model sets out; rather, those responsible for decisions are thought to 'muddle through' a limited number of somewhat similar alternatives with little evaluation of possible consequences and little attempt to construct fundamental or long-range change. Such a process would suggest that professionals and experts have a lower profile than they do in the rational model. The policy analyst, examining a process which corresponds with this particular model, may find the values of government authorities or pressure groups more likely to be incorporated into these policies. It must be noted, though, that lacking access to the higher echelons of the decision process, professionals may join forces to act as a pressure group.

The mixed-scanning model, a synthesis of the rational and incremental models, is regarded by many as the most appropriate model to explain policy formulation. Some social policies are formulated along lines suggested by the rational model; they represent attempts at fundamental change and establish parameters within which other policies are made. Other policies represent little, if any, change

and receive the limited consideration hypothesized by the incremental model. Therefore, by determining how significant a change the policy represents (by reference to Gil's variables of resource development, task and status allocation, and rights allocation discussed previously) the analyst may receive some guidance in determining which actors or participants played potentially more influential roles.

Even though the analyst may ascertain the values and attitudes which form the philosophy of a given policy, this alone will not explain the resulting form of the policy. The manner in which the actors in the conversion process (the official procedures in George and Wilding's second stage) are positioned and inter-related will also have a bearing on the policy's final configuration. Bauer²⁵ and Aucoin²⁶ both describe two possible types of formal relationships amongst units (individuals or departments) engaged in the conversion process, and feel it is these relationships which determine the 'rules of the game'. The first arrangement, which Aucoin terms 'self regulatory' is characterized by the relative independence of constituent units. There is little interaction between units and thus little involvement in issues other than those of immediate concern to each unit. The result is that each unit is most influential in its own sphere; the values, attitudes and interests of its members would therefore be expected to be reflected in the resulting policy. Thus, under this arrangement of actors and participants, the policy analyst could focus on the unit most interested in and relevant to the policy

under study.

Assessment of the influence of units structured along the lines of the second proposed arrangement (felt to be the more common of the two) is not as clear cut. Under what Aucoin terms the 'regulatory model' and Bauer the 'transitional', units are inter-related, continually interacting with one another in support of or in opposition to proposals under study. Through negotiations, compromises and trade-offs, units seek what Bauer called the "minimum winning coalition" - the power and influence necessary to secure the passage of their legislation. After passing through this process, the policy will likely appear much different than it did originally - adjusted to meet the needs, interests, desires or whims of participating units. In summarizing the amount of leverage any one unit (group or individual) possesses, Gergen²⁷ established three criteria - the extent to which the policy relates to the unit's self interests, the unit's control over resources (power, finances, information, etc.) and personal efficacy (the personal characteristics and social capabilities of the unit's members). To discover how a policy has been altered and shaped by the conversion process, the policy analyst requires direct access to the participants and/or to the inner workings of the process itself.

Translating Policy into Programme

A final problem confronting the policy analyst concerns the manner in which policy is operationalized into programme. As programmes

are the tangible results of social policies, seeking to implement the underlying philosophy and to achieve the sought after goals, the analyst obtains much of his/her information about a given policy through observation and examination of its enacting programmes. As has been previously, noted, not all of the consequences of a programme are intended - due to inaccurate or incomplete information, the complexity of society and the inability to accurately predict outcomes, the actual intent of the policy may have become distorted or unclear. Bauer²⁸ has added an additional observation to further complicate the situation. When a policy fails to receive support from those who translate it into programme, attempts may be made to deliberately destroy it, or at least to render it ineffective through inappropriate programming. For all these reasons, the analyst must be alert to the possibility that the observed program may not reflect the actual intent of the policy underlying it.

Summary

Clearly, the task of policy analysis is a complicated and difficult one. The policy analyst must take into consideration the attitudes, values and interests of society at large, of pressure groups, and of individual policy participants. Among other things (s)he must also consider the policy's manifest and latent objectives, the degree to which it is accurately reflected in programming, its intended and unintended consequences and functions, the way the policy-making process is structured, and the amount of involvement

and/or influence of the various participants in the process.

The combination of the size and complexity of the analytic task, and the lack of clear-cut boundaries make the attainment of a perfect product unlikely. Historical studies are further compounded by incomplete, or even nonexistent written records and lack of access to individuals who were key actors in the policy process. Mindful of these limitations, this thesis will attempt to document and analyze the evolution of child welfare policies in Manitoba from 1870 to 1924.

CHAPTER II

ORIGINS OF THE CHILDRENS PROTECTION ACT - 1870-1880

The Beginnings of Anglo-Saxon Domination

Numerous small settlements along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers were united to form the province of Manitoba in 1870. Under the terms of the Manitoba Act, the region became a member province of the Dominion. The Town of Winnipeg, a trading centre located at the junction of the two rivers, was chosen as the new provincial capital; it was from here the government of the new province was administered.

The early days during the transition to province-hood were fraught with tension. Although the number of settlers was almost equally divided between those of French or English heritage, the French suspicions of English intentions climaxed with the rebellions and provisional government under Louis Riel. However, with assurances embedded in the Manitoba Act for the use of French in the Legislature and the courts, the preservation of educational rights held by the two cultures at the time of union, the guarantee of land titles, and the provision for equal representation in the Legislature by both French and English settlers, the duality of the old settlement was peacefully incorporated into the new province.

This equilibrium was not destined to last long, however, as the annexation of Manitoba opened the west to further settlement. Although access was problematic, Ontario settlers led an influx of

immigrants. Other settlers including some from the United States, the Maritimes, the British Isles and Quebec also came, but the majority were English and Protestant. In just over a year the population increased from 11,963 (equally divided between the French and the English) in 1870¹ to 25,228 (predominantly English) in 1871.²

The many immigrants and the problems accompanying their sudden arrival began to place stress upon the settlements' social welfare organizations. Prior to union these organizations had been the domain of the various churches and religions. With a small largely rural population, the slight need for social services was adequately met through these private arrangements which included, amongst other institutions, an orphanage, a women's refuge, and a small hospital. Union, however, brought Manitoba under the terms of the B.N.A. Act, whereby responsibility for the establishment and maintenance of hospitals, asylums and charitable institutions was placed in the hands of the provincial legislature. But because its primary concerns were the increase of settlement and the improvement of access to markets, the new provincial government was content with the continuation of the pre-union arrangements. Thus, when the growing population required new health facilities, the Winnipeg General Hospital was founded by private citizens in 1872. The establishment of the hospital, though technically a provincial responsibility, was viewed by the Manitoba legislature as basically a benevolent act, belonging in private hands, but eligible to receive some provincial subsidy.

By 1873 the beginnings of a world-wide depression brought a sharp drop in grain prices, serving to reduce the attractiveness of prairie settlement to large numbers of immigrants. Some groups, for example the Mennonites in 1874, the Icelandic in 1875, and the Jewish in 1883, continued to immigrate largely due to harsh conditions or persecution in their home countries. However, until the end of the depression in 1896, with the exception of the local boom years of 1881-82, immigration continued at a relatively slow but steady pace, and largely consisted of settlers from Britain and Ontario.³

The increasing numerical superiority of the English saw a shift towards the "Ontario way" of doing things in demands for the reform of provincial institutions. In 1876 the Legislative Council, a body of the provincial government, established by the 1870 Manitoba Act, was abolished on the ground that it was too expensive and Ontario did not possess such an institution.⁴ The system of equal representation in the legislature had, by 1877, been amended to approximate the Ontario system of representation by population,⁵ resulting in the election of a majority of English members in every provincial election which followed. The 1871 provision for equal representation of both English and French on the provincial Board of Education and equal funding to Protestants and Catholic schools likewise succumbed to the demands for representation and allotment by population; the mid-1870's marked the beginning of agitation for

the abolition of Catholic schools for the dual system was thought to be too expensive and Catholic schools were believed to get more than their share of public funding. Clearly the English speaking residents, supported by the Ontario and British immigrants, were beginning to shape Manitoba's policies and institutions by the 1880's.

While most settlers continued to move into rural areas to establish farms, increasing numbers moved to the urban centres, mainly Brandon, Portage la Prairie, and Winnipeg. Winnipeg attracted the majority of urban settlers, as its location at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, the primary communication routes prior to the railways, had made it the centre of trade and commerce for the province. From a population of 215 in 1870, Winnipeg grew to 2,061 by 1875, and 6,178 by 1880.⁶ Many settlers established their own commercial enterprises--small stores or home crafts but many also became employed by the city's growing industrial sector-- including lumber and grist mills, breweries, cabinet-making, carriage and wagon manufacturing, harness makers and iron foundries.⁷ Records of the time revealed some independent and/or skilled craftsmen and "a large mass of clerical and manual workers;...but, the great body of workers must have been unskilled and transient."⁸ Although industry was not well developed prior to the arrival of the C.P.R. in 1881, there were an estimated 950 industrial workers⁹ out of the city's assessed population of 6,245 in that year. Already the city's population was being divided

into groups--commercial and business interests, professional groups, and an industrial working class, though as yet no pronounced differences existed between the groups.

Within the first few years of its incorporation (1873) Winnipeg had developed a notorious reputation due to the social and moral laxity of some of its population. Its location at the centre of the transportation system, and the seasonal nature of the available work attracted numerous transients and casual laborers. Catering to the interests of these men (mostly single) were numerous bars and houses of prostitution. The resulting reputation of the city was sufficiently infamous, and so widespread that in 1876 at the annual Y.M.C.A. convention it was noted that "Winnipeg and Barrie are the two most evil places in Canada"¹⁰ and a prayer was said on the city's behalf. Later, in 1879, the Y.M.C.A. founded a branch office in Winnipeg to provide what was seen as more wholesome and appropriate activities for the single men of the town. In addition, it would appear that the organization was established to provide guidance to growing numbers of young law breakers, for an early report¹¹ indicates that it was influential in helping boys handed over to it for supervision "to readjust and return to a more normal life."

1880-1890 The Growth of Disparities and the Development of the
Christian Reform Movement

The raucous "wild west" character of Winnipeg already evident

in its earliest days, was to escalate during the early years of the 1880's to the point where the more upstanding of the city's residents felt compelled to intervene. Commencement of western construction of the C.P.R. from a Winnipeg base in 1881, combined with the completion of a line to the south in 1878, opened Manitoba to a great influx of settlers, labourers and entrepreneurs. Winnipeg, at the terminus of both railroads, underwent the biggest boom in the city's history. The province's population rose sharply from 65,964 in 1881¹², to 100,000 in 1884¹³; Winnipeg's skyrocketed from 6,245 to 16,694:¹⁴

From a clutter of rude clapboard shacks and stores scattered above Water Street docks, Winnipeg exploded overnight into a frontier metropolis. The sawmills, brickyards, and quarries worked dawn-to-dark shifts and still fell far short of filling the demand for building materials. Soon the wreckers were following the builders as Main Street shacks were demolished to make way for three and four-storey brick and stone hotels, stores, and office structures. As the boom of 1880-2 ran its course, the frenzied promotion of the real estate speculators pushed the price of Main Street property from \$100 a foot frontage with no takers, to \$2,500 a foot with buyers clamouring for it. Sub-division promoters were everywhere, carving up the landscape into twenty-five foot lots to the far horizons. It all added up to the greatest boom in Winnipeg's history.¹⁵

The majority of the new immigrants were from Ontario or other parts of English Eastern Canada and the United States. Although many intended to farm, thousands (mainly single men), were attracted to the urban centres to labor in the fast growing construction trade or other prospering industries, or to enter into either the real estate business or the get-rich-quick schemes which abounded

at the time. To serve these men, a spate of hotels appeared, supplying cheap, crowded and inferior accommodation along with an abundance of liquor and prostitutes. It is estimated that in 1882, with the population of Winnipeg in the vicinity of 16,000, there were eighty-six hotels, along with sixty-four grocery stores selling liquor by the bottle.¹⁶

Liquor clearly became an essential element of Winnipeg's life. Except for the more prosperous class, and the more religious, drinking was not a part of relaxing social conversation; getting drunk was a common recreation for the single men and the laborers, for there was little else to do. The conduct and morals of the many drinkers were an affront to the religious, and a problem to the businessmen and financiers of the established community.

To the Protestant churches and their devout congregations, among which were the members of the dominant business and professional community, the abuse of liquor was an undoubted sin. The dubious morality and life styles of the drinkers were seen as moral tragedies, affronts to Christian ethics. The churches' concern was twofold--1) the reform and salvation of individual drinkers and 2) the removal of temptation and evil influences which may lead others to drink or to engage in other immoral behavior.

There is some suggestion¹⁷ that businessmen and financiers opposed the excesses of the liquor trade for financial as well as moral reasons - the drinking behavior of laborers interfered with their productivity and the city's reputation as a "shrine to

Bacchus" discouraged outside investment. However, the inconveniences and economic setbacks attributed to the drinking behavior of laborers was not considered sufficiently serious to warrant intervention by either the provincial or municipal governments. The city council, dominated by Winnipeg's business, professional and social elites, was pursuing the economic interests of its members:--

Measuring progress in material terms Winnipeg's businessmen directed their efforts toward achieving rapid and sustained growth at the expense of any and all other considerations. Regarding Winnipeg as a community of private money-makers, they expressed little concern with the goal of creating a humane environment for all the city's citizens. Accordingly, habits of community life, an attention to the sharing of resources, and a willingness to care for all men, were not much in evidence in Winnipeg's struggle to become a "great" city. Rather, the most noteworthy aspect of Winnipeg's history in this period was the systematic, organized and expensive promotion of economic enterprise by public and private groups within the city.¹⁸

The provincial government was dominated by other sets of interests. With the economy dependent upon agriculture, the provincial government was almost exclusively concerned with the promotion of farm and railway interests. Throughout the period of 1870-99 provincial elections consistently returned a majority of members who represented agricultural interests--either farmers or merchants dealing in farm implements or produce.¹⁹ Primary among their concerns was the construction of independent railroads to break the monopoly of the C.P.R. and reduce high freight rates. When this issue was finally resolved in 1888, the legislature became further embroiled in the recurrence of the old French-English

animosity. With the elections of 1883 and 1888 each returning only four French Catholic members²⁰, the English cultural interests prevailed. In 1886 the operative system of districts based on the French parish, seen by the French "as their principal weapon in their battle for cultural survival in the Anglo-Saxon sea,"²¹ was replaced through an Act of the legislature by a system of municipalities similar to that in Ontario. By 1890, the use of the French language was abolished in the legislature, records, and provincial courts. Also, in 1890, the legislature amended the existing Manitoba School Act to abolish the dual French Catholic/English Protestant system which had been incorporated into the 1870 Manitoba Act. With the explanation that the declining proportion of French Catholic students made the dual system impractical, unnecessarily expensive, and gave special privileges to one minority group and condoned some questionable practices and standards, the government of Premier Greenway created a single system of English only "national" schools. Public support to the former French Catholic system was eliminated as both French and English schools were combined into what was considered to be a non-denominational system, although the last half-hour of each day could be set aside for separate Catholic or Protestant religious education. All rate payers were to pay school taxes to the new public system. However, to protect the right of parents who chose to send their children to private schools, attendance was not made compulsory in the new public schools. This controversial but key omission was to affect the development of both the education and child welfare systems in

the following decades.

With the city council engrossed in the pursuit of financial growth and the provincial government tied up with agricultural and French-English issues, the question of the welfare of the growing numbers of unfortunates was left, as before, to the churches. Taking a formal, public stand on the issue of moral degeneration, the clergy founded the Manitoba Temperance Alliance in 1883, with the support of Winnipeg's business and professional elite. Their original aims--to eradicate the sin of drinking and restore the drinkers to a more Christian way of life--were altered with the sudden demise of the boom period in 1883. With the end of the boom, hundreds of single men, entrepreneurs, and unskilled laborers, among the worst of the drinking offenders, abandoned the city, leaving behind those who intended to stay--men who had acquired families or had families elsewhere which they intended to bring to Winnipeg. With the steep drop in wages (from \$5.00 to \$2.00 per day)²² and high unemployment which accompanied the crash, money spent by workers on liquor literally prevented families from obtaining adequate food, clothing and shelter. The clergy's concerns therefore, broadened to include reference to the social hardships which were being visited upon wives and children. Tactics adopted by the Alliance included a wide range of measures--inducing individuals to sign pledges promising to stop drinking, sermons and lectures intended to educate the public, and small scale political

lobbying. The effectiveness of the latter, with such objectives as restricting liquor sales, earlier closing of bars, reduction in the numbers of hotels, elimination of grocery stores as liquor outlets, and stronger methods for dealing with confirmed drunkards, was hindered by confusion amongst municipal, provincial and federal governments as to the locus of various responsibilities over the liquor industry. The major responsibilities appeared to rest with the two upper bodies but, as both had an interest in the continuation of liquor sales, neither was in a hurry to resolve the issue. Therefore, the pressures brought to bear by the Alliance showed little initial success, though they were to influence events later in the century.

The coming of the railways, the development of industry, and crash of the boom of 1881-1882 introduced an additional element concerned with the life styles of the working class--the labor union. The Typographical Union, formed in 1872, had been joined by several smaller organizations. Their numbers were sufficient by 1884 to warrant the formation of the Trades and Labor Council, a coordinating body which represented the interests of member locals. The main labor issues centered not only around wages but also around family related matters--shorter work hours to allow laborers more time with their families and improved working conditions to lessen hardships caused by loss of pay due to accident or injury. The labor movement, however, was relatively weak and slow growing, but

its existence did give evidence of and voice to an awareness of the increasing disparities in the life styles of the city's various residents.

The railways exacerbated yet another problem which was little in evidence before their arrival. The C.P.R. lines were laid through the centre of the city, creating a distinct barrier between the north and south end of the city. The differences between the areas, though only moderate before, was now clarified and intensified. The area south of the tracks became the residential district for the elite and more well-to-do; the more westerly region of the city developed into the residential suburb for the middle class businessmen and professionals; the north and east ends of town were destined for the laborers and the new immigrants. As early as 1885 the North End began to develop a distinct character as poor immigrants, originally sheltered in specially provided "sheds" in the area, moved into the cheap and crowded housing which had been hastily erected to serve their needs. Industry, seeking to be near the lines of the C.P.R., and the source of cheap labor, also began moving into the area, contributing to the "sense of deterioration and blight,"²³ which had become evident.

To combat the moral laxities and apparent social disintegration of the North End, conditions which both offended and threatened cherished ideals, numerous reform-oriented charitable groups were established. These were dominated by the English Protestant wives of the businessmen, professionals and clergy who had the religious

conviction, the time, and the money necessary to pursue their beliefs.²⁴ The first organization formed, the Women's Christian Union in 1884, had as its initial undertaking the opening of a maternity hospital. The lack of hygiene and general unsanitary conditions of the homes of the poor was seen as a high risk factor for mothers and newborns. The poor expectant mothers were encouraged to enter the hospital and "leave for a time their comfortless shanties and overcrowded houses, both in the interests of morality and also that they may secure the care and comfort of the hospital."²⁵ Amongst the patients of the hospital were soon included unwed expectant mothers. This initially caused some problem due to a conflict with the morals of the W.C.U. members, but with the need great, they admitted and cared for this "class of unfortunates." Both their workload and moral dilemma were somewhat relieved in 1888 when the Salvation Army opened a Women's Rescue Home which accepted the more "degraded" class of women, leaving the more deserving women to be cared for by the W.C.U.

The next venture of the W.C.U. arose directly out of their work with the unmarried mothers--the formation of the Children's Home in the following year. The original intention of the Home was to provide care for Protestant²⁶ illegitimate infants born in the hospital, a cause which, again, received little initial public support as it was believed to "encourage the sin and make it easier for the sinner."²⁷ With the assurances that it was providing for the "weak, the erring and the unfortunate" and not "abandoned or

dissolute" women, the programme continued successfully and was soon providing care for infants whose parents were too poor or otherwise unable to provide care themselves. In the Act incorporating the Home in 1887, it was given the power to indenture these children for adoption or apprenticeship, as well as to receive and care for other children at the request of their parents.

These placement powers were neither new nor unique; they were based on the 1877 Apprentices and Minors Act.²⁸ This legislation, an adaptation of an earlier Ontario Act, enabled a parent²⁹, guardian or "other person having care and charge of a minor or any charitable society authorized by the Lieutenant Governor" to place children under 21 years of age by indenture "for apprenticeship and otherwise" with any "respectable, trustworthy, person or master". All such apprenticeships were legally binding, and could only be broken by the county court judge or police magistrate.

Not all children placed in the Children's Home were eligible to be placed out. Parents who contributed to the financial support of their children were allowed to maintain legal guardianship; children whose parents would not or could not support them were placed in the 'absolute control' of the Home, and subsequently made available for adoption or indentured as domestic help in private homes. Other children (boys under the age of six and girls under fourteen) found destitute or abandoned, were also brought to the Home to be cared for in a similar manner. By offering care to this latter category

of children, the Children's Home relieved public officials of responsibilities given them under the 1877 Apprentices and Minors Act³⁰ and thereby reaffirmed the role of charities in caring for needy children. The Home's control over dependent children was assured by the inability of parents to remove them without the consent of the institution's head, another provision of the 1877 Act.

Although the needs of the dependent children and destitute families were great, and other services for them were almost non-existent, these were not the only factors which had motivated the Christian Women's Union to found the Home. A statement made by one of the prominent founding members revealed an additional motive:

Nothing appeals so strongly to the hearts of the benevolent as work among children. To smooth the path of life for little footsteps will surely earn the blessing of Him who said, 'Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for such is the kingdom of heaven'.⁴¹

Thus, the charitable work of the Children's Home began with a strange mixture of public disapproval, pity for the plight of the child, and a desire for personal salvation through the performance of charitable acts.

At the same time the Children's Home was being founded, a major women's reform movement was introduced into the city through the establishment of a local chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. The W.C.T.U., a strong member of the national body, abhorred the suffering of women and children resulting from men's excessive use of alcohol. They perceived that such intemperance was the cause

of most family problems and even more broadly, as "the most fruitful case of crime, pauperism and death", it was the cause of the breakdown in the social order. Urbanization and immigration were also seen by the W.C.T.U. to contribute to these growing social ills. In order to protect and strengthen the home these "maternal feminists" launched a multitude of programmes of moral purification and social reform. From the origins of small programmes aimed at tempering the individual's drinking habits, they developed public education programmes warning about the effects of alcohol and tobacco, advocating social purity and Christian morality of children and adults. Ventures into the giving of relief and material goods to the sick and the poor were undertaken. Parents were admonished to work at improving relationships with their children; children were encouraged to find trustworthy adults in whom to confide in order to seek resolutions to their problems. They pressed for kindergartens where children could receive early moral and educational training. Immediate resolution of the school question was urged upon the government in order that compulsory attendance could be enforced and the schools could assume the role of assimilating foreign children into an Anglo-Saxon culture. Compulsory education along with early curfews was also seen as a way to keep the children off the streets and away from trouble and temptation. The call for temperance eventually ceased; total prohibition was seen as the only remedy for the myriad of social ills seen caused by the use of alcohol.

The mid-1880's saw another form of moral rescue work introduced into Manitoba, this time directed specifically at children. This involved the immigration from Britain of what became known as the "Home Children," an estimated 70,000-80,000 orphaned, destitute or delinquent children sent to settle in institutions and homes in Canada. The Barnardo Boys Home in Russell appears to have been the primary organization bringing children into Manitoba. By what he termed "philanthropic abduction"³³ Barnardo brought the children to Manitoba and placed them temporarily in the home in Russell while securing placements for them as indentured labor in Manitoba farm homes. Barnardo's arrangements for the children's care, and routine supervision is reputed to have been of a very high calibre for the times³⁴ but subsequent personal revelations³⁵ indicate numerous incidents of physical and emotional maltreatment as well as total neglect of the children's education--a condition of their indenture. Although there were some claims of wanting to aid helpless children, undoubtedly the primary reason for taking in the Home Children was that of economic benefit. To 'get ahead' in the labor intensive occupation of farming, cheap domestic and farm labor was necessary. It is unlikely therefore that the placement homes receiving the boys shared Barnardo's genuine altruistic motives for bringing the boys over. In spite of reports of sexual and economic exploitation, mistreatment, problems and hardships from formal hearings, the press and local officials,³⁶ the practice continued. In England it relieved the government and private charities

of the costs of caring for the children and was genuinely believed by some devout Christians to contribute to the moral salvation of the child by introducing him to clean country living and hard work, and by completely severing ties with relatives of questionable heritage. In Canada it had similar religious and economic overtones. Not until the question of the quality of the type of children immigrating was raised did pressures against the practice mount.

With the government still reluctant to involve itself in welfare issues at the close of the 1880's, the churches and women's groups continued to work at filling the gaps with their own brand of rescue work. In 1889, the Methodist Church founded the All People's Mission, later to be known, with its director, J.S. Woodsworth, for innovative and progressive work amongst the poor of the North End. The Mission was begun by Miss Dolly Maguire, a Methodist Sunday School teacher, who "pitying the little foreign children who at that time were running the streets without anyone to care for them,"³⁷ gathered the children together into a daily programme. As the work grew, older children and even adults were drawn into the mission where they were provided with day and night school classes, food, clothing, and occasional financial relief. With the work of the All People's Mission as evidence of a beginning interest in social improvement as well as moral reform, the Methodist Church was beginning a change towards the reform of social institutions. Early they realized "the incipient appearance in the opening life of Canada of conditions destined to foster dominating economic

institutions and industrial organizations with their accompanying features of poverty, disease and destitution."³⁸ Although the elders of the church were to recommend an alliance with what they termed the "struggling masses," their challenge was to go largely unheard throughout Manitoba in the 1890's, even by their own members.

1890'S: Beginning of Children's Legislation

The 1890's opened with continued pressure by the church, charities, and business groups for moral reform through prohibition. Pressures were sufficiently strong by 1892 to convince the provincial government to hold a plebiscite on prohibition. Although the results of the vote showed the residents of the province to be strongly in favor of prohibition (18,637 to 7,115 even without the female vote)³⁹, the government was reluctant to act. The confusion regarding the dual authority of provincial and federal governments was given as the reason for referring the problem to the federal government, though there is some suggestion⁴⁰ that the practice of buying ethnic and working class votes with free liquor may also have played a part. At any rate, the question of provincial rights respecting prohibition was referred to the federal government along with a recommendation for prohibiting the sale and manufacture of alcohol. The matter went no further until a federal plebiscite was forced in 1898. With their hopes for prohibition thwarted at every turn, Manitoba's prohibitionists, clergy, women's

groups and businessmen--had to turn to other forms of legislation to gain control over the growing problems which threatened their homes, communities and life styles.

The problem of juvenile crime and delinquency was thought to result from the lax school laws, poor parental guidance, and the influence of intemperant adults. None of these causes was seen to be immediately alterable--prohibition was as yet unattainable, the school question was too sensitive and controversial to include compulsory attendance, and with employers favoring low wages, both parents in low income families were often working, thus leaving children unsupervised and free to roam the streets. Children living in such circumstances were seen to be prone to juvenile crime but they could not be dealt with under existing laws until they had committed a criminal act. If convicted of a crime, they were often incarcerated with hardened adult criminals in common jails as no juvenile facilities existed. Feeling that such treatment was severe for very young children and was tantamount to sending them to a school of criminal behavior, the reformers sought a more enlightened solution to the existing dilemma through the Reformatory Act of 1890.⁴¹ The Act provided for boys between ten and thirteen years, who were "so incorrigible and vicious as to be beyond control" to be incarcerated in the provincial reformatory in Brandon. Along with the unstated goals of property protection and deterrence were the defined objectives "education, industrial training and moral reclamation." To meet these objectives the boys

were to be confined to the reformatory for an unspecified period (not less than two years or longer than five). When they showed signs of improvement, the boys were eligible to be indentured to work situations or allowed to return home. How successful the reformatory was in reclaiming the boys is unclear, for the entire programme appears to have been dropped after only a year or two of existence.⁴² In such a brief period it is unlikely that any clear results (either positive or negative) could be discerned; the likely cause of the programme's cancellation would have been financial or administrative difficulties. With the programme's demise the Province was again left with no public facilities for the case of delinquent youngsters.

A more preventative approach to juvenile delinquency was that taken by the founders of the Free Kindergarten Association in 1892. Sharing some goals of the earlier programmes at the All People's Mission, the Free Kindergarten Association organized in the North End, to feed, clothe and provide education to the poorer children of the area. The Association claimed to incorporate the new Froebelian philosophy regarding the nurturing of children during the special developmental stages of childhood in order to produce happy, capable adults. The health and development of the children was not the programme's sole motivating factor in the North End, however, as proponents of the programme noted its worth in "recognizing that proper education of children during the first seven years of their lives does much to reduce poverty and crime in any community."⁴³

Thus, in better areas kindergartens may have been agents of child development, but in poorer areas, they became agents of reform and control.

In addition to their concern with juvenile crime, the reformers developed concern about the mistreatment of women and children in lower class families. Always subject to the severe conditions of frontier living and the Victorian attitudes of male supremacy, women and children in the unfortunate classes were also seen as being subject to harsh treatment at the hands of drunken husbands and fathers. As Winnipeg life became more sophisticated and such behavior became less tolerated, the introduction of the Humane Societies Act of 1895 was not surprising. Although the Act was undoubtedly introduced with genuine humane concern for those who suffered, the fact that abusive behavior was most often associated with the poor and drinking classes, would indicate that this Act, too, contained elements designed to control the lower classes. The Act provided protection for animals, women and men, but contained special clauses dealing specifically with children:

Whenever there is reason to believe that any child is being ill-treated in any house or building, then upon any complaint thereof being made, upon oath, by any member or order of the Society, in the place where the offence is alleged to be committed, to any justice of the peace, such justice of the peace may issue a warrant to enter by day or night such house or building, and if necessary, use force for the purpose of effecting such entry, and to search for such child, and bring such child and the person in whose keeping or possession he or she is, before such justice of the peace, who may on examination, order such child to be delivered to the officers of the society, and to be retained by the said Society during such period as the magistrate may appoint, or to be returned as

law and justice may require. Such order will be subject to appeal under the provisions of 'The Manitoba Summary Convictions Act.'⁴⁴

Through these provisions a major change in the philosophy of parent-child relations was revealed. Previously the father had absolute ownership of his children, and was entitled to raise them as he saw fit, with no interference from outsiders. With the introduction of the Humane Societies Act, parental treatment of children became subject to the approval of society. If the Society's appointed representative felt children were being mistreated, they could be forcibly removed from the parents' custody. Further provisions of the Act empowered Humane Societies to assume guardianship of ill-treated children and provide them with alternate living arrangements. Although it is not stated, it may be assumed that such children were placed in institutions like the Children's Home or the Tache Home (an orphanage run by the Grey Nuns in St. Boniface) or indentured as domestic or farm labor under a system similar to that employed by the Children's Home and the Barnardo Boys Home. Although the powers of the Act were new to Manitoba, they could not be regarded as revolutionary for a Humane Society had existed for some time in Ontario, and already by 1893 Ontario had developed a specialized child protection system. As had been the procedure in other pieces of Manitoba's legislation, the 1895 Humane Societies Act was based directly on the Ontario Humane Societies Act of 1887.

1896 brought renewed prosperity to Manitoba. Rising grain prices again made settlement on the prairies an attractive proposition. Manitoba was immediately opened to thousands of settlers who led the greatest influx of immigrants the province has ever known. Under the federal government's 'open door' immigration policy, settlers came not only from the traditional areas of Ontario and Great Britain, but they came in ever-increasing numbers from central European countries--Germany Poland, Austro-Hungary and Russia.⁴⁵ Due to their foreign languages, customs and appearances, these groups, usually termed collectively the 'Ruthenians' or 'Galacians,' were very visible when they arrived to settle in Manitoba. Those who could afford land became farmers, those who could not remained in urban centres, largely Winnipeg, to swell the ranks of the laboring classes. Forced to live in the North End by the availability of cheap, though inadequate and overcrowded housing, these groups remained as cohesive communities retaining many of their ethnic customs, contributing to the unique "foreign quarter" character of the area.

With no way of forcing the children of poor or foreign parents to attend school, the primary means of assimilation was lacking; reform attention was focused on the growing chaos in Manitoba's schools. The 1890 School Act amendment had attracted international attention and controversy as its constitutionality was tested in the highest courts of the country. After much emotionally charged



debate a compromise was reached in 1896. To accommodate the demands of the minority groups who had previously been guaranteed control of their own schools (notably the French, Mennonites and Icelanders) the Act was again amended to introduce a vaguely worded bilingual clause. This clause allowed instruction to be given in the student's native language (not specified) and English in an undefined 'bilingual system' where numbers warranted it. With the arrival of hundreds of foreign children of other nationalities these rights created a myriad of problems. Ethnic groups could legally refuse to send their children to existing schools; the school system was unable to supply teachers fluent in the numerous foreign languages. School attendance, always a problem, became more so. By 1897, although the province listed 51,178 children of school age, only 39,841 or 77.8% were actually registered in public schools. Average daily attendance was even worse; in 1897, on any given day, only 21,500 children, or 41% of the total school age population, could be expected to be found in school.⁴⁶ The numbers of poor and foreign children inhabiting the streets caused both alarm and concern to the community's business, church and charitable groups. Reformists lobbied hard but to no avail for compulsory attendance, English only schools and early curfews.

The reformers appeared to have more success in their attempts to regulate the standards of the Home Children being imported into the Province. After the Brandon Assizes, in 1893, had raised questions about the children's morality and bad heredity⁴⁷

local reform groups like the Women's Christian Union, the Aberdeen Society, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union (all devoted to the development of strength and character of the Canadian home) lobbied against the practice. Facing increased numbers of immigrants of 'inferior' character, the lobbying for reduced but selected immigration of 'high quality' British stock intensified. As could be expected, the labor unions sided with the women, for they viewed the child immigration program as a means of importing large pools of cheap labor. Their combined lobbying resulted in the 1897 passing of legislation to limit the practice in Manitoba. As well as defining the terms of supervision, placement and treatment for the children, the new Act contained a clause stating:

Any person who knowingly brings or causes or procures to be brought into the Province of Manitoba, any child who from defective intellect, or disease, or physical infirmity, or any other defect, is unable to follow any trade or calling, or any child of known vicious tendencies, or any child who is known to be an habitual criminal, or who has been reared, or who has resided amongst habitual criminals, lunatics or idiots, or weak minded, or defective, or confirmed paupers, or diseased, shall, on summary conviction thereof, before a police magistrate or two or more justices of the peace, be liable to a penalty of not more than \$100 nor less than \$10 with costs, and in default of payment of said fine and costs, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months.⁴⁸

Clearly, while the Act showed some concern for the well being of the children, its principal thrust was to protect the community by ensuring a higher quality of child immigrants, and to protect the public from having to assume the burden of maintenance for sickly,

poor, or delinquent children. It is uncertain as to how successful the Act was in attaining these goals for the government did not publish separate statistics on the numbers or conditions of the Home Children's importation or deportation.

By the process of screening and upgrading the level of immigrants, the reformers hoped to "shape the future development of the nation upon the soundest, most rational and most moral principles. For them, these principles were embodied in the Victorian home. The nation was the home and the home was the woman; all were best British."⁴⁹ Having secured some measure of control over the quality of child immigrants, the reformers sought to achieve their goal of a strong Anglo-Saxon community through the establishment of the Girls' Home of Welcome. Founded in Winnipeg in 1897 by Miss Octavia Fowler, daughter of a former Lord Mayor of London, the Home's original purpose was to bring over more educated English gentlewomen to place in domestic positions. This plan was widely supported for it offered solutions to three problems--cheap domestic labor, improved immigrant stock, and an insufficient supply of women, particularly in rural areas. To select girls of the desired type, the Girls' Home sent its superintendent to England each year. However, there were not enough older girls from wholesome backgrounds who were interested in the opportunities offered by the Home.⁵⁰ Therefore, they allowed other girls--transients and rural girls--to board at the Home, and began as well to receive young orphaned or abandoned girls from Ontario. After operating for

a few years and succeeding in attracting only a few British gentlewomen, Miss Fowler returned in discouragement to England, and left the Home in the hands of Winnipeg operators. It continued to offer temporary lodging to working girls, and to bring out mostly little girls from England and Ontario to place for adoption or indenture, similar to the practice of the Barnardo Boys Home in Russell. While the Home failed in its objective to populate the province with respectable British gentlewomen, and thereby add to the Anglo-Saxon control of its development, the reform groups persisted in their efforts to improve and control what they saw to be the degraded life styles of the 'foreign' and the poor.

Although they were as yet unsuccessful in getting prohibition laws passed, the reformers continued to view alcohol as the primary source of poverty, crime, mental illness and family breakdown. To them, there appeared to be a close relationship amongst these problems as they were seen to occur almost exclusively amongst the families of the lower classes. The poor supervision, nutrition, and general physical care of the children in many of these families was felt to be a direct result of parental inadequacies and failure to care. So far, reformers' attempts to correct and control these inadequacies had resulted in one short lived piece of legislation which removed wayward and delinquent boys from the streets, another which would upgrade the quality of future adult citizens, and a third which authorized the removal of physically mistreated children

from the care of the offending adults. Though these measures did afford some protection and control, they did not eliminate neglectful or immoral environments, nor did they provide the reformers with the coercion necessary to convince the lower classes to behave more appropriately and raise their families in a morally acceptable way. Therefore, motivated by a desire to fashion these families to the Anglo-Saxon ideal, and by a genuine concern for children who were suffering but not physically abused, the reform groups sought increased intervention through legislation. The legislation they chose was, as might be expected, modelled on the Ontario Child Protection Act.

In January of 1897 Oliver Mowat, (at the time the federal Minister of Justice) had written Premier Greenway recommending that a Children's Protection Act be instituted in Manitoba and forwarding information on the Ontario Act.⁵¹ Although Greenway's immediate concerns were with the volatile Manitoba School Question and in defending his reputation against accusations of bribery in railroad dealings, his background as a Methodist and father of fourteen children appears to have resulted in a favorable response to the suggestion. Although there is no record of a written response to Mowat's letter, Greenway was prepared when Rev. MacBeth, on behalf of the Humane Society, approached him with a request for child protection legislation along the lines of the Ontario Act.⁵² Noting the existence of several cases which justified such legislation, Rev. MacBeth recommended "giving to some society formed under its

provision power to take children out of evil surroundings on a proper case being made out before a competent court." In his reply Greenway pointed to the provisions of the recent Act respecting the Immigration of Certain Classes of Children, and stated that the government had deferred inauguration of child saving agencies and the enactment of necessary legislation pending revisions being made in the Ontario laws.⁵³

In accordance with his statement to MacBeth, in March of 1898, Greenway invited J.J. Kelso, Ontario Superintendent for Neglected and Dependent Children, to visit Winnipeg to "enlighten the legislators on the question of caring for neglected children."⁵⁴ From reports of Kelso's talks to citizen groups and government committees,⁵⁵ it appears he stressed the results of Ontario's experiences with its system which had been in force since 1893--the necessity of avoiding large institutions, the manner in which the foster home system benefitted both child development and the provincial budget, and the way parents responded when the state threatened to take their children away:

The old idea that the mother or father was the guardian of the child had to break down when these parents were bringing these children up in a vicious manner to become a burden on the state...The system strengthened the parental ties and made parents look after their children for fear the state would take them.⁵⁶

With guidance from Kelso, the government drew up "An Act for the better Protection of Neglected and Dependent Children" later known as "The Children's Protection Act of Manitoba,"⁵⁷ which, in some

clauses followed the Ontario Act verbatim. The Act authorized the state, after securing the agreement of the court, to remove and place in foster homes, children who had been found "in a state of habitual vagrancy or mendicancy, or ill-treated so as to be in peril of life, health or morality by continued personal injury, or by grave misconduct or habitual intemperance of the parents or guardians." The following children (boys under fourteen years and girls under sixteen years) were defined as being in need of protection: children found begging; children found out late at night; children who lacked parental control or education; who were exposed to idle and dissolute lifestyles; who were found associating or living with criminal, immoral or disorderly people; who were orphaned or deserted; or who were guilty of petty crimes and likely to continue to develop criminal tendencies. Parents or guardians found guilty of exposing children to such conditions were subject to fines and/or imprisonment.

Two of the main clauses of the Ontario Act were omitted--those dealing with truancy and child labor. Although reform groups had agitated for compulsory school attendance, the government had not granted it; without compulsory education children technically could not be found to be truants. However, to appease the reformers, these concerns were dealt with through reference to habitual vagrancy--if children were not working or attending school, they could be considered to be "without salutary parental control and education, or in circumstances exposing (them) to idle or dissolute life" and

therefore could be removed from their homes. The Act also omitted the Ontario clause which prohibited child labour in factories. Child labor was not uncommon in the families of the lower classes, as wages were too low for families to survive on just one income. Therefore, by omitting an anti-child labor clause, the government carried the favor of the poor and immigrant classes, while also appeasing factory owners who were able to pay children considerably lower wages than adult workers. However, even lacking these two clauses, the Children's Protection Act provided the reformers with considerable new powers over the lives of children and their families.

To enforce the provisions of the Act a system of child-saving agencies and the appointment of a government agent were required. Once the legislation had been passed, however, interest in it seemed to lull, indicating, perhaps, a lack of commitment as well as rational planning on the part of both legislators and reformers. J.B. Somerset, managing editor of the Free Press and strong supporter of child-saving, renewed interest in the movement with an editorial on May 25, 1898 in which he noted the necessary legislation had been enacted but:

... nobody has lifted a finger. The Government has not appointed an Agent and the Humane Society has gone to sleep.

... The matter concerns every citizen whether he knows it or not; for these children are centres of contamination for others, besides being themselves in training for our jails. The only thing required is that somebody move on the matter. An influential and representative society could easily be organized and the appointment of a Government agent would soon

follow. At present the onus for inaction lies with the people who pushed for legislation. They should now move toward giving it effect.

Somerset's editorial appeared to have the desired effect, for shortly thereafter at a public meeting in Winnipeg City Hall, the first such organization, the Winnipeg Children's Aid Society was established. The intended orientation and policy of the Society were clearly evident in the backgrounds of its first Board members. Elected to the Board at a public meeting in Winnipeg City Hall were members of the elite of Winnipeg society--the leading businessmen, clergy and charitable ladies who had long agitated for prohibition and moral reform of the lower classes. Amongst others were included the following individuals:⁵⁸

D. McIntyre, Superintendent of Winnipeg Schools, Presbyterian.

Hon. H.J. Macdonald, son of the former Prime Minister, present M.L.A., and future Premier, Presbyterian.

A. J. Andrews, Mayor of Winnipeg, Presbyterian.

Dr. G. Bryce, founder of Manitoba College, Minister in the Presbyterian Church, leading reformer.

Mrs. G. Bryce, leading reformer, Presbyterian.

Lady Schulz, wife of former Lieutenant Governor, leading reformer, Presbyterian.

Mrs. C. H. Campbell, wife of a current M.L.A. and future Attorney General 1900-1911, Presbyterian.

S. J. Rothwell, prominent lawyer (solicitor for Hudson's Bay Company), Anglican.

J.B. Somerset, managing-editor of the Winnipeg Free Press, Methodist.

H. Wilson, City Alderman.

The Reverends Burman (Presbyterian), Matheson (Anglican) and Cherrier (R.C.).

The government's appointee as Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children was similar in background to the newly elected C.A.S. Board members - Mr. J.W. Sifton. In addition to being the Provincial Inspector of Public Buildings, and father of Greenway's former Attorney General and the present federal Minister of Immigration, Mr. Sifton was acknowledged in Western Manitoba as "the foremost lay member of the Methodist Church, the head of active and persistent temperance forces bent on bringing about prohibition, and the recognized leader of the Liberals."⁵⁹

Any doubts which remained concerning the orientation of the Society were dispelled by statements contained in its first annual report. Quoting the Manitoba Good Templar, the report noted "This is one of the most effective moral reform agencies that has come into existence in recent years. It is calculated to do much in advancing the cause of temperance." In addition, the Society's report included amongst its goals "To protect society from its enemies, ignorance, vice and crime, by guaranteeing Christian home training to neglected and exposed children, who otherwise will swell the ranks of the 'dangerous class.'"⁶⁰ That legislators were content to allow the reformers' philosophy to guide and direct the Winnipeg Children's Aid Society was evidenced by the financial statement in the Society's first Annual Report indicating the provincial and city governments each contributed only \$500 of the total \$3,000 operating costs for the first year. The remaining funds were raised through charitable donations, with the Society's gentlemen board members each being asked to contribute \$100.

Funds granted by both the provincial and the municipal governments appeared to be more in the nature of gifts than an acknowledgement of responsibility. The provincial donation was granted under the Charity Aid Act.⁶¹ Under the terms of this Act, all organizations receiving aid were to be inspected by the Inspector of Agriculture, Statistics and Health, an employee of the Department of Agriculture. However inspections appear to have been made by the Inspector of Public Buildings, and were more an assessment of facilities than of programme. In addition to the inspections, the organizations submitted annual reports outlining their work. Grants from the city of Winnipeg were accorded under the terms of the City Charter which permitted donations to bonafide charities. Funds from outlying municipalities came in the form of small sums which had been voted for that purpose.

The collection of funds from municipalities as voluntary gifts or donations was contrary to the terms of the Children's Protection Act. Section 6 of the Act had stated:

A Judge may, upon application of any society to whose custody or control a child is committed, make an order for the 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 temporary home, or in any foster home, where such children are not cared for without compensation, in which the child may be placed by the society, until the child reaches the age of twelve years in the case of a girl, and fourteen years in the case of a boy. The placing of children with the lowest bidder is hereby prohibited.

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, but in absence of evidence to the

contrary, residence for one year in the municipality in which such child was taken into custody shall be presumed.

By permitting rather than requiring the Judge to make maintenance orders against municipalities, the strength of the section was diluted yet it nevertheless indicated a growing awareness and acceptance of public responsibility for the care of neglected and dependent children. However the Board of the Children's Aid Societies (a Society was also being started in Brandon) did not take advantage of maintenance orders under this section; they appeared content to receive monetary gifts and donations instead. It is likely the involvement of many Board members in other charitable works lead them to continue to view child welfare as a private, benevolent activity. Moreover, J.W. Sifton, the new Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, promoted the idea of private versus public responsibility by recommending that the societies not charge municipalities as the Act allowed in the early stages of operation "for fear of prejudicing them against the working of the Act."⁶² By accepting Sifton's advice the new Societies set a precedent which was to strain their resources, thwart their activities and limit their development until the mid 1920's.

During the first years of the Act's existence, Sifton's role as Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent children seems to have followed the guideline established in the Act - to encourage and assist in the formation of Children's Aid Societies, to visit and inspect temporary homes and shelters, to provide for the visitation

of children in foster homes, and to see that Societies kept records of all committals and placements. Sifton's letter book indicates he sought homes for Children's Aid wards, corresponded with foster parents regarding arrangements for and difficulties with children, investigated complaints, inspected the incoming Home Children, explained legalities to organizations, and consulted with government officials and J.J. Kelso regarding procedures. The matter of providing for visitation of children in foster homes, however, was not attended to due to the demands on his time by the other duties of his role as Inspector of Public Buildings, and the considerable distances involved.⁶³

In general, Sifton appears to have been active in and enthusiastic about his child-saving duties, though his concern for the actual welfare of the children may be questioned. He appears to have accepted the fact that most placements were made with a view to the child's work potential, and did little to enforce school attendance regulations,⁶⁴ though admittedly lack of resources and time may have prevented thorough investigation of complaints. However, he does not appear to have thought these limitations warranted formally asking for the services of an assistant. In reference to the care of the Home Children, Sifton took what appears to be a calous stance in noting that he saw "no difficulty arising from the suggestion ... as to branding the boys."⁶⁵ Admittedly, the presence of the children was displeasing to many, and little was known about the psychological traumas such action could induce;

nevertheless, the advocacy of such a painful measure by the provincial official responsible for child protection does seem most unusual. The suggestion was not acted upon.

Throughout the first year of its operation, the progress of the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg was followed by local newspapers receiving very favorable coverage.⁶⁶ It printed stories of apprehended children accompanied with 'before' and 'after' photographs; it advertised for foster and adoptive homes for specific children; it carried endorsements of the Society by leading community figures, several of whom incidentally, served on its Board. Emphasis on the Society as the savior of helpless victimized children was designed to win over the strongest of opponents.

One group not convinced, however, was the newly formed Labor Party. The Party founded in 1896 to further the interests and welfare of workers,⁵⁹ had been gradually increasing in membership - from 950 in 1881, to 2,359 in 1891, and 4,500 in 1900.⁶⁷ The Labor Party recognized the sweeping powers which had been incorporated into the Children's Protection Act and which could be used against the interests of working class and lower-class citizens. To curtail what it viewed as the over zealous application of excessive powers, the Labor Party launched the first appeal against a wardship order made under the Act, on behalf of a Mrs. Harrison, a widow whose four older children had been removed by the Society and prepared for adoption.⁶⁸ The Party contended that the woman had unknowingly given the children up for adoption by

signing papers which she thought were for temporary care during her illness. The Society justified its worker's actions on purely moral grounds though her failure to notify the Board beforehand was slightly irregular--Mrs. Harrison had once been admitted to the Brandon Insane Asylum and had also given birth to illegitimate twins since being widowed. Following the initiation of the appeal, the agency had returned three of the children, all of whom it acknowledged were healthy, well mannered and apparently very well cared for. The fourth child was left in the care of a grandparent with Mrs. Harrison's consent. The judge, upon reviewing the findings of the appeal, found no fault with the action of the agency. The middle class Anglo-Canadian reformers had clearly gained power and allies in their attempt to reform and control the masses.

What was considered an even more crucial victory was won for the reformers in the provincial election of 1899. A federal plebiscite in 1898 had resulted in every province but Quebec returning a majority in favor of prohibition. On a technicality, Prime Minister Laurier denied prohibition legislation, infuriating the reformers. Sensing the mood of the Manitoba temperance advocates, Hugh John Macdonald son of Sir John A. Macdonald, and leader of the Manitoba Conservative party, had included prohibition as a plank of his party's election platform. Securing victory in the election, Macdonald quickly enacted the Macdonald Temperance Act in 1900, preventing the sale of liquor within the province. Although this measure could not bring about total prohibition as

liquor could still be bought out of province and imported (inter-provincial trade coming under federal jurisdiction) the reformers had at least secured the control they desired through provincial legislation.

A second successful piece of reform-sponsored legislation was attained under the Macdonald administration in the form of the Factory Act.⁶⁹ Prior to the existence of this Act there had been no regulation on child labor - age of employment, or type and hours of work - a situation which both the reformers and the labor unions sought to rectify, though for different reasons. Organized labor objected to the presence of children in the job-market, as they filled positions which would be otherwise available to adults and, as employers were able to pay them less, tended to keep wages low in some industries. Reformers objected to young children working for it meant they were not in school, and, as many were from the families of foreign immigrants, were therefore not being assimilated into English-Manitoban society. In addition, many reformers were justifiably appalled at the dangerous, unsanitary, exhausting conditions under which some children were working. The two groups were successful in pressuring the government to pass remedial legislation. The new Act prohibited the employment of all children under 16 years of age in factories where more than two people were employed, and stipulated that no women were to work in unhealthy surroundings. In addition, the work day was shortened to eight hours, and work was restricted to the hours between 6:00 a.m. and

9:00 p.m. Parents or factory owners found violating the new law were subject to fines or imprisonment.

Thus, reformers' spirits were high as they entered the twentieth century. The successes of the reform movement indicated they had become a significant factor in Manitoba politics. They had secured the long sought after prohibition legislation which they felt would provide the solution to crime, disease, and poverty. In the field of child welfare, the legislation they advanced restricted child labor and altered traditional parent-child relationship giving the state the right to intervene when standards of child care were deemed inadequate. In firm control of setting these standards and enforcing the new legislation were the elite members of the Province's Anglo-Saxon charter group - the Protestant clergy, influential businessmen and their wives - in their roles as leading temperance workers, moral reformers, charitable workers and community leaders.

CHAPTER III

CHILD WELFARE UNDER THE R.P. ROBLIN ADMINISTRATION 1900-1915

The opening days of the new century were filled with optimism for the reformers. They had secured several important pieces of legislation under the Greenway administration in the 1890s and, proving to be even more successful under the administration of Hugh John Macdonald, they looked forward to great advances in the 1900s.

This optimism was short-lived however, for Macdonald resigned in the fall of 1900 and was replaced as Premier by Rodmond P. Roblin. Ontario-born of United Empire Loyalist descendants, and a member of the Methodist church, Roblin may have been expected to continue the reform efforts of his predecessor. However, much as Roblin was a staunch defender of everything British, he was also a successful businessman and shrewd politician. In their 1899 election campaign, the Conservative party had pledged to cut provincial spending and to promote the growth and development of Manitoba. It was to these tasks, not to the ambitions of the reformers, that Roblin turned his considerable political skills.

The new Premier was not long in office before he clashed with reform interests. One of his earliest actions was to withdraw the Macdonald Temperance Act, referring it to the courts to test its constitutionality. Although the Act's legality was upheld, Roblin initiated another provincial prohibition plebiscite in 1902. Disgusted and discouraged, the prohibitionist groups could not agree whether to fight the issue at the polls or to boycott them. Their

lack of agreement resulted in an anti-prohibition victory and seriously weakened the prohibition movement for most of the next decade. Following the defeat of prohibition, most reformers focused their attention and efforts on their own localities, making use of government regulations which permitted citizens to vote to suspend alcohol sales within their own municipal boundaries. To appease reform sentiments, and perhaps to implement his personal beliefs as well,¹ Roblin encouraged municipalities to make use of the 'local option', while at the same time he tightened regulations around issuance of liquor licences and hours of sale. As could be expected, his actions were not sufficient to please reformers, but were welcomed by the Roman Catholics and growing numbers of new immigrants in whose life styles alcohol was an accepted factor.

A short time later, Roblin again challenged reform ideals by introducing an amendment to the Factory Act of 1900.² In a clear alliance with business and manufacturing interests, Roblin disregarded the concerns of both labor and reform groups. The amendment lowered the age at which children could work in factories to 14 years for boys and 15 years for girls, and increased the length of the work day to nine hours. In addition, many small factories were exempted from the law with the new interpretation of a 'factory' as employing five or more employees as opposed to two in the 1900 Act.

Having lost much of their political influence, reform-minded citizens channelled their efforts into their traditional interest -

charitable work. The deluge of 'foreign' immigrants and the problems resulting from their mass arrivals provided ample scope for the reformers talents.

The Immigrant Experience

Every day the 'open door' immigration policy poured thousands of Eastern European immigrants into Western Canada. As the funnel through which all West-bound immigrants passed, Winnipeg became the acknowledged 'storm centre' of the immigration problem in Canada.³ Some of the immigrants travelled further on to farm or to settle in smaller centres, but a great many remained in Winnipeg on either a temporary or permanent basis⁴. Of those who remained in Winnipeg, the majority of 'foreign' and poor British immigrants drifted into the North End and Point Douglas areas, contributing to the areas existing social and physical problems. Here sewage and maintenance services were non-existent, housing was overcrowded and inferior - but it was cheap and therefore attractive. Once the first wave of immigrants had settled into the area, it became even more attractive for subsequent arrivals as they sought out fellow countrymen to re-establish the support systems they had known in their native communities. Even those immigrants who could afford to leave the urban areas and enter directly into farming tended to settle in blocs to provide mutual support and a sense of identity.

Most of the European immigrants, and many of the English, came from peasant or lower class backgrounds. These origins may have made it easier to accept the low standards of living which were forced upon them by the awaiting housing and working conditions. As Avery points out the work experience of many immigrants was typified by geographic mobility and occupational pluralism:

The unskilled immigrant worker had one basic commodity to exchange-his physical strength, his brute force, to carry, pull, push, turn, as a horse would do, or a piston or a wheel. He exchanged it from sector to sector as the demand for 'human machines' shifted to a rhythm he could not but obey.⁵

Much of the work was lonely and seasonal - clearing brush, railway and building construction, farm labor. As a result there were long winter lay-offs when the unemployed were drawn to urban centres in search of fellowship, employment and/or relief. Within the cities workers fluctuated between jobs as seasonal and economic changes dictated. Much of the work was debilitating, body-destroying and dangerous work which members of the charter group, the dominant Anglo-Saxons, refused to do. Wages were low, and insufficient to carry workers through the recurrent periods of lay-offs, accidents and illness which characterized their work. J.S. Woodsworth later noted "the wages paid, making allowance for loss of time, are such that without being supplemented by earnings of wife or children, it is impossible to make or keep a home."⁶

To survive the strains on individuals and family life, immigrants were forced to turn to each other and to their churches; little assistance was forthcoming from the host society.

Response of Organized Labor and Government

Unlike the more skilled tradesmen or artisans, the vast majority of immigrant laborers were not afforded even the minimal protection of the early labor unions. The existing craft unions, unlike the industrial unions which developed later, excluded participation of unskilled labor; their membership consisted largely of skilled British and Canadian artisans and craftsmen. Struggling to secure collective bargaining rights, higher wages and improved working conditions, craft unionists resented the weakened bargaining position resulting from the growing pools of cheap and readily available labor. Sensing threats to their own standards of living, and possessing a sense of Anglo-Saxon superiority over the lowly unskilled Europeans, members of organized labor opposed the influx of immigrants.

Protection did not come from government sources either, for until the mid-way point of the second decade, all three levels of government were caught up in the growth ethic and firmly supported the interests of employers and investors. Indeed, the governing bodies themselves were guilty of some of the worst abuses of labor as they sought to minimize costs of public works. Roblin, who personally viewed the results of the 'open door' immigration policy as "not only dangerous to the future state but absolutely un-British," declared "Not a dollar of Manitoba money shall under my administration, ever be paid to promote the presence in Canada of

this indigestible mass."⁷ In terms of provincial government policy, this translated into a refusal to help solve problems in hygiene and housing until conditions deteriorated to the point where other city residents were threatened.

The city government shared its provincial counterpart's artful dodging of responsibilities until typhoid and smallpox epidemics forced it, too, into action. Even then, it was able to limit its activities to the alleviation of specific situations, not an overall improvement of conditions for, as Artibise points out:

The city was governed by a select group of successful businessmen who, by means of a restricted franchise, plural vote, and centralized form of government, excluded Winnipeg's labor and ethnic groups from political office, thereby ensuring that only their conception of a desirable and public policy would prevail.⁸

City councillors were able to interpret many of the new immigrants needs as not being public responsibilities at all, but rather as belonging in the realm of charity. However, even their support of charitable works was superficial:

Of all the activities of the elite in Winnipeg, this was one of their less noteworthy pursuits, since support given to these valuable agencies by either city council or private individuals was never adequate to meet the needs of the people the organizations served. Nevertheless, like their other non-business activities, participation in charitable organizations, token though it might be, served to make one known and respected among the electorate.⁹

The city, and other municipalities, did, however, offer emergency relief (usually in the form of supplies) to needy families, augmenting the services of the many charities which developed to serve the poor and the immigrant. Unemployed single men were given

work outside the city or charged with vagrancy. As many households relied on income received from single male borders, even this measure created financial hardships for some families.

With scant individual resources and negligible support from organized labor or government, immigrants were forced to rely on their own community organizations and institutions. Within each ethnic group were to be found its own religious, charitable, cultural, educational, social, and political societies. It was the clash of these institutions and the values they upheld with those of the Anglo-Canadian charter group which created the tensions characteristic of this period.

British Nativism

Although encouraged by the federal and provincial governments, and welcomed by the farmers and manufacturers as a ready supply of cheap labor, the arrival of the immigrants was met with open hostility from Manitoba's host Anglo-Saxon Protestant group.¹⁰ To staunch British nativists¹¹ everything was best British - customs, attitudes, institutions, values, and indeed 'race.' They had worked together to develop their communities around a British-Canadian culture and were alarmed at the influx of immigrants who did not share their values. Confronted by thousands of foreigners with unfamiliar languages, customs, and dress, and with different values and loyalties, Manitoba's dominant society felt its position threatened.

Religious as well as cultural differences separated the new European immigrants from the host society.¹² Of the European immigrants few were Protestant - some were Jewish, others had different affiliations, but a great many shared some form of Catholicism - either Greek or Roman. The hostility between Catholics and Protestants which had prevailed in Manitoban society since its founding was intensified and extended to other non-Protestant denominations. Ethnic churches, faced with dissension both within and between their memberships, were restricted in their ability to form alliances to counter the criticisms and reform efforts of British nativists.

The political system also proved to be a major source of tension between the host and immigrant groups. Because many of the immigrants were illiterate and from peasant backgrounds, Anglo-Canadians questioned their right to vote. Reported voting irregularities in ethnic communities (bribery, threats, misrepresentation) reinforced reformers' concerns. Then too, even though most ethnic voters supported either the Conservative or Liberal Parties, the charter group was suspicious of socialist elements within the ethnic communities. Some immigrants (Jewish, Ukrainian, Finnish, Italian, Austro-Hungarian) had been introduced to socialist philosophy in Europe; the harsh conditions encountered in Canadian society served to reinforce the socialist ideology of many. The membership of immigrants in socialist organizations, particularly the Social Democratic Party after 1910, served as a warning to Anglo-Canadians.

In summarizing and explaining the nativist reaction of members of the Manitoban host society to the foreign immigrants, C.W. Gordon, a leading Manitoban writer and reformer stated:

But of the great world in which we lived we knew almost nothing. The processes of nature did not exist for us. Of contemporary people, their thoughts, their manner of life, their systems of government we were entirely ignorant. They were foreigners and, therefore, unknown, more or less despicable, and even dangerous.¹³

Unable to persuade the federal government to lessen the flow of these 'dangerous' immigrants, the Anglo-Manitoba community focussed its efforts on their assimilation. Reformers, however, were indefinite as to what the final goal of assimilation was - Anglo-conformity or a new type of Canadian identity comprising the best characteristics of all cultural groups. This lack of clarity prompted Sutherland¹⁴ to note that "they projected their fear for the future much more clearly than they did their vision of it." Nevertheless, he concluded that a common ground was a desire for at least behavioral, if not cultural, assimilation.

The tendency of immigrants to settle in communities of their own kind presented a problem to the assimilationist objectives of the charter group. Failing to realize the strengths and benefits such settlements offered their residents, the Anglo-Canadians considered them to be isolated, impervious groups of 'foreigners' who were resisting and rejecting British-Canadian values. In order to prevent the formation of ethnic communities in rural areas the charter group pressured government to adopt a practice of limiting

the size of bloc settlements and dispersing them throughout the settled areas. In urban areas, however, the problem was more complex. The over-crowded, run-down, foreign, ghetto-like settlements in the North End, Point Douglas, and similar areas in other urban centres were considered to be "breeding grounds for filth, immorality and crime".¹⁵ Not surprisingly, established city residents did not wish to have pockets of such depravity scattered amongst themselves; they were content to have the 'foreigners' remain in isolation. The urban solution advocated therefore, was the upgrading and reform of the life styles and character of ghetto residents. To this end, the services of the major Protestant reform institutions - particularly the churches, the charities and the schools - were consequently applied.

Churches and Charities - The Influence of the Social Gospel

By uniting to defeat the French Catholic influence in the province in the 1800's, Manitoba's Protestant groups had gradually assumed control of both political and social institutions - a process which has since been appropriately labelled the Protestant Ascendency¹⁶. The Protestant Churches' combined action had served to lessen denominational lines and to foster the growth of a common Protestant ethic. This common outlook became even more uniform as the churches began examining the radical new philosophies of the Social Gospel which were filtering in from abroad, questioning basic interpretations of the Protestant faiths and introducing the

view that unjust social conditions more than individual weaknesses and shortcomings were responsible for problems experienced by individuals and society. These new views advocated a lessening, or abandonment of the traditional evangelical emphasis on personal salvation and regeneration in favor of a collective attempt at environmental change. By 1902, the Protestant Churches were sufficiently similar that a Church union was proposed. Although the Anglican and Baptist Churches subsequently declined the proposal, the Methodists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians proceeded to work towards the goal of union. Thus, an outward-looking, cooperative spirit prevailed amongst the Protestant Churches as they entered the twentieth century.

The first decade witnessed growing acceptance of the Social Gospel ideals. In general terms, this new movement sought to create the 'Kingdom of Heaven' on earth. More specifically,

It laid heavy emphasis upon the doctrine of love and proclaimed the principle of co-operation as opposed to that of competition. It asserted the brotherhood of man and decried excessive individualism and the adoration of the profit motive in economic life. It placed greater emphasis upon the temporal welfare of individuals and society than upon the salvation of particular immortal souls.¹⁷

As could be expected, ideals which differed so radically from those of the former system were not accepted quickly, nor completely, by all churches. With its strength in Western Canada, the movement gained slow acceptance in the early 1900's and peaked in the years 1918-1920. Although a generalization could be made that the Methodists accepted Social Gospel ideals most quickly and completely, the Anglicans very slowly and to a limited degree,

and the Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Baptists somewhere between, a more accurate assessment would have to acknowledge the tremendous variations within each of the Protestant churches. Salem Bland, a leading Methodist spokesman, noted that the divisions were no longer vertical - between dominations - but were horizontal - between temperaments.¹⁸

As the movement developed and individuals found their place within it, three schools emerged - usually labelled as conservative, progressive and radical. Of these groups, the conservatives remained the closest to traditional evangelicalism, including what Royce referred to as "almost tyrannical Toryism."¹⁹ They emphasized personal-ethical issues. Tending to identify sin and misfortune with personal acts, they supported charitable works amongst the poor and sanctioned legislation intended to improve the environment. The radicals removed themselves furthest from the Churches, replacing traditional church doctrine with a generalized philosophy of co-operation and brotherhood, viewing deviance and misfortune as inherent in an unjust system, and adopting as their strategy political action for the economic and social restructuring of society. Some radicals, like J.S. Woodsworth, William Ivens, William Irvine and A.E. Smith, eventually broke from the church completely to practise a type of nondenominational co-operative Christianity; others, like Salem Bland, remained on the churches' peripheries. The progressives were a broad centre group situated somewhere between these extremes, endorsing a considerable measure of both platforms,

but translating them into a broad ameliorative programme of reform. They sought a perfect society without the presence of crime, poverty and illness and believed it could be attained without making major alterations to the existing social system. What was essentially required, they believed, was faith in the "Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, and a belief in the transforming power of Christian goodwill."²⁰ It was from this group which the majority of charitable and social workers came.

The Protestant Churches (Methodist and Presbyterian in particular) under the influence of the Social Gospel, were amongst the leaders in the attempts to reform and assimilate the immigrant. To convert the 'foreigners' to Protestant faiths and to teach them more acceptable life styles, Protestant missions, the most notable of which was the Methodist All People's Mission, were established in the ethnic sectors. Under their auspices, a wide variety of programmes was offered - religious instruction, recreational facilities, English language classes, kindergartens, health classes, instruction in hygiene and child care, social gatherings, educational instruction, financial relief, etc. The programmes developed the features characteristic of the Social Gospel movement - a desire to reduce the harsh inequities of immigrant life, a genuine concern for the common welfare, a sense of social justice and equality, and a belief in the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon way. Although seemingly contradictory, the concepts of British superiority and equality did not seem to be regarded as such by the Protestant

reformers, rather they were explained by comments like the following - "We may love all men and yet prefer to maintain our own family life."²¹ The contradiction was, however, recognized and resented by the ethnic communities.

Sharing the work in the ethnic communities with the Protestant Churches were numerous public health officers and charitable organizations. In Winnipeg, the Margaret Scott Nursing Mission made valuable contributions in the field of public health - hygiene, infant mortality, preventative medicine, home health care, etc. Although the Mission produced remarkable results²² and encouraged reform-reluctant city councillors to create a city Department of Health, even their work emphasized the teaching of British standards.

Of the numerous charities which developed, many were involved in giving assistance and relief (most often in kind) to needy immigrant families. Concern about inefficiencies and duplications which resulted from the piecemeal services led to the establishment of the Associated Charities Bureau in 1908. Originally established to coordinate the work of all charities within Winnipeg, to investigate their applications for relief, and to disperse relief on their behalf, in 1909 the Bureau also took over the task of investigating applications for the city relief office. Although the Bureau's activities in keeping many families together were widely acknowledged,²³ its workers clearly shared the British nativist view of the immigrant's situation, as is evident in an early report:

If material assistance was all that was needed, if the families seeking it could in all cases be relied upon to use it in such a way that they would quickly become self supporting, the work of this department would be easy. Unfortunately, the large majority of applications for relief are caused by thriftlessness, mismanagement, unemployment due to incompetence, intemperance, immorality, desertion of the family and domestic quarrels. In such cases the mere giving of relief tends rather to induce pauperism than to reduce poverty, and it is upon such cases that the five visiting agents of the department spend most of their time. Relief and adequate relief is nearly always necessary for the sake of the children in this cold climate, but society must make sure that the giving of it does not simply make it easier for the parents to shirk their responsibilities or lead a dissolute life.²⁴

The tendency for these workers to confuse physical and economic problems with questions of morality and assimilation was not unusual for, as Harney and Troper recognized:

They were social workers, not socialists, operating within the context of evangelism and Canadianization, not social reform. They saw the presence of foreigners as a challenge to religious and social normality, just as the inner city itself was.²⁵

But despite antipathy towards and fear of the new immigrants, the charitable workers and new social workers were committed to work amongst them. They were motivated not only by their British nativist desires to mould the foreigners into a more acceptable citizens, but also by the strong sense of brotherhood and community responsibility which was being infused into their work by Social Gospel ideals.

Those immigrants most likely to receive the attention of charitable and public organizations were the children. Not only were children seen to be helpless victims of circumstances and therefore more deserving of assistance, but work with them was apt to be more productive in the long run. Reformation and assimilation of adults

was considered an unlikely prospect; immigrant children were seen to be much more malleable. As the numbers of poor and foreign children grew reformers increased their efforts to work with them - to 'save' both the children and their own society.

The Education System

Many children were undoubtedly experiencing problems in the ethnic communities. Communal life styles which had supported family units in homogeneous agrarian European communities had not been successfully transplanted into the polyglot industrial urban environment. Traditional supports from kinship ties and community networks were broken, and could only be partially reconstructed in the new culturally diverse, often hostile environment. Often, when both parents were working, and older family members or familiar neighbors were not available to supervise youngsters, older children were kept home from school to provide supervision. Other school age children themselves often worked to augment small family incomes.²⁶ As education was not compulsory, numerous other children remained home during the day. In 1910 estimates²⁷ indicated that in Winnipeg alone 8,000 to 10,000 such children were "roaming in the streets." In the eyes of welfare workers this situation posed two problems - children suffering from neglect and lack of adequate supervision, and a potential threat to society from uneducated, undisciplined children. As there were questions about the dubious genetic qualities of many of these children, the situation

was particularly alarming:

We might endure the criminality of the adult immigrants with more composure if we had any assurance that their children would be as orderly as the native born. But we find just the opposite to be the fact. The children of immigrants are, therefore, twice as dangerous as the immigrants themselves.²⁸

Immigrant children became, therefore, the focal point of much welfare work. With reformers sharing attitudes similar to that expressed above, it could not be expected that their efforts would be in the direction of strengthening the ethnic child's bonds with his family or community.

The principal means for dealing with the problems of children and ultimately the whole issue of assimilation, was seen to be the public school. However, with non-compulsory attendance and its many languages of instruction, the Manitoba school system was unable to fulfill this function. In order to train competent teachers in instructing children of the minority groups, German and Ukrainian teachers' training colleges had been established by 1906; however there was concern about both the quality and the low numbers of graduating teachers. The net result was a poorly co-ordinated, sometimes chaotic system of public schools, in many cases a poor quality of education, a lack of Anglo-Canadian input, and haphazard attendance²⁹.

To remedy the school situation reformers continued to call for a system of compulsory, English-only public schools. The strength

with which these reforms were advocated was evident in statements such as the following, made by representatives of the Protestant clergy: "(foreigners are) a menace to the State if they are not educated along our lines. Education should not only be offered them,...but (be) forced upon them."³⁰ The intended concentration on Anglo-Canadian content was emphasized with equal clarity when the public school was described as "the mill that gathers all into its hopper and turns them out with the stamp of the king and the maple leaf."³¹ It was this latter emphasis which was largely responsible for alienating immigrant parents. Realizing that education could benefit both the child and the family, few parents opposed the principle of education; but they did oppose the attempts to use the school system to strip the children of their ethnic identity. For this reason, and because childrens' financial contributions were essential to family well being, there was opposition in ethnic communities to the proposed educational reforms.

Roblin's continued opposition to the reformers demands for compulsory education found favor within ethnic communities. This was not to say that Roblin was sympathetic to their wishes to retain their ethnic identities; on the contrary, he had shown himself to be strongly pro-British. His response was more indicative of his opposition of the high costs of compulsory education and of his desire to maintain the support of ethnic voters. However, in election years Roblin was also mindful of securing reformers votes. This resulted in two pieces of legislation prior to the 1907

provincial election which related directly to the schools issue.

The first was an amendment to the Public Schools Act which required all public schools to fly the Union Jack during school hours.³² Roblin explained this as a patriotic and assimilatory measure:

While we welcome all, our duty to British subjects is to see that the children are taught the principles of the British constitution ... We are here to teach the youth of the country the loyalty due to the flag, that they spring to its defense and maintain it in the front rank of everything that stands for justice and liberty.³³

However, the irony of Union Jacks flying over half-empty schools while thousands of foreign children roamed the streets did not escape the notice of reformers; the measure was viewed as a hollow gesture.

The second piece of legislation, a seemingly more direct approach to the school problem, came in the form of an amendment to the Children's Protection Act.³⁴ This amendment marked the beginning of Roblin's attempts to use the Children's Protection Act to appease reformers' demands for compulsory education. The amendment broadened the definition of a neglected child to include any child:

who frequents or visits any public poolroom or bucket shop, or place where any gambling device is or shall be operated

or is a habitual truant from school or habitually wanders about the streets or public places during school hours, without any lawful occupation

The first section sought to protect children from influences which the reformers felt were evil, and thus was acceptable to their

heightened sense of morality. In fact, reformers directly involved in child-saving work undoubtedly sponsored the measure. The section on truancy, however, did not gain their approval; it was recognized as being of little more use than the new flag legislation. In an editorial, the Manitoba Free Press³⁵ echoed Liberal Party and reform criticisms of the new amendment, declaring that it was not "in any real sense a compulsory education measure." The editorial isolated points of contention: thousands of children were irregular attenders but may not fall under the undefined term "habitually truant"; school age children who worked during school hours were exempt from the new regulations. However another major criticism - that the amendment provided no penalties to parents except the unnecessarily extreme measure of taking the children away - would seem to have been groundless. The Act stated that neglected children, to which category was now added truants, may (not must) be removed from parental care; parents found guilty of neglect through acts of commission or omission were subject to a fine or imprisonment. Therefore it would seem the Act as amended did provide alternative punishment for parents who permitted children to be truant.

Another interesting alteration was made to the Children's Protection Act at this time. The Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children (S.N.C.) was assigned the additional task of

enforcing the provisions of the Act. Although this would seem to be a logical, even necessary, arrangement, it does seem unusual in that there does not appear to have been anyone performing the duties of Superintendent at that time. Following the resignation of J.W. Sifton as Inspector of Public Buildings and S.N.C. in 1900, the position of Inspector was filled briefly by G. Simpson before it was assumed by W. Luxton a former editor of the Manitoba Free Press. However neither man automatically assumed the additional role of S.N.C. After this omission was pointed out to the Premier by the newly formed Brandon Children's Aid Society,³⁶ Luxton was appointed to the position "but owing to lack of funds he was unable to carry out the duties of the office."³⁷ The Conservative election promise of 1899 to curtail government spending appears to have been responsible for the funding cut. Nevertheless, the failure to ensure that the provisions of the Children's Protection Act were fulfilled would seem to indicate that Roblin did not view the work as essential. In view of this, the requirement that the S.N.C. enforce the Act's measures seems rather unusual. While the measure was likely included to assure reformers that truancy matters would be attended to, no immediate appointment of a Superintendent followed. Early in the following year, however, the position was filled on a full-time basis in anticipation of the federal legislation dealing with the treatment of juvenile delinquents.³⁸

The Juvenile Court System and The Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children

In the early 1900s juvenile delinquency was seen to result from several possible factors:

invalid condition of one parent, death of father or mother, mental deficiency of father or mother, poverty, distress with concomitant evils, absence from home or (sic) father, either voluntary or involuntary, divorce, constant quarreling, intemperance, loss of faith on part of parents with its evil effects on the children, laziness, love of pleasure, bad house-keeping, a roomer whose influence over the home is bad, immorality.³⁹

The majority of these factors, with the exception of mental deficiency and to some extent immorality, love of pleasure and laziness,⁴⁰ were related directly to children's environmental surroundings. Reformers, certain that alteration of 'evil' surroundings would greatly reduce juvenile (and eventually adult) crime, were convinced of the necessity of work in this area.

Prior to 1908, Manitoba lacked adequate facilities for dealing with young lawbreakers. The boys' reformatory established in Brandon in 1890 closed shortly thereafter. A second small institution, the Central Judicial District Reformatory, was opened in 1901 in Portage at the request of the Winnipeg Children's Aid Society. Housing the 'better class of prisoners from the district' and 'youthful offenders from the Province generally,' this combination adult gaol-juvenile reformatory operated until 1910, annually admitting from 2 to 36 boys under 18 years of age. Although the institution's first warden sought to offer educational and vocational

training to the boys, over 70% of whom were considered illiterate, his enthusiasm does not appear to have been continued in the largely custodial programmes of subsequent wardens.⁴¹

The alternatives open to police magistrates after children had been convicted of offenses were relatively limited - to incarcerate the children in the common goals, to send them home on a suspended sentence, or to place them in the care of a Children's Aid Society. None of these alternatives proved satisfactory. If sent to jail, children were subject to harsh treatment and placed in the company of adult criminals who could influence them toward more criminal behavior. For lack of other facilities, children as young as five years of age had been imprisoned in Winnipeg gaols.⁴² The alternative of a suspended sentence, on the other hand, didn't provide enough consequence - with no supervision or followup care, children were returned to the environments in which their problems had originated. The third alternative, that of Children's Aid placement also had drawbacks for the Society lacked facilities to care for incorrigible or difficult to manage children. More appropriate solutions such as a well developed reformatory system or children's probation, successfully operating in Ontario, had not been duplicated in Manitoba. Faced with growing rates of juvenile crime and no system to cope effectively with convicted juvenile offenders, reformers welcomed the solutions offered by the federal Juvenile Delinquents Act.⁴³

The intent of the Juvenile Delinquents Act, passed in 1908

after several years of lobbying by Ontario reformers, was to "remove children from general criminal jurisdiction and deal with them on a basis which took into account the diminished sense of responsibility which goes with lack of years and experience."⁴⁴ To that end, section 31 of the Act instructed

That the care and custody and discipline of a juvenile delinquent shall approximate as nearly as may be that which should be given by its parents, and that as far as practicable every juvenile delinquent shall be treated, not as a criminal, but as a misdirected and misguided child, and one needing aid, encouragement, help and assistance.

To remove the stigma attached to criminal behavior, the Act provided that children would not be convicted of committing a crime, rather they would be found to be in a "state of delinquency." The term "delinquency" was defined as an act performed by any girl or boy apparently under the age of 16 years in violation of any federal, provincial or municipal ordinance for which imprisonment or fine may be the punishment, or in violation of any other act for which she or he could be committed to an industrial school or a juvenile reformatory.

To enable the juvenile court to treat the child in the prescribed manner, judges were given new alternatives in the disposition of cases. These included: sine die adjournment of hearings, imposition of fines, committal to the care and custody of a probation officer or other suitable person, allowing a child to remain in his/her own home or a foster home under a probation officer's supervision, committal to the care of a Children's Aid

Society or of the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, or commital to an industrial school, refuge, detention centre or reformatory. As could be expected under the Laurier government, the rights of both Catholics and Protestants were fully recognized. In municipalities where there were both Catholic and Protestant Children's Aid Societies, Catholic children were to be placed in Catholic foster homes or Societies, Protestants were to be placed in Protestant homes or societies. To assist the judge in understanding the circumstances of each case, probation officers could present findings and recommendations gathered in pre-trial investigations. In addition, Juvenile Court Committees, consisting of Children's Aid Society members (or other interested citizens if no Society existed) were provided to confer with probation officers, to advise judges, and to facilitate the reformation of delinquents.

The Act was recognized as a triumph of reform ideals, and with its emphasis on maintaining children in their own homes, a monumental step forward in dealing with problem children. However, before the Act could come into force in any province, it first required that the provincial legislature pass an act proclaiming the establishment of Juvenile Courts and detention homes for children. In early 1909, Manitoba was the first province to do so. In fact, prior to, and in anticipation of the federal act, the Manitoba government had appointed a full time Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children in early 1908. In the fall of 1908, the Juvenile Detention Centre was opened under the direction of Salvation Army

Captain and Mrs. McAmmond, a couple specially chosen and brought in from Montreal. Planning for the Industrial Training School, the final link in the juvenile system, was also underway at an early date. Improved and expanded facilities replaced the Central Judicial District Reformatory in Portage early in 1910.

The eagerness with which the Roblin administration adopted a system of Juvenile Courts was in sharp contrast to its previous attitudes toward reform measures and its restrictions on government spending. The motives behind Roblin's immediate endorsement of such a costly programme which, though popular with reformers, was not amongst their most vociferous demands, are worthy of further investigation.

Roblin may have been influenced by the attitudes of Colin H. Campbell, his Attorney General, and T.M. Daly, influential Police Magistrate for Winnipeg. Campbell, an Ontario born Presbyterian known for his interest in church and social work, was the sponsor of the Manitoba juvenile court legislation which he later regarded as one of the most important milestones in his political career.⁴⁵ Daly, an Ontario born Anglican, later to become the first Judge of the Juvenile Court, was also known for his interest in children. Active in volunteer work with the Salvation Army, the Y.M.C.A. and the Winnipeg Children's Aid Society, Daly was acknowledged to be one of the the motivating forces behind the establishment of the Winnipeg Hospital for Sick Children, an institution providing medical care for children of impoverished parents. In his official capacity as Police Magistrate Daly was constantly frustrated in his

efforts to deal effectively with the children coming before his court. Seeking more constructive alternatives, he had campaigned actively for a juvenile system.

Influenced by the attitudes of Campbell and Daly, Roblin may have supported the juvenile court system on humanitarian grounds alone. However, were this the case, Roblin and Campbell (and it should be noted that Campbell was regarded as a mastermind of and frequent accomplice to much of Roblin's political trickery) were in a position to have previously improved the system of reformatories and initiated a system of juvenile probation officers. Their failure to do so may indicate humanitarian concerns were not the determining factor. A more likely explanation would be that a juvenile court system, as well as appealing to reform sentiments, offered an inviting solution to the problem of truancy. As a children's court would have the time and the facilities to deal with petty offences, charges of truancy could be dealt with more effectively. This hypothesis would appear to be borne out by an examination of the activities of the court's officials throughout the duration of Roblin's term in office.

The first official appointed to the new court system was Felix J. Billiardé⁴⁶, formerly the Superintendent of the Winnipeg Children's Aid Society Children's Shelter. In 1908 Billiardé was given the position of Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, and with the establishment of the Juvenile Court in 1909, the additional position as Chief Probation Officer. As there was

sufficient work in either of these positions to warrant the employment of a full-time officer, the dual appointment limited Billiardé's ability to perform both tasks effectively. The dual appointment had another interesting result in that Billiardé, responsible to the Minister of Public Works as S.N.C., became fully responsible to the Department of the Attorney General when he assumed the role of Probation officer. Although this shift in line responsibility may have been strictly for convenience, it indicated where the primary emphasis of Billiardé's work lay. Although he retained an interest in the Children's Aid Societies, and occasionally gave them advice and support, he appears to have remained relatively aloof from their work in these initial years, concentrating instead on court work and on lending support to various reform causes - with the notable exceptions of compulsory education and prohibition.

Billiardé's annual reports indicate that the work of the court was largely concentrated on children coming from the North End and Point Douglas areas⁴⁷ amongst whom the foreign born were highly represented.⁴⁸ The offenses with which children were charged were varied⁴⁹ but primary among them was truancy - over one-half of the juvenile court cases in Billiardé's first year's work (105 out of 192) involved charges of truancy.⁵⁰ Although the frequency of truancy charges varied somewhat over succeeding years, they remained a substantial proportion of the total. Believing truancy to be a primary cause of all juvenile delinquencies, Billiardé considered his work with truants to be "the most important phase of

the many sided work of this office."⁵¹

To help prevent truancy, and to try to resolve truancy charges out of court, Billiardé devised several programmes. He visited the schools and homes of children who had been reported or found truant; parents and children were advised of the law and threatened with court appearance; posters outlining the law were publicly displayed; schools and charitable workers were advised to report cases early; between the hours of 9:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. paid and voluntary personnel patrolled the streets and haunts favored by truant children. With the aid of such programmes, Billiardé reported that the majority of cases was handled successfully out of court; in those instances where truancy persisted after several warnings, summonses were issued for court appearances. Offending children were usually placed on probation, reporting regularly to their officers. Offending parents were warned or fined. If stronger deterrents were necessary truant children were placed for short periods in the detention centre and daily sent out to school. Only when attendance improved were they allowed to return home. When it became apparent that some cases of truancy would persist, in 1910 Billiardé arranged for a private school to be opened within the detention centre and operated on a year round basis. By 1914 he confidently reported, quoting one of his patrol officers:

"We now have the whip hand over the children inclined to truancy," and I may add, we also have the whip hand over parents who would be inclined to be neglectful of their children's education.⁵²

Such was the involvement of the juvenile court system in school

attendance matters that the Children's Protection Act became known colloquially as the "Truancy Act". Further, after additional truancy related amendments to the Act in 1914, both Billiardé and the Juvenile Court Judge ceased reporting to the Department of the Attorney General. Instead, they began reporting to the Department of Education which assumed all financial and advisory responsibilities. This would seem a most peculiar placement for a judicial body such as the court, but would serve to verify the supposition that Roblin's original interest in the court system was motivated by political rather than humanitarian reasons.

Regardless of Roblin's possible motives Billiardé supported the humanitarian aspects of the court's works, and though not recognized as a leader in child-oriented reform, he did openly support the movement's new philosophies. He constantly emphasized the importance of the child's home and involvement with the parents as prerequisites to effective work with delinquents:

The parents are the vital factors in the home, and when all that has been done or is proposed to be done for the welfare of the child is placed in the balance, the preservation of the home outweighs all the rest. The home is the normal place for the child and, if he be wayward, the proper place for his reform. The problem, in short, is the best method of saving and reforming the home ...⁵³"

Billiardé, like other progressive reformers, interpreted most family difficulties, whether marital, social or economic, as resulting from deficiencies in parental character or inadequacies in parental earning capacities. He therefore failed to advocate programmes which either supported the home or challenged the conditions which weakened it. Instead, his work with families consisted largely of advising, warning, and if necessary punishing neglectful or

careless parents.

The one notable acception which he made, as did other reform advocates, was to the plight of the deserving widow. Billiardé spoke most eloquently on her behalf:

"No principle of work for dependent children is clearer to my mind than that homes ought not to be broken up because of poverty; yet while it is perfectly clear that it is undoubtedly wrong to remove children from a respectable and industrious widow and settle them amongst various foster homes, it seems still a greater wrong to undertake keep mother and children together in such a niggardly way that the mother must supplement the scant help received by sacrificing the time she should be devoting to the care of her children, thus leaving her little or no alternative but to part with her children. It is not enough to give a child sufficient food and clothing: its greatest need is home life, home training and a mother's love."⁵⁴

He therefore joined the ranks of the Mother's Association, the Ministerial Association, the Children's Aid Societies, the Associated Charities and various women's organizations in advocating Mothers' or Widows' Allowances. Although support of such an expensive proposition may have been expected to bring government disapproval, Billiardé's recommendation that municipalities bear the total costs of the programme would seem to have avoided that.

Amongst the other less contentious reforms which Billiardé supported were public playgrounds, vocational training in schools, supervision of newsboys, and censorship of movies. Joining again with the proponents of Mothers' Allowance, Billiardé wrote and

distributed numerous articles on the necessity for and the values of public playgrounds. Their combined efforts were successful; by 1910 Winnipeg City Council began allocating funds for children's playgrounds. He again supported the same reform groups in lobbying for censorship of movies encouraging "unhealthy sensationalism, silly sentimentality and morbid curiosity", and helped secure the first movie censorship legislation in 1911.⁵⁵ Billiardé's advocacy of vocational training in schools stemmed from his belief that a future of poverty, unemployment and crime awaited unskilled youth. With his support, the Industrial School at Portage was encouraged to offer trades training to its male inmates.

The licensing and supervision of newsboys was a time consuming task which Billiardé enthusiastically accepted. The selling of newspapers, a popular job amongst young boys from lower class families, was criticized as being a dead-end job which encouraged truancy and introduced young boys to improper or evil influences. To regulate the ages of and hours worked by these boys, the government, in 1910 amended the Children's Protection Act to include under the category of "neglected", those children under 12 years of age hawking or selling articles at any time, children between 12 and 16 hawking without a license during school hours, and any children selling goods after 9:00 p.m.⁵⁶ To obtain a seller's licence Billiardé insisted that boys attend school regularly, receive good reports from teachers, and show some indication of financial need in

their families. Through strict issuance of licenses and supervision by his street patrolers Billiardé was to boast that Winnipeg had the "brightest, sharpest and cleanest set of newsboys to be found in any city of this size in Canada or the United States."⁵⁷ Street patrollers, too, were given the authority to search children thought to be in possession of immoral pictures or written material, another category of children now defined as neglected in compliance with the reformers' concern for purity and morality.

Already heavily overburdened, Billiardé was given additional responsibilities in his capacity as Superintendent by the 1910 amendments to the Children's Protection Act. He was to advise Children's Aid Societies and instruct them as to the manner in which their duties were to be performed, to enforce and arrange for the proper carrying out of the Children's Immigration Act, and to place immigrant children in suitable foster homes or institutions. His reports give no evidence as to the nature of his involvement in the latter two capacities, though he did visit England in 1910 in relation to his work with immigrant children. As his time was already heavily over-taxed it is likely he placed these children immediately into the existing children's institutions. The added responsibility of instructing and advising the Children's Aid Societies did, however, require time and attention. To facilitate Billiardé's increased involvement with the C.A.S. and his new appointment as part-time judge of the Juvenile Court, his staff was increased in 1910 to include a chief probation officer, and again in 1911 to create the position of Foster Home Inspector.

Prior to 1910, Billiardé's work in child protection had been largely limited to supplying services to those geographic areas, which did not have the services of an organized Children's Aid Society. When complaints were received from any of these areas, Billiardé would arrange for local citizens to investigate and, if necessary, to apprehend the children involved. The children were immediately transported to Winnipeg or St. Boniface and placed in existing children's institutions. If the province was awarded wardship of the children, the children were left in the care of the institutions which were then expected to plan and care for the provincial wards as they would their own.

However, the additional responsibilities of 1910, required that Billiardé become more involved with the Children's Aid Societies. Moreover, the nature of his relationship with the Societies was also changed by the Act. He was now required to "advise and instruct" the Societies, thereby instituting some measure of provincial control over their activities. As well as responding to requests for advice on procedures, he mediated disputes between the various children's organizations (particularly the Winnipeg C.A.S. and the new Roman Catholic C.A.S. in St. Boniface.) In establishing procedures, Billiardé relied heavily on the advice of the Attorney General, the Juvenile Court Judge, and the Winnipeg Children's Aid Society. As the largest, oldest, best organized, and most influential Society, the Winnipeg C.A.S. had established routines which were accepted by Billiardé as standard procedures. Although the

history and sophistication of the Winnipeg Society made acceptance of their procedures logical, it is likely Billiardé's earlier position as Superintendent of their Children's Shelter (1902-1908) fostered many loyalties to the agency and to its directors. His relationship with the Winnipeg Society was always good, though it was occasionally strained with the newer Societies - particularly the Roman Catholic C.A.S. in St. Boniface. Nevertheless, Billiardé attempted to be fair in his treatment of all the Children's Aid Societies as he assumed his new responsibilities over their activities.

Billiardé's responsibilities under the Children's Protection Act were again increased in 1912.⁵⁸ His supervisory authority over children's organizations was expanded to include, as well as Children's Aid Societies, incorporated homes for boys or girls orphans' homes or asylums, and children's and infants' homes. This amendment, along with one which prevented parents from surrendering custody of children to any of the foregoing institutions without the consent of the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, was intended to regulate the quality of care given to children and to eliminate such practices as "baby farming".⁵⁹ Billiardé's statement that such places had been "nipped in the bud"⁶⁰ by this legislation would appear to have been true for baby farms did not develop in Manitoba as they had done in Ontario.

Although control over disreputable organizations was favoured by all legitimate agencies, all were not equally pleased with the

section of the same amendment which required all Societies and organizations placing children to report twice annually to the S.N.C., supplying information on all children in their care - names, ages, conditions of placement or adoption, name of persons placing and receiving the children, steps taken for inspection and approval of foster homes prior to placement, extent of the follow-up visits and inspections, and copies of reports on children's progress supplied by foster parent. To date, record-keeping systems of some organizations was almost non-existent, so that the whereabouts, and even the names, of some children in care was unknown. Though the resulting confusion needed remedying even to satisfy local conditions, it created problems interprovincially as well. Complaints from the other western provinces that difficulties were arising from the injudicious placement of Winnipeg children within their boundaries appears to have been a motivating factor behind the new legislation.⁶¹

Although the child caring organizations attempted to comply with the Act's new requirements, to do so was not an easy matter. Some organizations, such as the Winnipeg C.A.S. and the Children's Home had paid staff and relatively good recording systems; others, like the Roman Catholic C.A.S. in St. Boniface, were woefully lacking. No organization had devised a good system of placement reports - placements were almost always rural and too distant to visit. Although foster parents were obliged to send in written reports twice annually, many failed to do so, and there was no means

of assuring the accuracy and honesty of those who did. As the provincial Foster Home Inspector could not possibly visit every placement made, agencies were severely limited in their abilities to comply with this new regulation. The reports which Billiardé received, therefore, were usually late and incomplete. Billiardé's early efforts to obtain accurate and complete information frequently resulted in strained relationships with the institutions, particularly those with few staff and poor organization.

Children's Aid Societies

Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg

Despite its brief existence, the Winnipeg C.A.S. was securely established and relatively influential as it entered the twentieth century. The goals and philosophies of the agency continued to be those of its founding years—the preservation of social order and the protection, salvation and reformation of children - if possible through the improvement of the home, if necessary by the removal of children to more suitable environments.

With their British nativist and progressive Social Gospel backgrounds, the Children's Aid workers stressed the necessity of improving the home environments of children at risk.⁶² Believing social, marital and economic problems within families to most often result from "unnatural and debased moral conditions" and personal inadequacies of parents, the new social workers sought to induce

parents to reform their own behavior and accept responsibility for improved care of their children. The most common method which workers employed to alter unhealthy home conditions was to admonish or threaten parents. In general, they felt relatively confident of and successful in their efforts as shown in the following statement:

Many a drunken father has gone to work to provide for his children rather than go to jail for neglecting them; and many a dirty, thriftless mother has started to cleanse her family when she has realized that failure to do this was something "in a manner likely to cause unnecessary suffering."

When neither drink nor dirt were the contributing factors the same health fear of consequences has been known to stay the hand of the brutal, and has secured immunity from the neglectful indifference of the selfish.⁶³

Few other methods of working with families were known and training centres for those who joined the ranks of the new social workers were far from Winnipeg. Therefore, the main qualifications of the workers was zeal, discretion and goodwill, though they were also instructed and trained in the principles, duties and methods of the society.⁶⁴ Performing these tasks and providing stability, leadership and organizational effectiveness was W.A. Weston, employed in 1909 as the Society's first full time Secretary. Although there is no indication of formal social work training in his background, Weston, an Anglican who immigrated directly from England, assumed the role of directing and administering the affairs of the Society - a task he performed with acknowledged ability into the 1930's.

The great majority of the Society's work was with families and

children living in the North End and Point Douglas areas. In her study of the Winnipeg C.A.S. in its early years, Wade described the location of the Society's work:

There is a great concentration about the C.P.R. tracks, extending south to Chinatown and the wholesale district from Princess Street west to Sherbrook Street and south to Portage Avenue, the newer business section. South of Portage Avenue is the rooming-house district, and here we find many cases between Main Street, the old business street, and Kennedy Street.

Above the C.P.R. tracks in St. Johns, better known as the North End, we find mostly foreign families. Here the disrupting cause is more often that of extreme poverty than actual out and out neglect. (Until) 1917 most of the foreign cases were confined to this area, but there has been a gradual moving south and now we find foreign problems scattered throughout the whole area in transition. Just below the C.P.R. tracks the problem seems to be more that of immorality, and this is true too of Point Douglas, a little east, which is the red light area.⁶⁵

Coming from the residential areas of poor English and foreign immigrants, children taken into the care of the Winnipeg C.A.S. represented a remarkable mixture of nationalities and religions.⁶⁶ The major reasons given for the children's admissions to care remained relatively constant throughout the period - parental intemperance, immorality, desertion.⁶⁷ However admissions for parental neglect, illness and destitution increased throughout the 1900-1915 period. This may have represented changes in recording which were reflective of social workers' changing perceptions of family problems but also may have indicated increased hardships among the growing immigrant population.

Although situations existed, particularly amongst widows, widowers, and unmarried mothers, where parents sought temporary care or assistance, the Children's Aid Society was reluctant to

offer this type of service. Believing its function to be that of protecting and providing for illtreated, dependent or neglected children, and cautious of freeing irresponsible parents from obligations, the Winnipeg Agency investigated these cases, referring some to municipal or charitable relief organizations and seeking wardship over others considered to be more serious. However, to assist financially-troubled families, the agency actively supported, and was influential in obtaining, reform measures designed to help needy but deserving parents. In particular, it supported the Married Women's Protection Act⁶⁸ which ordered deserting husbands to pay maintenance to deserving wives or face imprisonment with hard labour. It also favored the Wives' and Children's Maintenance Act⁶⁹ which enabled any charitable organization acting on the mother's or its own behalf to petition deserting fathers for support or to sue them for non-support. Not only did this latter measure offer help to deserted mothers caring for children, but it also assisted the organizations, themselves, in obtaining funds for the care of children in their custody, although how often or how successfully the Society used it is unknown. For those women such as widows, or women whose husbands were confined to prisons or asylums, the agency lent strong support to the call for Mothers' Allowances.

Even the deserving, though unmarried mother would have benefitted from the Society's support of the Illegitimate Children's Act.⁷⁰ Always representing a large proportion of children cared for, the numbers of illegitimate children in care increased with an

amendment to the Children's Protection Act in 1910 which designated as neglected illegitimate children living with mothers who were unable to support them or who were leading an immoral life. Under the terms of the Illegitimate Children's Act however, the financial position of unmarried mothers was strengthened for they were given the right to sue for support from putative fathers. Although it is unlikely that the amount of support collected from putative fathers was sufficient to keep many infants out of care, the measure when successful, enabled mothers to contribute more towards the care of their children. It also established the requirement that the putative father accept some responsibility for the child's care, a responsibility which had previously been borne solely by the mother.

As the agency was reluctant to accept voluntary admissions, children were rarely admitted to care without court orders.⁷¹ In instances where requests for admission had been received, investigations were undertaken; court action followed if the severity of the situation warranted and if warnings and threats failed to bring about improvements. The Society's rationale for insisting on court admissions would seem to have been threefold - court procedures discouraged parents from too readily seeking to avoid their responsibilities; confusion as to whether the Society or the parents were the children's legal guardians was avoided; and only on court admissions could municipalities be held responsible for contributing maintenance payments. Thus, virtually all children in the Society's care were wards over whom it had complete and

undisputed guardianship. As there were at this time no temporary orders, the Children's Aid Society then assumed the responsibility of planning for the children to the age of majority (21 years).

Although it had what amounted to permanent wardship over all its wards, the C.A.S. realized that not all would require its services until they reached the age of majority, and thus it developed plans for both temporary and permanent placements. If it appeared that a family's situation might improve sufficiently to return their children to their care, temporary placements were arranged for the children in the interim. If children had been orphaned or deserted, or their home conditions were felt to be beyond redress, permanent placements were sought. Generally stated, the society's policy was to use institutions as temporary placements and foster homes for permanent placements. In practice, however, the intervening variables of age, behaviour, religions, economic conditions, and the society's resources greatly influenced placement patterns.⁷²

The philosophy of the original Children's Protection Act supported the concept of using foster home placements for children who had no family to return to. The foster home of the early 1900's was, in fact, a near equivalent of a present day adoptive home. Children were placed on "the indenture of adoption" with suitable families who had applied to adopt. While the new parents were given custody of the child and assumed the full responsibility for its care, they did not become its legal guardians, for there was no

"absolute" adoption. The Society remained the child's legal guardian and thus technically maintained final authority. The adoption indenture was subject to conditions set out by the Society - that the child be treated "as a member of the family," taught habits of truthfulness, cleanliness and industry, and sent to school for the period required by law. In addition, the foster parents agreed to write to the Society twice annually to report the child's progress. If the Society felt the foster parents were not providing adequate care, they had the right to withdraw the child from the home. However, as the foster parents were not the legal guardians, they were able to return the child to the Society at any time after giving two weeks notice of their intentions.

Lacking workers to visit foster homes, the Society was unable to monitor its placements with the result that many unsatisfactory placements persisted. Although the situation was somewhat alleviated in 1911 with the appointment of a Provincial Inspector of Foster Homes, due to the large numbers of placements, the distances involved and the limitations of travel, a great many homes were never inspected.⁷³ The most frequently reported violations of the adoption agreements were the failure of parents to submit reports, and the failure to send children to school. The latter oversight was most frequent amongst foster parents of older wards who were being kept out of school to work.

The children most requested for adoption were those under four years of age, and those over ten. The apparent explanation for this

is that very young children were requested by individuals sincerely wanting to raise them as part of their families; older children were sought after for the work they could perform. In fact, older children in permanent care could be, and often were, placed with families in "work situations" under similar conditions to those of the adoption agreement. However, as families were required to provide care for these children and to pay them (or the Society on their behalf) for their services, it was cheaper to adopt them. This did not necessarily mean the children were poorly treated, but it did increase the likelihood that many "adopted" children were not truly considered to be "members of the family" as stipulated in the adoptive agreement. The care of large numbers of children, particularly those between the ages of four and ten, who were eligible for but not sought after for permanent foster placement, presented problems for the Society. As the system of boarding-out homes had been rejected for fear it would undermine the use of free foster homes and work situations, no alternative was seen but to place these children in institutions along with those children placed for temporary periods.

The selection of appropriate institutions for children depended upon the child's age, behavior and religion as well as the Society's ability to pay and the availability of space. Placements for infants were particularly difficult as most institutions were reluctant to take them due to lack of facilities and high infant mortality rates.⁷⁴ Protestant children remained in the Children's

Aid Shelter or were placed in Protestant institutions, usually the Children's Home. Catholic children remained in the Shelter or were transferred to Catholic institutions. Boys whose behavior was not easily managed were sent to the provincial Detention Home or Industrial School; girls were placed in the Detention Home or sent to private institutions which cared for way ward girls - usually the Salvation Army Home, the Home of the Friendless, or the Home of the Good Shepherd. All receiving institutions with the exception of the Detention Home and the Industrial School which, as correctional institutions were financed by the provincial government, sought remuneration on a per diem basis. Nevertheless, not all were eligible for payment. The Roman Catholic institutions, through the indenture system and an amendment to the Children's Protection Act, (to be discussed later) were themselves responsible for maintenance of children they received from the Winnipeg C.A.S. - a situation which produced both tensions and hardships. Other institutions were often required to accept less than the stated per diem for shortage of funds was a common occurrence.

Throughout the 1900-1915 period, funding presented a problem for the Winnipeg Society.⁷⁵ As Primarily a benevolent organization, the C.A.S. was expected to receive most of its funds from private sources - donations, bequests, fund-raising affairs, contributions from parents etc. While these sources did fund the largest portion of the Society's expenditures, they were not adequate to enable the Society services to keep pace with the

growing community needs. The provision in the Act that municipalities contribute \$1.00 weekly for the support of each child in care from their region had never been enforced. Instead, most smaller municipalities volunteered annual grants of from \$10.00 to \$50.00, sums which rarely met the actual costs of any children in care. Of any that did pay the per diem, the Act required that they pay only for those girls and boys under the ages of 12 and 14 respectively, yet the Society was required to pay institutions for the care of all resident children up to the age of 21 years. The city of Winnipeg acknowledged its greater responsibilities, but it too paid on a grant basis. Although the city's grants gradually increased throughout the period they were in no way tied to the number or the costs of Winnipeg children in care. Under the terms of the Act, the Provincial government was not required to contribute to the support of the children in care. However it did have a responsibility for children from unorganized areas who had been made wards of the S.N.C. but whom he had placed with the Society. The Province did not assume the costs for the care of these children; instead its annual grant was viewed as its contributions to the Society's work and the Society was left to collect whatever support the relevant municipalities would offer. Therefore, the overall funding situation, which could best be described as haphazard, created numerous problems for the Society - it could not meet all its debts on time; its Shelter facilities were inadequate for the growing numbers of children; it could not hire enough staff to

investigate complaints, to work with the families of children in care, or to supervise children in their own or foster homes.

The Children's Aid Society of St. Adelard

The St. Adelard Society was founded in 1905 to protect and provide for neglected, abandoned, ill-treated or dependent children of the Roman Catholic faith. Although located in the Archdiocese of St. Boniface, the Society offered care to all Roman Catholic children within the province. Citizens of the Catholic community had become aware that Catholic children in the care of the Winnipeg Society were being placed in Protestant homes and raised in Protestant religions:

Dans l'origine cette Société (Winnipeg C.A.S. pouvait être considérée jusqu'à un certain point comme neutre parcequ'elle (sic) était la seule dans la province, mais plus tard on s'aperçut que cet état de neutralité entraînait des abus (au détriment des catholiques, va sans dire)...⁷⁶

The Society was founded, therefore, to provide these children, as far as possible, with Catholic homes or, failing that, with care in Catholic institutions. The children, though all Catholics, were not necessarily of French origin; a great number were immigrants from Ireland and Central Europe - Poland, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania. In fact, these children formed such a large proportion of those coming into care that at one time the St. Adelard Society considered founding separate Society to work exclusively with Slavic children.⁷⁷ However, no division along these lines was pursued.

In terms of services offered, the St. Adelard Society offered almost exclusively child care services; few protection services were offered even though the Children's Protection Act gave the Society both the authority and the responsibility to do so. The provision of such minimal service resulted from a chronic shortage of funds which left the Society able to employ a Secretary on a part time basis only. The scant protection services available were limited to Catholic children living in St. Boniface. Complaints pertaining to such situations were brought before specially called Board meetings where decisions were rendered. Children who were apprehended were placed temporarily in Roman Catholic institutions, usually the Tache Orphanage, for the Society did not have its own Shelter. These children, along with others coming from outside the St. Boniface area, were then intended to be placed in a manner similar to that of the Winnipeg agency - i.e. foster homes for permanent placements, institutions for temporary ones. However, owing to a shortage of applications to adopt Catholic children and lack of staff to monitor or even maintain contact with children's natural families, the majority of children remained in the various Catholic institutions.⁷⁸

The procedure which the Society followed prior to 1910 for assuming custody of Catholic children who had been placed in the care of the Winnipeg agency was very informal. Upon hearing of the existence of such children, the St. Adelard C.A.S. would apply to the Winnipeg Society to have the children placed with them on a

contract of indenture in which the St. Adelard Society agreed to accept the responsibility for the support maintenance and education of the children and to assume the duties of parents toward them. Such indentures did secure the custody of the children for the St. Adelard Society but they also required that the Society assume full financial responsibility for the children. Although the Society sought support from both the Winnipeg agency and the Winnipeg City Council, neither would pay because technically they were not required to do so. As the children were, in effect, being adopted by the St. Adelard Society it had become a "free" home, a placement for which the Winnipeg C.A.S. was not required to pay support. And, under the terms of the Children's Protection Act, municipalities was not required to contribute towards the maintenance of children in "free homes". Thus the St. Adelard Society became burdened with the costs of children from Winnipeg and the unorganized territories whose care had been transferred from the Winnipeg Society.

The Society's predicament was not immediately eased by a 1910 amendment to the Children's Protection Act which, on first glance, may have been thought to be to its advantage. The amendment,⁷⁹ in fact, supported the conflicting interests of both the Winnipeg and St. Adelard Societies - not an unusual tactic for Roblin at election time. Introduced verbatim to the Children's Protection Act was section 19 of the 1908 Juvenile Delinquent Act respecting the rights of both Catholics and Protestants to have their children

raised in their own faith:

No Protestant child dealt with under this Act shall be committed to the care of any Roman Catholic children's aid society or be placed in any Roman Catholic family as its foster home; nor shall any Roman Catholic child dealt with under this Act be committed to the care of any Protestant children's aid society or be placed in any Protestant family as its foster home; but this section shall not apply to the placing of children in a temporary home or shelter for children established under the authority of a statute of the Province, or, in a municipality where there is but one children's aid society, to such children's aid society. If a Protestant child is committed to the care of a Roman Catholic children's aid society or placed in a Roman Catholic family as its foster home, or if a Roman Catholic child is committed to the care of a Protestant children's aid society or placed in a Protestant family as its foster home, contrary to the provisions of this section, the judge may, on the application of any person in that behalf, make an order providing for the proper commitment or placing of the child pursuant to this section.

The amended legislation, however, continued on to add a section not included in the federal legislation:

provided nevertheless that no such children's aid society shall detain any child in its temporary home or shelter, in the case of a child whose religious denomination is known, when an institution of the same denomination offers to assume the care and charge of the said child pending a suitable foster home being found.

Thus, though the amendment recognized the St. Adelard Society's right to care for Catholic children, it contained conditions which left the St. Adelard Society in somewhat the same position it was in prior to 1910 - i.e. the Catholic children coming before the Winnipeg Courts need not be entrusted to the care of the St. Adelard Society for, in fact, the Winnipeg Society was the only C.A.S. within the city's boundaries; and only if the St. Adelard Society

assumed 'care and charge' of the children placed with the Winnipeg C.A.S. would it be able to assume custody of the children. Technically, therefore, while the amendment respected the rights of the Catholic community, it supported the position of the Winnipeg C.A.S. and the Winnipeg City Council.

Billiardé's interpretation of the amendment, however, would seem to imply that its intent was, in fact to give additional support to the St. Adelard Society and to entrust more Catholic children to its care. He advised judges to commit Protestant children to the Winnipeg C.A.S. and Catholic children to the St. Adelard Society - a practice which was observed, though somewhat irregularly and with considerable conflict until 1916. This interpretation did allow some relief to the St. Adelard society for it enabled the Society to seek maintenance payments directly from the rural municipalities involved. The amendment's loop-holes, however, enabled the Winnipeg City Council to continue to refuse to pay maintenance to the St. Adelard Society because Winnipeg Catholic children could still technically be committed to the Winnipeg C.A.S., the only Society within the city's boundaries, unless the St. Adelard Society agreed to assume the costs of the children's care.

The Winnipeg C.A.S., unhappy with Billiardé's interpretation, challenged it, declaring that the Society was not a Protestant agency but a non-denominational one, and therefore eligible to care for children of all denominations. To support their claim, they added four Catholics to their Foster Home committee⁸⁰, publicly

denounced the actions of Billiardé and the Juvenile Court judges, and issued a proclamation declaring "the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg to be an undenominational organization, in no way connected with, or governed by, or responsible to, any religious body of any sect or denomination.⁸¹"

Billiardé, unwilling to decide which position to support, advised the two Societies to work together to find an acceptable solution. Unable to reach a working agreement with the Winnipeg C.A.S., the St. Adelard Society reaffirmed its previous position - "Dans ces sortes de choses il n'y a pas de neutralite."⁸² The St. Adelard Society began attempts to establish a Roman Catholic Children's Aid Society in Winnipeg.

Despite his attempts to avoid involvement in the dispute between the Winnipeg and St. Adelard Societies, Billiardé could not completely avoid conflict with the Catholic Society. The requirements of foster home inspection and record keeping both proved contentious. The appointment of a provincial Inspector of Foster Homes has been made to assure the government, the agencies and the children that adequate care was being provided in foster homes. Although the St. Adelard Society was greatly in need of such a service, it refused to use the services of the individual hired as Inspector. The man in question was D.S. Hamilton, a popular Congregational Church Minister well known in reform circles for his active support of prohibition and women's suffrage. As a Protestant, he was unacceptable to the St. Adelard Society. Forced,

with neither funds nor staff, to provide an alternative method of inspecting their foster homes, the Society arranged that parish priests nearest the foster homes would visit the homes and report their findings.⁸³ Although this plan achieved some success, it did not completely satisfy Billiardé for many problems continued - some homes were not visited, reports were incomplete or submitted irregularly.

The entire issue of record-keeping was a major problem for the St. Adelard C.A.S. The Society's part-time General Secretary, T. Bertrand, owned a small business, and thus had only limited time to spend on Society affairs. As a result, the agency's record-keeping system was almost non-existent - a situation which posed no major problems until an amendment to the Children's Protection Act in 1912 required that reports on each child in care be submitted twice annually to the office of the Superintendent. With children scattered throughout numerous institutions, each of which had different systems of record keeping, the task of instituting a system of standardized and regular reports was overwhelming, especially for a part-time employee. Constant friction developed between Billiardé and Bertrand as Billiardé demanded reports which Bertrand simply lacked the time and resources to compile. The problem's solution - more paid staff - was not forthcoming for the Society suffered serious financial problems.

From its inception the St. Adelard Society had been regarded as a private, sectarian charity. It lacked the public appeal of the

Winnipeg Society. Voluntary donations were usually given to the church or to the established charitable institutions. The St. Adelard Society, lacking its own Children's Shelter had limited appeal to private donors. Nor could it rely upon support from the Province or municipalities. The \$250 Provincial grant, started in 1909, was not increased until 1914, when it was doubled to \$500, a figure which was still far short of what was required for the support of provincial wards for whom the Society cared. Support from municipalities was also insufficient. Winnipeg city council refused to pay; other municipalities even though they may have had children in care of the St. Adelard Society, were contributing small annual grants to the Winnipeg C.A.S. and did not feel they should have to support two Societies. Nevertheless, some municipalities, notably those with relatively large French Catholic populations, did contribute support. Rarely, however, did they pay the \$1.00 per week established in the Children's Protection Act; most contributed small annual grants; others settled with the Society for lesser amounts than those due. But the persistent efforts of the Society did seem to succeed to some extent for their total receipts increased from \$110 in 1905 to \$690 in 1910 to \$3,400 in 1915.⁸⁴ However, in spite of the increases, the Society's income continued to fall below its expenses. As a result, it was unable to hire full time staff, to fully reimburse institutions for the care of its children, or to expand the limited services it offered its clientele.

The Hebrew Children's Aid Society

As in the founding of the St. Adelard C.A.S., religion played the major factor in the establishment of Jewish child-caring agencies. Becoming aware of increasing numbers of their children being cared for by non-Jewish organizations, members of the Jewish community felt the need for their own children's institution. The causes for concern were outlined in a petition circulated in 1912 by Mr. R. Robinson, a respected Jewish businessman:

Whereas it has been brought to our notice that there exists great distress in our Jewish midst among widows and orphans ... And whereas it has been brought to our attention that Jewish mothers through necessity have been compelled to hand their suffering orphans over to the Roman Catholic Institutions at St. Boniface and also to the Children's Aid Society of Mayfair Ave. (Winnipeg C.A.S.)

We therefore, have decided meanwhile to rent a large home in North Winnipeg and to secure several widows who are left with large families, to act as housekeepers to manage the said house and to at once start an Orphans Home.⁸⁵

In spite of community enthusiasm, philosophical differences arose which divided opinion and delayed the opening of the orphanage. Problems arose around Mr. Robinson's desire to name the orphanage after his deceased mother, Esther, and the Hebrew Ladies' Orphans' Home Association's determination that the orphanage's name should reflect a community orientation and thus not refer to any private individual. Unable to resolve their differences, Mr. Robinson and the Ladies' Association each collected supporters and established their own institutions. Work amongst Jewish children therefore began in an atmosphere of conflict as each orphanage sought to gain the support of and donations from members of the Jewish communities.

The Esther Robinson Orphanage was the first of the two institutions to be established. Although Mr. Robinson had indicated no desire to create an institution other than an orphanage "either through overzealousness, or through some misrepresentation of the Laws of the Province,"⁸⁶ the institution, when incorporated in 1913, became known as the Esther Robinson Orphanage and Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg.

The existence of the new organization immediately provoked a reaction from the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg. Believing that the terms of the Children's Protection Act provided for only one Children's Aid Society to be established in any municipality, W.A. Weston, General Secretary of the Winnipeg Society questioned the legality of the new Society and expressed concern over the confusion caused by a second "Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg"⁸⁷. Weston was advised that the new Society was acceptable under the terms of the Act, but his objection to the name of the Society was upheld, for shortly thereafter the Society became known as the Esther Robinson Orphanage and Children's Aid Society of Western Canada.

From its inception, the Society accepted as residents not only Jewish children from Manitoba, but from Western Ontario as well as the three western provinces. Although the new name given the agency would seem to sanction this activity, it was clearly outside the powers of the provincial government to grant the agency authority to operate outside Manitoba's boundaries. It is unlikely that the government intended to do so. It is also unlikely that the Society

attempted to use the powers granted it outside the province for it functioned almost totally in its capacity as an orphanage. Nevertheless, the presence of out-of-province children could have raised problems. As a matter of policy these children were admitted to the orphanage only after parents had signed forms either granting the agency full legal guardianship of the children or agreeing to pay for the children's maintenance; such agreements were legal as private contracts with the orphanage. However, the society could have no guardianship over out-of-province children who were admitted as orphans or who may have been placed with the society under its child - protection powers. Nor could the Society seek maintenance orders from the municipalities from which the children came.

Having neither the staff nor the facilities to undertake all of the duties assigned under the Children's Protection Act, the Esther Robinson Society, like that of St. Adelard, functioned primarily in a child care capacity. It may have received and investigated a limited number of complaints regarding Jewish families, but the situations of the majority of children placed in its care by the courts had been investigated by either the office of the S.N.C. or the Winnipeg Children's Aid Society. Some of the children admitted on a permanent basis were placed in foster homes, but the majority remained in the orphanage. This may have reflected a lack of suitable applicants for adoption, but it also may have resulted from paradoxical objectives of the Society's Children's Aid functions versus those of the orphanage - i.e. the function of the C.A.S. to place children in private homes versus the function of the orphanage

to raise them within the institution.

Even with its confusing legal status and philosophical conflicts, many of the problems of the Esther Robinson Society resulted from lack of funds. Undoubtedly the Society's inability to seek maintenance payments for the relatively large-numbers of out-of-province children exacerbated financial difficulties. A \$500 grant from the Province in 1915 may have provided some relief but the Society shared the problems of other agencies in obtaining support from local municipalities. Public support in the form of voluntary donations was also problematic for the Society had to compete for resources with the rival orphanage, the Canadian Jewish Orphans' Home.

In opposition to the Esther Robinson Orphanage, the Canadian Jewish Orphans' Home had been established in 1913. Its Board of Directors however, were given no child protection responsibilities and concentrated therefore, strictly on running an orphanage. Viewed as more of a community organization than its rival, the Canadian Jewish Orphans' Home was more successful in soliciting support. Although efforts had been made to amalgamate the two organizations, they were unsuccessful at this early date. Thus, by 1915, an atmosphere of conflict prevailed in the Jewish community regarding the provision of care for neglected and dependent children.

The Children's Aid Society of Brandon

Founded in 1898 with encouragement from J.W. Sifton, the province's

first Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, the Brandon Children's Aid Society clearly reflected the conservative but humanitarian concerns of the early Social Gospel. Its objectives, as set forth in its constitution were:

to protect children from cruelty, to care for and protect neglected, abandoned or orphaned children, to provide such children as may be lawfully committed or entrusted to the Society with suitable homes in private families, and to watch over and guard their interests and promote their happiness and well-being, to secure the enforcement of laws relating to neglected and dependent children or juvenile offenders; and to take the part of a friend towards any child accused of offenses against the laws of the Province or the Dominion; to provide free summer excursions, temporary residence in the country, or other means for benefitting poor children; and generally to advocate the claims of neglected, abandoned or orphaned children upon the sympathy and support of the public.⁸⁸

Although the Society did perform some of its intended services, its own irregular existence prevented any consistent efforts. After early enthusiasm, the Society's activities dwindled until they ceased altogether in 1903. Reestablished in 1912, it functioned for little more than a year before its work again lapsed, not to be rejuvenated until 1916. The causes of its erratic existence would appear to have been several - lack of commitment, few cases of blatant abuse or neglect, refusal of voluntary surrenders, and lack of funds and facilities.

Brandon was basically a rural centre⁸⁹, and unlike Winnipeg, did not suffer serious problems related to industrial growth or waves of foreign immigrants. Therefore, as there tended to be fewer and somewhat less alarming incidents of neglect, dependency or abuse, the perceived need for services was not as strong. The few cases which did require attention were not sufficiently frequent to warrant a full-time organization. In instances of poverty and other hardships which were brought before the Society's Board by parents

seeking temporary care for their children, no services were offered; the Board interpreted these as falling outside its jurisdiction.

In view of the Society's belief that only protective, and not supportive work was authorized by the Children's Protection Act, its support of summer camp and rural holidays appears somewhat unusual. However these programmes were highly favored by charitable groups for the benefits afforded poor children and mothers from fresh air, good food, rest and recreation.⁹⁰ Inclusion of these programmes with the others outlined in the Society's constitution would seem to reflect the charitable though condescending attitudes of British nativism. The backgrounds of the Society's founding members, judging from their surnames, were primarily members of the dominant Anglo-Saxon Protestant group.⁹¹

Difficulty in securing adequate and regular funding discouraged the Society from undertaking many activities. Receiving no grants from the Province, and being assured of reimbursement for only "legitimate" (undefined) expenses by the Brandon city council, the Society had no regular source of funding on which to rely. Income from private donations was meager for there was little perceived need for services. Shortage of funds resulted in the adoption of special procedures by the Society. Instead of being performed by voluntary or paid staff, investigations were carried out by the local Chief of Police. Apprehended children were either placed directly into the homes of adoptive parents or were transported directly to the Winnipeg C.A.S. Shelter where the Winnipeg Society assumed legal guardianship.

The Children's Aid Society of Dauphin

The Dauphin Society was the last of the Children's Aid Societies founded during the Roblin administration.⁹² Founded in May of 1914, the work of the Society was only briefly underway before the close of the 1900-1915 period.

Under the leadership of a Board which, like that of Brandon, appeared to be dominated by members of the dominant Manitoba Anglo-Protestant group,⁹³ the Society sought to protect and care for neglected ill-treated, deserted, orphaned and otherwise dependent children. However lacking funds and its own shelter facilities in its earliest days, the Society found it necessary to forego many of its objectives. Like the Brandon Society, it developed the practice of placing apprehended children immediately into awaiting foster homes or transporting them to the Winnipeg Shelter. But, unlike Brandon Society, its activities did not stop there. In fact, because they lacked a children's shelter, the Dauphin Society members worked even harder in the community. They directed their efforts towards the poor and the destitute, providing financial and material support in order to help keep children at home. To this end, Society members spearheaded efforts to collect used clothing and raise funds to provide relief to needy families, activities which made the Society comparable to other charitable organizations.

Children's Institutions

Complementing the services of and, in some instances, providing

services to the Children's Aid Societies was an array of children's institutions. Located largely in the vicinity of Winnipeg, these organizations cared for different ages, religions, and categories of children, subject to the different conditions set forth in their charters. While the majority of institutions were privately operated with little government support, several more specialized institutions were run under the auspices of the Provincial Government.

The Industrial School at Portage was operated in conjunction with the Juvenile Court. Founded in 1910 it originally housed all children between the ages of 12 and 17 confined to its care by the Manitoba courts, as well as children from Alberta and Saskatchewan. However, shortly after it opened, the School ceased accepting female residents who, for lack of other facilities were then cared for in private institutions. Although the School had a capacity for 150 inmates, it regularly housed only 70 to 90 boys. Under the guidance of its first Superintendent, Rev. W. Bridgman⁹⁴, the school stressed religious education:

We attach great value to the industries taught, as a means toward rightly directed habits of work, still that is not the most important...A religious conviction in the heart that changes his motives, and turns the whole tenor of his life, is what a boy needs, if his restoration is to be of a permanent character.⁹⁵

As a result, both academic and trades training seemed to suffer until a new Superintendent was appointed. The succeeding Superintendent F.W. McKinnon noting that "the trades at this institution are a farce, and absolutely and wholly inadequate to meet the demands of the trade business"⁹⁶ pursued a more

progressive policy.

The second correctional facility, the Juvenile Court Detention Centre housed in addition to the children sentenced by the courts, children placed by probation officers and the C.A.S. for disciplinary reasons, children awaiting court appearances and homeless children awaiting placement in institutions or with Children's Aid Societies. Children remained in the Centre for periods ranging from one day to several months. Caring for an average of 20 children at any one time, the Centre cared for approximately 200 children annually in its first years of operation.⁹⁷

A third government institution was the Deaf and Dumb Institute. Established in 1893 with a resident population of 38, the school grew sufficiently that, by 1908, it housed over 90 children, about one half of whom were from Manitoba.⁹⁸ The institution offered academic, vocational and residential facilities.

The fourth institution under the auspices of the Provincial Government was the Home for the Incurables. Established in the late 1800's primarily for the care of adult patients, this institution also cared for mentally defective children. J.S. Woodsworth, visiting the Home in early 1916 discovered it housed 19 children, including wards of the Children's Aid Society, amongst its several hundred adult patients. As the institution was "confessedly for incurables" Woodsworth noted that "No effort (is) being made in any way to treat patients with the idea of improving their condition".⁹⁹ Thus, once placed in the institution children tended to remain there throughout their lifetimes.

Of the private children's institutions, several had powers of legal guardianship over their child residents. The Esther Robinson Orphanage and the Winnipeg C.A.S. Shelter, two such institutions with powers accorded under the Children's Protection Act, have previously been discussed. However, the Children's Home (1885) and the Home of the Friendless (1903) also had been granted broad powers under the terms of their charters. The institutions differed in admission requirements - Children's Home admitted Protestant girls under 14 and boys under 6 though older boys were also residents; the Home for the Friendless admitted all children under 16. Under their respective charters, each had the right of "absolute and uninterrupted custody and control" over children in their care. As such, unless written contracts with parents prohibited, these institutions could bind children to apprenticeships, or place them out to be otherwise supported or adopted. No child could be removed from the institutions unless written contracts permitted and maintenance had been paid. The Home of the Friendless accommodated 100-150 mothers and children; the Children's Home could provide residence for 200 children.

In addition to these institutions numerous other existed: - St. Boniface Orphanage (est. 1844, capacity 166) accepting all children; Salvation Army Rescue Home (est. 1886) accepting unmarried mothers and female juvenile delinquents; Girls' Home of Welcome (est. 1897) accepting all Protestant girls; St. Joseph's Orphanage (est. 1900, capacity 200) accepting all children; Asile Ritchot (est. c.1900,

capacity 120) accepting all infants, Home of the Good Shepherd (est. 1911) accepting all girls including juvenile delinquents; St. Benedict's Orphanage (est. 1912, capacity 60) caring for Catholic boys 4-13, girls 4-15; and the Canadian Jewish Orphans' Homes (est. 1913) accepting all Jewish children.

The primary source of funding for the children's institutions was private donations, bequests and subscriptions. However, the larger or more influential organizations did receive some government support. Continuing previous governments' support of the Children's Home, the Girls' Home of Welcome and the St. Boniface Orphanage, Roblin authorized grants to St. Joseph's Orphanage, the Ritchot Foundling Asylum, St. Benedict's Orphanage, and Knowles Home. The amounts of the grants varied considerably¹⁰⁰ and were not gauged according to any specific formula. They appeared to be related to the amount of influence or appeal each institution possessed.

The facilities and services provided by the numerous children's institutions, in combination with those of the Children's Aid Societies, provided an impressive looking child care system. Governor General Earl Grey, following a national tour in 1910, commented:

"Of all the towns and cities I have visited in Canada, Winnipeg is leader in anything pertaining to the general welfare of the children.

In the way of public playgrounds, juvenile courts and general provisions for the caring and bringing up of children, Winnipeg is certainly in the lead . . ."101

Political Triumph of Reform Ideals

Development of a Strong Reform Lobby

Throughout the period 1900-1910, the ideals of the Social Gospel continued to develop and to spread. Not only did increasing numbers of people accept the call to create "God's Kingdom on Earth" but proponents became more vocal in their demands for a more pure, wholesome environment. The discouragement and disarray resulting from Roblin's early withdrawal of the Macdonald Temperance Act was overcome as Manitoba became the scene of some of the nation's most energetic reform activity under the leadership of well known progressives like C.W. Gordon or evolving radicals like Salem Bland, J.S. Woodsworth, William Ivens, and A.E. Smith. Reform causes were invariably inter-related - prohibition, prostitution, crime, women's suffrage, compulsory education - so it was common for individuals to be members of several different groups. Thus an active reform community developed which shared common concerns and goals. As its numbers and activities increased, so did its influence.

One of the earliest, and certainly the most influential of the united reform forces was the Moral and Social Reform Council of Manitoba. The Manitoba body was the impetus for a national Moral and Social Reform Council (later renamed the Social Services Council), a federation of numerous reform oriented groups including amongst others the Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregational,

Anglican and Salvation Army Churches, W.C.T.U., Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Dominion Grange and Farmers Association, Royal Templars of Temperance, the Canadian Council of Agriculture, and the Trades and Labour Congress. Although in its earliest years the Council was involved primarily in issues of prohibition, prostitution and gambling¹⁰², it broadened its interests and activities to include:

"the prevention of crime and the redemption of criminals", "purity in public life, honesty at the ballot box and the abolition of the patronage system"; public health, child welfare, women's rights, the abatement and abolition of poverty and hence pensions for dependent mothers, social insurance etc.; "the application of Christian principles to industrial relations"; the elimination of anti-social strife and the substitution therefore of the co-operative spirit and practice between employers and employees; in short ... every measure and means making for the "Christianizing of all life - economic, social and political."¹⁰³

The Manitoba Council, acknowledged to be by far the most articulate provincial council in the Social Service Council of Canada",¹⁰⁴ was led until 1914 by C.W. Gordon. Amongst its first members were J.S. Woodsworth, R.A. Rigg (trade unionist and Labour Party member), A.W. Puttee (trade unionist and former Labour M.P.) and T.R. Deacon (owner of Manitoba Bridge and Iron Works and future Mayor of Winnipeg). The unlikely combination of the latter three men as members would indicate that the Council, like the Social Gospel movement itself, had goals which were sufficiently broad and noble that all political philosophies could find some with which to agree. The major exception to that may have been members of the Socialist Party who, though they supported some of the Council's activities,

suspected that the reformers were part of a professional monopoly seeking to control the lower classes and to guarantee themselves an income.¹⁰⁵ The ambivalent socialist sentiments, however, were in an overwhelming minority, and therefore created no problems in the Council's work. Nevertheless, their concerns did attest to the Anglo-Canadian middle class origins of the reformers.

Another smaller union of reformers was initiated by J.S. Woodsworth in 1910. Forming the League of Social Workers, Woodsworth sought to bring together the members of the fledgling social work profession working in the various organization - church missions, relief agencies, public health facilities, Children's Aid Societies, court and correctional facilities - to consolidate opinions on Winnipeg's numerous social problems. Founding members in addition to Woodsworth included T.M. Daly, Judge of the Juvenile Court and J.T.H. Falk, Secretary of the Associated Charities Bureau.

After resigning his post as Director of All-Peoples' Mission in 1913, Woodsworth initiated and directed yet another federation, the Canadian Welfare League, from a central office in Winnipeg. A union of social service workers and groups outside the churches and Social Service Council of Canada, its intentions were to "render social agencies more efficient and more serviceable ... to provide information on all social questions ... (but not) to advocate any particular thing"¹⁰⁶ - the latter being rather unlikely with Woodsworth as the organization's Secretary and Dr. J. Halpenny, a

leader in public and child health education, as its President. The League's motto alone, "Immigration at once our danger and our hope" reflected Woodsworth's special field of interest. Under the auspices of the League and with the assistance of J.H.T. Falk, Woodsworth offered the first social work training course in Winnipeg. Although it was terminated in 1914 because of the outbreak of W.W.I. the programme indicated a growth in the numbers and professionalism of social service and charitable workers.

The field of child and public health, too was becoming larger and more widely accepted. By 1910 the Winnipeg School Board had authorized regular medical inspection of all school pupils for contagious and infectious diseases. Even the Winnipeg City Council, slow to act on health and social matters, was sufficiently encouraged to begin its own Department of Health. In 1913 the Department hired two full-time child welfare nurses, expanding the programme the following year to a Bureau of Child Hygiene.

Thus, throughout the 1900-1915 period, there was an increasing acceptance of reform ideals, and mounting activity in reform circles. Shared concerns and goals were solidified as reform leaders organized their followers into effective political lobbies.

Provincial Elections of 1910, 1914, and 1915

The gathering strength of the reform forces was evident in the 1910 provincial election. While Roblin's campaign focussed on issues of economic prosperity and government efficiency, the

Liberal's "leaned towards," though not fully endorsed, the platform of the Social Service Council. Though "wavering and uncertain on the question of temperance and moral reform,"¹⁰⁷ the Liberal platform included a prohibition plebescite, direct legislation and compulsory education - all reform causes. In the election results, however, the Liberal numbers failed to increase - the Party won only 13 out of 41 seats. Roblin had won the support of the farmers and labour with promises of government-owned elevators and workman's compensation.¹⁰⁸ Economic issues continued to have more appeal than reform principles. Nevertheless, inclusion of reform causes within the Liberal Party platform legitimated reformers' demands and brought forth increased dedication.

Over the four years prior to the next election, reform demands mounted, especially for prohibition, women's suffrage and compulsory school attendance. The school question had become particularly acute after 1912 when the Minister of Education, G.R. Coldwell, introduced amendments to the Public School Act which would have had the effect of increasing the bilingual nature of many schools. Intended as a measure to give relief to Catholic parents supporting private schools, the amendment was so unpopular in the Protestant community that it was never enforced. Debate on the school question had therefore become sufficiently heated that Roblin was forced to make concessions to win reform support prior to the 1914 election. Although he refused to bow to demands for women's suffrage and prohibition Roblin did accede to demands to tighten lax school

attendance laws.

Despite Billiardé's claims to have the 'whip hand over truants', reformers were not convinced. Their conviction would appear to be borne out by the Department of Education's own attendance figures¹⁰⁹ which show no appreciable improvement in either enrollment or attendance since Billiardé's truancy programmes began.¹¹⁰ Feelings of reform workers towards the truancy measures and Billiardé's ineffectiveness were revealed in an editorial in the Liberal owned Free Press at the close of 1913:

With regard to the efficiency of Mr. Billiardé's department in the matter of getting children to school, the Free Press desires to state to Premier Roblin that the general opinion - practically the unanimous opinion - of the social workers of the City is the the "Truancy Act" is useless and that a compulsory education law is urgently and vitally necessary.

Social workers of standing have stated to the Free Press that after giving Mr. Billiardé for years the names of children not attending school, they have ceased to do so in disgust, owing to Mr. Billiardé's failure to look into and deal with the cases. It is the concensus of opinion of the Social Workers of Winnipeg that Mr. Billiardé could co-operate with them to a far greater extent than he does in the matter of getting children to school.¹¹¹

In a pre-election measure to mollify reform demands, Roblin reverted to amendments¹¹² to the Children's Protection Act, a move similar to that of 1907. The definition of the word "truant" was broadened to include:

any child under the age of fourteen years and over the age of seven years who, without reasonable excuse, does not regularly attend a public school, or who is not otherwise being educated in a manner equal to the standards of the public schools of this Province.

Further amendments required that schools and teachers supply the Department of Education with names of truants and children who had

failed to register. In addition, the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council was authorized to appoint truant officers whose duty was to investigate all reported cases of truancy and, if necessary to apprehend children and bring them before the judge. Employment during school hours of children under fourteen was prohibited without permission of the Superintendent of Neglected Children, judge, or truant officer. To provide judges with additional leverage against parents who refused or neglected to send children to school, they were empowered with the ability to impose conditions upon parents found guilty of permitting truancy, and to recall for sentencing parents who, at any time, violated those conditions.

Although the amendments conceded demands for a broader definition of "truancy" and more scope for regulating offending parents' behavior, reformers continued to be dissatisfied. John Dafoe, editor of the Free Press lead the attack of the reformers and the Liberal Party against the amendment. In bold-faced type he objected:¹¹³

Another Coldwell amendment:
This Time to the Truancy Act

The General Public Will Be Told That the Truancy Act Is As Effective as a Compulsory Education Law - Others Will Receive Assurance That Things Will Be the Same As Before.

Amendment Is Not To Public Schools Act but to What Is In Reality the Criminal Code - Enforcement of "Truancy Act" Is Not in Hands of School Authorities, but in Those of Attorney General.

Terms "Lawful Excuse" and "Regularly Attend" Are Not Defined in the Amendments - Attempt to Enforce the Penal Clauses of "Truancy Act" Would Promptly Kill It - Just a Pretense.

Advising that the amendment had been "drafted and designed with skill and cunning", Dafoe concluded:

In substance the amended "Truancy Act" is the same burlesque as the unamended act, with some of the most glaring absurdities removed or, better said, sophisticated. The hands may have become the hands of Esau, but the voice is still the voice of Jacob. The mask is changed; but the politicians behind it are the same. The farce has been partly re-written, but the characters are the same and there is the same prompter.

It can be said with absolute certainty that as a compulsory education law the amended "Truancy Act" will be dead the moment a genuine effort is made to enforce it. A test case would kill it.

Roblin's attempt to beguile the reformers had failed. In the election campaign which immediately followed the sides were clearly drawn - Roblin stressed economic issues and relied on his record of prosperity and efficiency; the Liberals presented a strong reform platform which, in Gray's¹¹⁴ estimation "might well have been written by the Social Service Council." The ensuing campaign was described by W.L. Morton¹¹⁵ as "the hardest fought and most evenly contested" in the province's history. "It was," he concluded "a contest between the past and the future, and the past was strong and deeply entrenched." When the votes were tallied, the Liberals had won only 21 seats to the Conservative 25, a majority which increased to 28 after three deferred elections were held. Reform support, though more united than in 1910, again proved unreliable.

Roblin's fifth turn in office, however, was destined to be brief. Within a year of its return to power, Roblin's government

was forced to resign over a scandal resulting from misuse of government funds in the construction of the new Legislative Building. After heading a short care-taker government, Liberal Premier Tobias Norris lead his party in an election in late 1915. This time the Liberal reform platform, was aided by the scandal which had decimated the ranks and prestige of the Conservatives and by the ideals of justice and democracy highlighted by the advent of World War I. The Liberals captured 42 out of 49 seats; of the remaining seats 5 were won by the Conservatives and 2 by independent labour candidates. Thus after 15 years of a "business" administration, the progressive reformers at last had a government which shared a commitment to their ideals.

CHAPTER IV

CHILD WELFARE UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF T.C. NORRIS 1915-1922

With the election of the Liberal government in 1915 Manitoba entered the most active reform period in its history. Leading the new administration was T.C. Norris, a Methodist farmer born in Ontario and a confirmed supporter of reform causes. Although his caucus members did not differ substantially from the preceding Conservatives in either occupation or religious affiliation,¹ they now represented the ideals of the progressive wing of the Social Gospel. And, though many of the reformers concerns were with urban issues - prostitution, gambling, child welfare - Winnipeg's under-representation in the Legislature (6 out of 49 seats) was not a deterrant; the Social Gospel, with its concern for brotherhood, purity and equality, had truly become the farmers' religion. Thus, though the personal involvement of many Liberal members in urban issues was limited, reform measures received their enthusiastic support.

Effects of the War on the Children's Reform Movement

The impetus given the reformers by the Norris government's election was heightened with the advent of World War I. The enormous losses and suffering brought about by the War were only assuaged by the conviction that the end of the War would bring about the "Kingdom of Heaven on Earth". The War was not seen simply as an overseas battle against the Central European Powers, it was

interpreted as a struggle for pure, just, and democratic societies everywhere. Soldiers fought overseas for the coming of the Kingdom; those who remained at home waged their own battle, striving to infuse Christian ethics into all phases of life and to create a perfect society through the elimination of poverty, disease, crime and greed. Reform principles therefore became infused with a patriotic component in addition to Christian and nativistic elements. With the appeal of reforms thus broadened and intensified, opposition was particularly difficult. The War had provided the catalyst to ensure the enactment of reform legislation. Reform activity therefore accelerated during war years, spurred on by patriotic fervor and the leftward progression of the Social Gospel movement.

Child-oriented reforms received unprecedented attention, provoking the observation that "There seems to be a growing realization that the state has been neglecting a gold mine in not giving proper attention to the children."² Children were, it was argued, "Canada's Greatest Asset"³; as adults they would guide the nation. Child welfare had become "a part of the defensive foresight of citizens who would protect the future of the state."⁴ The security of the nation and of democracy itself, demanded that efforts be directed to raising children who were physically, mentally and morally sound. It was no surprise, therefore, that of the manifold reforms of the Norris government - including amongst others, compulsory school attendance, prohibition, women's suffrage, direct legislation, mothers' allowance and improved conditions of labor - several were intended to directly influence developments

in Child Welfare.

Reform Legislation Under the Government of T.C. Norris

Prohibition

Following victory in a provincial prohibition plebiscite in early 1916, the Macdonald Temperance Act of 1900 was re-introduced.⁵ It was outside the jurisdiction of the Province to disallow inter-provincial sales of alcohol, but the Macdonald Act did curtail the sale of alcohol within Manitoba's boundaries. The enactment of federal legislation in 1918 made prohibition total. Until prohibition legislation was repealed in the early 1920's, the problems of drunkenness in Manitoba declined substantially.⁶

The precise effect which prohibition had upon the care of children is unclear, though some inferences can be made. Claims that prohibition legislation prevented homes from being broken up by intemperate fathers were based on statistics such as those of the Winnipeg C.A.S. which indicated an overall decline in admissions to care, and a significant drop in admissions resulting from parental intemperance.⁷ The statistics of the Juvenile Court, too, showed a significant decrease in numbers of neglected and dependant children appearing before it.⁸ Judge D.W. McKerchar, in noting a 23% decline in such appearances, attributed the reduction directly to the "abolition of the bar."⁹ In his enthusiasm Judge McKerchar set forth his belief that 75% of mentally defective and epileptic children came from intemperate parents, and confidently predicted

that prohibition would effect declines in the numbers of these children as well. Even disregarding Judge McKerchar's latter statistic, from an unstated source, the figures presented by the C.A.S. and the courts are noteworthy. It may be argued however, that problems associated with intemperance were merely expressed differently under prohibition, and thus appear under other causes; but in both the C.A.S. and Court statistics admissions for causes related to intemperance (immorality, neglect, desertion) did not increase to support this contention. Nevertheless, there was so much change and activity in family life and legislation (school attendance, mothers allowance) during the war years that it is impossible to ascertain the effect of any single variable. Undoubtedly, however the situations of some families were eased by prohibition legislation alone or in combination with other reform measures.¹⁰

Education Reform

Amongst the most lauded of the Norris government reforms were the changes made to the system of public education. The sought after English-only and compulsory attendance measures were both introduced in 1916.

Abolition of the system of bilingual instruction was effected under an amendment to the Public Schools Act.¹¹ As the standards of some of the ethnic or bilingual schools were questioned, the English-only legislation was seen as a primary method of improving

the quality of education. Even more important, with sentiment against Central European immigrants running high during the War years, the measure was seen as an essential element in the assimilation of foreign children. To help "Canadianize" the children, the Department of Education prescribed direct instruction in moral behavior - cleanliness, courage, honesty, industry, self-restraint, obedience, thrift, perseverance, patriotism, etc.¹² The success of such a programme relied upon compulsory attendance.

A separate piece of legislation, the School Attendance Act,¹³ introduced compulsory education. Under the terms of the Act, school attendance was mandatory for all children between 7 and 14 years with the following exceptions - private school attendance, illness, special permission by the principal, Justice of the Peace or Police Magistrate, children less than 10 years of age who did not live within 2 miles of the nearest school or between 10 and 14 years who lived more than 3 miles from the nearest school, and children who had the equivalent of high school education. In addition, children over 10 years of age could be granted up to 6 weeks leave by a principal, J.P., or Police Magistrate if they were required urgently for work at home. This last provision, as well as the low school leaving age (14) would seem to have been measures introduced to coincide with child labor legislation and to satisfy war conditions which created a pressing need for manufacturing and farm labor.

The task of supervising school attendance was removed from the

courts, the probation officers and the Superintendent of Neglected children. The new Act stipulated that school boards were to appoint attendance officers, and it further authorized the Minister of Education to appoint a provincial Supervisor of School Attendance. The supervisory position was created in March of 1916 with the stated purpose of "protecting children from the neglect of their parents or guardians and to secure for them the benefit of an education".¹⁴ Overseeing the work of 130 local attendance officers, the Supervisor may have been expected to create notable improvements in overall school attendance; however this does not appear to have been the case, at least during the war years. Although School Attendance statistics lost some of their meaning after the War, (continuing to include children in the age 5-18 bracket when the ages of compulsory education were restricted to 7-14, thus overestimating the amount of truancy) they indicated no improvements appreciably greater than those made under Roblin's 1913- 1914 amendments to the Children's Protection Act.¹⁵ Two possible explanations can be suggested. Problems in rural attendance were not the result of parental neglect; they were the result of rural conditions. The Acts exclusion of children living outside a specified distance from school meant in some rural areas only 60% of the children were subject to the compulsory education law,¹⁶ rural attendance would not improve until better access to the schools was provided. A second explanation is applicable to both rural and urban school attendance. The demands for farm and

industrial labor encouraged children to leave school early to work, or to seek permission to be excused from school for temporary periods - particularly common amongst farm families and families who, with fathers overseas, required financial support. War conditions undoubtedly resulted in infractions of both child labor and school attendance laws as officials overlooked what were viewed as patriotic and essential violations. Increases in post-war school attendance and enrollment, and an examination of violations under the School Attendance Act (Table 4.1) lend support to this theory.

Table 4.1 Prosecutions under the School Attendance Act and Public Schools Act¹⁷

	Prosecutions	Convictions	Fines Collected
1917	29	27	\$ 12.00
1918	60	55	113.20
1919	171	165	890.00
1920	121	111	1220.50
1921	101	96	1427.00

Although the enforcement of compulsory attendance legislation may have created some problems during the war, the measure, in combination with the abolition of bilingual schools, had a marked effect on the lives of poor and immigrant children. The school system, became a "vehicle for education along 'our British-Canadian lines,' where immigrant children could be processed and marked with the stamp of the King and of the maple leaf, where all children could 'throughout the day . . . have lived in an orderly, disciplined world, where honest industry meets its reward, where obedience is the bond of law, where righteousness is exalted'."¹⁸ Of

equally important, yet unheralded note, the assumption of compulsory education supervision by specially employed officers freed the Superintendent of Neglected Children and the Juvenile Courts to focus their attention on other aspects of child welfare.

Mothers' Allowance

The reform measure which offered the most potential for improvement in the home situation of many children forced into care through destitution or neglect was the introduction of Mothers' Allowances.

Advocacy of Mothers' Allowance had begun with reformers stressing the value of the natural home and the supreme importance of mothers. As early as 1910, the Winnipeg Mothers' Association had given a cash allowance to a working widow to allow her to remain home and care for her children.¹⁹ The concept proved both practical and popular; numerous organizations urged official adoption of the measure. By 1913 the Associated Charities in conjunction with the Mothers' Association raised funds, chiefly from Sunday School classes, in an attempt to support other widows. As it was difficult to raise the funds by voluntary subscription, it was agreed the Mothers' Association would ask the Legislature early in the fall of 1915 for legislation granting provincial assistance. In support of the anticipated request, the Social Workers' Club (formerly the League of Social Workers) studied cases of local widows known to the Associated Charities, and examined existing

mothers' pension laws in the United States. Results of the studies were published in a pamphlet entitled "State salaries for Mothers," copies of which were sent to all members of the Legislature. By late November, 1915, the Convention of Manitoba Municipalities endorsed the principle. Although the municipal officials may have shared some of the humanitarian concerns of the social work and social service groups, their support of the proposed measure was doubtlessly due to its financial provisions. All previous forms of relief had been the sole responsibility of individual municipalities; the proposed legislation required contributions from the Provincial government. The influence of the lobbying groups increased during the War. While the Patriotic Fund pension for widows of soldiers who died at the front was considered very justifiable, it became difficult to deny the same consideration to other women who lost husbands. Thus, the Mothers' Allowance Act²⁰ was passed in 1916.

The provisions of the Act did not specify the manner in which the allowances were to be administered; rather, it left all administrative decisions up to the members of an appointed commission. The make-up of the first Commission reflects the Anglo-Saxon, middle and professional class bias which it was to adopt:

Mr. E.D. Martin (Chairman) Ontario born businessman, Protestant

Mr. J.H.T. Falk, English born Protestant, secretary Social
Welfare Commission (formerly Associated
Charities).

Mr. George Fisher, Scottish born businessman, Protestant

Mrs. J. Dick, Ontario born Protestant, executive member of the Mothers Associaton.

Mrs. T.R. Deacon, Ontario born Protestant, president Local Council of Women and Mothers' Association

From its inception, the Commission established the principle that the allowance was not a charity or a right, but a salary, thereby making its recipients subject to certain controls:²¹

The Commissioners have from the start considered the allowances in the light of a salary paid jointly by the Municipality and the Province for services rendered.

They believe that the Province should satisfy itself that it is employing the right kind of women to bring up its future men and women and that when the contract of employment between the mother and Province is signed and the mother in receipt of her salary, that the Province should satisfy itself that the services rendered for that salary are accomplishing what was intended, namely, the bringing up of happy children, mentally and physicaly efficient, and morally sound.

To assist the Commission in overseeing the administration of allowances, municipalities appointed committees whose members included councillors and local men and women (preferably doctors or clergymen or their wives) to investigate all applications, and supervise recipients. In addition, a visiting housekeeper was appointed to teach recipients thrift and to provide supervision "from a general standpoint." Such supervision was intended to ensure proper moral behavior, thrift, adequate standards of child care, and that the family was in receipt of no unreported income.

In establishing eligibility requirements, the Commission was guided by related legislation, economy and nativist principles. To be eligible, a woman must have been widowed or be married to a man who was totally incapacitated or confined to a jail or insane

asylum; she must, unless totally incapacitated herself, have two or more children under school leaving age (14 years); she must have resided in Manitoba for at least two years prior to applying for the allowance; and she must be married to or be the widow of a naturalized Canadian citizen. This latter restriction resulted in the exclusion of numerous foreign widows of men who, though they had resided in Canada the necessary 5 years for naturalization, had never taken out Canadian citizenship.²² Thus although the Commission sought to preserve the homes of deserving British and Canadian widows, they did not appear to share the same concern for families of immigrants who, being largely located amongst the lower socio-economic classes, may have been expected to be living in circumstances as least as dire. The proportion of British, and Canadian women receiving the allowance was, therefore, higher than their proportion in the lower-classes.

Table 4.2 Nationalities of Mothers' Allowance Recipients²³

	'16-'17	'17-'18	'18-'19	'19-'20	'20-'21	'21-'22	'22-'23
British	59	86	173	171	216	198	191
Canadian	39	55	121	204	227	226	254
American	-	1	8	11	14	21	20
Subtotals	98(76%)	142(74%)	302(73%)	386(73%)	457(71%)	445(67%)	465(64%)
French	-	-	4	10	7	6	14
N. European	-	10	16	16	26	35	37
E. European	19	32	74	97	129	166	189
S. European	-	-	4	5	5	4	3
Other foreign	12	3	11	16	24	13	10
Subtotals	31(24%)	45(24%)	109(26%)	144(27%)	191(29%)	224(33%)	253(35%)
Unknown	-	4(2%)	2(1%)	2(0%)	-	-	4(1%)
TOTALS	129	191	413	532	648	669	722

Although discussions arose around the advisability of including other classes of recipients eligibility rules were not extended, usually on economic or moral grounds. Deserted mothers were excluded because the Commissioners felt their inclusion would encourage desertion; inclusion of unmarried mothers was feared to encourage or sanction immorality. Although some of the more radical proponents of Mothers' Allowances advocated the extension of payments to sole-supporting fathers, the Commissioners rejected the proposal, underlining the principle of the Act. Allowances for fathers were inappropriate, they argued, for two reasons: the father would only use them to pay for the services of a non-familiar housekeeper or, shiftless fathers may use them to stay home and care for their children thus avoiding the responsibilities of productive labor. It seemed, therefore, the purpose of the Allowance was not strictly to prevent undue hardships and preserve families, but more specifically to allow certain mothers to stay home with their children.

The funding for the Allowance was shared equally between the Provincial government and the municipalities, with municipalities contributing in proportion to their taxes paid rather than to the numbers of recipients from each area. This formula removed the need for municipal residence requirements, ensured that municipalities would not be too miserly in the acknowledgement of need, and offered relief to the poorer municipalities. The amount of the allowance was gauged on the minimum necessary for adequate maintenance less

income from other sources. To establish an appropriate cost of living scale for different sized families, the services of the Domestic Science Teacher Association of Winnipeg were employed. The final scale incorporated seasonal variations on rent, light, water, food, carfare, fuel, recreation and insurance.²⁴ The final figure arrived at for each family equalled the amount stipulated on the scale minus the wages of working mothers and older children living at home. In addition an assessed proportion of wages of children living away from home was subtracted, thereby ensuring that the primary financial responsibilities remained within the family network. As the Commissioners had early expressed the desire to enable mothers to provide adequate care, allowances increased annually with the cost of living. These increases, in addition to growing numbers of mothers receiving the allowance, made the reform an expensive measure. (see Table 4.3)

Table 4.3 Mothers' Allowances - Numbers of Families Assisted and Annual Expenditures.²⁵

	Total Families Aided	Families on Allowance at Years End	Total Expenditures*	Average Expended per Family*
1916-17	160	128	\$ 54,700	\$340
1917-18	191	175	92,700	485
1918-19	413	362	203,300	490
1919-20	532	479	351,200	660
1920-21	648	579	438,300	675
1921-22	669	606	438,800	650
1922-23	772	605	426,100	552
1923-24	778	670	406,000	522

*(Figures given include administrative costs, estimated at 2-3% of the total. Therefore the average size of allowances granted would be slightly less than indicated.)

In view of the number of families assisted, and the numbers of children involved (Table 4.4) it must be acknowledged that the system of allowances benefited many, and prevented many children from having to be admitted to the care of Children's Aid Societies or other institutions. Nevertheless, there were many families whom its measures were not intended to help. By authorizing the progressive Anglo-Canadian reformers to design and administer the Act, Norris incorporated their biases into government policy and provided them with a measure to control the behavior of others.

Table 4.4 Children Living with Mothers in Receipt of Mothers' Allowance²⁶

	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923
Children under 15 years	400	174	1248	1636	1968	2111	2224
Children 15 yrs. and older	114	553	209	258	300	375	385
TOTAL	514	727	1457	1894	2268	2486	2609

Care of the Feeble-Minded

The War's emphasis on the need for strong healthy citizens emphasized the problems created by defective children. Although the existence of physically handicapped children troubled the reformers, feeble minded children caused even more concern. Acknowledged as a "great source of social and moral evil," feeble-mindedness was thought to be causally related to pauperism, lunacy, indecency, crime, vagrancy, social disease, and delinquency.²⁷ Therefore progressive reformers, made optimistic by the claims of "scientific investigation" and mental hygienists, stressed the necessity of

attacking the problem of feeble-mindedness.

There appeared to be no one accepted meaning for the term "feeble-minded." The Victoria Child Study Laboratory²⁸ developed one of the more technical definitions with the following classification: idiots - people so defective they could not care for themselves, imbeciles - people incapable of self support and protection and whose mental age was not over 7 years, and morons - those with a mental age of 7 to 12. By this professionally accepted definition, the Laboratory estimated that 50% of criminals were morons; as were 50% of girls in refuges and 50% of paupers. The inclusion of so many individuals into the category of subnormals was not questioned by reformers. In fact, colloquial definitions included even more - persons who "are not making the proper progress" or "who are unable to make a home ... (who) are out of place ... and make family life difficult and dangerous".²⁹ Thus it appeared that the label "defective" or "feeble-minded" could be given to anyone whose behavior digressed from that which was acceptable to Anglo-Canadian reformers and the professionals within their ranks.

The Manitoban children most likely to be labelled feeble-minded and selected for special treatment were unmarried mothers and their children, immigrants, and juvenile delinquents. A 1918 survey of Manitoba health facilities³⁰ revealed the astonishing finding that of the unmarried mothers in the Grace and Misericordia Hospitals, not one was of normal intelligence - 15.52% were borderline, 73.68% were defective and 10.52% were insane. Such defective

girls, it was argued, were not only a "source of moral contagion to their fellow-citizens" but they were "responsible in no small measure for the enormous annual increase of (the) feeble minded population." Although no similar set of local figures existed for immigrant children, national data suggested that 95% of defectives came from families where one or both parents were recent immigrants.³¹ 20% of Children's Aid wards were conservatively estimated to be sub-normal,³² and though he gave no statistics, Judge D.W. McKerchar of the Winnipeg Juvenile Court stated his firm conviction that the majority of juvenile delinquencies resulted from defectiveness or epilepsy.³³

The problem of feeble-mindedness which had to be resolved centered around prevention of future defectives and care of existing ones. One measure adopted by reformers was the advocacy of careful selection and scientific investigation of immigrants. However, as immigration had declined radically during the War years, this measure was of little significance. The proposal which offered a solution to both problems was the institutionalization of defective children and adults. Segregation was justified on the grounds of providing protection and humane care to defectives:

Unless diagnosed and placed in an environment of suitable character their doom is soon sealed, and it is cruel and inhuman to force them to attempt tasks which easily prove their undoing.³⁴

Even more compelling arguments were offered for the protection institutions offered society:

Segregation is the only effective treatment for the true defective child. We must remember that a mentally defective child is unable to take care of himself, he is easily led and under the guidance of unscrupulous persons he becomes a menace to society. In order to prevent this and in order to prevent the birth of other defective children, he should be kept under supervision in a well conducted institution.³⁵

Under the sway of such arguments, the Norris government opened the Kildonan Home for Feeble-minded Children at the close of 1916. In keeping with the claims of expertise by mental hygienists and other professionals, the Home accepted children only after they had been certified by one doctor and committed by the court. Shortly after the opening of the Kildonan Home, the government passed the Feeble Minded School Act³⁶ establishing a provincial school for the feeble-minded though the school does not appear to have opened until 1921. In early 1919, a major piece of legislation, the Mental Diseases Act³⁷ was passed. Allowing patients (including children) to be admitted at their own request or at the request of a relative or "any kindly disposed person in the municipality", the Act provided for the committal and care of defectives in the province's psychopathic facilities. With assurances that defectives would be segregated and cared for, and provision made for both self admission and appeal, the Act was enthusiastically heralded as "the most advanced ... ever passed by any state or province not only in Canada, but of the world."³⁸

Although there are no statistics available to indicate which individuals were cared for under the 1919 Act, or which ones were

placed in the Kildonan Home or the School for the Feeble-minded³⁹ those children about whom the professionals and other reformists had expressed concern - immigrants, unmarried mothers, and juvenile delinquents - were undoubtedly well represented. The policy and programmes related to their care and management had been advocated most vocally by the medical profession and by the body of semi-professional social workers who had evolved as leaders from their origins in the reform movement.

Juvenile Courts and the Superintendent of Neglected Children

During the Roblin administration the Juvenile Courts and the Superintendent of Neglected Children had been heavily pre-occupied with matters related to truancy. Roblin's amendments to the Children's Protection Act in 1914 resulted in even more involvement in such matters and provoked the Free Press to protest that "the experienced educationalists of the school board are completely ignored."⁴⁰ Seemingly in response to this criticism, and in frank admission of the function of the Act, Roblin transferred both offices from the Department of the Attorney General to the Department of Education. With the election of Norris and the introduction of the School Attendance Act, the truancy functions of the S.N.C. and the probation officers were withdrawn, though truancy continued to be included among the circumstances which constituted neglect. Although neither the Court officers nor the S.N.C. maintained their former level of involvement with truants, Norris left both offices

under the authority of the Department of Education. His reason for doing so is unclear, though it may have been argued that many of the duties of the S.N.C. were of an educational nature, and that the role of the Juvenile Court was not to punish delinquent children, but to teach them more appropriate behavior.

With the removal of truants from the supervision of the S.N.C. and the Juvenile Court, the bond between the two offices was weakened and more clearly defined roles began to emerge. The division appeared to be hastened by a personality conflict⁴¹ between Billiardé (S.N.C.) and D.W. McKerchar, the Judge of the Winnipeg Juvenile Court appointed in 1916. The reports submitted by each indicated that Billiardé confined his work to the supervision of children's institutions and the Children's Aid Societies, - giving advice regarding placement of children and compiling statistics. McKerchar focused on the rehabilitation of children found to be delinquent by his court.

The Juvenile Court

From 1912 to 1916 in addition to serving as the S.N.C., Billiardé shared the duties of the Judge of the Juvenile Court with the incumbents T.M. Daly and D.M. Walker. While under the Roblin administration Billiardé had tactfully reserved comment on contentious reform issues but had been eloquent in his support of less controversial reform measures. His statements, in fact, characterized the philosophy of the progressive school of the Social Gospel. Under the Norris government, though he expressed no enthusiasm for prohibition or compulsory school attendance, his

support of progressive principles strengthened. Condemning "economic pressure, grinding poverty, the heedlessness and unfamiliarity of great cities regarding the needs of childhood", Billiardé urged the "kindly but busy public to pause and observe the horrifying wastage of human material brought about by the industrialism and commercialism of our vaunted modern civilization and represented by the pathetic figure of the delinquent child in the Juvenile Court."⁴² However, consistent with his earlier behavior and with that of other Social Gospel progressives, Billiardé failed to translate his concerns into programmes which he intended the court to pursue in order to overcome such conditions. Like most progressives, he continued to focus his attention on the treatment and reform of the "abnormal tendencies" of the "diseased children" who came before his court.⁴³

The appointment of D.W. McKerchar as Billiarde's replacement did not broaden the outlook of the Juvenile Court; in fact, it may have restricted it even further. McKerchar, an Ontario born Presbyterian, an active church member and president of the local Y.M.C.A., was conservative in outlook. He attributed almost all delinquencies to defects in the characters of parents or of the children themselves. The programmes he embarked upon, therefore, sought to correct and reform the children appearing before him.

The nationalities of children appearing before McKerchar's court had not changed substantially since the years before the war.⁴⁴ Figures for 1919-1920 indicated that 44% of the children

were European compared with 54% who were of British origin. The over-representation of "foreign" children therefore continued. However, an examination of the reasons for the children's court appearances reveals some interesting changes.⁴⁵ Fewer charges of truancy and neglect were heard. McKerchar's conclusion that declines in these areas resulted from compulsory school attendance and prohibition may have been true in part, but he ignored the effects of other changes in war-time society - e.g. full employment, improved standards of living, liberal work permits for students. More interesting than the categories which experienced decreases are those which experienced increases - theft, willful damage, trespassing, disorderly conduct, incorrigibility, and breach of city bylaws. Although a small portion of the increases may have resulted from family breakdowns when fathers went overseas, the great majority of offenses can only be explained by the increased concern for order which was typical of the War years. As society sought to purify and "cleanse" itself behaviors which were previously thought of as inappropriate or objectionable were no longer tolerated. Thus, increasing numbers of children accused of delinquent behavior appeared before the court.

McKerchar's disposition of the cases coming before his court was reflective of his conservative bias (see Table 4.5). In his earliest report⁴⁶ McKerchar stressed the reformatory vs. punitive function of the court. Explaining that "terms of detention for

reformation must of necessity be longer than that for punishment" he issued "extended indeterminate" periods of sentencing - a procedure which no doubt left many delinquents wishing they were being punished instead of reformed. In practice, this meant 3-5 years confinement in Industrial school for serious offenses. For somewhat less serious infractions McKerchar made frequent use of the Detention Home and probation, followed by fines, restitution and warnings.

Table 4.5 Disposition of Cases in Juvenile Court⁴⁷

	17-18	18-19	19-20	20-21	21-22	22-23	23-24
Probation	530	552	392	404	420	414	672
Detention Home	178	176	152	175	98	107	124
Warned	128	104	111	142	293	582	753
Dismissed	64	39	99	89	33	52	114
Restitution	53	62	57	12	-	-	144
Fined	32	92	417	293	142	67	64
Sent to Country Situations	38	27	19	18	12	24	24
Made Wards C.A.S./S.N.C.	27	18	46	73	46	38	80
Sentence Suspended	15	18	16	10	24	12	28
Placed in Institution by Parents	15	14	8	17	10	-	-
Sent to Correction Centres	14	27	27	40	29	35	97
Other	14	8	7	3	2	18	59
TOTAL	1108	1137	1351	1276	1109	1349	2159

To assist in the reformation of delinquents McKerchar began two programmes of which he was particularly proud. The first arose from his belief that many boys who were not working were prone to delinquent behavior due to idle time and shortage of money. He therefore arranged with the Western Branch of the Canadian

Manufacturers' Association to use the services of their employment depot to find employment for the boys with local commercial and industrial establishments.⁴⁸ The success of this programme is not known for McKerchar provided no statistics on the numbers of job placements made or the effects it had in reducing recedivism.

Initiation of the second programme, McKerchar claimed, marked the attainment of his "chief desire"-the establishment of a properly equipped "psychopathic department" in connection with the court. McKerchar was an enthusiastic student of "scientific study and investigation" and lent full support to the theories of mental hygienists. Opened in 1919, the function of the new department was to test all repeating delinquents, carry out a home investigation, conduct scientific and medical tests, and supply "treatment" recommendations to the Judge. To direct the clinic, McKerchar secured the services of Dr. A.T. Mathers, author of the Mental Diseases Act, and Miss M.S. Litchfield, an experienced assistant from the Boston Pyschopathic Hospital. The following is a copy of a typical report made on a 16 year old male delinquent:

- Physical - Epilepsy, diseased tonsils.
- Mental - Not insane, chronological age 16 years, mental age 12 years, intelligence co-efficient - 83; belongs to the sub-normal class.
- Defects - In order of magnitude are - logical judgement, kinaesthetic discrimination, ideation, association, visual memory perception, auditory memory and practical judgement.
- Social - Has been at school two and a half years, and is in grade V. Grades well, except in arithmetic.

Opinion - This boy is subnormal and epileptic; further school instruction will probably be useless. He should be trained to some type of work not requiring delicacy of movement and where he would be outside a good deal. Farming would seem most suitable.⁴⁹

Although it may have been argued that, having only 2 1/2 years of schooling the boy showed potential, his lack of judgement and poor moral reactions rendered him "sub-normal" and destined him for unskilled manual labor. McKerchar's enthusiastic acceptance of such reports resulted in over 200 children being tested within the programme's first eighteen months of operation; of the 111 who were found to be either subnormal, borderline or moronic, 35 were sent to institutions for the feeble-minded.

The psychopathic orientation of McKerchar's Court destined many children to live out their lives in institutions, and others to low-pay, low-status jobs largely on the basis of poor morals and disagreeable behavior. The introduction of applied psychology and scientific investigation into juvenile court work reinforced the views of moralists and acknowledged the pre-eminence of professionals in the mental hygiene field, placing severe constraints upon the courts involvement in more outward - looking, community based programmes. McKerchar's ready endorsement of the programme, and his recommendation that it be extended to enable "the classification of the children in ... schools and colleges, and of the adults in industrial and other vocational lines" reflected the growing authority of the professionals reformers.⁵⁰

Superintendent of Neglected Children

Felix Billiarde continued in the position of S.N.C. until 1919. Following the removal of truancy regulations from the Children's Protection Act and D.W. McKechar's appointment as the Judge of the Juvenile Court, Billiardé's work became increasingly restricted to his involvement with Children's Aid Societies and children's institutions. His reports indicate that he continued to inspect the various organizations and compile records of statistics and reports he received. His use of the data collected appears to have been minimal, indicating perhaps, that he compiled it chiefly to satisfy the requirements of the Act. As he had formerly shown an interest in "scientific investigation" Billiardé may have been expected to use the opportunity provided by the data for study and comment. His failure to do so may have reflected declining interest in or enthusiasm for this aspect of his work. Nevertheless, his work with the children's organizations continued to raise issues about which Billiarde publicly commented and made recommendations.

The most constant theme contained in Billiardé's reports from 1915-1919 was that of restricting the growth of institutions. Billiardé, like many other reformers, questioned the effect which large institutions had upon children's development. He warned that:

... you cannot deal with children in groups of fifties or hundreds, you cannot deal with children by the lumps or in the mass as you could so many sheep. The child's individuality is

submerged and lost because it is impossible to give him that personal attention or even the opportunity to develop his own character in a large institution and amid a large number of children ...⁵¹

He argued that small cottage-style institutions were preferable for they afforded a more home-like environment. Institutional placements, he believed, should be used only for sub-normal or defective children (an estimated 20% of C.A.S. wards) and for children who required only temporary care. For all other children, Billiardé recommended temporary placement, if necessary, in "boarding-out" homes, and permanent placement in a system of graded foster homes. He did not, however, offer any suggestions to operationalize this goal - a difficult process in view of the shortage of foster home applicants and the inability to inspect and supervise existing foster home placements.

Billiardé's second concern during this period reflected dissatisfactions with the relationship between the office of the S.N.C. and the child caring institutions. Although 1912 amendments to the Children's Protection Act had required that the S.N.C. approve all voluntary surrenders of children and that all societies and institutions report twice annually to the S.N.C., they provided the S.N.C. with no control over the organizations. When organizations failed to comply with his requests, his only alternative was to chasten them, a recourse which did not always succeed and which frequently created hard feelings. In his report for 1914-1915, Billiardé therefore advocated government control of all societies and institutions placing and/or receiving absolute custody or

control of children. Although the recommendation had sweeping implications, Billiardé did not comment further upon it; in fact he did not mention it again until 1918-1919 when it was under consideration by the Public Welfare Commission, a planning body established by the Norris government. In his report for 1918-19 Biliardé elaborated:

- all children under the age of 16 in institutions should come under the supervision of the S.N.C.
- the S.N.C. be given copies of all applications for foster or boarding home care, and the power to inspect and approve all homes prior to placement and to supervise the subsequent placement of children
- the S.N.C. be given the right to obtain information about and visit any child who was an inmate of any child caring institution
- the S.N.C. be given the authority to screen all applications for admission to any institution, to refuse admittance if home care were available, and to release dependent children from institutions where grounds for release existed
- the S.N.C. be given the power to approve/disapprove of all private adoptions
- all illegitimate births should be registered with the office of the S.N.C.

While these recommendations may suggest that Billiardé may have been trying to aggrandize the office of the S.N.C., or be indicative of attempts to support or to influence planning underway by the Public Welfare Commission, they also reflect a mounting dissatisfaction with the use of powers by private organizations, the quality of care given to children, and the lack of any central co-ordination of the child caring system.

In addition to his numerous statutory duties as S.N.C., Billiardé by 1916 had become very involved in lobbying for the creation of a federal Child Welfare Bureau.⁵² Although such work

was clearly outside the bounds of his duties, Billiardé spent considerable time writing letters, meeting with interested individuals, and writing and distributing pamphlets; he even drew up a Bill which he proposed to submit to the federal Parliament. Whether the provincial government sanctioned Billiardé's activities in this regard is unclear. The numerous pamphlets he authored were signed in his role as S.N.C., but were not financed by the government. Instead, Mrs. Minnie Campbell,⁵³ influential widow of the Attorney General who had originally hired Billiardé and introduced Juvenile Courts to Manitoba, both funded and gave direction to the venture. The open patronage and guidance provided by Mrs. Campbell created in Billiardé's activities a curious mix of public responsibility and private enterprise. Billiardé's motives, however, were not those of the philanthropic Mrs. Campbell. Unpopular with Manitoba progressives, he was seeking alternative employment at the head of the federal bureau which he hoped his efforts would create. His hopes were unfulfilled, however, as Dr. Helen McMurchy, an acclaimed expert in matters of children's health and mental hygiene, was appointed to the newly created Child Welfare Division of the federal Department of Health. In poor health and with little local support, Billiardé left the office of the S.N.C. in 1919 to be replaced by his associate, D.S. Hamilton, the Inspector of Foster Homes.

An advocate of reform causes (prohibition, women's suffrage, compulsory attendance), Hamilton was popular amongst progressive

reformers. His background may have lead to the expectation that as S.N.C. he would continue active support of reform causes. However, Hamilton's reports give no indication of either his attitudes toward or his involvement in reform activities; he did not continue Billiarde's practice of commenting upon developments or recommending particular measures to government. Hamilton used his reports solely to present statistics related to the work of the various Children's Aid Societies and his own department in the apprehension and care of neglected and dependent children. He appears to have continued the practices employed by Billiarde without implementing new policies or progammes. This may have reflect lack of initiative on his part, or may have indicated that, with the Public Welfare Commission proposing sweeping changes in the child welfare field, the time was not appropriate for new developments within the office of the S.N.C.

Children's Aid Societies

During the 1915-1922 period the Children's Aid Societies shared many common situations attributable to both War-time conditions and the administration of the Norris government.

A problem under the Roblin administration, the visitation of foster homes continued to be inadequate under the Norris government. Although the Societies advised the office of the S.N.C. of all foster placements, they reported poor co-ordination with the services of the Foster Home Inspector throughout the period. It is possible that when D.S. Hamilton was promoted to the position of

S.N.C., he also continued his duties as Inspector, and was thus unable to undertake many visits to foster homes. Although Hamilton had made 225 visits to foster homes in 1916, the Winnipeg Society claimed over 1/3 of its homes had never been visited, and of those homes which had been visited, periods of 2 to 3 years lapsed between inspections. By 1924, the total number of visits made had dwindled to 42,⁵⁴ leaving the societies unaware of the children's progress and the quality of care they received.

Insufficient funds and increased stress in the homes of many overseas soldiers had forced many mothers to seek temporary placements for the care of their children. The Winnipeg Society alone admitted 114 such children throughout the War.⁵⁵ As receiving institutions were assured payment from the family's Patriotic Fund allowance, such placements did not create a strain on organizations resources; in fact, they may have strengthened them. Undoubtedly, however, the placements provoked anxiety on the part of the parents for the Children's Aid Societies were reluctant to accept voluntary surrenders, and all children committed by the courts became C.A.S. wards until the age of majority (21 years). Parents could apply to the court for the return of their children but, even if their children were returned, the C.A.S. retained the legal guardianship of the child. In effect, therefore, children who were returned to their parents were placed under indentures of adoption, with the Societies establishing conditions for parents to fulfill, and retaining the right to withdraw the children.

Alternatively, some older children were returned home under work indentures, requiring parents to pay wages for any work the children performed.⁵⁶ With neither of these procedures offering satisfactory solutions to the problems of temporary admissions, the necessity of which had been highlighted by the War, an amendment⁵⁷ to the Children's Protection Act was passed in 1918. The amendment provided that

the judge may order the delivery of such child to a society for a period of time, either fixed or indeterminate, in which case the child shall be cared for under the direction and control of the said society pending the expiration of such time, or pending further order of the judge in that behalf.

At the urging of the Winnipeg C.A.S., seeking to gain more leverage over cases which were unsatisfactory but not sufficiently serious to warrant removal of children, a further alternative was presented:

the judge may allow the child to remain in its own home subject to the supervision of the child and its home by an agent of the society in such a manner and at such times as the judge by his order may direct.

Each of the newly created types of care emphasized the importance of the preservation of the child's natural home. But while the introduction of temporary care lessened the powers of the C.A.S. over some children and families, the creation of "orders of supervision" vastly increased it in others for the Societies now had access to legal backing in their work with unco-operative parents. The extent to which the Societies used the new provisions is unclear as their statistics rarely differentiated between the types of wardship orders made; nor did they elaborate on their work with children in their own homes. However, the Winnipeg Society's

1921 Annual Report indicated that while 70 children had been made permanent wards during the year, only 14 had been made temporary wards. Thus, though temporary committal was being used to some extent, the vast majority of orders continued to be for permanent wardship. It is likely, however, that the Winnipeg C.A.S., was able to use the new "supervision orders" more than were other Societies, for by 1917, their compliment of office and social work staff totalled 10. All other societies, having only part-time or voluntary staff, would not have been able to offer much in the way of home supervision service.

Support for the foregoing amendments came from not only patriotic societies and the Children's Aids, but also from officials of municipalities.⁵⁸ Although few honored the maintenance orders against them, all municipalities with children in care appeared to feel an obligation to contribute some support. The issuance of temporary versus permanent orders of wardship seemed to indicate that municipal obligations may be only temporary or at least to offer the opportunity for more frequent review of some cases. Then too, if orders of supervision were strictly enforced, they may have resulted in some children not being admitted to care at all. The potential savings thus offered municipalities would indicate that municipal authorities not only supported the amendment, but may possibly have initiated it.

The Societies' overall financial situations were basically unchanged during the war. Winnipeg, Dauphin, and the Esther Robinson

C.A.S. all received increased funding from the Norris government; however the increases were still far short of those required. The St. Adelard Society, in spite its appeal for an increase in its grant, received no additional funding; the Brandon Society received no provincial assistance at all, possibly due to its small size.⁵⁹ Some increases in funding from municipalities could have been anticipated after 1918, the year in which amendments to the Act provided that municipal obligations for children in care be increased from \$1.00 to \$3.00 per week, and extended from the previous age limit of 12 years for girls and 14 for boys to 16 years for both. However, as most municipalities refused to recognize the full extent of their obligations, little overall benefit was felt—for example, reports indicated that municipal support of Dauphin C.A.S. decreased, remained relatively constant for Winnipeg, and increased for St. Adelard.⁶⁰ Therefore the Societies were forced to continue their primary reliance on bequests, subscriptions, support from parents and voluntary donations. However, no appreciable increases were forthcoming from these sources either. Although employment statistics had improved and industry prospered, the costs of living had likewise increased, and with them, the Societies' expenses. In addition patriotic organizations attracted funds which the Societies had previously been granted. Thus, throughout the War and the depression which followed (1921-22) the Societies' activities continued to be hampered by their limited budgets.

Winnipeg C.A.S.

During the 1915-1922 period, the work of the Winnipeg C.A.S. underwent several changes. The number of children being admitted to care each year declined.⁶¹ The decrease may be attributed to several factors: an overall increase in prosperity, Mothers' Allowances, prohibition, supervision orders, more experienced staff, and work of a more preventive nature.

Increases in paid staff (1 in 1909, 6 in 1912, 10 in 1918) enabled the Society to have more frequent contact with client families; less punitive attitudes resulted in many contacts being of a more supportive nature than formerly. In fact by 1922, the Society began rejecting some recommendations to remove children from unco-operative or impoverished families. Instead, it began experimenting with providing selected families with financial relief and material assistance in conjunction with counselling and supervision in efforts in order to keep the children in their own homes. Although such efforts were only extended to morally upright and deserving families, they nevertheless indicated a significant change in the agency's philosophy. This shift in philosophy, reflective of the increased influence of Social Gospel principles, was doubtlessly fostered by the influence of Board members such as D. Harkness, a left-wing progressive and Rev. W. Ivens, a labor supporter and member of the radical wing of the Social Gospel movement.

Changes also appeared in the religion and nationalities of children admitted to care.⁶² As a direct result of the

resolution of the dispute between the Winnipeg and St. Adelard Societies in 1916, Catholic children from Winnipeg and the rural municipalities were entrusted to the care of the Winnipeg C.A.S. Thus the proportion of Catholic children in the Society's care increased though there was no overall increase in the numbers of Catholic children admitted into the child care system as a whole. A small number of the Catholic children admitted to the Winnipeg C.A.S. were French in origin, but the great majority were from eastern European countries - Germany, Austria, Hungary, Russia, Poland - creating a more polyglot atmosphere within the Winnipeg Society.

Care of the increased numbers of foreign children may have been expected to create a problem but the Society had eased the transition by making placement arrangements with the existing Catholic institutions. During the first year of the new procedures the Society placed most Catholic children into existing Catholic institutions. Following 1917, however problems appeared to develop with the use of the Catholic institutions. In 1918 they received no placements, in the flu epidemic of 1919 they accepted children; but after that again no children were placed. It would appear that the Catholic institutions were unable to accommodate the children rather than that the Society refused to place them. The Catholic children therefore remained in the Winnipeg C.A.S. Shelter, while Protestant children were placed in Protestant institutions. In 1922, Providence Shelter, an institution for Catholic children was opened

at the request of the Winnipeg C.A.S.⁶³ to accommodate the large numbers of Catholic children living in its Children's Shelter.

The need for cheap labor during the War and the depression of the early 1920's created the only other change in methods of care. During these periods, a slight increase in applications for the labor of older children allowed the Society to undertake more placements in work situations. Although its own weak economic circumstances were eased through such placements, the Winnipeg C.A.S. was not happy in making them, for through such placements children were trained in only manual and domestic labor. With its new philosophy, the Society hoped to offer its wards better opportunities for their futures.

As it had been since its establishment, the Winnipeg Society continued to be the recognized leader amongst the Children's Aid Societies and the most influential with government officials. Billiarde applauded the Society's efforts, claiming it was doing first-class work in spite of having only fourth-rate machinery⁶⁴ thereby helping it secure a substantial increase (\$1,500 or 40%) in its annual grant from the provincial government. Its foremost position presented problems, however, as the society carried the responsibility for the majority of child protection and placement services performed throughout the Province. Although the Winnipeg C.A.S. had encouraged the development of this situation by accepting rural children and refusing to send Catholic children to the St. Adelard Society, it nevertheless felt it bore too much of the burden and called for Provincial co-ordination of existing services.

St. Adelard C.A.S.

Following a hectic, disorganized existence during its first decade, the St. Adelard C.A.S. stabilized its position during the Norris administration. The most significant changes, however, were not related to the change of government. Norris showed no more sympathy to the Society's problems than had Roblin. The re-organization resulted from internal changes in the Society's policies.

Although judges had been instructed, following the 1910 amendment to the Children's Protection Act, to commit Catholic children to the care of the St. Adelard Society, opposition from the Winnipeg Society had resulted in "leakage" of children from the Catholic system. Lacking the influence and resources necessary to prevent this, the St. Adelard Society suggested establishing a Catholic Society within the city of Winnipeg. However, receiving little enthusiasm from Winnipeg Catholics, the Society was unable to proceed with these plans. Forced to seek an alternative solution, the Archbishop of St. Boniface met with W.A. Weston, Secretary of the Winnipeg Society.⁶⁵ Although no records exist relating details of the meeting, it appears that the Winnipeg Society assured the Archbishop that all Catholic children entrusted to its care would be placed in Catholic homes and institutions. With its financial situation critical, the St. Adelard Society was forced to acknowledge its limitations and agree to Weston's proposition. Thus, in 1917, the St. Adelard Society voted to confine its

activities to the area within the Archdiocese of St. Boniface and to ask judges to commit Catholic children coming from outside this area to the care of the Winnipeg Society. The decision was not made without resentment, however, for the Society's minutes indicated:

Monseigneur Beliveau fait observer qu'il serait peut-etre bien a l'avenir lorsque des enfants de ce diocese (Winnipeg) seront confies a nos soins que la chose soit portee a la connaissance du Comite Catholique de la Children's Aid Society a Winnipeg leur faisant voir que nous faisons une partie de leur ouvrage, attendue que ses Messieurs ont deja refuse de co-operer avec nous par le passe pour ce qui est du placement et de l'entretien de ces enfants.

Although Billiardé reminded the St. Adelard C.A.S. the government had authorized them to care for Catholic children from all of the Province, the decision of the Society was allowed to stand.

One of the most immediate effects which resulted from the constriction of the Society's boundaries was a change in the nationalities of children coming into care. As St. Boniface was a predominantly French area and housed the majority of the Province's French population, few Catholic children of other national origins were now admitted to the St. Adelard agency. Of those Catholic children which it no longer received, most came from the North End and Point Douglas areas of Winnipeg and were of Eastern European origin. Thus the Society's decision to limit its geographic area had the effect of making it an almost exclusively French Catholic organization. In view of the Board's suggestion in 1913 to create a Society especially for Slavic children, the decision may have indeed reflected a type of French nativism - a desire to care for French Catholic children before those of other Catholic families.

A second major effect which resulted from this change in policy was an improvement in the Society's financial position. In the past, the Society had received little financial support from rural municipalities, and none from Winnipeg city council, although it had nevertheless been obliged to pay Catholic institutions for the care of the children. By no longer accepting such children, the Society lessened its financial burden and left to the Winnipeg Society the task of obtaining municipal support and arranging to pay Catholic institutions for care provided to Winnipeg and rural Catholic children. Fewer debts and increased income from municipal sources, afforded by the 1918 amendments, resulted in an overall improvement in the St. Adelard Society's finances. But even with its improved financial position the Society continued to operate on a shoe-string budget, unable to hire additional staff or to offer more than minimal services.

A final benefit of the policy change was seen in improvements in the Society's relationships with the Winnipeg Society and the office of the S.N.C. Although the decision to limit the Society's activities had not been made without some resentment, it had eliminated the causes of many disputes which arose in the daily work of the two Children's Aid Societies. With friction lessened, they were able to work together on causes which would benefit both - e.g. the 1918 financial amendments to the Children's Protection Act. In fact, by the end of 1919, relations had improved to such an extent that the Society's annual report acknowledged Weston's assistance and issued him a vote of thanks.⁶⁶ The decrease in responsi-

bilities also enabled the St. Adelard Society to improve its calibre of work. At last able to develop an acceptable system of record-keeping, the Society was able to satisfy Billiarde's demands, thereby establishing cordial relations with his office as well.

Hebrew C.A.S.

As with the St. Adelard C.A.S., the Jewish Society was able to overcome many of its problems during the 1915-1922 period. Its solutions, too, came not from government assistance but from internal re-organization.

When the Norris administration had assumed office, the Jewish Community was divided by rivalry between the two child caring organizations - the Esther Robinson Orphanage and Children's Aid Society of Western Canada and The Canadian Jewish Orphans' Home. With each organization vying for support, the "feud" had created a rift in the Winnipeg Jewish community. The economic repercussions, however, were equally as important as the hard feelings: the community could not afford to support two competing organizations. Community leaders thus demanded that the differences be resolved and the organizations be amalgamated. The Esther Robinson Organization was in the weakest financial position as it had accepted many out-of-province children who were not receiving financial support. In addition, provincial and municipal grants (\$350 and \$500 respectively in 1916⁶⁷) did not cover the costs of care for children committed through the courts. The Canadian Jewish

Orphanage, enjoying a better financial position and more public support, was able to dictate the terms of the merger made in 1917. Thus the consolidated organization became known as the Jewish Orphanage and Children's Aid Society of Western Canada.

The newly formed Society immediately sought to establish an efficient, professionally-run organization. Although it was comparatively small (housing 44 children) in comparison to other Children's Aid Societies and children's institutions, it imported as its director Louis Greenberg, an experienced social worker and child care officer from Chicago. The increased efficiency of Mr. Greenberg's leadership allowed the organization to rapidly expand its work - the number of children cared for increased by 50% during the first year. However, the Society continued to function primarily in its capacity as an orphanage, focussing only on the needs of the children in care and allowing the Winnipeg C.A.S. and the S.N.C. to investigate all complaints of neglect and abuse. It may have been because of the custodial nature of the Jewish C.A.S. that the S.N.C. failed to make reference to its work in his annual reports. However as only the Winnipeg Society could truly be said to offer many more services, references to the remaining three Societies and not the Jewish Society would seem at least an oversight, and perhaps a slight, on the part of the S.N.C.

Brandon C.A.S.

Following a sporadic existence in the earliest part of the century, the Brandon agency was able to become firmly established

during the Norris administration, again without the aid of the government.

After a brief period of activity in 1912 and 1913, the Brandon C.A.S. had ceased to function until rejuvenated in 1916 at the suggestion of Rev. A. E. Smith of the Methodist Church, a member of the radical wing of the Social Gospel and future founder of the Brandon People's (Labor) Church. After 1916, the Society's Board met infrequently but managed nevertheless to acquire some consistency. The primary reasons for its low activity level would seem to have been its inability to secure any regular source of funding and little perceived need of its services. The provincial government refused, until 1929, to grant assistance - a refusal apparently made on the basis of the Society's restriction of its activities to the area within the city limits. (All other Societies received assistance as they admitted children from outside their city boundaries - including the St. Adelard Society whose boundaries coincided with those of the Archdiocese, not the city of St. Boniface.) The Brandon city council agreed to pay only for costs of children in care, and with no office or shelter facilities, the Society had difficulty attracting private donations.⁶⁸

Indicating a change in philosophy, the new Board sought to undertake "more aggressive work in finding out cases of neglect and juvenile crime rather than largely leaving such to be dealt with on complaint"⁶⁹. While the Society did not elaborate on the purpose of its new role, the presence of men such as Rev. Smith on

its Board would suggest it sought to create preventative measures to keep children out of care. Limitations existed regarding the extent of preventive work which could be undertaken as the Society operated entirely on volunteer labor. The Board did not seem to feel it was necessary to employ even part-time help for at the same time it suggested adopting a more aggressive role, it also suspended annual \$1.00 membership fees as they were not felt to be necessary at the time. It was not likely the income from subscription fees was very large, but it would, nevertheless, have helped defray operating costs.

The event which contributed most to the permanence of the Brandon CAS was a visit from the President of the Winnipeg Society in 1920. Unhappy with the Brandon Society's failure to support wards it had placed in the Winnipeg C.A.S. Shelter, the President solicited more support for the Winnipeg Society or suggested, alternatively, that the Brandon Society should itself provide care for its wards. Choosing the second alternative, the Brandon C.A.S. immediately began negotiations with the city council and the Salvation Army for the establishment of a children's shelter in Brandon. Early in 1921 the shelter opened - funded by the city, operated by the Salvation Army, and available for the care of Brandon C.A.S. wards. In line with its assertive image, and possibly to ensure use of its new facilities, the Society appointed two special committees - one to discover, investigate and act upon cases of neglect or dependency, and the other to attend court hearings

regarding juveniles.

Although the shelter allowed Brandon wards to be cared for in their own community instead of being sent to Winnipeg, it also increased the numbers of children received into care. Situations which had formerly been handled by paying neighbors or relatives to care for children during parental illness or incapacity were now more easily handled by admitting the children to care. Thus, while the shelter facilitated some of the society's work, it undoubtedly curtailed some of its more supportive measures. Nevertheless, it did establish the Society as a permanent child care organization in Brandon.

Dauphin C.A.S.

Established at the close of the Roblin administration, the Dauphin Society, too, secured its position in the years between 1915 and 1922. In doing so, it received assistance from the Norris government and from within the community itself.

Finding it very impractical to transfer all wards to the Children's Shelter in Winnipeg, the Dauphin Society had established its own shelter by 1916 and was accepting placements from both the city and surrounding rural areas. In its earliest period, the shelter would not accept temporary or voluntary placements, declaring "the home is not a place of public shelter"⁷⁰. This rule, however, was not hard and fast: in periods when demands for shelter space were low, temporary admissions were accepted; in

periods when demands were high, even justifiable placements were refused. No mention was made as to what arrangements were made for the care of such children, though presumably temporary boarding homes were used. By 1921, however, after much discussion, the Board settled on a more lenient formal policy of permitting emergency temporary admissions on a boarding house basis in order to give parents time to seek alternate arrangements, a policy which greatly assisted widows and widowers as well as families in crises.

As Dauphin was a considerable distance from Winnipeg problems arose in using the services of the Provincial Inspector of Foster Homes. With an overcrowded shelter and Hamilton seldom able to inspect foster homes the Society requested that the Department of Education appoint a local inspector. After many appeals, the request was granted. In 1921, the Department appointed W. Murray, one of the Society's original Board members, to the post. Although Murray had been an active member of the Board his appointment resulted in as many problems as it solved. His assigned responsibilities - Foster Home Inspector, probation officer for the Juvenile Court (est. 1917), investigator and supervisor for recipients of Mothers' Allowance, and school attendance officer - would have kept him fully occupied; however Murray combined his private career as a surveyor with his government position, apparently conducting his own business on government time. Problems which resulted from his shortage of time were compounded by his independent approach:

(He was) in no way subject to the suggestion or control of the CAS board and in fact in many specific cases, acted directly contrary to their expressed line of policy . . . One several occasions he arranged for children to be admitted or committed to the shelter without the Society's knowledge or consent, and without adequate provision for maintenance."⁷¹

Murray's propensity to so readily admit children to the shelter seemed closely related to the fact that his wife operated the shelter within their own home. Receiving payment for each child admitted, Murray showed no inclination to help families keep their children at home. Thus, the self serving tendency of organizations was exacerbated in the Dauphin C.A.S. Although the Dauphin Society was unhappy with Murray's activities, it was unable to afford to replace him from its own funds. His services were therefore employed until he was dismissed in 1928.

The Dauphin Society admitted an average of 20 to 30 children per year, with figures rising slightly each year. Following Murray's appointment, it appeared relatively successful in securing foster home placements for the majority of its wards - by 1922, of its total of 94 wards, 60 had been placed in foster homes, 13 in work situations, 2 were cared for in other institutions and 19 remained in the shelter.

To support its work, it, like the other Societies, relied primarily on charity and fund-raising efforts. Enthusiastic about the project in the beginning the rural municipalities had contributed between 35%-40% of the annual budget. Following 1919, however, their

support declined until it amounted to less than 20% in 1922. The city council made only one contribution of \$300 (8%) in 1920. Provincial government support began in 1916 with a grant of \$250 (10%) which gradually increased to \$1,000 (25%) by 1922. Thus, private funds were required to finance at least 50% of the Society's work every year.⁷²

Children's Institutions

By 1915 Manitoba had a multiplicity of institutions caring for children; there was little need to establish more. This absence of need, combined with the scarcity of funds for other than patriotic purposes, discouraged the founding of new organizations. The few exceptions to this were the Khaki Club, the Church Home for Girls, and the government homes for feebleminded children.

The Khaki Club, as its name suggested, was a small home established for the care of children of Protestant allied soldiers. Although such children were also eligible for care in other institutions, the home was founded as a patriotic gesture in mid 1917. With an daily average of 15 children in residence the Club cared for approximately 60 children by the end of the War. While the majority of children were placed in the home on a temporary basis, some were permanent residents, thus creating, in effect, a small orphanage. The institution remained in operation after the war, caring for the latter category of children. Support for the Club's work came exclusively from Patriotic Fund allowances and

charitable donations.

The Church Home for Girls, with a capacity to care for 10 unwed mothers and their babies, was established in 1916 as a joint venture by the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches. Although several other institutions - Home of the Good Shepherd, Salvation Army Rescue Home, and the Home of the Friendless - offered similar services, none was exclusively Protestant in character. This, presumably, was the rationale behind the founding of the Church Home. The work of the Home was supported entirely by charity and by the income the girls earned doing domestic tasks - laundry, sewing, cleaning, etc. Although the existence of the Home, and others like it may suggest that attempts were being made to help the girls keep their children, this was not the case. Manitoba legislation⁷³ required that illegitimate infants be nursed for 10 months before being surrendered to children's institutions. Although this was primarily a measure to combat high rates of infant mortality, it was also thought to contribute to the mother's reform, providing her with a "changed outlook on life".⁷⁴ Although they may have effected positive changes in both areas, the 'nursing' homes ignored, or were unaware of, psychological damages which were inflicted upon both the mothers and babies by this extended period of confinement.

Two homes for feeble minded children were established by the Norris government. The first institution, the Kildonan Home, was opened in 1916; the second was established in Portage La Prairie in 1921. Children of all ages were cared for in the Kildonan Home,

while the Portage institution cared for children under 6 and girls over 14. Presumably when they passed the age of 6, children were transferred to the Kildonan Home or to the Home for Incurables. The inclusion of pre-school children with older girls would seem to have been primarily an economic measure - separate boys' and girls' facilities need not be built and the girls could help care for the younger children. Selection of 14 years as the age of admission for girls was undoubtedly made to coincide with the onset of puberty and the desire to prevent defective girls from bearing children. Although no information was available on the nature of programmes provided the children, it is likely they were largely custodial in character, though some effort would have been made to teach children domestic and manual skills to help in the upkeep of the institutions themselves.

The most noteworthy phenomenon in the system of children's institutions was not the establishment of new institutions, but the growth, in both size and influence, of the existing institutions. Norris had continued Roblin's programme of steadily increasing grants to child caring organizations.⁷⁵ His policy for issuing grants did not appear to differ from that of Roblin - he extended grants to no organizations other than the two newly founded Children's Aid Societies (Jewish and Dauphin) and continued to use no formula or systematic ordering in the size of grants issued. During his administration the Winnipeg CAS, the Children's Home and the Knowles Boys' Home were selected for special treatment, each

receiving sizable increases in government subsidies. Increases to the Winnipeg CAS would seem to have resulted from the increasing numbers of provincial wards cared for, the leadership it provided, and the influence of leading citizens on its Board of Directors. Favors extended to the Children's Home appeared to result from the influence of its many socially prominent Board members. Increases in Knowles Home grant acknowledged the assistance the Home had given the Juvenile Court in the placement of delinquent boys and the influential contacts made with court officials. Only St. Joseph's Orphanage received a cut-back in funding and the reasons for its treatment are unclear; in 1918 it cared for a daily average of 203 children compared to 179 in the Children's Home.⁷⁶ Failure to standardize grants and treat organizations equally, combined with the unequal distribution of powers related to children, sustained rivalry and confusion amongst the various organizations.

The sizes of the institutions had increased constantly since their establishments. By 1922, it was estimated there were in excess of 2,000 children in approximately 20 Manitoba institutions.⁷⁷ In spite of cautions about the dangers of large institutions and the value of family home settings, institutionalization of children had continued at a rapid pace. One of the earliest public condemnations came from Dr. E.T. Devine, an American authority on social welfare. Employed to investigate reasons behind disappointing public support of all charitable organizations in Winnipeg, Dr. Devine extended his investigation to the social

welfare system itself. First to receive his criticism was the child caring system. Declaring that he was "fully convinced that you have too many orphans, half-orphans or otherwise dependent children in institutions" Devine indicated what he believed were three contributing factors:

1. no adequate provision for continuous contact with the families of children in care with the result that children remained in care longer than necessary
2. an inadequate supply of foster homes due to lack of an adequately financed and sustained effort to find them
3. failure to use the 'boarding-out' system for fear it would undermine the system of foster (adoptive) and work placements.⁷⁸

A second major report isolated even more numerous and more serious problems. Although the report, apparently undertaken by Charlotte Whitton⁷⁹, was commissioned in the late 1920's its contents applied equally to the system as it existed under the Norris government. Eight interacting factors were outlined which were believed to be responsible for the "unduly extensive" rate of institutional care in Manitoba:

1. large numbers of institutions and easy admission policies made it the easiest way out for greedy, indifferent or blameworthy parents as well as for some 'careless' and irresponsible agencies.
2. lack of investigation and support services in rural areas meant children had to be removed and institutionalized
3. the tendency to accept 'temporary cases' without detailed inquiry, and the subsequent tendency for temporary cases to drift into permanent cases.
4. inadequate case-work facilities for unmarried parenthood cases with the consequent surrender of babies.
5. temporary court orders.
6. opposition of institutions and Societies to use free foster homes or boarding-out homes. Although concerns were expressed that children may be exploited and that there was a lack of

services for home finding and supervision, the "near financial panic" felt by some organizations over the prospect of losing children seemed the primary source of opposition.

7. lack of institutional care facilities in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Northern Ontario had encouraged large Manitoba institutions.
8. large numbers of children were in temporary care due to parents seasonal unemployment or illness.

Although several of the foregoing factors were not directly alterable by the organizations - poverty, courtroom decisions, poorly funded services - this report, like Devine's, concluded that considerable fault lay within the organizations themselves.

Sutherland's analysis adds a further dimension which compounds the severity of the problems of over-institutionalization - the changing nature of the organizations themselves:

once the zeal which led to their founding and enlivened their early years faded away, children's institutions displayed both a grim determination to persist and, at best, a cautious drabness in their management. 'Homes' and 'schools' often introduced prison-like procedures that the second generation of custodians, who lacked the dedication of their predecessors, designed for their own convenience but justified with a pious cant about maintaining order and training children in self-discipline.⁸⁰

The prospects, therefore, for many neglected, dependent or impoverished Manitoba children were particularly bleak even after they were "rescued" - confinement, perhaps for the duration of their childhood or for their lifetimes, in large impersonal and rigidly governed institutions.

Thus, the system which had originated and proliferated with few controls under Roblin's administration persisted under Norris. But Although the Norris government continued to fund the organizations,

it was nevertheless subject to the demands to reform and control them, effectively summarized in J.J. Kelso's warning "Let us not have too many organizations and too little organization."⁸¹ In response to these demands, in 1917, the Norris government established the Public Welfare Commission⁸² to undertake a study and to report to the provincial Legislature on all phases of charitable welfare work, both public and private within the Province. A principal area selected for detailed study and recommendation was the child welfare system. From this study came the Child Welfare Act.

The Child Welfare Act

Framing the Act

The members appointed to the Public Welfare Commission were representatives of the progressive reformers:

- Hon. T. H. Johnson - Attorney General and Minister of Public Works; Icelandic origin, Lutheran
- D.B. Harkness - General Secretary of the Baptist Church in Western Canada, Secretary and Director of the Manitoba Social Service Council, born in Ontario, CAS Board member
- H.J. Symington K.C. - Ontario born Presbyterian, influential lawyer
- R. Forke - Scottish born Presbyterian farmer, future leader of the federal Progressive Party
- A. Mathers, M.D. - Manitoba born Anglican, author of the Mental Diseases Act, consulting, Provincial Psychiatrist
- J.M. Thompson - Ontario-born Protestant, founder of the Federated Budget Board (Community Chest), businessman
- Mrs. L.B. Copeland - Nova Scotia born Protestant, C.A.S. board member, member Social Welfare Commission (formerly Associated

Charities)

Ethel Johns, R.N. - nursing administrator

J.H.T. Falk - English born Protestant, Director of the Social Welfare Commission, future Director of the McGill School of Social Work

A.P. Paget - English born Protestant, Secretary of the Charity Endorsement Bureau and the Mothers' Allowance Commission

Mrs. J. Halpenny - Ontario-born Methodist - member Charity Endorsement Bureau, co-author (with husband Dr. J. Halpenny) of a health education book for school children)

Mrs. S.E. Clements - wife of MLA and former Mayor of Brandon, Methodist

In order to give careful consideration to the many areas to be studied, the Commission subdivided its members into committees; the Child Welfare Committee was lead by D.B. Harkness. Essentially a progressive, Harkness' philosophy tended to express sentiments of the more radical Social Gospel -

(The problems of poverty) will only be solved when the many set themselves to the task of eradicating the system of selfseeking individualism which results in the glaring inequalities of distribution of the products of industry, and of the necessities upon which health, comfort, self respect and good citizenship depend.⁸³

His attitudes towards the problems of delinquent children stemmed from this philosophy for he stated that "the causes of so called delinquency in children are largely found in the inequalities and inadequacies of our social and economic system"⁸⁴. However, Harkness did not appear to see the child welfare system as being a tool to challenge or alter social and economic relationships. He sought instead to create a child welfare system which would no longer provide for 'salvaging failures and losses"⁸⁵ but would instead provide supportive and preventive services to those in need.

Under Harkness' leadership, the Child Welfare Committee initiated public hearings to which organizations were invited to present their concerns; investigations of and visits to organizations were made to assess facilities and programmes; information was gathered on funding, charters and policies. The resulting recommendations coincided with those which Harkness' personally expressed and for which he sought support in his capacity as Secretary of the Manitoba Social Service Council:

That an immense amount of effort and money is being expended in this field we are well aware. It is, however, well known that there is no proper correlation of effort, and no adequate unifying supervision being done Your executive, therefore would earnestly advocate this Council add its support to the request that the Government of Manitoba take early steps to establish and adequately support a Child Welfare Department for the province, shaped on modern lines and provided with facilities which will make possible proper classification of the children cared for, efficient supervision of them all, and a comprehensive survey of the needs of the province in this most important of all fields.⁸⁶

Specifically, the committee, supported by the Commission as a whole, recommended the following principles:

1. the government accept responsibility to ensure that "primary needs of all children are provided for from sources, and that the reasonable needs of the handicapped and less fortunate of its citizens shall be adequately supplied"
2. that all existing legislation pertaining to children be unified under one act
3. that the government create a Board of Welfare Supervision to co-ordinate and direct public and private expenditure on public welfare, to supervise and inspect all welfare activities, to endorse for licence all private institutions and agencies, to

recommend appropriate amounts for government grants to all organizations, to make recommendations regarding rules governing institutions and activities, and to conduct independent research

4. that a single government portfolio, the Department of Public Welfare, be established to incorporate and oversee child welfare and health activities - including all charitable institutions, relief and correction services, and Mothers Allowances, protection services and health services
5. that a Director of Child Welfare be appointed within the Department of Public Welfare, and that he be given all the powers of a Children's Aid Society to organize child placing, transfers, wardship, investigation etc.
6. that all children removed from normal control of parents or guardians be enrolled as wards of the province
7. that every child of unmarried parents should be a ward of the Province
8. that all children in care of institutions be classified as dependent, neglected, delinquent, mentally defective, physically handicapped or children of parents not legally married to each other; and that appropriate facilities and services be provided for each.⁸⁷

Although there were inconsistencies in the recommendations (such as trying to secure equal treatment for illegitimate children yet automatically making them wards of the Province) the most curious aspect of the recommendations concerned the need for two official bodies - the Welfare Supervision Board and the Department of Public Welfare (points 3 and 4). The numerous duties and powers assigned to the Welfare Supervision Board (whose members were appointed though unpaid) would seem to have more rightly been accorded the government department. The appropriateness of placing so much responsibility and power with what was essentially a volunteer body is certainly questionable. Undoubtedly, conflict and confusion could result from the interrelated yet vaguely defined roles of each. Reasons for the existence of two such closely related bodies

were not outlined. Possibly assigning so much work to a volunteer body was an economic measure; however Norris was not noted for his tendencies to economize. A more likely explanation is that the creation of an appointed Welfare Supervision Board would continue to allow input from the business, professional and charitable societies, all of whom were well represented on the Public Welfare Commission. Thus, although the Commission was advocating more government regulation in child welfare activities, it envisioned a central role for private interests.

In spite of the committee's apparent desire to preserve some measure of private input into the new system, its sweeping recommendations were destined to conflict with the vested interests of private children's organizations and institutions. In anticipation of problems, the committee emphasized that the interests of all charitable organizations should be "carefully and zealously conserved and correlated." Somewhat inconsistently, it explained:

The committee is of the opinion that there is no reason why under the proposed system there should be any curtailment of the activities or usefulness of such organizations, which should rather through increased co-operation with the department realize more fully their hopes of service. They believe further that it is so essential to an adequate and consistent child welfare system that the primary responsibility of the Province should be recognized, that even at the risk of some difficulties in the readjustment, this principle should be faithfully applied. Within such a system there will be found a place for every citizen and organization whose natural sympathies and desires for

services, prompt activity in behalf of the children of the Province.⁸⁸

In accordance with the Public Welfare Commissions recommendations two activities were immediately undertaken, both, in fact, prior to the Commission's termination - a Welfare Supervision Board was legislated⁸⁹ and appointed, and a new Child Welfare Bill was drafted.

The Welfare Supervision Board was operationalized in early 1921. Board members were appointed on a three year rotational basis though reappointments were possible. Among its first membership were two former members of the Public Welfare Commission - J.M. Thompson and D.B. Harkness; new members were similar in backgrounds:

Mrs. M. McWilliams - Ontario born, Presbyterian, president Local Council of Women, leader of University Womens Club and numerous other societies, wife of the future Lt. Governor of Manitoba.
 G.F. Chipman - Nova Scotia-born Baptist, editor Grain Growers' Guide.
 Major D.M. Duncan - American-born Presbyterian, assistant superintendent of Winnipeg schools.
 Dr. J. Halpenny - Ontario born Methodist, on faculty of University of Manitoba Department of Medicine.
 E.A. McPherson K.C., - American born Methodist, MLA 1913-1920, City Solicitor.
 T.J. Murray, K.C., Ontario born Protestant, police magistrate.
 Mrs. Kenneth Campbell -

The children's sub-committee consisted of Duncan, Campbell, Murray and Thompson though it appears McWilliams also shared in its work. Under the terms of its governing legislation the Board had been given the responsibility of "inspecting and supervising all phases of charitable and welfare work, both public and private,

within the Province."⁹⁰ The authority and control provided in granting and withholding licences, however, had not been included - an apparent move to quell dissatisfaction amongst private institutions. After visiting the children's institutions the committee, noting the existence of greatly varying powers, supported the Public Welfare Commission's original recommendation to regulate institutions' powers and provide more supervision in drafting the Acts governing them. Although the committee members had, as a rule been cordially received, there were instances in which admittance was refused, indicating perceived interference in private matters and prompting the Board to recommend amending its governing legislation to conform with the original intention of authority and control over the institutions. The Board also advised the government of the merits of the various organizations and made recommendations regarding grants. As no significant change in the granting system was evident in the two years the Board functioned under the Norris government. It appears the Board did not attempt to standardize the treatment accorded the institutions, thereby perpetuating existing inequalities.

Drafting and Passing the Child Welfare Act

Before the three year term of the Public Welfare Commission expired, the Children's Committee had drafted a Child Welfare Bill which incorporated most of recommendations cited previously.⁹¹ The Bill consolidated children's legislation which, in

Whitton's terms, had been "scattered promiscuously throughout the statutes of the province"⁹² - the Children's Protection Act, Illegitimate Children's Act, Infants' Act, Public Health Act, the Humane Societies Act and the Factory Act.

The Bill proposed the creation of a provincial Department of Public Welfare of which a Child Welfare Division was to be an integral part. In addition, several noteworthy provisions were added:

Duties of the Director of Child Welfare included amongst previous provisions

- to secure a system of suitable foster, boarding and probation homes
- to take steps to collect maintenance payments for all children who were provincial wards (i.e. Wards of the Director or of Children's Aid Societies.)

Appointment of a Board of Selection (5-7 members including the Director, a psychiatrist and one Roman Catholic) to perform requested 'studies' of the mental and moral status of wards, and make recommendations regarding appropriate care

Neglected children

- maximum age of apprehension raised from 16 to 18 years
- councils of municipalities were made responsible for the provision of temporary care for every apprehended child
- to be wards of the Province unless otherwise specified by the Judge

Illegitimate children (remained "Children whose parents have not legally been married to each other" to remove the stigma of illegitimacy)

- Director of Child Welfare to be notified of all births; children automatically to become wards of the province
- in cases where two or more men may be the fathers of an illegitimate child, each was liable to share in maintenance costs

Feeble-Minded and other Mentally Defective Children

- all teachers, nurses, doctors, CAS or probation officers, police officers were required to notify the Director in writing of any children thought to be defective
- Director to cause the investigation of all reports of feeble-minded children
- a Judge may order any mentally defective child into institutional care

- all individuals with a mental age apparently less than 14 were made eligible to be dealt with in the foregoing manner by a Juvenile Court Judge

Physically Handicapped Children

- it was made the duty of the Director of Child Welfare to obtain information on all handicapped children and to investigate all reported cases
- to provide, in co-operation with parents or guardians, special education and training for such children

Immigrant children

- all agents or organizations importing children were to be licensed by the Lt. Governor-in-Council
- the importing organizations were to assume full responsibility for the maintenance of children
- all imported children were to be enrolled as wards of the province

Child Welfare Organizations

- eligibility requirement that all individuals establishing a C.A.S. be British citizens was reduced to include all individuals (over 21) able to vote in a provincial election
- in areas where no C.A.S. existed the Director was able to appoint a "Child Welfare Committee" to carry out measures of the Act

Adoption

- all applications for adoption were to be made to the Director of Child Welfare who would make (or cause to be made) investigations of all applications for adoption (including private adoptions)
- absolute adoptions were introduced, placing total legal guardianship with adoptive parents; all applications for absolute adoption required the Director's written approval
- all adopted children were guaranteed the right to inherit from both adoptive and birth parents
- Director to issue final decree for all absolute adoptions

Guardianship

- both mother and father were given equal rights over their children; in custody disputes whichever parent proved most 'fit' and capable would be awarded custody

Institutional Care

- all children placed in institutions subject to payment by parents, but whose parents had not visited or contributed over a two month period, were to be reported to the Director and dealt with as neglected children
- the Director was given the responsibility of visiting and inspecting all institutions, and the power of entry to enable him to do so. He also was given the right to inspect all children and records at his request
- on the advice of the Board of Selection, child residents could be dealt with as neglected or defective and removed

from the caring institution

- no institution was to accept voluntary surrender of a child's custody from his parents or guardians without the approval of the director

Municipalities

- every town with a population of 3,000 or more was required to provide a children's shelter
- municipalities or parents were required to contribute \$5 weekly for the support of all children in care. No specifications were made as to the type of home or institution in which the child was cared for, and no limitations were set regarding the maximum age of children supported (previously 16, now 21). Payments were to be enforced under the County Courts Act.

General

- the Director was given the authority to suspend any CAS or welfare association agent guilty of negligence or improper conduct
- habitual employment of children under 14 between the hours of 9 p.m. and 6 a.m. was prohibited; employment of children under 16 in potentially injurious to physical or moral health was prohibited.⁹³

The overall effect of the Bill was to establish government responsibility for the care and well being of all neglected, dependent and defective children. In doing so, it intended to create a strong central government authority, to reinforce parental and municipal responsibilities, to clarify confusion around issues of custody and legal guardianship, to lessen institutional control over children, to provide segregated facilities for defective children, and to reinforce the principles of natural home settings and maintenance of the normal child in his own community. The provisions of the Bill reflected the Social Gospel philosophy of social responsibility, the religious emphasis on morality, and the professional and medical influence regarding care of certain types of children.

The Bill was submitted to the Legislature in early 1921. As could be predicted the changes it proposed met with immediate opposition. The most vocal criticisms came from the existing children's institutions which claimed they had not adequately been consulted during the Public Welfare Commission hearings.⁹⁴ The Bill vested too much power in the office of the Director of Child Welfare, they insisted, and left their own status 'vague' and 'indefinite' in addition to requiring too much 'red tape'⁹⁵. The Public Health Board objected to the use of the term 'Child Welfare' as this term was habitually used in association with its work. Other objections, primarily coming from municipalities, were made in reference to the anticipated costs of the proposed system. The Commission countered that costs would be kept to a minimum because the nucleus of the new system (the office of the S.N.C.) was already in place. In support of the Commission's position the Free Press⁹⁶ revealed that it was not the government's intention to institute a new portfolio but rather to place the Child Welfare Department under one of the current Ministries.⁹⁷ Further, pointing out that since over \$10,000,000⁹⁸ from taxes and private donations was spent annually on welfare institutions and activities, the Free Press argued that "The new Act recognizes the right of the people to get the utmost returns for that money'. The final criticism appeared to stem from more radical opinions that the legislation dealt with the effects, not the causes, of the problems. Again the Free Press defended the Act:

In social welfare work what are effects today are causes tomorrow. Moreover, taking care of the effect in no way obstructs the removal of the cause. Indeed, it hastens such by directing public attention and educating public opinion. Again, the bill is dealing directly with human lives and no amount of theorizing will excuse the neglect of the immediate suffering of even one child.⁹⁹

Lack of support for the Bill, however, originated not only in organized pressure groups, but in the increasingly conservative attitude of the general public. Imbued with the passion of the Social Gospel throughout the War, people sincerely believed the War's end would bring 'the coming of the Kingdom on Earth.' When the anticipated changes failed to materialize, exuberance faded and disillusionment set in. The events of the Winnipeg Strike in 1919 hastened the conservative mood for it injected the element of fear of 'communist take-over' by radical activists. The post-war depression created even more hesitancy. Thus, faced with a measure they may have at one time supported, the general public were cautious.

In spite of the efforts of the Commission members and the Free Press, opposition to the Bill could not be overcome; it was held over for further consideration before being resubmitted in 1922. The results of the defeated motion to hear the Bill in the 1921 session showed an interesting voting pattern - 6 Liberal, 9 Labour and 3 United Farm representatives favored proceeding; 8 Conservative 12 Liberal, 6 United Farm and 2 Independent members opposed.¹⁰⁰ While the Liberal and United Farm votes split, with slightly more against proceeding, Labor and Conservative members appeared to vote

in opposing blocs.¹⁰¹ The 'laissez faire' philosophy of the Conservatives, combined with their support of the popular private institutions determined their decision against considering the Bill. Labor support for the Bill indicated that the philosophy of government control and public responsibility overcame objections similar to those subsequently expressed by Labour MLA M.J. Stanbridge that the Province was being run by a "bunch of professional reformers."¹⁰² In spite of the opposing views, the closeness of the vote (18 in favor, 20 opposed) indicated the existence of room for compromise.

Following a year of negotiations the Bill was resubmitted - largely intact but with some of the more objectionable or controversial features withdrawn. Maternity and nursing homes were exempt from government licensing; illegitimate children were no longer to be automatically enrolled as provincial wards- enabling the orphans to maintain guardianship over the largest proportion of their residents; institutions caring for wards of the Director no longer required his approval of agreements entered into on the children's behalf (excluding adoption placements); the authority of the Welfare Supervision Board over the Board of Selection was completely removed from the Act, thus leaving the Welfare Supervision Board purely an inspecting and advising body. Although external authority over the care of many children in institutions was lessened, government authority over unco-operative institutions was clarified. The Director was granted the authority on second

offenses to revoke the charters of organizations which failed to comply with reporting and inspecting regulations. After the Bill was resubmitted, the 'promiscuity clause' (requiring more than one putative father to pay maintenance when paternity was in doubt) was also withdrawn due to controversy, no doubt over the costs and technicalities involved in securing support as well as whether the mother's behavior justified support. An amended, slightly 'watered-down' Child Welfare Act was therefore passed by the Legislature in 1922, requiring only proclamation to become effective.

Before the Act was proclaimed, the Norris government, a minority administration after the 1921 election, was defeated and an election called. The fate of the new Child Welfare Act, therefore, depended upon the attitudes of the new party in power, the United Farmers.

CHAPTER V

FIRST YEARS OF THE BRACKEN ADMINISTRATION:
PROCLAMATION OF THE CHILD WELFARE ACT 1922-1924The Farmers' Party

Following seven active years of reform legislation the Norris Liberals were ousted from office in 1922. Their defeat did not reflect dissatisfaction with their reform orientation per se, but represented the provincial culmination of the farmers' revolt, a movement which was sweeping Canada and which had gained expression in Manitoba politics in the 1920 provincial election. Manitoba farmers, in fact, had few complaints against the Norris government since its inception in 1915 for it had proven itself responsive to their demands. It had legislated compulsory education, English language schools, prohibition, women's suffrage, direct legislation and had made farm credit cheaper and more easily accessible. The reforms had been expensive, however, and this provided the farmers' chief complaint - the government had overspent and sunk the province deeply into debt. Farmers, too, were suspicious of the Norris Liberals' links with the federal Liberals whom they had abandoned during the war. Lastly, there was agitation against "partyism" - the farmers wanted a system that was free of partisan politics. In the 1920 provincial election, even with lack of preparation and clear-cut opposition to Norris, and with internal confusion and disagreement, the farmers elected 12 representatives, 8 of whom were endorsed by the United Farmers of Manitoba (U.F.M.). 21 Liberals, 7 Conservatives, 11 Labor and 4 Independent representatives rounded

out the minority government led by Premier Norris.¹ Unable to form any permanent alliances the government was very unstable and in 1922 was defeated on a motion of censure, forcing another election.

The 1922 election found the U.F.M. and the farmers' movement better prepared. Still lacking unanimity as to the nature of their political organization (i.e. along independent or party lines) they chose again to run as independents, free of any party discipline and responsible directly to their constituents. The tenuous ties which had allowed limited co-operation with labor in 1920 had dissolved by 1922 as farmers reacted to the socialist ideas expressed by radical Labor leaders. Results of the election were more successful than the U.F.M. had anticipated - 28 farmers' representatives, 7 Liberals, 6 Conservatives, 6 Labor and 8 Independents were returned.² The desire for a stable and economic "business" government had attracted the support of business and urban voters who favored the U.F.M. call for reduced government spending. Even the City of Winnipeg elected one U.F.M. candidate.

The first task for the farmers' representatives was to select a leader, for their anti-party stance and lack of preparation had precluded this. After considering the names of several candidates, including that of T.C. Norris, U.F.M. leaders selected John Bracken, Principal of Manitoba Agricultural College. An Ontario-born Methodist, Bracken espoused a conservative personal philosophy. With a strong belief in the capitalist system, he had little sympathy for socialist ideology. Therefore Bracken, well versed in agriculture and with no political background or ties, was regarded

as a good choice to lead an economy-minded, non-partisan agrarian based Farmers' Party. Receiving some suggestions and direction from the U.F.M., Bracken drew up his platform:

to give to the province an honest, efficient and businesslike administration, to eliminate waste and cut down expenses to the lowest possible minimum consistent with efficient service, to develop all our natural resources as rapidly as our finances will permit; to endeavour to establish the faith of the people in public life and public officials.³

Although based on the Social Gospel ethics of honesty, purity and responsiveness, the Bracken administration reflected the conservative shift that was occurring within the general populace. The previous emphasis on reform was turned into emphasis on business and efficiency, resulting in what has since been termed a "remorselessly frugal husbanding of the province's revenues."⁴

In his drive to reduce government spending, Bracken initiated cutbacks in funding of government departments with resulting reductions in staffing and, if not the curtailment, at least the postponement of programmes. Child welfare service, of course, were amongst those social services to feel the impact of "Brackenism".⁵

Juvenile Court and the Superintendent of Neglected Children

The Juvenile Court, the Detention Centre, and the Department of Neglected children had been funded jointly since 1908: from 1908-1914 by the Department of the Attorney General, from 1914-1922 by the Department of Education. With the exceptions of the years 1915 and 1916 when truancy work was removed from the court and the S.N.C., funding had increased steadily. Under the Bracken

administration, however, funding was reduced. (See table 5.1)

TABLE 5.1: Provincial Funding of the Offices of the Superintendent of Neglected Children, the Juvenile Court and the Detention Home 1908-1924.⁶

Year Ending	Amount to nearest \$100	Year Ending	Amount to nearest \$100
Dec. 1908	1,800	Nov. 1917	24,400
Dec. 1909	8,800	Nov. 1918	28,500
Dec. 1910	9,400	Nov. 1919	29,100
Dec. 1911	14,200	Nov. 1920	33,300
Nov. 1912	12,600	Nov. 1921	33,800
Nov. 1913	19,500	Aug. 1922	22,900
Nov. 1914	44,000	Aug. 1923	26,600
Nov. 1915	34,200	Aug. 1924	29,400
Nov. 1916	23,900		

S.N.C. Hamilton's reports gave no indication of changes in his office's programmes. The numbers of rural cases investigated remained relatively constant (212 in 1921-22, 182 in 1922-23, and 232 in 1923-24) and the numbers of children subsequently brought into care actually increased (63, 92, and 93 respectively). As in previous years the great majority of these children were placed with Children's Aid Societies; the remaining children were placed in various institutions. In addition, Hamilton continued to collect statistics from all institutions. However, as he gave no indication of inspecting institutions or visiting and inspecting foster homes, work in this area may have declined.

Following the departure of Judge McKerchar in 1922, and a brief dual appointment for Hamilton, D.B. Harkness was appointed Judge of the Juvenile Court. Although Harkness' appointment may have seemed appropriate because of his authorship of the new Child Welfare Act,

his appointment was poorly received.⁷ Subsequent dissatisfaction with his administration of the Court's work led to his departure in 1925. Like Hamilton's reports, those made by Harkness did not indicate the impact of funding cutbacks. He continued to use the programmes McKerchar had started without beginning any new ones. He, too, came to view the Court system as offering:

... a place of study, healing and rescue. It offers opportunity for personality studies, for investigations into the basic causes of the child's anti-social conduct and provides conditions under which a beginning may often be made in the restoration processes whose goal is good citizenship.⁸

This view was indicative of a more conservative philosophy than Harkness had held in 1919 when he had declared that the primary cause of delinquency was the "inequalities and inadequacies of the social and economic system." He continued to deal with an over-representation of foreign children, estimating in 1923 that 48% of the children appearing in court came from homes in which English was not the primary language.⁹ The charges against the children changed little from the previous period.¹⁰ However, Harkness did appear to dispose of cases differently than had his predecessors.¹¹ He showed less inclination to remove children from their own homes - McKerchar annually sent an average of from 20-25% of the children who appeared before him to Children's Aid Societies, work situations, detention facilities or correctional facilities; Harkness sent only 15% of children to similar placements. However, while he tended to give more warnings and to make less use of the Detention Centre for minor offenses, he sent a larger proportion of boys to Industrial School and girls to private reformatories. The

reason for Harkness' change in placement procedures may have been either philosophical or economic. He had frequently expressed a dislike of conventional institutions, referring to them as "means which serve our indolence, lull our conscience and tickle our sense of benevolence."¹² However, keeping children in their own homes also reduced the costs of care. Use of the Detention Centre placed demands on the Court and S.N.C. budget while placement of children in the Industrial School or private reformatories was funded separately under the Department of Education or the Department of Agriculture. Whatever his motives, Harkness's use of the more restrictive correction institutions did appear to contradict his expressed preference for the normal home setting.

Children's Aid Societies and Children's Institutions

Like the services of the Court and the S.N.C., those of Children's Aid Societies and institutions also experienced funding cutbacks. Funds for the Industrial School were reduced in the first year under the new government - dropping from \$58,700 in 1921 to \$44,600 in 1923.¹³ As the numbers of children referred from the Court actually increased, the reduced funding was translated into economies in inmates maintenance costs. Periods of academic and vocational training were reduced to allow time for the boys to work on the School's farm. Although this change defeated one of the purposes of the School, it was accepted as a necessary measure by the Welfare Supervision Board.¹⁴

Funding cut-backs for other institutions followed those at the Industrial School. The establishment of the Welfare Supervision Board had implied that some form of standardization and equality of treatment was forthcoming for institutions and societies. An examination of Table 5.2 indicates that this did not happen. With a few exceptions, funding to organizations was reduced across the board by one-third. Exceptions were made for the St. Adelard and Dauphin C.A.S, both of which had been considerably underfunded, and the Salvation Army Rescue Home, which, though it had cared for many delinquent girls, had received no funding at all. Thus although the discrepancies in the sizes of grants were reduced, no overall restructuring occurred.

Table 5.2 Provincial Grants to Child Welfare Organizations
1920-1925¹⁵

	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
St. Boniface	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$1,333	\$1,333
Children's Home*	7,100	7,100	4,100	7,100	2,733	2,733
Girls' Home of Welcome	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,000	1,000
Winnipeg C.A.S.	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	3,333	3,333
Salvation Army Rescue Home				2,500	1,667	1,667
St. Joseph's Orphanage	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	1,333	1,333
Ritchot Foundling Asylum	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	667	667
St. Adelard C.A.S.	500	500	500	500	667	667
Knowles Boys' Home	2,500	2,000	2,000	2,000	1,333	1,333
St. Benedict's Orphanage	500	500	500	500	333	333
Jewish Orphanage and C.A.S.	750	750	750	750	500	500
Dauphin C.A.S.	600	600	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Totals	\$23,450	\$23,450	\$20,350	\$25,850	\$15,899	\$15,899

(* Children's Home grants were stipulated as a basic grant of \$4,100. In some years special grants of \$3,000 were also given. The figures arrived at by the Bracken administration represent a 1/3 decrease in the basic grant.)

Unlike the Industrial School, however, the private institutions did not rely solely on government funding; in fact, for most the

provincial government grant provided only a small portion of their total revenue. Therefore their programmes were not as seriously affected. Of the Children's Aid Societies, only the Jewish C.A.S. and the Winnipeg C.A.S. suffered cut-backs. The \$250 reduction experienced by the Jewish C.A.S. would not have greatly effected its operation; the \$1,700 lost to the Winnipeg was likewise a small portion of its overall operating budget and would not greatly effect programming.¹⁶ There is no indication that fewer children were being received into care during this period¹⁷, though Winnipeg C.A.S. statistics¹⁸ do indicate more efforts were made to place children with their own families or with relatives. This change, however, appeared to result more from reduced private donations than the \$1,700 provincial cut-back.¹⁹ Although the reductions in provincial government grants were of themselves unlikely to be critical to the institutions they compounded already precarious financial problems, failed to move towards restructuring the granting system, and were indicative of the government's failure to accept the public responsibility which had been envisioned in the 1922 Child Welfare Act.

Proclamation of the Child Welfare Act

The Bracken government's economy measures, evident in its treatment of the office of the S.N.C., the Juvenile Court and the various children's institutions, were extended to its consideration of the Child Welfare Act. The new Attorney General, R.W. Haig, noted that the Act had not been proclaimed as "changes in it were

advisable."²⁰ The major problem, he explained, was that the creation of the proposed Department of Public Welfare was too expensive. Therefore, the Act was shelved for the duration of 1922 and 1923 while changes were undertaken to bring its costs into line with the government's financial policies.

Bracken appointed a commission under the leadership of Robert Fletcher, Deputy Minister of Education, to investigate and make recommendations regarding the proposed Department of Public Welfare. Fletcher's recommendations paralleled those of the Public Welfare Commission. He recommended a separate Department of Public Welfare which incorporated the following facilities and services:

- from the Department of Agriculture:
 - The Hospital Aid Act
 - Grants to Welfare Agencies
- from the Department of Public Works
 - Institutions and Estates of the Insane
 - Mental Diseases Hospitals
 - Homes for the Feeble Minded
 - Homes for the Incurables
 - Females in Refuge Homes
 - Destitution in Unorganized Territories
- from the Department of Education
 - Portage Industrial Training School (and farm)
 - Superintendent of Neglected Children
- from the Department of the Provincial Treasurer
 - Mothers' Allowances
 - Deserted Wives

All of the above services, Fletcher advised, should be incorporated into the Department of Public Welfare and designated as health and child welfare services, with a trained expert in charge of each.²¹ Although there is no written response to Fletcher's recommendations, they were not accepted. Undoubtedly the projected costs of administration and problems of reorganization caused their defeat.

The search for a solution continued, however, and was found in a suggestion to fuse the child welfare system and the Mothers' Allowances Commission. Although the Second Interim Report of the Public Welfare Commission had suggested incorporation of Mothers' Allowance into the envisioned Department of Public Welfare, the Commission had not incorporated Mothers' Allowance legislation into the Child Welfare Act. Thus, it appeared that, although the Commission saw the two pieces of legislation to be closely related, they believed each should be administered separately from the other. The Commission did not elaborate on its reasons for excluding Mothers' Allowance from the Child Welfare Act: it may have foreseen the power which could accumulate in the hands of social workers who had both legal recourse and control of family finances, or it may have felt the responsibilities of the Commission were too extensive to incorporate without changing the emphasis of the new Act. Whatever the reason, the Mothers' Allowance Commission itself, under the direction of A.P. Paget (who had also been Secretary of the Public Welfare Commission) suggested the amalgamation of the two pieces of legislation in its Annual Report for 1922-1923:

The time may now have arrived when such a humane measure as Mothers' Allowances should become a well-established part of a properly organized Child Welfare Movement, and until such time as a more equitable method of support can be assured for the Children of widows, and fathers totally and permanently incapacitated.

The Manitoba Mothers' Allowance Act takes cognizance primarily of the needs of bereaved and dependent children rather than the needs of the women who happen to be the mothers of these children. Mothers will benefit, and rightly so, but it is fundamentally Child Welfare legislation and as such should be properly designated. Legislation in this field has now been so far accepted that it may well be embodied in the Provincial Child Welfare Codes in which it might have place as

legislation in behalf of "Bereaved and Dependent Children." The largest possible use of maternal care is naturally basic in any scheme of Child Welfare whether supported by the State or otherwise ...²²

Accepting the advice of the Mothers' Allowance Commission, the Bracken government amended the 1922 Child Welfare Act to incorporate the 1916 Mothers' Allowance Act. The addition of a new section entitled "Bereaved and Dependent Children" brought to twelve the number of parts in the Act -

- Part I - Department of Public Welfare
- II - Juvenile Court
- III - Bereaved and Dependent Children
- IV - Neglected Children
- V - Children Whose Parents Have Not Been Legally Married to Each Other
- VI - Feeble Minded and other Mentally Defective Children
- VII - Handicapped Children
- VIII - Immigrant Children
- IX - Child Welfare Organizations
- X - Adoption of Children
- XI - Guardianship of Children
- XII - General Provisions

Placement of the section on Bereaved and Dependent Children near the beginning of the Act indicated the importance which was attached to its functions.

The terms of the amendment did not assign full responsibility over Bereaved and Dependent Children to the Director of Child Welfare, but rather to the Board of Selection (renamed the Child Welfare Board). While the Director was to investigate all reported cases of dependent children, he was to report his findings to the Child Welfare Board. The Board would then decide which children should be enrolled as "Bereaved or Dependent". In addition, the Board was responsible for drafting the allowance schedules, super-

vising recipients, and drawing up rules and regulations governing administration of allowances. The numerous responsibilities and activities involved in administration of the allowances may have explained the central role given the Child Welfare Board. It may have been anticipated that with all his other duties, the Director would not be able to fulfill those entailed in administering the allowances. But a second and perhaps more likely explanation, however, would be that the government sought to keep the administration of allowances in private hands as had been the practice under the Mothers' Allowance Commission. The Child Welfare Board, like the Commission was made up of appointed businessmen, philanthropists, and welfare workers who received no remuneration for their services.²³ The increased authority which the amendment gave the Child Welfare Board, therefore, assured even greater influence for private interests in the administration of the Child Welfare Act.

In addition to the inclusion of Mothers' Allowance legislation, several minor amendments²⁴ were made to the Act before it was proclaimed in 1924. Penalties for the ill-treatment of children were increased - the option of a fine was removed and maximum jail sentences were increased from two years to five years with hard labor. A further change reduced the maximum amount of maintenance orders from \$5 per week to \$3, resulting in a predictably negative reaction amongst Children's Aid Societies.²⁵ An obvious concession to municipalities, the reduction weakened the position of the Societies for, although the issuance of such orders was still

only permitted and not required of judges, the 1922 Act had provided for legal redress against defaulting municipalities.

The amendments were passed in early 1924. On paper, the Act looked substantially the same except for the inclusion of the section on Bereaved and Dependent Children. However, as similar legislation governing these children had previously been in effect under a different name, this addition was not thought to significantly alter the essence of the child welfare system envisioned by the Act. The proclamation of the Child Welfare Act, dubbed the "Magna Charta of child life,"²⁶ was therefore greeted by professional welfare workers with the same high optimism which had met the passage of the 1922 Act:

The comprehensive Child Welfare Act of Manitoba ... is easily the most comprehensive and constructive piece of social legislation on the statute books of the Dominion, or of any of its provinces, and will undoubtedly remain for some time as the model statute of reference for the provincial Child Welfare workers of Canada.²⁷

Establishing the Administrative Machinery

The establishment of the machinery to administer the newly proclaimed Act reflected limitations arising from both the Acts' structure and the Bracken government's economy measures.

In its reports the Public Welfare Commission had envisioned the creation of a new portfolio for the Department of Public Welfare.

Within the proposed Department would be found several divisions of which Child Welfare would be only one. However, in operationalizing the Act, the Bracken government sought to avoid the costs of establishing a new portfolio.²⁸ Therefore the newly created Department of Public Welfare was given as an additional responsibility to the already heavily burdened Minister of Education, the Hon. C. Cannon. Only one division was created within the new department - the Division of Child Welfare; other activities remained under their respective departments. Thus, for economical reasons, Bracken failed to create a strong central authority capable of co-ordinating all social welfare work in the province.

The structure of the Child Welfare Division revealed weaknesses resulting from the new amendments to the Act. Although the intention had been to blend the Mothers' Allowance legislation into the Child Welfare Act, the actual effect of the amendment had been to append the Child Welfare legislation onto the Mothers' Allowance Act. The budgets of the two departments in 1923-24 attest to this conclusion for although the Mothers' Allowance expenditure also declined under the Bracken government (from \$438,800 in 1921-22 to \$406,000 in 1923-24)²⁹ it remained substantially greater than that of the Superintendent of Neglected Children and the Juvenile Court system (\$29,400 in 1923-24). In addition, the staff of the Mothers' Allowance Commission was larger, and their rural services more fully developed. Therefore, when the Child Welfare Division was created, A.P. Paget, former director of the Mothers' Allowance Commission was appointed the Director of Child Welfare while D.S.

Hamilton, S.N.C., was given the subordinate position of Chief Inspector. The men's positions alone would indicate that the amendment had significantly altered the focus of the Act.

Further problems could be anticipated from the numbers of staff employed to administer the provisions of the Act. Although many new responsibilities and duties had been incorporated (e.g. services for illegitimate children, mentally and physically handicapped children, adoption) no new staff were added. It was assumed that the staff of the Mothers' Allowance Commission, in conjunction with the small staff of the S.N.C. could perform all new duties in addition to those they had previously performed. However, as each had been fully occupied with its former tasks, this was not as realistic expectation.

A final, less serious potential for problems existed in the creation of two independent advisory boards - the Welfare Supervision Board and the Child Welfare Board. Each was to advise the Minister on separate but related issues. The possibility of confusion and discord arising from overlapping roles and conflicting advice was therefore present. This possibility was heightened by the lack of a clearly defined relationship between the Boards.

Both internal and external limitations existed to hamper the functioning of the new Child Welfare system. Bracken's stringent economic measures, in combination with the Act's weaknesses (particularly its focus on allowances for Bereaved and Neglected Children) gave full administration of the 1924 Child Welfare Act what was subsequently referred to as "little more than an ugly duckling's chance."³⁰

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSIONS

The years between 1870 and 1924 witnessed dramatic growth in children's legislation in Manitoba. Advancing from an early reliance on legislation 'borrowed' from Ontario, Manitoba itself became the author of what was heralded as "the model statute" of Canadian Child Welfare legislation. This thesis has attempted to document and to analyse the climate and the processes which shaped the child welfare policies and programmes throughout this period of transition.

Dominant Forces

The principal forces which determined the form of child welfare policy and programmes stemmed from British nativism, the Social Gospel, patriotism, and the needs of the developing economy. At times in harmony and at other times opposed, these forces shaped the attitudes and behavior of Manitobans, and were themselves modified by events occurring within Manitoba and elsewhere in the world.

British Nativism

Steeped in British nativist tradition, Anglo-Canadian reformers regarded foreign and lower class immigrants as inferior, immoral and dangerous. They therefore sought means to neutralize the effectiveness of immigrant institutions and to 'elevate' the behavior of new arrivals to a more acceptable standard. Concentrating assimilatory

efforts on children, the host group sought to loosen the children's ties with their ethnic heritage, and in the process undermined the strength of the ethnic family unit. The resulting family break-downs and juvenile delinquencies were accepted as proof of the inferior quality of the new immigrants.

Nativists accepted both genetic and environmental explanations of the social disorder and immorality which they saw in foreign and lower-class life styles. They sought therefore to restrict certain categories of immigrants, to prevent 'defectives' from reproducing, and to elevate or 'anglicize' environments in which children lived. Each of these aims was reflected in the child welfare legislation they produced.

Social Gospel

Despite intentions to make use of institutions and legislation to protect their own life styles, reformers were also motivated by their concern for the welfare of suffering children. The translation of this concern into public activity was inspired by the Utopian ideals of the Social Gospel. The philosophies of the three schools of thought which developed within the Social Gospel movement - conservative, progressive and radical - roughly correspond with the ideologies previously identified by Titmuss¹ - the Residual Welfare, the Industrial Achievement and Industrial Redistribution models - and by George and Wilding² - the Anti-Collectivists, the Reluctant Collectivists and the Fabian Socialists or the Marxists.

Receiving the most public support, the progressive school formed the basis of the twentieth century reform movement. While the progressive outlook appealed primarily to farmers and urban middle-class Anglo Saxon Protestants, and has been accused of serving their aims and securing their positions, it infused into the whole of society a humanistic concern which is the basis of existing social welfare legislation. In Manitoba the movement, spurred on by the events of W.W.I., peaked under the administration of T.C. Norris. That it did not reach its highest objectives would seem to have resulted from several factors. Disagreement on how and to what extent to transmit rhetoric into action, naive reliance on the 'goodness of man', reluctance to tear down old systems and structures, failure to understand the locations of power in society, and disregard of divergent individual and community interests prevented progressive proponents of the Social Gospel from building their envisioned 'Kingdom on Earth'.

Patriotism

World War I provided the catalyst for numerous pieces of reform legislation; prominent among these measures were those pertaining to child welfare. Reformers believed that the country's need for loyal adult citizens could be most reliably realized through the services of children who had been raised in Canada rather than through adult immigrants. A heightened sense of national preservation therefore stimulated desires to preserve the home and to provide good substitute

care for Canadian youth whose immediate families were unwilling or unable to care adequately for them. The need for physically and morally strong adults, capable of defending the country and making sound judgements, injected a concern for "fitness" into children's legislation. Thus, intentions to treat and to isolate defective children were incorporated into the resulting child welfare policies.

The Economy

During the period under study, both levels of government within Manitoba were involved in the promotion of economic growth. The one exception appeared to be the Norris administration. However, although it attempted to infuse the spirit of social responsibility into public policy, the Norris government, too, fostered the development of private enterprise. Therefore throughout 1870-1924 spending priorities, both provincial and municipal, were given to programmes which enhanced the local economy - settlement, roads, railroads, public works etc. The scarce funds allocated to children's institutions and programmes prevented the development of adequate and effective services.

The demands of the labor market also effected the development of children's policies. The rapidly industrializing economy demanded a cheap and mobile labor force. As indicated in the following memo, governments intended that foreign immigrants would fulfill this need:

The large rural blocks of Slavs in Western Canada will provide a constant supply of casual and unskilled labor of great but unknown volume, which may in itself completely meet the needs of labor markets of the future.³

Policies which interfered with the labor supply were discouraged. The practice developed, therefore, to assist families at the minimum level in order to ensure that adult members remained in the work force. For families which could not survive on the minimal assistance given, special services were developed outside of the home to meet the needs of children. Thus the needs of children came to be seen as separate from those of their families. This view not only weakened ethnic and lower-class family ties, but justified the resulting child welfare policies and programmes which separated children from their families.

The needs of the labor market also determined policies regarding child labor and programmes of child placement. Children received lower wages than adults; employers therefore favored policies which permitted them to hire children. In response to business interest, Roblin's administration lowered the minimum age of employment for children. Although the reform government of Norris may have been expected to raise the minimum, it did not - the demands for industrial and farm labor during the War had to be met. For those children in the care of societies and institutions, little opportunity or encouragement was given to become anything other than manual laborers. The Home children were indentured into domestic and farm labor as were older children from the Children's Aid Societies, the Juvenile Court and the Children's Home. When the Winnipeg C.A.S. complained of the restricted futures its programmes offered its wards, no financial assistance was offered by the government to help the Society provide more academic or skilled trades training. Thus it was expected that

these children, like their parents would continue to supply cheap unskilled labor to meet the market's needs.

Participant Groups

Interests in the field of child welfare were shared by several groups of individuals who differed in their ability to influence policy and programmes. The relative strength of each varied with changes in social, economic and political thought. As membership was not confined to anyone group it was therefore possible and not uncommon for individuals to belong to groups with conflicting interests. The resulting inconsistencies were denied or ignored in accordance with individuals' priorities.

Religious and Ethnic Groups

Religious and ethnic disharmony, almost synonymous terms, played a central role in early child welfare policies and programmes. The earliest services for children originated from within the churches and therefore had a sectarian bias. Co-operation among the Anglo-Saxon Protestant Churches allowed them to develop one system of facilities. However divisions both within and between non-Protestant religious and ethnic groups prevented similar alliances. Thus a relatively united Anglo-Saxon Protestant community confronted several smaller, weaker non-Protestant organizations (Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Hebrew etc.) distinct in their ethnic and religious affiliations.

Throughout the period under study Anglo Saxon Protestant thought

dominated Manitoba's social and political institutions. The brief period of equality shared by the Roman Catholics in the early years of the province's founding were never regained. Only under the Roblin administration was the Protestant influence tempered. Roblin's policies, however, benefitted the ethnic non-Protestants more through acts of omission than commission. With the possible exception of the Coldwell Amendments to the School Act, the Roblin administration did not sponsor policies which favored the ethnic groups; but ethnic groups did benefit from Roblin's postponement or dilution of policies advocated by the Anglo-Saxon Protestant reformers.

Philanthropists

British nativism and Social Gospel altruism were not the sole factors which motivated reformers' involvement in 'child saving'. Personal gains were also important. Philanthropic works offered opportunities for personal salvation and social recognition. Particularly in the years before the Social Gospel shifted the emphasis of religion from its traditional concern for the individual to a concern for the community, work with children was felt to assure redemption to those who participated. In addition, large numbers of middle and upper class women were provided with opportunities for social contact and recognition through their associations with the more fashionable charities such as the Children's Home.⁴ Businessmen whose names were associated with the various societies and institutions were rewarded with social and political recognition. The

presence of upper and upper-middle class individuals on Boards and Committees had a conservative influence on the organizations' attitudes and activities, particularly after the enthusiasm of the founding members subsided.

Professional Welfare Workers

As the children's organizations grew, salaried employees became necessary to perform the many unpleasant or time-consuming tasks and to provide consistency to the organizations' activities. From the ranks of these workers came the men and women whose efforts and experience earned for them recognition as experts and professionals. With little, if any, professional training these individuals carved futures for themselves out of their welfare work. Although they undoubtedly shared a commitment to their work, these new professionals stood to make career gains from the reforms they advocated. For example:

J.H.T. Falk - began as director of the Associated Charities, became director of Social Welfare Commission (City relief office which absorbed the Associated Charities), served as Secretary of the Public Welfare Commission, became the first Director of the McGill School of Social Work.

A.P. Paget - began as director of the Charity Endorsement Bureau (civic body) became Secretary of the Mothers' Allowance Commission, Secretary of the Public Welfare Commission, and first Director of Child Welfare.

D.S. Hamilton - began as Inspector of Foster Homes, promoted to Superintendent of Neglected Children, then Chief Inspector of the Child Welfare Division.

D.B. Harkness - director of Manitoba Social Service Council,

became member of the Public Welfare Commission and Welfare Supervision Board, and Juvenile Court Judge.

F.J. Billiardé - began as Superintendent of the CAS Shelter, promoted to Superintendent of Neglected Children and Juvenile Court Judge, sought position as the director of the Canadian Child Welfare Bureau.

Eminence was secured for the new professionals under Norris' reform administration. The priority given to social reform, and the responsibility vested in the Welfare professionals who advised the Norris government on policy formation established the credibility and authority of the professions in Manitoba.

Sutherland's conclusions that pursuit of reform goals was characterized by "vigour, determination, arrogance and singlemindedness"⁵ was certainly true of Manitoba's child welfare professionals. Their failures resulted not from lack of effort, but from the embryonic state of the social sciences coupled with confidences and biases which precluded effective evaluation of the results of their programmes.

Labor

The appeal launched by organized labor against the Winnipeg CAS prior to 1900 seemed to indicate it had intentions of monitoring the application of 'child saving' principles. It did not, however, persist in these early efforts. It is possible that the early challenge of C.A.S. authority curbed its overly zealous activities; however the arrival of masses of 'foreign' immigrants would seem to have made a larger contribution to the low profile adopted by organized labor.

Craft unionists, largely British in origin, shared the nativist reactions of their middle-class compatriots and therefore supported assimilationist policies. It was not unusual, therefore, to see laborites and employers sharing membership in the Moral and Social Reform Council and the Children's Aid Societies, though labor's presence in such organizations may have tempered some of the more obvious middle and upper class biases. More importantly, labor's attention was focused on economic issues as the pools of cheap unskilled immigrant labor undercut its bargaining power and governments pursued the interests of employers. Even as organized labor moved towards acceptance of unskilled ethnic workers in industrial unions and formed alliances with the less radical socialists, its involvement in welfare issues did not increase. Economic and organizational concerns continued to dominate labor activities throughout the War, culminating in the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919.

The positions adopted by labor politicians elected to the provincial Legislature reflected an ambivalent stand on the development of children's legislation. Although they supported government regulation of the activities of private institutions and the acceptance of public responsibility for the welfare of children, they distrusted the motives of the evolving class of professional welfare workers who advocated such reforms.

Businessmen

Like the interests of labor, those of businessmen were not

dominated with concerns for child or family welfare. Their concerns were focused on industrial growth and profit. The Social Gospel ideals of 'brotherhood' and 'equality' which businessmen may have uttered in their personal lives applied only minimally to their economic activities. Positions which businessmen occupied on Boards of children's institutions and societies were largely token in nature, serving to establish the credentials of the organizations and to bring social recognition to the individuals involved. In reference to government policy, businessmen supported legislation which encouraged economic growth and maximized profits; reform policies which entailed expenditure of public funds were discouraged. The business lobby therefore tended to have a conservative influence on all social welfare policy, though its influence was somewhat lessened under the Norris administration.

Farmers

The need for 'child saving' organizations and children's institutions was primarily an urban phenomenon. Nevertheless, farmers' and farm women's organizations, at the centre of the Social Gospel movement, shared the concerns of their urban counterparts for the welfare of children. Their concerns were reflected in activity on two levels - direct service and support of reform legislation. Although the need for services in rural areas was relatively limited farm women's organizations, at the request of the S.N.C., investigated reports of neglect, abuse and destitution. In addition, they made

frequent donations of funds, produce, and other material goods to the numerous children's organizations.⁶ Their contributions to and interest in child welfare was recognized by the appointment of a member of the United Farm Women of Manitoba to the newly formed Child Welfare Board in 1924-25.

More important, however, was the support which farmers and their elected representatives gave to the child welfare legislation proposed by reformers. As the passion of the Social Gospel reached its peak under the Norris administration, so did the reform conscience of the farmers. Therefore, although urban representatives were greatly outnumbered by those from rural areas⁷, reforms which primarily benefitted urban residents (e.g. Mothers' Allowance, Child Welfare Act) were passed.

But like the businessmen with whom they shared control of the government, farmers were primarily concerned with economic matters. The post-war depression, mounting government debt, and the Wheat Pool movement of the early 1920's combined with increasing conservatism in the farmer's religion to temper their support of reform measures and focus their attention on 'bread and butter' issues.

Ideology and Policy-Making 1870-1924

Pre-1900 Governments

The governing bodies in Manitoba between 1870-1900 were characterized by their espousal of laissez-faire policies. Although

it must be admitted that prior to the mid 1880's there was little need for social welfare policies, subsequent governments, faced with the social and economic problems accompanying industrialization and urbanization, proved themselves slow to respond. Their commitment to unfettered individualism and economic growth hindered the development of social welfare policies. The almost total absence of such policies makes comparison to the models of Titmuss and George and Wilding difficult. However the charitable donations and few pieces of social legislation which began appearing at the end of the period would qualify as a primitive form of the "Residual Welfare" or "Anti-Collectivist" models.

The early child welfare policies which were legislated under the Greenway government sought no change in the economic status quo, though did they introduce changes to relationships within the family unit and between the family and the state. To the three key processes which Gil⁸ isolated - resource development, task or status allocation, and rights distribution - modifications were made. Resource development continued to concentrate on the production of material goods though conservation of human resources was initiated (in a very limited way) under child protection legislation. Task and status allocation acknowledged dawning recognition of a new status for childhood through the introduction of child protection and child labor laws. Conditions were attached to the exercise of parental rights and authority; the state and its agents assumed the right to intervene in the affairs of parents not adequately fulfilling their familial obligations. The intended results of these modifications were two-fold - to

protect children from mistreatment and to protect the established system (both social and economic) from criminal, immoral, and unproductive behavior associated with the lower classes.

Under the Greenway government the making of social welfare policy was in its infant stages. Children's policies were of an incremental nature, drawn up in isolation from one another in attempts to meet narrowly defined problems as they arose. The resulting policies reflected the Anglo-Canadian bias of government authorities and the strength of reform alliances.

The Roblin Administration

Under the leadership of R.P. Roblin from 1900-1915 the Manitoba government continued its laissez-faire philosophy. The administration, firmly committed to the principles of private enterprise, was concerned almost exclusively with the issues of economic development. Only under pressure (and before elections) did their 'tyrannical Toryism' make concessions to the needs of individuals. Very clearly, Roblin's policies were aligned with the "Anti-collectivist" and "Residual Welfare" models of social welfare policy.

Although the administration may have shared British nativist sentiments, it did not share those of the Social Gospel. When reforms were legislated, therefore, they were not indicative of a sense of social responsibility; they were instead political ploys to appease pressure group demands and secure votes. As such, they were of an incremental nature and reflected the opposing interests of both the Anglo-Saxon Protestant and ethnic non-Protestant groups.

Roblin's policies did not seek any change in the status quo; even child welfare policies were used to strengthen it. The newly legislated protection of childhood vulnerabilities received a set-back as Roblin reduced the age of child laborers in accordance with the wishes of factory owners. It may be argued that the introduction of juvenile correction facilities was an attempt to develop human resources; however that appeared to be a secondary interest. The primary motivation lay in Roblin's desire to contain the volatile truancy problem. Sole supporting mothers were given improved opportunities to care for their children by legislation which required deserting fathers or putative fathers to contribute maintenance. Again, however, the intent was not simply to increase the mother's rights but to enforce paternal financial responsibility and to prevent the expenditure of public funds. Thus, although changes were effected in the treatment of children and in family relationships, they were not the result of any overall social philosophy or plan - they resulted from an ad hoc approach to problem solving and political survival.

The Norris Administration

The first significant changes in the philosophy of social welfare were introduced by the administration of T.C. Norris in the years between 1915-1922. During this period, the foundations of current child and social welfare legislation were established in Manitoba.

The Norris government, like those before it, was committed to a capitalist philosophy. The radical Social Gospel ideal of public

ownership of the means of production was not shared by the businessmen and farmers who sat in the provincial Legislature. As representatives of the progressive wing of the Social Gospel, Norris's administration sought to retain the basic social and economic structure but to ameliorate the harsh circumstances which it produced. This ideology would most closely approximate that of the Industrial Achievement and Reluctant - Collectivist models proposed by Titmus and George and Wilding. Norris's fiscal child welfare policies (e.g. Mother's Allowance), as predicted by both models, were designed to meet (at a minimal level) needs not being adequately met by the private market and to abolish want due to low or interrupted incomes; they were means tested, based on merit and work performance.

The design of programmes instituting the philosophical shift from private to public responsibility marked the introduction of rational social welfare planning. As hypothesized, the major participants in this process were the welfare professionals. Advising, counselling and guiding the government, they initiated plans for a comprehensive social welfare system - plans which incorporated their biases and rudimentary knowledge as well as their humanistic concerns.

Under the guidance of welfare professionals, child welfare legislation underwent major changes. State authority was increased over private children's institutions and certain classes of children. Family relationships were redefined - mothers and fathers were given equal rights in the legal guardianship of their children; compulsory education acknowledged the special years of childhood. The role of women as mothers was reinforced through the provision of Mothers'

Allowances to certain categories of women. These changes, as modifications of the three variables isolated by Gil, indicated a potential for fundamental changes within the family unit and the existing child caring system. However emphasis on morality, selectivity and 'normality' would seem to have precluded major changes in the relationships of the family and the child welfare system with the greater social order. As the Norris government was replaced before it was able to operationalize the Child Welfare Act, its ultimate intentions cannot be fully ascertained.

The Bracken Administration

The opening years of the Bracken government saw a reversion to the philosophy which existed prior to the Norris government. Humanistic concerns were put aside as attention was focused on economic development. Although the reforms of the Norris government were not withdrawn, limitations in funding hampered full enactment of programmes and weakened the financial status of families in receipt of allowances. Bracken's support of private enterprise and his avoidance of public responsibility in child welfare matters marked a return to the Residual Welfare and Anti-Collectivist models of social welfare policy.

Business and financial interests again dominated the policy-making process. Professional welfare workers who guided the reforms of the Norris administration were retained as advisors, but their influence was considerably lessened. With social welfare relegated to a subordinate status the policy-making process returned to an incremental ad hoc format.

Footnotes

Chapter I

1. V. George and P. Wilding, Ideology and Social Welfare (London: Routledge and Kejan Paul Ltd. 1976) p. 1.
2. R. Titmuss, Commitment of Welfare, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1968) p. 20.
3. M. Rein, Social Policy: Issues of Choice and Change, (New York: Random House, 1970) p. 3.
4. R. Titmuss, Social Policy, edited by B. Abel-Smith and K. Titmuss, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 1974) chapter 10.
5. D. Gil, Unravelling Social Policy, (Cambridge, Mass: Schenkman Publishing Co. 1973) p. 13.
6. T. H. Marshall, op. cit. p. 11-16.
7. A. J., Kahn, Social Policy and Social Services, (New York: Random House, 1973) p. 69.
8. M. Rein, op. cit. p. 3.
9. This label is consistent with Titmuss' classification of systems of social services into Social Welfare, Fiscal Welfare and Occupational Welfare whereby the Social Welfare System includes most conventional social services. It may also be consistent with Rein's conception of the relationship between public and social policy. Although he does not state a definite position, Rein appears to consider that social policy is a category within a larger field of public policy.
10. K. Boulding, "The Boundaries of Social Policy" In W. Birrell, P. Hillyard, A. Murie, and D. Roche (eds) Social Administration: Readings in Applied Social Science (Penguin Books, 1970 p. 192-193. Although the title of this article refers to 'social policy' vs. 'social welfare policy,' it is apparent from reading his article that Boulding refers to policies which I have placed in the latter sphere.
11. R. Titmuss, Commitment to Welfare, p. 23.
12. M. Rein, op. cit. p. 4.
13. D. Gill, op. cit. chapter 3.
14. P. Aucoin, "Theory and Research in the Study of Policy Making" in G. Doern and P. Aucoin (eds) The Structure of Policy Making in Canada, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1973) p. 22.

15. F. Piven and R. Cloward, Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare, (New York: Random House, 1971).
A. Finkel, Business and Social Reform, (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1979).
J. Galper, The Politics of Social Services, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1975).
16. A. J. Kahn, op. cit. p. 18.
17. D. Gil, op. cit., p. 15-16.
18. R. Titmuss, Social Policy, p. 30-32.
19. V. George and P. Wilding, op. cit.
20. Ibid. p. 18.
21. Proposed by several authors, notably N. Lasswell, but summarized here from P. Aucoin, op. cit.
22. Proposed originally by C. Lindblom in The Policy-Making Process, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1968).
23. Proposed by Amatai Etzioni in The Active Society (London: Collier-MacMillan Ltd., 1968).
24. K. Gergen, "Assessing the Leverage Points in the Process of Policy Formation", in R. Bauer and K. Gergen (eds) The Study of Policy Formation, (New York: The Free Press, 1968).
25. R. Bauer, "The Study of Policy Formation: An Introduction" in R. Bauer and K. Gergen (eds), The Study of Policy Formation, (New York: The Free Press, 1968).
26. P. Aucoin, op. cit.
27. K. Gergen, op. cit.
28. R. Bauer, op. cit.

Chapter II

1. J.L. Holmes, "Factors Affecting Politics in Manitoba: A Study of Provincial Elections 1870-99" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba 1936), p. 2.
2. Census of Canada, 1871.

3. See Appendices A and B for statistics on Manitoba's population 1870-1931.
4. K.W. Gunn-Walberg, The Church Union Movement in Manitoba 1902-1925: A Cultural Study in the Decline of Denomionalism within the Protestant Ascendency" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Guelph 1971) chapter 1.
5. Referred to in the Manitoba Journal of Feb. 26, 1877 as redistribution according to "various interests and elements" --quoted in J. Holmes, op. cit. p. 24.
6. Figures from A. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914 (McGill-Queen's University Press: Montreal 1975) p. 130. For statistics on Winnipeg's population 1871- 1931, see Appendices C and D.
7. H. Hosse, "The Areal Growth and Functional Development of Winnipeg from 1870 to 1913," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1956).
8. W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1967) second edition.
9. R. Bellan, Winnipeg First Century: An Economic History, (Queenston House Publishing Company Ltd.: Winnipeg, 1978), p. 53.
10. W.L. Morton, Op. Cit., p. 171.
11. M. Bryce, Early Red River Culture, (Manitoba Free Press, 1901).
12. Census of Canada 1881.
13. H. Hosse, op. cit., p. 109.
14. ibid., p. 195.
15. J. H. Gray, Booze: The Impact of Whiskey on the Prairie West, (Macmillan Co. of Canada: Toronto, 1972) p. 4-5.
16. Ibid., p. 6.
17. Ibid., p. 14-15.
18. A. Artibise, Op. cit., p. 23.
19. J. L. Holmes, Op. cit., p. 51-82.
20. Ibid., p. 51-82.

21. A. Roscoe, "The Manitoba Act in Transition 1870 - 1897: The Transformation of Manitoba's French-Canadian Politico-Cultural Institutions," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba 1969) p. 119.
23. J. Gray, Op. cit., p. 18.
24. H. Hosse, Op. Cit., p. 138.
24. "Pioneer Winnipeg Women's Work 1883-1907" (Winnipeg Telegram 1907) noted that charity was largely done by the women, and financed by their husbands who were too busy with business matters to devote time to charity. There were some exceptions to this practice, notably by Humane Society and the Children's Aid Society, both founded in the mid-1890's. Even on the boards of these organizations, however, the businessmen were largely titular while most of the organizations' work was performed by the women and the clergy.
25. Annual Report of the Women's Christian Union, 1889.
26. This did not indicate an intent to deny services to Roman Catholic children and families. A Catholic organization, the Grey Nuns (St. Boniface) Orphanage had been providing similar services for Catholics since its inception in 1844.
27. Annual Report of the Women's Christian Union, 1889.
28. Statutes of Manitoba 1877, 40 Victoria, Chap. 26.
29. In clarifying its intentions regarding the term 'parents,' the act required that a mother have the consent of two justices of the peace before placing out a child. As no reference was made to any similar procedures for fathers, it may be assumed that their control over their children was, at this point, absolute and not subject to outside interference. It would appear, however, that some question arose regarding parental rights and child custody for in the following year (1878) the Infants Act (41 Victoria, chap. 7) attempted some clarification. It provided that 'as a rule' the father would have custody and control of children under 21 years of age, but that a court 'on a proper case being made,' could award custody to the mother subject to 'reasonable' regulation. Mothers who had been proven adulterous or who were otherwise adjudged to have 'improper conduct or habits of life' were to be refused custody; no similar restrictions applied to the behavior of fathers. In regards to placing out children, therefore, the clarification meant that the father (whether cohabiting or living separately) would have total control unless the mother had been awarded custody by the

court. Only in those instances where the mother had been granted custody could she authorize the child's indenture and even then she required the approval of two J.P.'s.

30. The Minors and Apprentices Act stated that 'in towns and cities, mayors, county court judges and police magistrates may bind out orphans, deserted or other dependent children.' It does not appear however that these officials were required to find placements or otherwise provide care for such children. There is no indication of the extent to which dependent children benefitted under this measure.
31. M. Bryce, The Charitable Institutions of Winnipeg (Manitoba Free Press, Co., 1899).
32. W.C.T.U. Annual Report, 1894-95, p. 45.
33. Quoted by J. Parr in "'Transplanting the Dens of Inequity': Theology and Child Emigration," in L. Kealy (ed.) "A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada 1880's-1920's" (Women's Educational Press: Toronto 1979) pp. 169-184.
34. N. Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus (University of Toronto Press: Toronto 1976).
35. P. Harrison (ed.) The Home Children: Their Personal Stories, (Watson & Dwyer Publishing Ltd.: Winnipeg, 1979).
36. For mention of such reports and publicity see accounts by J. Parr, Op. Cit. and N. Sutherland, Op. Cit.
37. Nelly McClung, questioned by Dr. J. Woodsworth in "Thirty Years in the Canadian North-West," (McLelland, Goodchild and Stewart Publishers: Toronto, 1917), p. 250.
38. Contained in notes on the 1894 Methodist Church Conference by J.H. Riddell in Methodism in the Middle West (Ryerson Press: Toronto, 1946), p. 211.
39. J. Gray, Op. cit. p. 56.
40. J. Gray and A. Artibise, Op. Cit., pages 50 and 41 resp.
41. Statutes of Manitoba, 1890, 53 Victoria, Chap. 11.
42. The sessional papers for the year 1891 note the existence of an unprinted sessional paper (no. 4) dealing with the affairs of the reformatory. As this paper was unavailable for study, the

nature of its contents are unknown. However after this date there is no further reference to the institution in following years' sessional papers. Nor do the subsequent reports of the Inspector of Public Works responsible for annual inspections of all provincial jails, asylums, and other public buildings, contain any reference to the Brandon Reformatory. Further, an article in the April 9, 1897 edition of the Free Press indicated there was no existing procedure for dealing with incorrigible youth.

43. M. Bryce, Op. Cit., p. 24.
44. Section 16 of the Humane Societies Act, Statutes of Manitoba, 1895. 58-59 Victoria, cap. 18.
45. See Appendices A and B for statistics on the ethnicity and religion of Manitoba residents 1871-1931.
46. Figures from the 1898 Annual Report of the Department of Education. No statistics are available for the numbers of children attending private institutions, though it can be assumed the numbers were small. Private school attendance does, however, skew the statistics slightly as presumably private students were numbered among the total school age population but were not included in the numbers enrolled in public schools. Artibise, op. cit. (p. 199) estimates that in 1910, approximately 3,000 children attended private schools. See Appendix C for statistics on school enrollment and attendance 1881-1924.
47. N. Sutherland, Op. cit., p. 31.
48. Clause 11, subsection (1) of an "Act to Regulate the Immigration into Manitoba of Certain Classes of Children," Statutes of Manitoba, 1897. 60 Victoria, Chap. 1.
49. B. Roberts, "A Work of Empire: Canadian Reformers and British Female Immigration," in L. Kealy (ed.) A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada 1880's-1920's p. 201.
50. The Girls' Home of Welcome's First Annual Report indicated that only 55 of a total 170 girls helped by the home were 'adult girls from Europe.' Subsequent reports indicate similar results.
51. PAM, Greenway Papers, O. Mowat to Greenway January 7, 1897.
52. PAM, Greenway Papers, Rev. MacBeth to Greenway, March 23, 1897.
53. Manitoba Free Press, Friday April 9, 1897.

54. Winnipeg Tribune, March 22, 1898.
55. Winnipeg Tribune, March 28, 1898; March 29, 1898; March 30, 1898.
56. Report of Kelso's talk to government committee in Winnipeg Tribune, March 29, 1894.
57. Statutes of Manitoba 1898, 61 Victoria chap. 6.
58. First Annual Report of the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg, 1899.
59. J.W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times, (Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., Toronto, 1931), p. 11. The description of J.W. Sifton as "leader of the Liberals" referred to the period prior to Greenway's administration -c. 1880.
60. First Annual Report of the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg, 1899. p. 19, p. 1.
61. Statutes of Manitoba 1883, 46 & 47 Victoria, chap. 16. The terms of this Act would indicate that in its original intent, it referred specifically to hospitals which, at the time, were regarded as benevolent or charitable organizations rather than public responsibilities. Grants made under this Act the Children's Aid Society, the Children's Home and the St. Boniface Orphanage would appear to be liberal interpretations of the intended meaning of the term charitable institutions.
62. PAM, J.W. Sifton's Letter Books, Department of Public Works, J.W. Sifton to R. Darrach, Brandon Child-Saving Society, January 28, 1899.
63. Placements were almost always made in rural homes, away from the temptations and bad influences of the cities.
64. In a letter dated Oct. 3, 1898 (#259) to a Mrs. Smeaton, foster parent, Sifton advised that a child must attend for a 'certain length of time at school during the winter months at least.' Letter Books of the Inspector of Public Buildings op. cit.
65. PAM, J.W. Sifton's Letter Books, Department of Public Works, J.W. Sifton to J.D. Cameron, Attorney General re: Barnardo Boys, July 6, 1898.
66. Winnipeg Daily Tribune, Sept. 7, 1898; Oct. 29, 1898: Oct. 30, 1898: April 22, 1899.

67. Data from R. Bellan, Winnipeg: First Century, p. 534, and "Relief in Winnipeg: The Economic Background," p. 21.
68. "Mrs. Harrison and the Children's Aid Society," in the papers of John Donald Cameron, Attorney General, PAM.
69. Statutes of Manitoba 1900, 63-64 Victoria, chap. 13.

Chapter III

1. Roblin's biographer, H.R. Ross, indicated that Roblin was not an anti-temperance man. Ross argued that Roblin, like many others, favored temperance versus total prohibition. Roblin may therefore have denied the total prohibition of alcohol, but sought to curb its more flagrant abuses.
2. An Act to Amend "The Factory Act, Statutes of Manitoba 1904", 4 Edward. VII chap. 16.
3. J.W. Sparling in the introduction to J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, (Toronto: Frederick Clarke Stephenson 1909)
4. See Appendix A for origins of Manitoba residents 1871-1931. See Appendix C for origins of Winnipeg residents 1871-1931.
5. D. Avery, Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Redicalism in Canada 1896 - 1932 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Co. 1979) p. 8-9
6. J.S. Woodsworth, My Neighbor: A Study of City Conditions, (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church 1911) p. 62
7. H.R. Ross, Thirty-Five Years in the Limelight: Sir Rodmond P. Roblin and His Times (Winnipeg: Farmers Advocate of Winnipeg Ltd. 1936) pp. 85-86.
8. A.F.J. Artibise, op. cit. p. 284.
9. *ibid* p. 35
10. It is interesting to note tha the businessman who welcomed the immigrants as cheap labour never the less shared their compatriots' distaste for their quality and character, and on that level supported the call for selective immigration. These contradictory stands were rarely singled out for criticism, however, for as E.C. Kirkland points out "economic activity stood apart from the sphere of moral and personal considerations." Quoted in H. Gutman, Work, Culture and Society in

Industrializing America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf 1976) p. 81

11. J. Higham in Strangers in the Land defines "nativism" as a 'form of nationalism which perceives certain minority culture groups as a threat to national unity and a national way of life.' He identifies its three foci as religious, political and racial differences.
12. See Appendix B for religions of Manitoba residents, 1871-1931. See Appendix D for religions of Winnipeg residents 1871-1931.
13. C.W. Gordon (alias Ralph Conner) Postscript to Adventure - the Autobiography of Ralph Conner (Toronto:McLelland and Stewart Limited 1975) p. 19.
14. N. Sutherland, Children in English Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus (Toronto:University of Toronto Press 1976) p.211
15. D. Avery, op. cit.
16. K.W. Gunn - Walbert, op. cit.
17. R. Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-1928 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1971) p.48
18. G.N. Emery, Methodism on the Canadian Prairies, 1896 to 1914: The Dynamics of an Institution in a New Environment (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1970)Chapter II
19. M.V. Royce, "The Contribution of the Methodist Church to Social Welfare in Canada" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto 1940)
20. ibid, p. 211
21. J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, (Toronto:Frederick Clarke Stephenson 1909) p. 227.
22. The mortality rate for infants under 2 year of age in Winnipeg's North End was said to be amongst the highest in Canada in 1900, significantly greater than that of the Canadian average of about 200/1000. In 1912 the Winnipeg average was 212/1000; in 1920 it was 101/1000; in 1922 it was reduced to 90/1000. Figures from the Social Welfare Journal, volume 4, no. 3 and 9, 1921-1922.)
23. J.S. Woodsworth, My Neighbor: A Study of City Conditions, op.cit.

24. Report of the Winnipeg Associated Charities Bureau 1908, quoted from A. Artibise, *op. cit.* p.188
25. R. Harney and H. Troper, Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930. (Toronto:Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd.) p.25
26. James Grey in The Boy from Winnipeg notes that work was common to children of all poor families, not just foreign children - "It was the normal thing for boys when they reached ten years of age to be on the look-out for odd jobs, not to earn spending money but to supplement the family income." p. 118
27. A. Artibise, *op. cit.*; J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates; F. Gonick, "Social Values in Public Education 1910-1930" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba 1974)
28. J.S. Woodsworth, *op. cit.*, p. 248.
29. See Appendix E for school attendance and enrollment in Manitoba.
30. F. Gonick, *op. cit.*, p. 16, quoting from the Canadian Annual Review 1907.
31. *Ibid*, p. 28, quoting from the Manitoba Free Press 1913.
32. An Act to Amend the Public Schools Act, Statutes of Manitoba 1907, 7 Edward VII, Chap 35 section 5-8.
33. H.R. Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
34. An Act to Amend the Children's Protection Act, Statutes of Manitoba 1907, 6-7, Edward VII, chap. 6.
35. Manitoba Free Press, Wednesday, January 30, 1907
36. Minutes of the meetings of the Brandon Children's Aid Society, May and September 1902.
37. Annual Report of the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg, 1903.
38. Annual Report of the Attorney General for 1908, Manitoba sessional paper #17, 1909. Even the truancy measures included in the 1907 amendments to the Children's Protection Act may have been made in anticipation of the federal legislation for, although it was passed in 1908, the Juvenile Delinquents Act had been advocated for several years prior.
39. Social Welfare Journal, March 1, 1919; volume 1, no. 6.

40. N. Sutherland, op. cit. p. 71, quotes Dr. Daniel Clarke, Medical Superintendent for the Asylum for the Insane in Toronto in the 1880's as stating that "immoral, intellectual, emotional, affectional qualities and instincts" were inherited in the same manner as physical characteristics.
41. Annual Reports, Department of Public Works, sessional papers of Manitoba 1902-1904. Annual reports, Department of the Attorney General, sessional papers of Manitoba 1905-1910.
42. Reports from the Manitoba Free Press, reported in E. Patterson Tales of the Early West (Winnipeg: Hignell Printing Limited 1978) chapter 21.
43. Statutes of Canada 1908, 7-8 Edward. chap. 40.
44. Stubbs, Roy St. George, "The First Juvenile Court Judge: Hon. T. Mane Daly, K.C.", in the Manitoba Law Journal, volume 10, no. 1, 1979, p. 1
45. Ibid.
46. No information was available on the personal background of Felix Billiardé. Although his name would suggest he may have been of French origin, he does not appear to have been French speaking. Archbishop Langevin, who customarily wrote in French to French speaking individuals wrote letters to Billiarde in English: AASB, Langevin Papers, Archbishop Langevin to Billiardé, March 16 and 18, 1908 re: Juvenile Delinquents' Act.
47. In his report of 1911, Billiarde included a map which pinpointed the homes of children coming before the court in the previous year. The highest concentration came from the North End and Point Douglas areas, followed by the area between the Assiniboine River and the C.P.R. tracks. The area lowest in offenders was that South of the Assiniboine River.
48. For statistics of the nationalities of children dealt with by the Juvenile Court 1909-1924, see Appendix F.
49. For statistics of the offenses dealt with by the Juvenile Court 1909-1924 see Appendix G.
50. As there was no compulsory education, children could not technically be charged with truancy. Nevertheless they and their parents could be brought before the court for violations of the so-called 'truancy' section of the Children's Protection Act.
51. Annual Report of the Department of Education 1913-1914,

sessional papers #2.

52. Ibid.
53. Annual report of the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children 1910, p. 11
54. Ibid, p. 15.
55. An Act to Regulate Moving Picture Exhibitions, 1 George V., Chap. 29.
56. Statutes of Manitoba 1910, 10 Edward VII chap 13.
57. Department of Education, Annual Report for the year 1913-1914.
58. Statutes of Manitoba 1912, 2 George V, chap.
59. Baby farms were homes in which infants were taken in and cared for for financial gain. The homes charged high rates for caring for children and either sold, or placed for a fee, infants whose parents could not support them. The Maternity Boarding Houses Act (1899) had also attempted to prevent the growth of baby farms by requiring that anyone caring for more than 1 child (non-related) for over 48 hours must be registered and inspected by the S.N.C.
60. Department of Education Report 1914-1915.
61. H.L. Johnson, "The Development of the Public Child Welfare Program in Saskatchewan" (unpublished M.S.W. thesis, University of British Columbia 1952).
62. Annual reports for the Winnipeg Society indicated that fewer than 15% of the number of cases investigated required apprehension of children.
63. Extract from an undated and untitled report in the historical files of the Winnipeg C.A.S.
64. From the pamphlet entitled "What the Society Is", in the historical file at the Winnipeg C.A.S.
65. M. Wade, "A Sociological Study of the Dependent Child," (unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University 1931) pp. 21-25.
66. See Appendices H and I for the nationalities and religions of children admitted to the Winnipeg C.A.S. shelter.
67. See Appendix J for the reasons given for children's admission to the Winnipeg C.A.S. Shelter.

68. Revised Statutes of Manitoba 1902 1-2, Edward VII chap. 107.
69. Statutes of Manitoba 1912, 2 George V, chapter 101; An Amendment to the Wives and Children Maintenance Act, Statutes of Manitoba 1913, 3 George V, chapter 90.
70. Statutes of Manitoba 1912, 2 George V. chapter 29.
71. Court records were not examined for the purposes of this study. The confidentiality requirements of the Juvenile Court may prevent their use in further studies. The records of the Winnipeg C.A.S. constituted the principal source of information. Their files include case records, annual reports, miscellaneous reports and correspondences.
72. See Appendix K for placements of Winnipeg C.A.S. wards.
73. Although there is no indication of the number of visits made and miles travelled by the Foster Homes Inspector in his first years, he travelled approximately 12,000 miles to make 225 visits in 1916-1917, Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1916-1917.
74. The 1903 Department of Public Works Annual Report (sessional paper no. 8) indicates that in the previous year at the St. Boniface Infants Home 72 out of the 105 infants admitted died. Although many of these children, mostly illegitimate, were in poor condition when admitted to the home, the home's inability to provide wholesome milk compounded their problems. This unsatisfactory, but not uncommon situation lead to the inclusion in the 1912 Illegitimate Children's Act of a 10 month compulsory nursing period by mothers before surrendering their children. This measure was subsequently transferred to the Child Welfare Act.
75. See Appendix L for a record of the funding given the Winnipeg C.A.S.
76. Untitled report, dated February 26, 1914, in historical files of Children's Aid Society of Eastern Manitoba (formerly St. Adelard C.A.S.) p. 1
77. Annual Report of the St. Adelard C.A.S. 1913.
78. The records for 1914 indicate, for example, that of the children admitted to care, only 12 were adopted and 8 were returned to their parents, while 140 were placed in Catholic institutions. Owing to the Society's lack of records, complete statistics are not available for earlier years. However, records do give

figures for the number of children admitted in most years - 1905-08 - 30, 1909 - 69, 1910 - 69, 1911 - 70, 1912 - 65, 1913 - 111, 1914 - 163, 1915 - 65, 1916 - 34, 1918 - 41, 1919 - 28, 1920 - 50, 1924 - 115.

79. Statutes of Manitoba, 10 Edward VII, chapter 13, section 7.
80. The acceptance of the position with the Winnipeg C.A.S. by the four Catholic members, who must have been aware of the poor relations between the two Societies, reflected the hostilities which existed between the English and French Catholic parishes. The French Catholic community was so opposed to the presence of the Catholics on the Winnipeg C.A.S. Board that all four felt compelled to resign in 1914. Their leader, Father Patton of St. Mary's Church wrote the St. Adelard Society angrily declaring "The results will be the loss of many to our faith, but there seems no remedy; you will not do the work and you are determined to prevent us from doing it." (letter in the miscellaneous correspondence file at the C.A.S. of Eastern Manitoba). The relationship between the Winnipeg and St. Boniface Catholics is described by J. Reid in "The Erection of the Roman Catholic Archdioceses of Winnipeg" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba 1961).
81. Reported in the minutes of the St. Adelard C.A.S., May 27, 1914. pp. 58-62.
82. Untitled report, dated February 26, 1914, in the historical files of the Children's Aid Society of Eastern Manitoba (formerly St. Adelard C.A.S.) p. 2.
83. Records from the visiting priests and child caring institutions were not available for study through the C.A.S. of Eastern Manitoba. The Society's early record-keeping problems appears to have prevented the maintenance of such reports.
84. Statistics quoted from the minutes and Annual Reports of the St. Adelard C.A.S., 1905-1915.
85. H. Wilder, A Historical Sketch of the Beginning of the Jewish Orphanage and Children's Aid Society of Western Canada (unpublished report in the files of the Jewish Historical Society), P.A.M.
86. Ibid.
87. PAM, R.P. Roblin Papers, Copies of letters sent from Weston to other provinces' S.N.C.'s September 15, 1914 and their replies.
88. Brandon Children's Aid Society, minutes of Board meetings,

October 1900.

89. The Census of Canada reported Brandon's populations as follows: 1891 - 3,778; 1901 - 5,380; 1911 - 13,839; 1921 - 15,397; 1931 - 17,082.
90. These extensive programmes are described in J.R. Mutchmore's article "Winnipeg's Fresh Air Camps" in the Social Welfare Journal, June 1924, volume 6 no. 9. Supported by churches, charities and public donations, camps around Lake Winnipeg were capable of caring for upwards of 3,000 mothers and children each summer by 1924.
91. The 1899 Board of Directors was composed of the following members - Mr. G. Wilson, Mr. Irwin, Mr. R. Darrach, Mrs. Harrison, Mr. Finley, Mrs. McChesney, Rev. Harding, Mr. F. Adams, Mr. R. Mathison, and Mr. and Mrs. S. Clement. Minutes of Brandon C.A.S. January 1899.
92. The annual report of the Department of Education for 1913-1914 states that a C.A.S. was founded in Swan River in the same year. However, there are no reports about the work of this agency. As it is not mentioned in subsequent reports of the Department, it would appear that the Swan River C.A.S. had only a brief existence.
93. Original Board of Directors included Dr. E. Bottomly, Mr. and Mrs. E. Widmeyer, Mrs. J.M. McLeod, Mr. H. F. Coldwell, Mr. J.W. Johnson, and Mr. D.D.M. McDonald.
94. Ellington Bridgman is the author of Breaking Prairie Sod. Written in 1920, this book is recognized as an example of racist Canadian literature, referring to Eastern Europeans as "moral degenerates," "without a code of honor, destitute of any sense of individual or national decency, distrusted and dishonored by men and nations".
95. Report of the Portage Industrial School in the Annual Report of the Department of Public Works, Manitoba Sessional Papers 1911, no. 4.
96. 1915 report of the Portage Industrial School in the Annual Report of the Department of Public Works, Manitoba Sessional Papers 1916, no. 19
97. Figures from the 1908, 1909 reports of the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children.
98. Department of Public Works Sessional Papers 1894 - no 6, 1909 - no. 3. The school accepted children from the Western Provinces

as well as western Ontario.

99. Copy of J.S. Woodsworth's Diary during his position as Director of the Bureau of Social Research, 1916-1917, Public Welfare commission papers, P.A.M.
100. See Appendix M for the government funding of child caring institutions.
101. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children 1911.
102. The Council's history was recounted in the initial issue of the Statesman, its journal first issued on April 28, 1913.
103. Recapitulated in the first publication of the Canadian Social Service Council's publication, the Social Welfare Journal, volume 1, no. 1, Oct. 1, 1918, p. 3
104. R. Allen, op. cit. p. 242.
105. C. Bacchi, "Divided Allegiances: The Response of Farm and Labour Women to Suffrage" in L. Healy (editor) A Not Unreasonable Claim, Women and Reform in Canada 1880's 1920's (Toronto: The Women's Press 1979) p. 97-99. Bacchi discusses the attitudes of Ada Muir, women's columnist for the labor newspaper The Voice.
106. Manitoba Free Press, Wednesday December 17, 1913.
107. C.W. Gordon, op. cit. p. 163.
108. Although both measures appeared to offer essential reforms in that they favored the working classes, both, in fact, were election ploys. The Workmen's Compensation package was very mild in nature and the scheme of government elevators failed shortly after its inception. S.M. Lipset, in Agrarian Socialism (Berkeley: University of California, Press, 1971) went so far as to suggest it was not the intent of the Roblin government to succeed at this undertaking.
109. See Appendix E for figures on school enrollment and attendance.
110. These findings would seem to dispute those of N. Sutherland in Children in English Canadian Society. Sutherland states that Billiarde "with the aid of parents prodded most truants and unregistered children into classes without having to undertake court proceedings against them or their parents". p. 127.
111. Manitoba Free Press, Thursday December 18, 1913.

112. Statutes of Manitoba 1914, 4 George V, chapter 19.
113. Manitoba Free Press, Friday, December 19, 1913.
114. J. Gray; Booze p. 79.
115. W.L. Morton, op. cit. p. 337.

Chapter IV

1. The 1914 Canadian Parliamentary Guide lists occupations of members as: 13 farmers, 5 financiers/real-estate agents, 12 merchants/business owners; 17 professionals (doctors, lawyers, ministers, teachers) and two unstated; religions - 33 Protestants, 6 Roman Catholics, 1 Greek Orthodox, 1 Unitarian, and 8 unstated.
The 1915 Canadian Parliamentary Guide lists as occupations: 9 farmers, 8 financiers/real-estate, 7 merchants/businessmen, 13 professionals, 2 publishers, and 10 unstated; religions - 31 Protestants, 5 Roman Catholics, and 13 unstated.
2. M. MacPhedron, "Domestic Relations and the Child" in Social Welfare Journal, October 1919, volume 2, no. 1.
The momentum for children's reforms was not restricted to Manitoba; it was a national phenomenon. The federal Bureau of Child Welfare (Department of Health) was established in 1919 after much agitation. Somewhat dismayed by the medical orientation of the Bureau, the Canadian Council of Social Welfare formed its own children's department, the Canadian Council of Child Welfare (CCCW). In 1921, a conference of C.A.S. workers, Juvenile Court Judges, probation officers and school attendance officers formed the Canadian Association of Child Protection Officers. In retrospect, it can be said that Manitoba reformers had more effect on the federal movement than vice versa. Mrs. Colin H. Campbell, widow of the Attorney General who introduced Juvenile Courts into Manitoba, was one of the leading activists behind the Federal Bureau. Mrs. R. Rogers (Manitoba Liberal MLA) was appointed first secretary of the Canadian Council of Child Welfare; A.P. Paget, director of the Manitoba Mothers' Allowance Commission, was the CCCW president during 1922-23. The Association of Child Protection Officers was formed at the annual Conference on Child Welfare held in Winnipeg.
3. Title of a 1917 pamphlet written by F.J. Billiardé under the patronage of Mrs. M. Campbell advocating the formation of a federal Bureau of Child Welfare.

4. Rev. P. Bryce, Chairman of the Ontario Social Service Council, writing in the Social Welfare Journal, July 1920, volume 2, number 10, p. 256.
5. Manitoba Temperance Act, Statutes of Manitoba, 1916, 6 George V, ch 112.
6. Statistics given for the first 7 months after introduction of the Macdonald Act indicated convictions for drunkenness were down 87%; all crime was down 32%. 1917 sessional paper #13. These trends continued. J.H. Thompson in the Prohibition Question in Manitoba 1892-1928" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba 1969) noted that convictions for drunkenness declined after initiation of the MacDonalld Temperance Act: 1915-3958 (or 1177/100,000) 1916-2905 (or 872/ 100,000) 1917-975 (or 302/100,000).
7. See Appendix J for the reasons given for children being admitted to the Winnipeg C.A.S. Shelter.
8. See Appendix G for the reasons for which children appeared in Juvenile Court.
9. D.W. McKerchar, Report from the Juvenile Court Social Welfare Journal, volume 1, no. 5, February 1, 1919, p. 100.
10. See, for example, James Gray's autobiography, The Boy From Winnipeg, op cit.
11. An Amendment to the Public Schools Act, Statutes of Manitoba, 1916, 6 George V, Ch.87.
12. See F. Gonick, op. cit. Chapter 3 and M. Mott, "The 'Foreign Peril': Nativism in Winnipeg, 1916-1923" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba 1970) ch. 4.
13. Statutes of Manitoba, 1916, 6 George V Ch. 97.
14. Report of the Supervisor of School Attendance, J.F. Greenway, included in the 1915-1916 Annual Report of the Department of Education.
15. See Appendix E for statistics on school attendance and enrollment.
16. Report of the School Attendance Department, included in the 1917-1918 Annual Report of the Department of Education.
17. Prosecutions under the Public School Act and School Attendance Act, 1922 sessional paper #56.

18. F. Gonick, op. cit. p. 125-126.
19. The history of the Mothers' Allowance Legislation was taken from the Report of Mothers' Allowance Commission for the Period April 18, 1916 to June 30, 1917; 1918 sessional paper.
20. Statutes of Manitoba, 1916, 6 George V Ch. 69.
21. Report of Mothers' Allowance Commissioners for the Period April 18, 1916 to June 30, 1917; 1918 sessional papers.
22. A. Turnbull notes that the 1921 census indicates that only 64% of the foreign born were naturalized citizens. Thus a full 36% were inelegible under terms of the Act. Progressive Social Policy in Manitoba 1915-1919 (unpublished MSW thesis, University of Manitoba, 1980).
23. Figures from the Annual Reports of the Mothers' Allowance Commission 1917-1924. Categories given for 'foreign' recipients include: E. European - Austro--Hungarian, German, Jewish, Russian Polish, Ruthenian; S. European - Italian; other foreign - no explanation given.
24. A more complete explanation of the scale, and examples of allowances given are included in the Commission's first report - April 1916 - June 1917 op. cit.
25. Figures from Royal Commission on Child Welfare in Manitoba (Whitton Report) 1928 p. 68.
26. Figures from annual reports of the Mothers' Allowance Commission 1917-1924.
27. Report of the Director of the Child Study Laboratory, Victoria, B.C., 1916, Public Welfare Commission files, PAM.
28. Ibid.
29. Manitoba Free Press, March 3, 1919.
Manitoba Free Press, Oct. 25, 1919, quoting Dr. Helen MacMurchy, director of the new federal Bureau of Child Welfare.
30. The Manitoba Public Welfare Commission in 1918 sponsored an investigation of conditions in Manitoba by the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene. The figures reported are extracts from the Committee's report contained in the 2nd Interim Report of the Public Welfare Commission, February, 1919, PAM.

31. Manitoba Free Press, October 25, 1919. Interestingly enough, this article stated that of all immigrants, the British were most likely to be feeble minded - no doubt referring to lower class British immigrants.
32. Report of the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, 1916-1917 Annual Report of the Department of Education.
33. Report of the Juvenile Court Judge, 1918-1919, Report of the Department of Education.
34. Second Interim Report of the Public Welfare Commission, Feb. 1919, PAM.
35. Dr. G.S. Mundie, "Specialized Care of the Defective Child", in The Social Welfare Journal, Volume 2, no. 1, October 1919, p. 20.
36. Statutes of Manitoba, 1917, 7 George V., Ch. 34.
37. Statutes of Manitoba, 1919, 9 George V, Ch. 53.
38. Lt. Colonel C.K. Russel, Chairman of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene, quoted in the Manitoba Free Press, March 20, 1919.
39. The Juvenile Court statistics of 1917-1922 indicate approximately 13 cases per year were finalized by parents voluntarily placing children into non corrective institutions. As the Judge during those years, D.W. McKerchar was an enthusiastic supporter of institutionalization for defectives, it is probable that these statistics related to this practice.
40. Manitoba Free Press, Dec. 19, 1913.
41. There is no written record of a dispute between Billiarde and McKerchar, yet one is implied. McKerchar and Billiarde submitted separate annual reports in which each failed to acknowledge the work of the other, interrupting a practice which was common prior to McKerchar's appointment. The statistics submitted by each differed, showing no collaboration or consultation. In addition, when identifying the workers of the two offices in his 1916-1917 report, McKerchar acknowledged the Chief Probation Officer, (D.M. Stokes) the Foster Home Inspector (D.S. Hamilton) and the officer in Charge of Newsboys (L.B. Campbell) but made no reference at all to Billiarde. Even Billiarde's departure from office in 1919 failed to elicit a comment from McKerchar, or, for that matter, from D.S.

Hamilton, Billiardé's successor. Billiardé's lack of popularity with both men was undoubtedly related to his unpopularity with reformers under the Roblin administration - cited previously in an editorial in the Free Press, Dec. 18, 1913.

42. Report of the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children in the 1914-1915 Report of the Department of Education.
43. In a typical statement in his 1911 report Billiardé identified poverty as the chief cause of truancy yet continued to focus on individual pathology: "Briefly, I believe poor food and poor clothing the main root causes of truancy because they produce diseased children with abnormal tendencies." He then continued on to discuss the need for good dental hygiene. P. 69 of Billiardé's unabridged report for 1911, "Citizens in the Making."
44. See Appendix F for nationalities of children appearing before the Juvenile Court.
45. See Appendix G for offenses under the Juvenile Delinquents' Act.
46. Report of the Judge of Juvenile Court, 1916-17 Annual Report of the Department of Education.
47. Figures from the Report of the Juvenile Court Judge, Annual Reports for the Department of Education 1916-17 to 1923-24. Complete statistics are not available for years prior to 1916, but reports did indicate an average of 23 children were sent annually to correctional facilities prior to 1917.
48. D.W. McKerchar, "The Juvenile Court and the Community", Social Welfare Journal, Volume 2, no.1, October 1919.
49. Report of the Juvenile Court Judge, 1918-1919 Report of the Department of Education.
50. Report of the Judge of Juvenile Court 1918-1919, Annual Report of the Department of Education.
51. Report of the Superintendent of Neglected Children, 1914-1915 Report of the Department of Education.
52. Information on Billiardé's involvement in the movement to establish a federal Child Welfare Bureau was gathered from miscellaneous correspondence in the Minnie J.B. Campbell Papers, PAM.

53. Minnie Campbell may have been largely responsible for interesting Billiarde in the federal bureau. She was a recognized leader in the national movement, spending her own funds to publish and distribute pamphlets and letters, as well as making several trips to Ottawa to personally lobby federal Ministers.
54. E.T. Devine, Welfare Work in Winnipeg, a report published by the Federated Budget Board, 1925, p. 24.
55. Annual Report of the Winnipeg C.A.S. 1918.
56. Records of the Dauphin C.A.S. Foster Home Committee, January 19, 1918.
57. An Amendment to the Children's Protection Act, Statutes of Manitoba, 1918, 8 George V, ch. 12.
58. Although there is no written confirmation of municipal support of this amendment, it was confirmed in discussions with Ruth Winkler, Director of the Portage C.A.S. during the 1930's and Millicent Kerr, Clerk of the Winnipeg Juvenile Court from 1926 until the late 1960's.
59. See Appendix M for provincial government funding of children's institutions.
60. See Appendix L for municipal funding of Winnipeg and Dauphin Societies. The St. Adelard Society did not print a breakdown of its funding sources, but noted improved responses from some municipalities in its minutes. The St. Adelard Society was perhaps the most persistent in pursuing municipal support, for in 1922, its Board gave its Secretary authority to take a non-co-operative municipality to court as a test case. Records do not indicate whether or not this was done.
61. The figures of 1919 prove an exception. In that year a large number of temporary admissions resulted from a severe flu epidemic.
62. See Appendices H and I for nationalities and religions of Winnipeg C.A.S. wards.
63. Institutions file of the Public Welfare Commission papers, PAM.
64. Report of the Superintendent of Neglected Children, 1915-16 Annual Report of the Department of Education.
65. PAM, Norris Papers, from W.A. Weston to Norris, May 20, 1915.

66. Annual report for 1917, minutes of the St. Adelard CAS.
67. Jewish Orphanage and Children's Aid Society of Western Canada First Annual Report, 1917, files of the Jewish Historical Society, PAM.
68. An exception to this would appear to be the annual Children's Aid Society Concert and Auction Sale, inaugurated by the McConnell family, and held in the town of Hamiota. Although this event began almost with the Society's inception in 1898, it is not clear what happened to the donations during the years the society was inoperative.
69. Minutes of the Brandon C.A.S., February, 1919.
70. Dauphin C.A.S. minutes, March 11, 1918, PAM.
71. Anonymous report Custodial Care for Dependent and Neglected Children - Winnipeg and Vicinity (1929) in the possession of the Department of Health Library.
72. See Appendix N for detailed information on the Dauphin Society's funding.
73. Illegitimate Children's Act, Statutes of Manitoba, 1912, 2 George V ch. 29.
74. H. Bell, "The Illegitimate Family", Social Welfare Journal, July 1920, vol. 2 No. 10.
75. See Appendix M for provincial government funding to child-caring organizations.
76. Untitled report in the Institution's file of the Public Welfare Commission Papers PAM.
77. Report of Mrs. R.F. McWilliams to the Welfare Supervision Board, May 1, 1923, Welfare Supervision Board Correspondence, PAM.
78. E.T. Devine, Welfare Work in Winnipeg, 1925 report commissioned by the Federated Budget Board.
79. This untitled report is included in the files of the Public Welfare Commission PAM. Information it contained indicated it was written in the late 1920's by a female who referred to herself as "your Commissioner". This would suggest that, although the report was not embodied in Whitton's report commissioned by the provincial government in 1928 (Royal

Commission on Child Welfare in Manitoba) it may have been a supplementary report. Alternatively, in her role as Secretary of the Canadian Council of Child Welfare, Whitton frequently was requested to undertake such investigations by Community Chests or government departments.

80. N. Sutherland; op. cit., p. 75.
81. J.J. Kelso, The Union of the Forces, pamphlet published c. 1918, Public Welfare Commission papers PAM.
82. An Act Respecting Public and other Institutions Statutes of Manitoba, 1917, 7 George V ch. 69.
83. D.B. Harkness, "Winnipeg's Statement", Social Welfare Journal, October 1920, Vol. 3 no. 1, p. 25.
84. Children's Committee report, First Interim Report of the Public Welfare Commission, files of the Public Welfare Commission PAM.
85. D.B. Harkness, "Recent Developments in Child Welfare", Social Welfare Journal, July 1924, volume 6, no. 10.
86. D.B. Harkness, "General Report of the Executive of the Social Service Council of Manitoba", Social Welfare Journal, March 1920, volume 2 no. 6.
87. Second and Third Interim Reports of the Public Welfare Commission 1919, 1920, files of the Public Welfare Commission PAM.
88. Third Interim Report of the Public Welfare Commission, op. cit.
89. An Act Respecting Welfare Supervision Statutes of Manitoba, 1919, 9 George V ch. 112.
90. Board of Welfare Supervision, 1st Annual Report, Nov. 30/21, Public Welfare Commission files, PAM.
91. Third Interim Report of the Public Welfare Commission, Public Welfare Commission files, PAM.
92. C. Whitton, Child Welfare Legislation, a report written under the auspices of the Canadian Child Welfare Council, a branch of the Canadian Council of Social Services, on file at the Department of Health Library.
93. An Act Respecting the Welfare of Children, Manitoba Blue Bills,

1921.

94. Winnipeg Tribune, March 8, 1921.
95. Manitoba Free Press, March 8, 1921.
96. Ibid.
97. This intention was contrary to both the P.W.C. recommendations, and the terms of the Act itself. Concerns for the cost of Norris's reforms had been expressed by 1921 - the apparent cause of this economy measure.
98. The Free Press did not indicate the source of this figure, nor did it state what costs were included. It would appear to include other institutions in addition to child welfare institutions, and even then would seem to be a high estimation.
99. Manitoba Free Press, March 8, 1921.
100. Journals of Manitoba 1921, p. 331-333.
101. A.E. Smith, in his biography, All My Life (Toronto: Progress Publishing Co. 1949) p. 66 indicates Labor's full support of the Bill.
102. Winnipeg Free Press, March 27, 1922.

Chapter V

1. Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1921.
2. Canadian Parliamentary Guide 1922.
3. J. Kendle, John Bracken: A Political Biography, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press) 1979, p. 35.
4. Ibid, p. 39.
5. Ibid, p. 39. "Brackenism" is defined by Kendle as "Bracken's pragmatic, businesslike and non-partisan approach to the problems of government."
6. Figures from Manitoba Public Accounts 1908-1924.
7. An article in the Winnipeg Free Press, March 8, 1923 revealed criticisms concerned Harkness' over-involvement with the Liberals in the previous election and his lack of legal training. Winnipeg C.A.S. minutes in 1925 indicated a

dissatisfaction with Harkness but were not explicit as to the nature of the problems. After leaving Winnipeg in 1925, Harkness moved to Toronto where he became Educational Officer for the Ontario Council of Social Services.

8. Report of the Juvenile Court Judge in the annual report of the Department of Education 1923-24.
9. Report of the Juvenile Court Judge in the annual report of the Department of Education 1922-23.
10. See Appendix G for offenses of children appearing before Juvenile Court.
11. See Table 4.5 for disposition of cases before the Juvenile Court.
12. D.B. Harkness, "Recent Developments in Child Welfare", Social Welfare Journal, July 1924, volume 6, no. 10.
13. Figures from annual Public Accounts. Figures for 1922 are not used for comparison as the date of the fiscal year was altered, leaving figures for 1922 covering only a period of 9 months.
14. File of the Portage Industrial School, Public Welfare Commission files, P.A.M.
15. Figures from Public Accounts, 1920-25.
16. Although no figures were available for 1922-24, the Winnipeg C.A.S 1921 financial statement indicated the government contributed only \$5,000 (6%) towards its expenses of \$83,500. A \$1700 (2%) reduction, would not have greatly altered the Society's financial position.
17. Figures for all Children's Aids were not available. Those for the office of the S.N.C., the St. Adelard C.A.S. and the Dauphin C.A.S. indicated increases in the number of children being cared for.
18. See Appendix K for placement of Winnipeg C.A.S. wards.
19. All private appeals for funding were channelled through the Federated Budget Board after 1922. In 1922-23 the FBB collected a total of \$451,200 to be portioned out to 33 participating organizations; in 1924-25 it collected only \$330,000 to spread amongst 37 organizations. The problem was regarded as sufficiently serious that Dr. E.T. Devine, an internationally recognized authority on social welfare, was brought from New York city to study the Winnipeg situation. (information from

Dr. Devine's report, "Welfare Work in Winnipeg".)

20. Winnipeg Free Press, March 1, 1924.
21. PAM, Bracken Papers, Robert Fletcher to Bracken January 27, 1923.
22. Seventh Annual Report of the Manitoba Mothers' Allowance Commission, 1924 sessional papers, no. 44.
23. Members appointed to the first Board in 1924-25 included:
 - A.P. Paget - Director of Child Welfare
 - A.T. Mathers - Provincial Psychiatrist
 - W.J. Major - Anglican lawyer, future M.L.A. and Attorney General under Bracken
 - Mrs. T.R. Deacon - former member Mothers' Allowance Commission
 - *Mr. F. Coyle - Ontario born Catholic, businessman
 - *F. Tipping - English born Baptist teacher and trade unionist, active on the General Strike Committee, MLA.
 - Mabel Finch - Representative of the United Farm Women of Manitoba

* The appointments of Coyle, a Catholic, and Tipping, a trade unionist, may appear unusual. However, the Act required that one Catholic be on the Board; Tipping's appointment appears to reflect the non-partisan approach of the Bracken administration.
24. An Act to Amend "An Act Respecting the Welfare of Children", Statutes of Manitoba 1924, 14 George V Chapters 6, 7.
25. Undated memo in the legal files of the Winnipeg C.A.S.
26. Statements by Hon. C. Cannon, Minister of Education, in the December 16 editions of the Tribune and the Free Press.
27. C. Whitton, Child Welfare Legislation, pamphlet published in 1925 by the Canadian Council on Child Welfare.
28. Winnipeg Free Press, March 1, 1924.
29. The decreases in Mothers' Allowances did not go un-noticed. On June 24, 1925, the Winnipeg Tribune protested the low rates, noting this was an area which the government could ill-afford to neglect.
30. Royal Commission on Child Welfare (Whitton Report) p. 4.

CHAPTER VI

1. R. Titmuss, Social Policy, p. 30-32.
2. V. George and P. Wilding, op. cit.
3. Undated memo (c. 1920) in the Immigration file of the Public Welfare Commission PAM.
4. M. Wade, op. cit. p. 59-60.
5. N. Sutherland, op. cit. p. 232.
6. Helen McMurchy, Director of the Federal Bureau of Child Welfare, noted the contributions of the United Farm Women of Manitoba in her "Handbook for Child Welfare Work in Canada" (Ottawa: Department of Health 1922).
7. Throughout the entire period under study, urban areas were under represented in the legislature. For example, in 1886 Winnipeg formed approximately 1/5 of the total population yet had only 2 out of 35 seats; in 1900 it contained 1/6 of the population and had 3 out of 40 seats; by 1920 it constituted about 1/3 of the total population and had 10 out of 55 seats (Canadian Parliamentary Guide).
8. Gil, op. cit. p. 15-16.

Appendixes

APPENDIX A

ORIGIN'S OF MANITOBA'S POPULATION

	1870		1881		1886		1901		1911		1921		1931	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
British ¹	38,285	58.1	73,034	67.2	164,239	64.4	266,562	57.8	350,992	57.5	368,010	52.6		
French	9,949	15.1	11,190	10.3	16,021	6.3	30,952	6.7	40,638	6.6	47,039	6.7		
Northern European ²	1,529	2.3	3,276	3.0	12,849	5.0	20,354	4.4	47,932	7.8	57,367	8.2		
Eastern European ³	8,704	13.2	11,556	10.7	43,978	17.2	107,979	23.4	151,179	24.8	206,229	29.4		
Southern European ⁴	55	.1	89	.1	244	.1	1,289	.3	2,190	.4	2,674	.4		
Indian/Metis	6,767	10.2	9,191	8.5	16,277	6.4	13,238	2.9	13,869	2.3	15,479	2.2		
Asian	4	---	18	---	210	.1	970	.2	1,711	.3	2,255	.3		
African	25	---	30	---	61	---	209	---	491	.1	465	.1		
Other	6	---	178	.2	71	---	5,023	1.1	225	---	43	---		
Not Given	630	1.0	78	.1	1,261	.5	14,818	3.2	891	.2	578	.1		
TOTAL	11,963	100	65,954	100.0	108,640	100.0	255,211	100.0	461,394	100.0	610,118	100.0	700,139	100.0

1. British - includes English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh.

2. Northern European includes Icelandic, Scandinavian, Dutch, Finnish.

3. Eastern European includes German, Jewish, Russian, Polish, Swiss, Belgian, Austrian, Hungarian, Yugoslavian, Bulgarian, Czechoslovakian, Lithuanian, Rumanian.

4. Southern European includes Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, Turkish.

APPENDIX B

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF MANITOBA'S POPULATION

	1881		1891		1901		1911		1921		1931	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Protestant	4,880	74.1	124,636	81.7	203,692	79.8	326,008	71.6	410,221	67.2	452,747	64.7
Roman Catholic	12,246	18.6	20,571	13.5	35,672	14.0	73,994	16.2	105,394	17.3	189,693	27.1
Jewish	33	---	743	.5	1,497	.6	10,636	2.3	16,593	2.7	19,193	2.7
Greek Church	---	---	---	---	7,899	3.1	31,042	6.8	56,670	9.3	15,774	2.3
Other	2,452	3.7	1,732	1.1	5,683	2.2	11,051	2.4	20,510	3.4	19,126	2.7
None/unspecified	2,343	3.6	4,824	3.2	768	.3	2,883	.7	730	.1	3,606	.5
TOTALS	65,954	100.0	152,505	100.0	255,211	100.0	455,614	100.0	610,118	100.0	700,139	100.0

1. Figures from Census of Canada.

APPENDIX C

ORIGINS OF WINNIPEG'S POPULATION¹

	1886		1901		1916		1931	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Britain ²	16,795	83.0	31,230	79.8	109,238	67.0	132,376	60.5
French	610	3.0	1,379	3.3	3,115	1.9	4,970	2.3
Northern European ³	1,400	6.9	3,414	8.1	6,716	4.1	10,868	5.0
Eastern European ⁴	908	4.5	5,295	12.5	40,899	25.1	66,683	30.5
Southern European ⁵	73	.4	147	.3	1,276	.8	1,810	.8
Indian/Metis	331	1.6	142	.3	32	.0	51	.0
Asian	16	.1	121	.3	660	.4	1,316	.6
African	19	.1	44	.1	224	.1	386	.2
Other	57	.3	89	.2	441	.3	—	—
Not Given	29	.1	479	1.1	399	.3	325	.1
TOTAL	20,238	100.0	42,340	100.0	163,000	100.0	218,785	100.0

1. Figures from Census of Canada
2. British includes English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh.
3. Northern European includes Icelandic, Scandanavian, Dutch, Finnish.
4. Eastern European includes German, Jewish, Russian, Polish, Swiss, Belgian, Austrian, Hungarian, Yugoslavian, Bulgarian, Czechoslovakian, Lithuanian, Rumanian.
5. Southern European includes Italian, Spanish, Portugese, Greek, Turkish.

APPENDIX D

WINNIPEG RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS¹

	1886		1901		1916		1931	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Protestant	16,968	83.9	34,813	82.3	114,892	70.5	142,253	65.0
Roman Catholic	2,244	11.1	5,143	12.1	24,013	14.7	46,990	21.5
Jewish	510	2.5	1,145	2.7	13,443	8.3	17,153	7.8
Greek Church			230	.5	6,254	3.8	2,736	1.2
Other	343	1.7	726	1.7	3,472	2.1	8,049	3.8
None/unspecified	173	.8	283	.7	926	.6	1,604	.7
TOTALS	20,238	100.0	42,340	100.0	163,000	100.0	218,785	100.0

1. Figures from Census of Canada.

PROVINCIAL SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND ENROLLMENT¹

YEAR	Total School Population (5-18 yrs)	No. of Children Registered	% of Children Registered	Average Daily Attendance	Average Daily Attendance of Total School Population (%)	Average Daily Attendance of Enrolled Students (%)
1881	7,000	4,919	70.3		not available	
1882	9,641	6,972	72.3		not available	
1883	12,346	10,831	87.7	5,064	41.0	46.8
1884	14,129	11,708	82.9	6,520	46.2	55.7
1885	15,850	13,074	82.5	7,847	49.5	60.0
1886	16,834	15,926	94.6	8,611	51.2	54.1
1887	17,600	16,940	96.3	9,715	55.2	57.4
1888	18,850	18,000	95.5	9,856	52.3	54.8
1889	21,471	18,358	85.5	11,242	52.4	61.2
1890	25,017	23,256	92.7	11,627	46.4	50.0
1891	28,678	23,871	83.2	12,533	43.7	51.7
1892	29,564	23,243	78.6	12,976	43.9	45.2
1893	34,417	28,708	83.4	14,180	41.2	43.4
1894	36,459	32,680	89.6	16,260	44.6	46.0
1895	44,932	35,371	78.8	19,516	43.4	51.4
1896	50,093	37,987	75.8	20,247	40.4	50.8
1897	51,178	39,841	77.8	21,500	42.0	48.8
1898	57,431	48,660	84.7	24,958	43.5	51.3
1899	59,811	50,460	84.4	25,458	44.3	50.5
1900	62,664	50,460	80.5	27,870	44.5	55.2
1901	63,881	51,888	81.2	27,550	43.1	53.1
1902	64,629	54,056	83.6	28,306	43.8	52.4
1903	66,603	57,409	86.2	36,479	54.8	63.5
1904	68,157	58,574	85.9	31,326	46.0	53.5
1905	73,512	63,287	86.1	33,794	46.0	53.4
1906	77,044	64,123	83.2	34,947	45.4	52.1
1907	81,013	67,144	82.9	37,279	46.0	55.5
1908	87,677	71,031	81.0	40,691	46.4	57.3
1909	89,778	73,044	81.4	41,405	46.1	56.7
1910	93,206	76,247	81.8	43,885	47.1	57.6
1911	98,812	80,848	81.8	45,303	45.9	56.0
1912-13	99,750	83,679	83.9	48,163	48.3	57.6
1913-14	107,019	93,954	87.8	58,778	54.9	62.6
1914-15	115,928	100,963	87.1	68,250	58.9	67.6
1915-16	118,703	103,796	87.4	66,651	56.1	64.4
1916-17	130,275	106,588	81.8	69,209	53.1	64.9
1917-18	134,829	109,923	81.5	69,968	51.9	63.7
1918-19	138,352	114,662	82.9	72,072	52.1	62.8
1919-20	141,266	123,452	87.4	83,564	62.7	71.4
1920-21	148,743	129,015	86.7	86,137	57.9	66.8
1921-22	151,010	136,876	90.6	95,433	63.2	69.7
1922-23	157,943	142,369	90.1	98,787	62.5	69.4
1923-24	157,704	144,491	91.6	103,775	65.8	71.8

1. Figures from Department of Education Annual Reports.

APPENDIX F

NATIONALITIES OF CHILDREN APPEARING IN WINNIPEG JUVENILE COURT¹

	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24
Canadian	137	174			189	202	183		151		236				156
British ²	105	87	N 0	N 0	248	421	160	N 0	114	N 0	277	N 0	N 0		49
American	15	1			12	26	15		18		23				13
Subtotal	257= 51%	202= 57%			449= 46%	649= 49%	358= 54%		283= 46%		536= 54%			52%	218= 46%
French/French Canadian	14	10	R E	R E	14	21	1	R E	16	R E	16	R E	R E		22
North European ³	14	12	C O	C O	33	45	18	C O	16	C O	34	C O	C O		5
East European ⁴	179	115	R D	R D	380	380	244	R D	206	R D	378	R D	R D		220
South European ⁵	6	1			5	14	3		3		8				5
Other	15	11			9	22	1		12		---				2
Subtotal	228= 45%	149= 42%			441= 45%	482= 37%	267= 41%		253= 41%		436= 44%			48%	254= 54%
Unknown	20= 4%	4= 1%			95= 9%	186= 14%	35= 5%		84= 13%		23= 2%				
TOTAL ⁶	503=100%	355=100%	532	772	985=100%	1317=100%	660=100%	471	620=100%		996=100%			100%	472=100%

1. Figures from Reports of the Attorney General 1909-1914; Department of Education Annual Reports 1914-1924.

2. British includes English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh.

3. North European includes Icelandic, Scandinavian, Dutch, Finnish.

4. East European includes German, Jewish, Russian, Polish, Swiss, Belgian, Hungarian, Yugoslavian, Bulgarian, Czechoslovakian, Lithuanian, Rumanian.

5. South European includes Italian, Greek.

6. Totals do not correspond with the numbers of charges heard, religious affiliations or the final dispositions. Some discrepancies reflect lack of standardized record-keeping procedures; others result because many children appeared before the court more than once or on several charges yet were recorded only once in demographic statistics.

APPENDIX G

REASONS FOR CHILDREN APPEARING BEFORE WINNIPEG JUVENILE COURT¹

	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24
Truancy	135	81	90		242	997	173		47	50	64	27	6	---	---
Break and enter				N											
Theft/possession	136	154	171	O	283	135	144	O	409	461	368	430	443	510	675
Breach of probation	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	7	8	40	32	28	---	83
Breach of city bylaw	3	1	2	R	10	3	7	R	129	94	414	285	188	350	268
Trespassing/vagrancy	22	19	17	E	18	16	30	E	56	52	27	25	5	43	174
Assault	5	6	16	C	17	2	15	O	13	18	15	21	6	4	144
Mischief/vandalism				R				R							
Disorderly conduct	18	30	57	D	96	52	102	D	153	266	171	246	228	221	569
Forgery/fraud	3	---	1	---	---	2	2	2	3	3	9	1	3	4	---
Newspaper and labor offences	2	2	39		49	30	5		11	46	1	---	---	---	---
Incorrigible	11	16	33		45	33	19		42	79	93	92	64	76	123
Sexual immorality	29	9	5		13	7	6		6	---	---	---	1	---	---
Running away, escaping custody	11	8	7		11	12	19		6	10	2	4	5	1	4
Neglect/dependency/illtreatment	151	42	55		102	39	95		27	14	52	83	54	48	93
Other	6	14	27		13	47	37		6	26	38	27	44	22	29
TOTAL ²	532	382	520	772	893	1,375	654	471	815	1,127	1,094	1,263	1,082	1,279	2,062

1. Figures from Annual Reports of the Attorney General 1909-1914, Department of Education Annual Reports 1914-1924.

2. Totals do not correspond with those of other Juvenile Court statistics. Many children appeared before the court on more than one charge, thus there were more charges recorded than there were children.

NATIONALITIES OF CHILDREN ADMITTED TO WINNIPEG CAS SHELTER¹

	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
Canadian	40 (39.6)	15 (18.3)	19 (20.6)	25 (31.2)	N	57 (31.3)	70 (34.1)	51 (24.9)	33 (15.0)	30 (14.6)	38 (14.5)
British	34 (33.7)	33 (40.2)	42 (45.6)	34 (42.5)	0	55 (30.2)	85 (41.4)	66 (32.2)	108 (49.0)	98 (47.6)	128 (49.0)
American	1 (1.0)	4 (4.9)	3 (3.3)	3 (3.8)	R	14 (7.7)	2 (1.0)	10 (4.9)	4 (1.8)	11 (5.3)	6 (2.1)
Subtotal	75 (74.3)	52 (63.4)	64 (69.5)	62 (77.5)	E C	126 (69.2)	157 (76.5)	127 (62.0)	145 (65.9)	139 (67.5)	172 (65.6)
French/Fr. Can.	4 (4.0)	7 (8.5)	5 (5.5)	3 (3.8)	0	----	----	12 (5.8)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.5)	2 (0.8)
North European ²	3 (3.0)	4 (4.9)	----	2 (2.5)	R	2 (1.1)	1 (0.5)	10 (4.8)	11 (5.0)	3 (1.4)	14 (5.3)
East European ³	13 (12.8)	13 (15.8)	22 (23.9)	10 (12.5)	D	41 (22.5)	41 (20.0)	48 (23.4)	57 (26.0)	57 (27.7)	66 (25.2)
Other	1 (1.0)	----	----	1 (1.2)		11 (6.0)	5 (2.5)	4 (2.0)	1 (0.4)	4 (1.9)	8 (3.0)
Subtotal	21 (20.8)	24 (29.2)	27 (29.4)	16 (20.0)		54 (29.7)	47 (23.0)	74 (36.0)	70 (31.8)	65 (31.5)	90 (34.3)
Unknown	5 (4.9)	6 (7.4)	1 (1.1)	2 (2.5)		2 (1.1)	1 (0.5)	4 (2.0)	5 (2.3)	2 (1.0)	4 (0.1)
TOTAL	101 (100.0)	82 (100.0)	92 (100.0)	80 (100.0)		182 (100.0)	205 (100.0)	205 (100.0)	220 (100.0)	206 (100.0)	262 (100.0)

APPENDIX H (cont'd)

	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
Canadian	N	40 (15.7)	51 (19.2)	56 (19.3)	66 (16.6)	53 (18.5)	43 (21.2)	N	(19)	N
British	O	121 (47.4)	70 (26.3)	127 (43.8)	163 (41.1)	98 (34.3)	61 (30.0)	O	(37)	O
American	R	5 (2.0)	16 (6.0)	7 (2.4)	6 (1.5)	8 (2.7)	5 (2.4)	R	(3)	R
Subtotal	E	166 (65.1)	137 (51.5)	190 (65.5)	235 (59.2)	159 (55.6)	109 (53.6)	E	(59)	E
French/Fr. Can.	C							C		C
North European ²	O	1 (0.5)	7 (2.6)	8 (2.8)	3 (0.8)	7 (2.4)	5 (2.4)	O	(4)	O
Central European ³	R	22 (8.6)	15 (5.7)	11 (3.8)	13 (3.3)	3 (1.0)	24 (11.9)	R	---	R
Other	D	54 (21.2)	99 (37.2)	78 (26.9)	121 (30.4)	97 (34.0)	61 (30.0)	D	(33)	D
Subtotal		81 (31.8)	126 (47.4)	100 (34.5)	155 (39.1)	125 (43.7)	94 (46.3)		(41)	
Unknown		8 (3.1)	3 (1.1)	---	7 (1.7)	2 (0.7)	---		---	
TOTAL		255 (100.0)	266 (100.0)	290 (100.0)	397 (100.0)	286 (100.0)	203 (100.0)		(100)	

1. Figures from Winnipeg CAS annual reports.

2. North European includes Icelandic, Scandinavian, Dutch, Finnish.

3. East European includes German, Jewish, Russian, Polish, Swiss, Belgian, Austrian, Hungarian, Yugoslavian, Bulgarian, Czechoslovakian, Lithuanian, Rumanian.

RELIGIONS OF CHILDREN ADMITTED TO WINNIPEG CAS SHELTER¹

	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914
Protestant	38 (37.6)	20 (24.4)	36 (39.1)	26 (32.5)	N	120 (66.7)	171 (79.2)	159 (77.6)	129 (54.9)	151 (73.4)	198 (74.4)
Roman Catholic	12 (11.9)	5 (6.0)	2 (2.2)	6 (7.5)	0	40 (22.2)	30 (13.9)	29 (14.1)	34 (14.5)	20 (9.7)	18 (6.7)
Greek Catholic	8 (7.9)	4 (4.9)	-----	-----	R	-----	4 (1.8)	2 (1.0)	21 (8.9)	25 (12.1)	39 (14.8)
Hebrew	-----	-----	3 (3.3)	3 (3.7)	E	1 (0.5)	6 (2.8)	6 (2.9)	6 (2.6)	6 (2.9)	10 (3.7)
Other	1 (1.0)	-----	4 (4.3)	2 (2.5)	C	-----	4 (1.8)	1 (0.5)	8 (3.4)	4 (1.9)	1 (0.4)
Unknown/None	42 (41.6)	53 (64.7)	47 (51.1)	43 (53.8)	O R	19 (10.6)	1 (0.5)	8 (3.9)	37 (5.7)	-----	-----
TOTAL ²	101 (100.0)	82 (100.0)	92 (100.0)	80 (100.0)	D	180 (100.0)	216 (100.0)	205 (100.0)	235 (100.0)	206 (100.0)	266 (100.0)

	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
Protestant	N	172 (66.9)	152 (56.7)	185 (64.0)	236 (59.4)	152 (53.3)	117 (56.8)	N	(63.5)	N
Roman Catholic	0	28 (10.9)	67 (25.0)	65 (22.5)	90 (22.7)	70 (24.6)	30 (14.6)	0	(21.0)	0
Greek Catholic	R	44 (17.1)	47 (17.5)	36 (12.5)	57 (14.3)	51 (17.9)	45 (21.8)	R	(15.0)	R
Hebrew	E	2 (0.8)	2 (0.8)	-----	7 (1.8)	1 (0.3)	2 (1.0)	E	(0.5)	F
Other	C	7 (2.7)	-----	3 (1.0)	7 (1.8)	9 (3.2)	12 (5.8)	C	-----	C
Unknown/None	O R	4 (1.6)	-----	-----	-----	2 (0.7)	-----	0	-----	0
TOTAL ²	D	257 (100.0)	268 (100.0)	289 (100.0)	397 (100.0)	285 (100.0)	206 (100.0)	D	(100.0)	D

1. Figures from Winnipeg CAS annual reports.
2. Totals include both first admissions and readmissions. Discrepancies in totals for nationalities and religions reflect inconsistencies in record keeping.

APPENDIX J

CAUSES OF ADMISSIONS TO THE WINNIPEG CAS SHELTER¹

	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
<u>New Admissions</u>									
Orphan/deserted	10 (14)	5 (7)	9 (11)	7 (10)	12 (14)	17 (22)	8 (8)	19 (12)	25 (12)
Parental Intemperance	6 (8)	23 (30)	17 (18)	13 (18)	18 (21)	8 (11)	21 (20)	23 (14)	27 (14)
Parental immorality/neglect	7 (10)	13 (17)	13 (15)	13 (18)	24 (28)	1 (1)	15 (14)	34 (21)	38 (19)
Ill treatment	--	1 (1)	1 (1)	--	7 (8)	12 (16)	4 (4)	4 (3)	1 (0)
Beyond parental control	6 (8)	8 (11)	14 (16)	8 (12)	10 (11)	1 (1)	6 (6)	12 (8)	9 (5)
Theft/vagrancy/immorality	16 (22)	3 (4)	3 (3)	--	--	--	12 (11)	4 (3)	2 (1)
Homeless/temporary shelter while in transit	24 (33)	23 (30)	29 (34)	27 (38)	14 (16)	12 (16)	23 (22)	36 (22)	56 (29)
Parents in jail	4 (5)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	2 (1)
Parents ill/destitute	--	--	--	--	2 (2)	8 (11)	10 (10)	22 (14)	30 (15)
Ran away/lost	--	--	--	3 (4)	--	17 (22)	5 (5)	4 (3)	3 (2)
Other	--	--	2 (2)	--	--	--	--	--	3 (2)
TOTALS	73 (100)	76 (100)	88 (100)	71 (100)	87 (100)	76 (100)	104 (100)	158 (100)	196 (100)

	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
<u>Wards Readmitted</u>									
from foster homes	6 (100)	5 (100)	13 (100)	11 (100)	10 (83)	4 (100)	16 (89)	15 (94)	16 (84)
from work situations	--	--	--	--	2 (17)	--	2 (11)	1 (6)	3 (16)
from temporary placements	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
TOTALS	6 (100)	5 (100)	13 (100)	11 (100)	12 (100)	4 (100)	18 (100)	16 (100)	19 (100)
TOTAL ADMISSIONS	79	81	101	82	99	80	122	174	215

APPENDIX J (cont'd)

	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921
<u>New Admissions</u>											
Orphan/deserted	39 (22)	29 (13)	15 (8)	13 (7)	N	21 (13)	27 (19)	17 (11)	29 (12)	20 (15)	22 (14)
Parental Intemperance	34 (19)	35 (17)	47 (24)	32 (18)	O	26 (16)	9 (6)	10 (7)	5 (2)	4 (3)	11 (7)
Parental immorality/neglect	42 (23)	58 (28)	38 (19)	44 (24)	R	38 (23)	49 (35)	46 (30)	22 (9)	18 (13)	28 (18)
Ill Treatment	8 (4)	3 (1)	7 (4)	11 (6)	E	2 (1)	1 (1)	4 (3)	1 (0)	2 (1)	2 (1)
Beyond parental control	7 (4)	6 (3)	9 (5)	3 (2)	C	8 (5)	--	5 (3)	5 (2)	6 (4)	4 (3)
Theft/vagrancy/immorality	--	--	--	--	O	--	--	--	--	--	2 (1)
Homeless/temporary shelter while in transit	24 (14)	40 (19)	45 (22)	19 (11)	D	18 (11)	12 (8)	7 (5)	29 (12)	28 (21)	32 (21)
Parents in jail	--	--	--	7 (4)		3 (2)	2 (1)	4 (3)	--	9 (7)	6 (4)
Parents ill/destitute	20 (11)	25 (12)	21 (11)	23 (13)		20 (12)	30 (21)	40 (27)	122 (49)	30 (22)	35 (23)
Ran away/lost	3 (2)	6 (3)	6 (3)	13 (7)		10 (6)	8 (6)	9 (6)	19 (7)	14 (10)	8 (5)
Other	2 (1)	8 (4)	8 (4)	14 (8)		19 (11)	4 (3)	7 (5)	19 (7)	5 (4)	4 (3)
TOTALS	179 (100)	210 (100)	196 (100)	179 (100)		165 (100)	142 (100)	149 (100)	251 (100)	136 (100)	152 (100)
<u>Wards Readmitted</u>											
from foster homes	14 (88)	21 (64)	20 (74)	33 (73)	N	21 (57)	28 (31)	23 (34)	29 (39)	25 (47)	19 (45)
from work situations	2 (12)	4 (16)	7 (26)	12 (27)	O	16 (43)	16 (17)	17 (25)	20 (27)	24 (43)	22 (52)
from temporary placements	--	--	--	--	R	--	47 (52)	28 (41)	26 (34)	7 (10)	1 (3)
TOTALS	16 (100)	25 (100)	27 (100)	45 (100)		37 (100)	91 (100)	68 (100)	75 (100)	56 (100)	42 (100)
TOTAL ADMISSIONS	195	235	223	224		202	233	217	326	192	194

1. Figures from Winnipeg CAS Annual Reports.

PLACEMENT OF CHILDREN¹ BY WINNIPEG CAS²

	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912
foster home	24 (31)	24 (30)	40 (41)	26 (31)	47 (51)	19 (25)	33 (27)	50 (29)	73 (34)	59 (26)	61 (23)
own/relatives home	27 (35)	20 (25)	25 (25)	29 (36)	20 (22)	36 (47)	48 (40)	79 (45)	68 (32)	74 (32)	88 (33)
work situation	1 (1)	6 (8)	2 (2)	4 (5)	4 (4)	1 (1)	5 (4)	15 (9)	12 (5)	4 (2)	11 (4)
Winnipeg CAS shelter	6 (8)	11 (14)	9 (9)	10 (12)	9 (10)	7 (9)	19 (16)	7 (4)	21 (10)	27 (12)	25 (10)
St. Adelaard CAS	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	11 (6)	8 (4)	19 (8)	23 (9)
R.C. institution	10 (13)	5 (6)	2 (2)	3 (4)	4 (4)	4 (5)	4 (3)	3 (2)	---	---	2 (1)
Protestant institution	4 (5)	8 (10)	15 (15)	5 (6)	6 (7)	2 (2)	---	5 (3)	14 (7)	24 (1)	9 (3)
temporary home or protestant institution awaiting placement	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	3 (2)	9 (4)	6 (3)	27 (10)
detention centre/reformatory	2 (2)	1 (1)	---	---	---	2 (3)	2 (1)	---	3 (1)	5 (2)	2 (1)
ran away	3 (4)	1 (1)	4 (4)	4 (5)	2 (2)	3 (4)	2 (1)	---	1	---	2 (1)
died	---	4	---	1 (1)	---	---	1 (1)	1	2 (1)	4 (2)	3 (2)
other	1 (1)	-- (5)	2 (2)	---	---	3 (4)	8 (7)	---	4 (2)	4 (2)	9 (3)
TOTAL	78	80	99	82	92	77	120	174	215	226	262

APPENDIX K (cont'd)

	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
foster home	46 (20)	50 (23)		40 (17)	56 (21)	55 (19)	50 (13)	52 (18)	67 (22)		41 (18)	53 (22)
own/relatives home	79 (34)	72 (28)		72 (30)	51 (19)	76 (26)	203 (51)	75 (26)	64 (21)		---	100 (42)
work situation	19 (8)	21 (9)		27 (11)	26 (10)	39 (13)	2 (1)	23 (8)	29 (10)		16 (7)	29 (12)
Winnipeg CAS shelter	42 (18)	45 (18)		35 (14)	---	33 (11)	39 (9)	44 (16)	52 (17)		101 (43)	50 (21)
St. Adelard CAS	22 (10)	6 (2)		---	---	---	1	---	---		---	---
R.C. institution	---	3 (1)		11 (5)	43 (16)	---	46 (12)	---	---		---	---
Protestant institution	4 (2)	2 (1)		20 (8)	19 (7)	22 (8)	11 (3)	---	---		71 (30)	---
temporary home or protestant institution awaiting placement	6 (3)	9 (4)		12 (5)	27 (10)	48 (17)	16 (4)	62 (22)	62 (20)		---	---
detention centre reformatory	---	9 (4)		10 (4)	18 (7)	4 (1)	6 (2)	12 (4)	3 (1)		1	5 (2)
ran away	2 (1)	---		---	1 (1)	1 (1)	3 (1)	3 (1)	2 (1)		---	---
died	---	12 (5)		4 (2)	3 (1)	1 (1)	10 (2)	6 (2)	11 (4)		4 (2)	1 (1)
other	10 (4)	11 (5)		9 (4)	21 (8)	10 (3)	10 (2)	9 (3)	12 (4)		1	---
TOTAL	230	256		240	265	289	397	268	302		235	238

1. includes children moved within system as well as new admissions.
2. Figures from Winnipeg CAS annual reports.
Totals do not correspond with other Winnipeg CAS figures due to inconsistencies in record keeping.

WINNIPEG CAS FUNDING¹

	CITY		PROVINCE		MUNICIPALITIES		OTHER ²		TOTALS
	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$
1898	500	(17)	500	(17)	not given		not given		3,000
1899	no record								
1900	500	(15)	500	(15)	not given		not given		3,261
1901	1,000	(35)	500	(17)	200	(7)	1,190	(41)	2,890
1902	no record								
1903	500	(15)	500	(15)	680	(20)	1,707	(50)	3,387
1904	500	(16)	500	(16)	530	(17)	1,604	(51)	3,134
1905	no record								
1906	1,200	(28)	500	(12)	835	(20)	1,728	(40)	4,263
1907	1,200	(8)	1,000	(6)	755	(5)	5,013	(81)	7,968
1908	no record								
1909	1,200	(18)	1,000	(15)	1,060	(16)	3,396	(51)	6,656
1910	1,200	(18)	1,000	(15)	1,060	(16)	3,252	(51)	6,512
1911	1,800	(18)	1,000	(10)	1,540	(16)	5,420	(56)	9,760
1912	1,200	(12)	1,000	(10)	2,170	(23)	5,269	(55)	9,639
1913	1,200	(9)	1,000	(7)	2,065	(15)	9,262	(69)	13,527
1914	2,100	(16)	2,000	(15)	1,680	(12)	7,727	(57)	13,507
1915	1,750	(12)	3,500	(24)	1,525	(11)	7,696	(53)	14,471
1916	1,750	(6)	5,000	(24)	2,335	(11)	12,127	(57)	21,212
1916-17	3,500	(21)	5,000	(30)	1,900	(11)	6,408	(38)	16,808
1917-18	5,500	(21)	5,000	(19)	2,125	(8)	13,501	(52)	26,126
1918-19	3,750	(11)	7,564	(23)	2,635	(8)	18,867	(48)	32,816
1919-20	6,083	(13)	5,000	(11)	3,100	(7)	33,381	(69)	47,564
1920-21	5,250	(9)	5,000	(9)	4,065	(7)	41,208	(75)	55,523
1921-22	4,000	(6)	5,000	(8)	2,090	(3)	50,530	(83)	61,620
1922-24	no record								

1. Figures from Winnipeg CAS Annual Reports.

2. 'Other' includes private donations, subscriptions, fund raising efforts, loans, etc.

APPENDIX M

PROVINCIAL GRANTS TO CHILDREN'S ORGANIZATIONS¹

	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925
St. Boniface Orphanage	\$ 500	\$ 500	\$ 500	\$ 500	\$ 1,000	\$ 2,000	\$ 2,000	\$ 1,333
Children's Home	500	500	500	4,725	4,100	4,100	7,100	2,733
Girls' Home of Welcome			500	200	300	500	1,500	1,000
Winnipeg CAS			500	500	1,000	3,500	5,000	3,333
Salvation Army Rescue Home			250					1,667
St. Joseph's Orphanage				500	1,000	4,000	2,000	1,333
Ritchot Foundling Asylum				250	250	1,000	1,000	667
St. Adelard CAS					250	500	500	667
Knowles Boys' Home					500	750	2,500	1,333
St. Benedict's Orphanage						500	500	333
Jewish Orphanage and CAS							750	500
Dauphin CAS							600	1,000
Brandon CAS								
TOTALS	\$ 1,000	\$ 1,000	\$ 2,250	\$ 6,675	\$ 8,400	\$ 16,850	\$ 23,450	\$ 15,899

1. Figures from Manitoba Public Accounts

APPENDIX N

DAUPHIN CAS FUNDING¹

(Percentages in Parentheses)

	City	Province	Municipalities	Other ²	Total
1917	---	\$ 400 (12)	\$1,200 (36)	\$1,750 (52)	\$3,350 (100)
1918	---	400 (12)	1,200 (36)	1,750 (52)	3,350 (100)
1919			No Record		4,600 (100)
1920	\$300 (8)	600 (15)	850 (22)	2,200 (55)	3,950 (100)
1921	---	600 (14)	700 (16)	3,100 (70)	4,400 (100)
1922	---	1,000 (27)	600 (16)	No Record	
1923	150 (4)	1,000 (25)	800 (20)	2,050 (51)	4,000 (100)
1924	---	1,500 (32)	1,450 (32)	1,650 (36)	4,600 (100)

1. Figures from Dauphin CAS minutes, PAM.

2. 'Other' includes private donations, subscriptions, fund raising efforts, loans, etc.

APPENDIX 0

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF CHILDREN DEALT WITH
BY THE WINNIPEG JUVENILE COURT¹

	1909		1910		1911	1912	1913-14		1914-15		1915-16	1916-17	1917-18		1918-19	1919-29		1920-24
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Protestant	186	37.0	190	53.3	N O	N O	453	46.0	708	53.4	N O	N O	282	45.0	N O	640	45.9	N O
Roman Catholic	111	22.0	77	21.6	R	R	144	14.6	192	14.5	R	R	106	16.9	R	217	15.6	R
Greek Church	48	9.5	34	9.5	E C	E C	106	10.8	74	5.6	E C	E C	69	11.1	E C	116	8.3	E C
Hebrew	21	4.2	22	6.1	O	O	100	10.1	104	7.8	O	O	31	4.9	O	78	5.6	O
Other	7	1.4	4	1.1	R D	R D	9	1.0	19	1.4	R D	R D	13	0.1	R D	27	2.0	R D
None/unspecified	130	25.9	30	8.4			173	17.5	229	17.3			126	20.0		315	22.6	
TOTAL ²	503	100.0	357	100.0			985	100.0	1,326	100.0			627	100.0		1,393	100.0	

1. Figures from Attorney General's Report 1909-1914, Department of Education Annual Report 1914-1924.

2. Totals do not correspond with others recorded from Juvenile Court Statistics. Explanations cited previously.

APPENDIX P

DISPOSITION OF CASES IN WINNIPEG JUVENILE COURT

	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24
Probation/suspension									530	552	392	404	420	414	672
Detention home									178	176	152	175	98	107	124
Warned									128	104	111	142	293	582	753
Charges Dismissed									64	39	99	89	33	52	114
Restitution									53	62	57	12	---	---	144
Fined									32	92	417	293	142	67	64
Suspended sentence									15	18	16	10	24	12	28
Country situations									38	27	19	18	12	24	24
Wards CAS/SNC									27	18	46	73	46	38	80
Correction Centres		25	26	19	12	28	21	25	14	27	27	40	29	35	97
Placed in institutions by parents									15	14	8	17	10	---	---
Other									14	8	7	3	2	---	35
TOTAL ²	532	382	520	772	893	1,375	654	471	1,108	1,137	1,351	1,276	1,109	1,331	2,135

1. Figures from the Attorney General's Report 1909-1914; from the Department of Education Annual Report 1914-1924. Prior to 1917 figures were kept only for the total numbers of cases appearing in court and for the numbers of children sent to industrial homes or girls' refuges.

2. Totals do not correspond with Juvenile Court statistics for the total numbers of children's nationalities or reasons for appearance. Explanations cited previously.

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