

A Comparative Study of the Welfare
Departments in Eleven States

by

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Preface

This study was made possible through the cooperation and generous assistance of a number of people. I wish to acknowledge the aid given by officials in the welfare departments who supplied much detailed data on the individual state systems; by executive officers in the Family Welfare Association of America, the American Association of Public Welfare Officials, Private Charities Associations and National and State Conferences on Social Work who aided in delimiting the field and gave generously of their time in appraising state programs and in criticizing the interpretation of such programs. Members of the Sociology Department of the University of Kansas supplied most of the data on Kansas as well as suggesting sources of other materials and offering many helpful suggestions. I especially wish to thank Mr. Wilson of that department for his almost constant help, generous use of time in securing materials and aiding in their interpretation.

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INTRODUCTION

"The term 'Public Welfare Work' is used in several different ways. In its broadest meaning, that of promoting the general well being of the people, it includes practically every function of government. In its more usual sense the term is understood to include public activities for the prevention and treatment of dependency, delinquency, crime, physical or mental handicaps, and for the general welfare of children. The term thus includes all public tax supported social^{work} whether national, state or local."¹

For the purpose of this study a somewhat more rigid definition will be used. "Public Welfare System" is used with particular reference to those departments in the state government which function as the coordinating unit for social welfare work. Terms now common are "State Department of Public Welfare", "Board of Charities and Corrections", "Board of Institutions and Agencies", and similar titles.

In the past few decades America has been awakening from her lethargic inertia with regard to responsibility

1. Memorandum on Public Welfare Work in the U. S. Prepared for the American Association of Public Welfare Officials--Washington D. C., 1931.

for social adjustment. Taxpayers as well as social workers are beginning to realize that it is better economy to do preventive work among underprivileged classes than to try to reduce the cost of operation after allowing people to get into institutions.¹

The new view of public social work led to the realization that "like the police departments of our large cities, traditional breeding grounds for inefficiency, waste and corruption, so public charities and public welfare seem most prone to catch up the straggling threads of loose thinking, non-progressive inertia and stubborn attitudes towards the normal evolution of democratic ideals."²

This new feeling of responsibility is leading to efforts aiming at formulating state welfare systems that embrace a broader scope in the interest of greater coordination. State and National Conferences of Social Work have stressed as never before the need for more state responsibility. The inclusion of private as well as public agencies under state supervision is the last stage in this welfare consciousness, and one not yet fully developed.

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1. Odum & Willard--Systems of Public Welfare, p. 4.
 2. Ibid., p. 3.

III

At the 1919 National Conference on Social Work the following definition of the allied fields in Public Welfare was formulated:

"Health, Mental Hygiene, Rehabilitation, Social Work,... These should operate under the control relation within the individual field through a local bureau of administration with correlation of inter-extra-relationships by a supervisory body....the functions of the great department of Public Welfare should be differentiated into four autonomous bureaus, each complete within its field in both professional and business requirements for full discharge of direct duties under a commission of public welfare, having only advisory and supervisory powers save in enforcement of decisions of appeal." 1

A study showing the relation which exists between state and local, and between public and private welfare programs seems especially pertinent at this time since a number of states are becoming definitely "welfare conscious". In Kansas a Welfare Commission is conducting numerous fact finding studies with the view to reformulating the program there. Illinois and Wisconsin have made similar efforts with special reference to planning for children. Pennsylvania has launched a ten year program of social welfare focused on the child.

1. National Conference on Social Work, Proceedings, V. 46, 1919, p. 276--Copp, Owen, "An Administrative Ideal in Public Welfare Work."

IV

This study attempts to indicate the relationship existing between the central, coordinating department and the local units of government as well as boards or departments dealing with phases of welfare work not included in the central unit. We have attempted to cover both private and public activities and both preventive and remedial measures only in so far as they receive state supervision. The general trends as they appear to be developing are indicated as are devices for welfare supervision which have proved effective in the past.

The states have been chosen with reference to industrial and economic organization, regional similarity to Kansas, and type of welfare set-up such as: loose state departmental organization, central administrative board, central advisory board, and departments showing a particular bent of efficiency.

We were aided in the selection of states by several individuals of national repute in welfare work--Mr. R. W. Kelso, Mr. A. E. Howell, of the American Association of Public Welfare Officials, Mr. Frank Bane of the same organization, and Mr. Emil Frankel, now commissioner of Public Welfare in New Jersey.

We have collected data largely through correspondence with individual state departments from which we have secured copies of laws establishing and governing welfare

activities, statements of departmental set up's and duties, and copies of departmental and institutional reports to the governor. Numerous appraisal pamphlets on individual systems have also been secured. Such general material as was accessible, including the Proceedings of the National Conference on Social Work from 1886 to 1930, has been used to cover the historical development and changing ideas in the general field.

Statements of appraisal have been secured from competent welfare workers who are in a position to see both strong and weak points of the system. Our interpretation of each program has been checked by individuals having close contact with the system.

Since the amount of available material has not been uniform for all states, portions of the work are sketchy and inadequate while other parts may seem to have received undue weighting where evidence has been most accessible.

When a special definition of a term has been employed we have attempted to indicate clearly the meaning used. In general the following definitions of a few common terms have been adopted.

Control--as generally used in State Boards of Control to mean administrative power--as synonymous with "administrative."

Supervisory--power of visitation, inspection and recommendation. This may or may not include police power to enforce recommendations but indication has been made where such power is implied.

A new term, "Compulsory Supervision" or "Supervisory Control" indicates compulsory, enforceable supervision by the state with state control of policy-making but not of business administration.

Health work has not yet been generally included in the Public Welfare Department but, in most instances, continues to exist as a separate department of government of the same independent status as the Department of Education.

Since Public Health continues to retain this independent status it has not been included, as a separate department, in this study. Nevertheless, in a complete program for social welfare it is recognized as a definite part of the organization either through structural unity with the Welfare Department or through a well planned scheme of cooperation.

Chapter One

GENERAL HISTORICAL SKETCH

The development to the present state organization of social welfare work has been a long road filled with steep places and marked by many by-paths which, as one looks back on them, seem almost to have obliterated the main trail. Even yet almost all stages of development may be found in the United States.

The attempt to organize and systematize welfare work into one or a few departments of government is antedated by much experimentation in relief giving and care, both public and private, to dependent and defective classes. Charity or relief of poverty looms as the one phase of welfare work most stressed in the past. This factor still predominated in early state organizations as evidenced by the titles most often given such boards--"State Board of Charities", "Board of Charities and Corrections" etc.

We may more adequately understand the present day policy for social welfare if we have at least a cursory knowledge of development from the practices of the past. Let us, then, take a rapid tour behind the curtain which time drops before the past.

During the period of the Crusades, "hospitals" and monasteries grew up as places of refuge for travellers. Not only did these monasteries and "hospitals" furnish

institutional care but they also distributed food and alms from the gate as the recipient was sent on to the next retreat.¹ Since such almsgiving was largely engaged in for the soul's good of the giver, little or no heed was paid to the need or condition of the recipient. Begging flourished under such a system and the worthy received merely enough to sustain life for the tramp to the next "feeding station". Created for a special purpose, relief of suffering during the crusades, this means of aid long continued to play an important part in European life although other programs of relief were also growing.

Warner, Queen, and Harper summarize the development of this period as follows: "In addition to disaster relief and institutional care there was developing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries more or less systematic aid to the poor in their own homes. As early as 1413 the city of Genoa appointed Officiales misericordiae to gather and distribute alms to the indigent. French communes established relief funds which they frequently called Tables des pauvres. As early as

1. Warner, Queen, Harper--American Charities and Social Work, p. 13.

the fourteenth century in Southampton 'forfeits and alms' were awarded to the poor; and in the fifteenth century 'the townys alms were settled on a plan.'"

"About 1525 the city of Ypres developed a program...a census of the needy dividing them into three classes (1) those sheltered in almshouses and hospitals, (2) homeless beggars, (3) the honest and shamefaced poor abiding in their own houses."¹

During this period England was a land of isolated towns. Each community was a unit apart, self-sufficient; as likely to frown upon outside encroachment as the Oriental. "Foreigners", all persons dwelling outside the town, were greeted with suspicion and ushered away with little ceremony.

However, forces were already at work which would undermine this old system for a new era of trade and industry resting on a national community. The sixteenth century saw the breaking of the town system for the wider industrial life. The long process of change was marked by many years of paternalistic legislation on the part of the central government.²

1. Ibid., p. 11.

2. Kelso, R. W.--The History of Poor Relief in Mass.
p. 4-5.

The famous Elizabethan poor law, passed in 1601, required each parish to impose a definite tax for furnishing employment to the able-bodied, apprenticing children and maintaining the impotent poor in almshouses. The liability of relatives to support their needy kin was also defined in this law. Persons who refused to work or to pay their poor tax were threatened with terms in jail or a house of correction.¹

This law was seen, after a time, to result in a crowding of the poor into the parishes where help could most easily be secured. An outgrowth of this condition was the settlement act of Charles II which restricted aid to those having a legal residence in the parish where they applied for aid. Birth, apprenticeship, or ownership of property became the basis for determining settlement.²

The next step was the establishment of workhouses as a test for worthiness to receive aid. Late in the eighteenth century this was abolished and replaced by the "allowance system". The allowance was used to supplement the wages of able-bodied men who were all supposed to be given employment. Only the aged, infirm, orphans, and unmarried mothers were to be sent to the poor house.

1. Warner, Queen, Harper--American Charities and Social Work, p. 17.

2. Ibid., p. 17.

A special commission which was appointed to make a study of the poor laws in 1832 reported to parliament two years later and important new legislation resulted. The three principles stressed in the commission report were--less eligibility, workhouse test, and national uniformity.¹

Faced with the problem of overcrowding and increasingly large numbers of vagrants, English authorities began the practice of transportation about 1617. Deportations to America formed a very definite part of the poor relief policy after the Revolution. Although large numbers were shipped directly to the states the greatest influx of English paupers came through Canada.²

New problems and increased complications were ushered in with the rise of the factory system. The whole system of poor relief was designed for a period of domestic industry and agricultural pursuits. First came the struggle to break down the old laws prohibiting mobility. Starving, unemployed workmen and workerless factories had to be brought together. The reaction against laws forbidding workers to move from parish to

1. Ibid., p. 18.

2. Kelso, R. W.--The History of Poor Relief in Mass., p. 43.

parish and laws establishing definite wages resulted in a swing of the pendulum to the other extreme in the adoption of complete laissez faire by the middle class. Applicable in domestic industry, it led to untold misery as machinery played a more and more important role in industry. Laborers began to pour into the cities. The old system of individual barter for wages continued with the competition made increasingly keen by the usability of women and children for machine tending. Wages, once adequate when the worker had his plot of ground and a cow, reduced the family to poverty when the latter was forced to live in city slums. Foundlings, apprenticed to factory owners, were literally worked until death afforded a welcome release from a life so full of woe.

The response to this new situation, the Industrial Revolution, varied. Social legislation for the protection of the under privileged classes was launched with new vigor. This was partly due to the agitation of the workers themselves, who were beginning to organize to further their own interests, and partly due to philanthropists and to "uplifters" from the middle class.

1. Queen, S. A.--Social Work in the Light of History, p. 86.

As the control of industry and wealth became concentrated in the hands of the middle class they came to dominate the political machinery of the government. This new power led them to aspire to a place in "society" as well. Keeping the workers contented by means of conspicuous "welfare work" was a golden key, much used, to both political preferment and social prestige. Prison reform, housing improvement, child saving, charity organization, and social settlement work constituted some of the forms of welfare work undertaken during this period of middle class humanitarianism.

Charity Organization societies grew up in both England and America to alleviate the numerous gaps in the old system. These societies sought to coordinate the work of the numerous agencies, to abolish public outdoor relief, and to act as "go between" for the client and the source of relief. In addition to cooperation with the police to stamp out begging, friendly visiting, investigation, and registration formed a part of the policy of the Charity Organization societies.¹

English legislation and practice were followed quite closely in the United States until about a century ago. The old settlement acts, liability of relatives,

1. Warner, Queen, Harper---American Charities and Social Work, p. 21, 23.

and local responsibility remain in the policy of many of our states. The trend has been, however, toward centralization and more constructive treatment.¹

The humanitarian movement has received much attention from writers surveying the field. Queen expresses the contribution thus: "The nineteenth century humanitarianism has been a curious mixture of maudlin sentimentality, business methods, and efforts to keep the laboring people contented with their lot. On the whole, it has stood for patronage rather than justice, for 'charity' rather than democracy. Social work of the twentieth century has inherited all these handicaps along with the positive achievements of the past."²

An important phase in the whole movement was the rise of "social settlements" in the eighties. A German student has defined the settlement as: "a colony of members of the upper class, formed in a poor neighborhood with the double purpose of getting to know the local conditions of life from personal observation and of helping where help is needed. The settler gives up the comfort of a West End home, and becomes the friend of the poor.... The settler comes to the poor as man to

1. Ibid., p. 19-20.

2. Queen, S. A.--Social Work in the Light of History,
P. 308.

man in the conviction that it means a misfortune for all parties and a danger for the nation if the different classes live in complete isolation of thought and environment. He comes to bridge the gulf between the classes." ¹

Humanitarianism reached its height in the nineties but soon the uplift and reform began to slip into the background as the professional services of the skilled social worker became increasingly available. This field is still broadening its scope and is receiving wider recognition by governmental interests in welfare work. It is a far cry in the treatment of handicapped persons from social work at its present best to the relief rendered under the Elizabethan poor laws although all stages between the extremes are still existent.

Odum has summarized the contribution of the English Poor Law to modern social work under three heads. "First, it represents the development of a technique of relief giving, including organization and administration and methods of dealing with those in need.... Second, the English Poor Law represents the development of a con-

1. Warner, Queen, Harper--American Charities and Social Work, p. 24.

sciousness of national responsibility for dealing with the problems of poverty.... The third contribution of the English Poor Law system...is the development of a consciousness of the futility of mere relief."¹

A high premium was placed on Individualism in the United States because of the rich resources and the struggle only with nature. Because the frontier, with good land at a nominal cost, was always just beyond, any ambitious men, with very little capital, could move on and become independent if not prosperous.

Accompanying the slogan of "go west, young man" was the firm belief that anyone who wanted work could get it. Bill Jones who let his wife beg bread and his children go ragged to school was "a no count, shiftless loafer and ought to starve." On the other hand, neighbors were eager to help Mrs. Smith keep her children together after her husband lost his life in a blizzard. Her widowhood was viewed as an act of providence which made it the neighbors' duty to give aid. In such ways simple neighborliness sufficed through the early days.

Then came machinery. Industrial cities grew in the east and spread westward. With this movement came new

1. Queen, S. A.--Social Work in the Light of History, p. 165, 166.

influxes of workers. Unemployment and other social problems increased. No longer was it always possible for every willing man to secure work; and, no longer was there a frontier of golden opportunity just beyond.

Meanwhile new ways of handling social maladjustment were developing. This development was early characterized by the Charity Organization movement which originated in London in 1868 and was carried to numerous American cities (Buffalo, Boston, New Haven, Philadelphia, Cincinnati and others) in the next fifteen years. This represented the beginning of coordination in social work as well as the beginning of friendly visitation, investigation and registration.

Greater expansion followed until the period from 1890 to 1915 saw not only a greater broadening of the scope of social work, but also a deepening conception of constructive and preventive service. During the middle of this quarter century, while the growth of agencies was continuing to flourish, the need for better means of coordination and combination became urgent. Out of this need the social workers originated both the Central Council and the Charities Clearing House.¹

1. Norton, W. J.--The Cooperative Movement in Social Work, p. 35, 36.

Another landmark in this period of increasing attention to matters of social welfare (still largely restricted to poor relief) was the awakening of governmental interest in the United States. Soon after the Civil War a movement took shape in some of the older states to establish supervisory agencies usually designated as "State Boards of Charities" or "State Boards of Charities and Corrections." Although it became the general tendency to enlarge and improve the administrative machinery in state governments, the organization of State Boards of Charities or of Public Welfare Departments has been largely promoted through agitation by National and State Conferences of Social Work.

Massachusetts took the lead in this movement for creating a state agency to standardize the care and treatment of persons needing social service by establishing, in 1863, a Board of State Charities with "powers of supervision and recommendation in relation to the charitable and correctional institutions already established and with administrative powers in the matter of admittance, transfer and discharge of pauper lunatics." Several states rapidly followed the example of Massachusetts.¹ Boards were established in Ohio and New York in 1867; in Illinois North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island in 1869;

1. Odum and Willard--Systems of Public Welfare, p. 16.

Wisconsin and Michigan in 1871; and Kansas and Connecticut in 1873.¹

Variation in title has existed from state to state and even from time to time in the same state. The structure has varied from single boards with advisory power only, to salaried boards exercising complete administrative control at least over the state institutions. Some states have had two boards: one salaried, executive board of administration and the other an unsalaried, supervisory board.²

The state board is linked with county and local administration through delegated visitorial powers conferred upon appointees in the various localities. County institutions are usually visited by a representative of the State Board who is expected to point out defects, and to make recommendations for betterment.

In New York and New Jersey associations for voluntary, unofficial supervision of public charitable institutions have grown up. In 1872 the State Charities Aid Association of New York was organized to bring about reforms in the

1. Odum and Willard--Systems of Public Welfare, p. 16.
2. Ibid., p. 17 and Warner, Queen, Harper--American Charities and Social Work, p. 196.

poorhouses, the alms houses, and the state charitable institutions. Nine years later a similar organization¹ was created in New Jersey.

With the trend for still greater centralization, the state boards have been given responsibility for dependent children through authority to license and regulate placing agencies, and maternity hospitals. Police power to enforce its recommendations is usually given the Board having the licensing power.²

Kelso gives the following as some of the chief causes of the movement toward greater centralization in welfare work:

1. "The increasing need of speed and efficiency in the dispatch of public business due to the growing grist of work.

2. "Constant absorption of relief functions by the larger units of government under which public board policy has been perfected.

3. "'Ever present, constantly pressing urge of politics'. A highly centralized board, appointed by the political leader is more in his control than non or bi partisan, unpaid bodies. [Escape from politics is the

1. Warner, Queen, Harper--American Charities and Social Work, p. 201.

2. Queen, S. A.--Social Work in the Light of History, p.37.

alleged aim of some centralization.]

4. "The American stand toward technical efficiency in business methods. This desire to pigeon hole and label every item of public welfare service has been carried to extremes of standardization in many cases."¹

The functional growth of our public welfare systems has been, in the main, unplanned rather than from a consciousness of public welfare needs and definite effort to meet them. Little has the broad scope of community need been grasped by either the legislator or the public of the past, or, to any considerable extent, of the present. Much of the legislation in the past has followed the idea of locking the barn after the horses are stolen. When babies died like flies in orphanages and boarding homes new sanitary measures were enacted. A similar stimulus had to arise before legislation concerning other institutions and groups was effected and, even now, only a beginning has been made.

The need is ever present for a better understanding of the effect of social welfare machinery on the lives it is touching. Social welfare legislation and professional practice both give most constructive results when flavored with human sympathy and understanding.

Chapter Two

KANSAS

Early settlers on the Kansas plains led a hard but picturesque life. They cast their lot against the Indian, the elements, and the hardships of want and disease usually attendant ^{at} along the pioneer's path; and, sometimes in the face of almost overwhelming odds, they conquered. The Indian's spirit and freedom have been broken in Kansas as elsewhere and he no longer roams his native land at will. True, blizzards still rage across the bleak prairie in winter and hot winds parch the plains in summer, but the destructive force of even the wind has been largely overcome. Trees lining the creeks and river beds, towns and villages with their clustered groves and buildings all have done much to break the force of the wind. No longer must the traveler (by wagon or horse) take his barrel or canteen of water to last from one of nature's water holes to another. Well improved farmsteads now line the highway and railroad as the visitor speeds from city to city by auto or train.

The growth between these extremes has been a slow one bearing many marks of discouragement and pain as well as of triumph and joy. The Kansas farmer learned to live

a lonely life without complaint. In that learning he came to esteem independence and self reliance. He struggled with the many enemies of success and was victorious, transforming the almost barren plain into productive fields.

A rough and ready sort of social life, adapted to the mode of economic life, grew up around the farm. It was a semi seasonal type of activity which involved much entertainment and many neighborhood gatherings in the slack winter season but during the summer months, when the work day was from dawn until dark, recreation shrank to the Saturday night dance or trip to town.

In pioneer days although social problems were present there was a compact neighborhood group ready to meet them. When a member of that little group fell ill the neighbors got together and harvested his crops. If a prairie fire wiped out all of a man's belongings again the neighbors "chipped in" for a small stake with which he could restart. Beyond there was always the frontier which offered new opportunity with an expenditure of but little material wealth.

As government land became exhausted and industry became more specialized simple neighborliness failed to be an adequate solution for social problems. Mutual aid and

religious groups continued to play an important part in social welfare but the local and state governments also began to share the responsibility.

Public relief, as in many other states, was molded directly after the English poor law. Anyone reduced to the need for public aid was, and in most counties is today, regarded as a pauper. Aid given was sufficient for a poverty-level existence only.

The county alms-house became the principle^{al} public institution providing in-door relief. The dependent-- from abandoned babes to decrepit grandparents--insane, feeble-minded, and sick were herded into the alms-house which rapidly became the abode of forgotten people unless atrocities so great ensued that the public eye became focused on it.

County and city jails, as elsewhere, became catch-alls for criminals and persons awaiting trial irrespective of type or age just as the alms-houses were for the dependent.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century some interest began to appear for more state control of certain welfare activities. The first fruit of this new feeling of state responsibility was the creation of the "Board of Trustees of the State Charitable Institutions".

This was an administrative body which performed all of the usual functions of an institutional board of trustees. Quarterly inventories were made of each institution and supplies for all institutions were bulked and purchased at semi-annual meetings.¹

According to the law establishing this board its duties were of a dual nature: first it constituted a board of control with power to make rules, elect all officials and employees, purchase supplies, and conduct all other business of the institutions controlled; second, as a board of inspection the members were expected to visit each institution monthly and advise as to policy and improvement of care of the inmates of state institutions.

Institutions in charge of the Board of Trustees of the State Charitable Institutions were: "Insane Asylums at Topeka and Osawatomie; Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb at Olathe; Soldiers' Orphans' Home at Atchison; Institute for the Education of the Blind at Kansas City; Reform School for Boys at Topeka; Industrial School for Girls at Beloit; and the Asylum for Imbecile Youth at Winfield."²

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1. Conference of Charities and Corrections, Proceedings, 1881.
 2. Breckenridge, S. P.--Public Welfare Administration,
p. 338.

In 1885 the State Board of Health, which still exists in the same form was created. It is a continuous body of nine members appointed by the governor. Three members retire annually. Requirements for appointment are at least seven years continuous practice as a physician and graduation from a reputable medical school. The board, which serves without compensation, elects a secretary to carry on the routine work.¹

In 1919 a law providing separate boards of trustees for the asylums for the blind, for the deaf and dumb, and for the insane was passed. These were each composed of a group of six members appointed for overlapping terms of three years by the governor.

The present system consists of a board of administration which is the direct outgrowth of the board established in 1913. At that time a State Board of Administration, three members appointed by the governor and the governor ex officio, was created. As created this board had charge only of educational institutions--(1) the University of Kansas, (2) Kansas State Normal Schools, (3) State Agricultural College, (4) School for the Deaf and Dumb at Kansas City.²

It was abolished in 1917³ and a new Board of Administration established. This group also consisted of three

1. Laws of 1885, p. 178.
2. Laws of 1913, ch. 287, p. 469.
3. Laws of 1917, ch. 297.

appointed members and the governor. The duties designated were: complete charge of the state penal, charitable and educational institutions. The board appointed a business manager for all institutions and an executive officer for each except the Soldiers' Home which is managed by a local Board of Managers.

In 1925 the following educational institutions were removed from the jurisdiction of the Board of Administration and placed under a Board of Regents; State Agricultural College and branch stations, State Teachers' Colleges, and the State University.¹

The following analysis gives a picture, although a sketchy one, of how the present day machinery for social welfare in Kansas operates.

Functions of the State Board of Administration:

The State Board of Administration is directly responsible, through the appointment of executive officers and by direct business management, for the state penal and charitable institutions except the Old Soldiers' Home at Leavenworth which has its own Board of Trustees.

Any investigation of institutions has become quite perfunctory. Appointment of officials is distinctly on a political basis. The change of executives at state in-

1. Laws of 1925, ch. 259.

stitutions with every change of administration at the State House definitely limits the amount of constructive work which even the best officials could do.

In accord with the growing feeling that poverty alone should not be just cause for removing children from their parents, a plan for Mothers' Pensions has been formulated in most states. Kansas passed such a law in 1915. The original law was revised in 1917 and again in 1921.

It now provides for a maximum allowance of fifty dollars a month to mothers, with children under fourteen, who are widowed, divorced, or deserted, or whose husbands are physically or mentally unable to earn a living or who are confined in some state institution. The mother must have lived in the state two years and in the county one year. The pension is administered by the officials granting poor relief in the county.

The only legal interpretation of the law now available is the opinion of the Attorney General. Twice it has been interpreted as mandatory yet only forty-four of the one hundred and five counties are granting mothers' pensions.

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1. Huston, Wendall--Social Welfare Laws of the Forty-Eight States--Kansas, 1929 Laws, ch. 270, art. 6, Sec. 39-601.
 2. From a Report given at the joint Kansas-Missouri Conference on Social Work, April 1932.
Mothers' Aid in Kansas--Mrs. Pearl Clark.

Outstanding reasons for this failure to apply the law are: It has never been tested in court because the persons whom the law is intended to benefit cannot afford to take a case to court. There is no state supervision or pressure to enforce the law. Because there is so little public opinion back of the law and no authority from above to enforce administration local officials tend to ignore its existence.

When the spirit of the law is not kept, even though money be granted, the mother accepting aid becomes a pauper. Investigation of cases is superficial and into economic status only. No case worker is ready and able to help the mother solve problems other than financial which arise from widowhood or desertion.

Mothers receiving aid, supposedly in the form of a pension, find their names published in the county paper on the pauper list. Willing mothers by working long hours dare not furnish their children comforts beyond the bare necessities of life else their aid from the county will, in all probability, be reduced until they again find themselves on the poverty line. People in individualistic Kansas who receive aid are paupers and must not forget their status. Such decrees the Kansas Welfare system!

Aside from correctional institutions and institutions caring for the mentally defective and physically handi-

capped children the state has only one institution for children--the Orphanage at Atchison--which is controlled by the State Board of Administration.

This orphanage receives children from all over the state who are committed there by the court. They may be placed out with persons who intend to adopt the children; with persons who will board them free for a time or they may be indentured to persons who sign a contract agreeing to give the child board, room and a certain amount of education for a given amount of work. Under the present system of management, investigation before placing children is very superficial. No attempt is made to find a home where the personality of the child will fit. The misplaced child comes back to the home only to be shoved forth again to the next willing patron with as little investigation as before. Then we wonder why Mary or John has an inferiority feeling or becomes sullen and insolent, perhaps misfits for life, after repeated unsuccessful placings when perhaps in another home each would have become a happy, wholesome youngster prepared for a useful life as a citizen.

Why have Kansas children not the right to carefully selected foster homes and well guided lives when they are in the large group of children who are deprived of a home with their own parents?

Children in private institutions are subject even more to the caprice of management. The Board of Health is authorized to license private institutions boarding children but must depend on the county probate judges to enforce the recommendations. There is no other state supervision of private agencies caring for or placing children. This means that there is virtually no regulation of standards in child care. Certain types of boarding homes are licensed by the Board of Health but there are not adequate provisions for enforcement of the law and the Board is helpless unless the county Probate Judge cooperates and enforces its ruling. A home may be condemned and refused a license year after year and still continue to operate while babies die and are forgotten.

Adult poor relief and old age relief are as haphazard and devoid of plan as is the care of the widow and orphan.

Public poor relief is on a county basis of administration without state supervision. The county farm is managed by a superintendent appointed by the county commissioners.
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1. Huston, Wendall--Social Welfare Laws of the Forty-Eight States--Kansas, 1923 Rev. Stats., ch. 39, (P. 18, 19).

There are now few children housed in poor farms and the tendency is not to send married couples to the farm unless they are elderly. Thus it has tended to become mainly an institution for aged, feeble-minded adults, and frequently for insane persons who are not violent.

Although the superintendent may be a kindly, sympathetic person and the home may be kept immaculate, the poor farm in Kansas remains an outpost of civilization, an abode of forgotten people.

Frequently it is located several miles in the country, well back from the road on a lane that is almost impassable in bad weather. The usual building is old, poorly adapted for the purpose, and scantily furnished. Here old people are sent and cut off from all contact with the outer world for few indeed are able to tramp to town for even an occasional glimpse of old surroundings. Lack of religious services is often one of the most keenly felt deprivations in the sight of these elderly people.

As Kansas has no Old Age Pension system each aged couple without some means of support sees only the poor farm or some private charity home looming ahead. As private homes for the aged are unsupervised by the state any variety of standards may be found there and conditions may be even less desirable than at the county home.

Outdoor poor relief is administered in the same local fashion without supervision. The poor laws inherited from seventeenth century England are in operation with little modification in most counties.

As with mothers' aid the recipient of public relief is "on the county" and his name appears on the pauper list in the county paper monthly. Sustenance only is provided and the individual must be constantly reminded of his social status.

Since there is no investigation of a case work type the family once on the county aid list tends to stay quite indefinitely. The same amount of aid may be granted over a period of years while needs and problems have radically changed. Under the stress of the additional amount of help needed at the present time poor relief funds have been running out before the end of each month in many counties. What happens? In some places the poor commissioner simply closes his office for the remainder of the month and grants no more aid. A very good remedy were it not that children get just as hungry and the stove requires fuel to warm the house just the same the latter part of the month as the forepart.

Penal and Correctional Administration: The Board of Administration appoints the executive officers for the penal and correctional institutions of the state. Other employees are appointed by the warden, subject to civil service laws.¹ The Board of Administration also does the purchasing for the penal institutions.

Probation officers in Kansas are appointed by the Juvenile Court Judges and are subject to the local court with no state supervision. They are appointed with little regard to training and the salary is so low as to be practically prohibitive of well qualified persons entering the work. As a result many youngsters are sent to state institutions who, under a well regulated probation system, would become adjusted at home. Paroled or released from the institution they easily drift back to the old gang and old habits as there is no trained social worker at hand to help them fit into new social habits.

Delinquents who are placed on probation are usually required to report each week to the probation officer. If the officer happens to be a sympathetic, understanding person much good may result but really constructive probation and parole work is dependent on an adequately trained personnel with a not too heavy case load. Again

1. Ibid., 1923 Rev. Stats., ch. 76. (p. 3).

the unadjusted child or adult pays in warped personality for creaking, antiquated governmental machinery.

There are three state hospitals for the insane, one for epileptics, and a state school for feeble-minded children. These institutions are all managed by the state Board of Administration.

Both insane and feeble-minded individuals are also found in numerous county almshouses. Reports to the state Board of Administration on the population of county farms and on the numbers of persons from the county in state institutions show wide variation in the per centage distribution from counties. Some have no insane persons in the county farm while others of similar population may have several.

As there is no supervision of private institutions no one knows how many individuals are being cared for outside state institutions.

In 1923 a Commission for the Blind was established but in 1927 the law was repealed and the School for the Blind was placed under the Board of Administration.¹

A state school for the Deaf is located at Olathe. The state furnishes board, room and instruction for the children and the parents furnish clothing and transporta-

1. Laws of 1923, ch. 219.--Laws of 1927, ch. 41.

tion to and from school. The school is managed much on the plan of any boarding school. Effort is now being made to require children living in Olathe to board at the school. Since all children are taught lip reading no sign language is used. Every effort is made not only to give these children school life comparable to ordinary public school training but also to prepare them, through vocational training, to enter active community life on equal footing with other individuals.

The last session of the legislature created a "Crippled Children's Commission" of five members appointed by the governor. This Commission is expected to make a study of the crippled children of the state, examine hospitals, convalescent and boarding homes caring for crippled children, and braces, operations etc. used in their care.

Provision is made through a half mill tax to be raised in the counties for a fund with which to provide medical care for crippled children who would not otherwise receive it. Any money left over from this fund reverts to the general fund of the county treasury at the end of the year. This state aid has allowed a thorough

1. Laws of 1931, ch. 283.

investigation to be made of crippled children in the state and has helped give impetus to preventive local programs as well as to remedial work.

A present day view of the Kansas State Welfare system is most discouraging, though there is some measure of hope for the future.

A unified welfare departmental program is conspicuous by its absence. "Individualism" and "home rule" have dominated the policy to the extent that the State Board of Health and the Board of Administration of State Institutions represent practically the only state control in welfare policy.

The Kansas situation represents a lack of coordination and central planning, not peculiar to Kansas alone, which results in duplication, misdirected efforts and omissions all of which makes for additional human suffering, warped personalities and unadjusted lives.

Especially conspicuous is the plan of poor relief patterned after and managed very much according to English poor policy of the early seventeenth century. County commissioners give what outdoor relief is granted in the form of doles. Little or no investigation determines the granting of aid. If there is investigation it is usually into economic status only with no adequate social case work. Those receiving aid are definitely regarded as paupers.

The Mothers' Pension act in Kansas provides outdoor aid to mothers with dependent children under fourteen years of age. The purpose of the law was to provide care for the child in his own home and remove the stigma of pauperism. However, the true spirit of the law has been largely ignored. In Massachusetts Mrs. Brown, a widow with five children, may receive mothers' aid and, by taking in washing as well, keep her children neatly dressed and provide for them the additional opportunities which mean much toward adjustment to the school situation. Though poor the family does not lose social status and become involved in the long train of attendant personality difficulties.

But, had Mrs. Brown been a resident of Kansas the story would be quite a different one. If her pride were not too great or the washing simply did not provide bread and butter she would probably apply for mothers' aid. However, her name and the amount received would be published monthly in the "pauper list" of the county paper. The youngsters at school would be taunted by "you're on the county aren't you?" If an extra washing or two provided enough money for Mary to invite her friends in to celebrate her birthday by a taffy pull the pension would, in all probability, receive a cut to insure against the possibility of a repetition of the entertainment.

The theory of action in some counties is: "A mother is entitled to a pension, if needed. But never should this be sufficient to cover all her expenses. If she receives a small pension, of about seven or eight dollars, she will get busy and supplement that with earnings of her own." In other words, a Mothers' Aid Pension, as given in Johnson County, [and most others] is not a Pension, but a stimulent."¹

Some notable exceptions to the antiquated system are seen in a few counties where the public and private agencies (as Red Cross) cooperate and hire trained social workers to conduct real case work. Cooperation is seldom complete with all private agencies participating but it is a step in the direction of coordinated work. McPherson, Fort, and Leavenworth² counties have such systems. Here aid is usually more adequate and consideration is given to other than financial problems in so far as possible with the present case load per staff member.

A state board or department centralizing policy-making with administration of social welfare decentralized through county or regional welfare boards, seems a probable next step in the development of a constructive state program.

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1. From Reports of county studies by students in a class in Social Case Work--1932, Johnson County, Margaret Ries and Marguerite Overly.
 2. From Report given at the joint Kansas-Missouri Conference on Social Work--April 1932.
Public Relief Work in Kansas--C. D. Clark.

Stress has been placed on the need for state power to license and supervise agencies and institutions, both public and private, caring for all classes of dependents, particularly those dealing with children and aged persons.

One leader in children's work in the state has expressed the practicability of spending public funds in child care on the delinquent, defective, and maladjusted child leaving the care of dependency alone to private institutions and agencies under strict supervision of the state.

In the construction of such a system care should be taken to safeguard against political pressure.¹ Also much thought must be expended in making the structure flexible enough to allow for future growth as well as suiting it to the particular problems of a somewhat sparsely settled rural state. Machinery once erected will grind on and human life may be cheapened and thrown in as fuel or it may be conserved and strengthened for the future of the state. One must look through the web of structure in any state system and visualize the lives behind it. What is our welfare system doing to the people it is designed to aid? Effect on life is, after all, the vital and all important criterion.

1. See general conclusion.

Chapter Three

ILLINOIS

In order fully to understand the present in almost any phase of life one must have some acquaintance, however cursory, with the past. As we have seen, state programs of public welfare in the United States have gone through two well established stages with some entering a third in the last decade.

Illinois became conscious of state responsibility in welfare work in the period immediately after the Civil War. The outgrowth of this awakening was the establishment, in 1869, of the "Board of Commissioners of Public Charities of Illinois". This board of five unpaid members, appointed for terms of five years, visited and examined the charitable and correctional institutions of the state annually. When requested by the governor the Board conducted special investigations of state institutions.¹

In 1900 the Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities advised its own abolition in favor of a State Board of Control to supplant both the Board of Charities

1. National Conference of Charities and Corrections, Proceedings, 1881, p. 40.

and the local Boards of Trustees for the Charitable institutions. The Board, at that time, felt the administration of institutions to be as good as any under the same system but believed that a well paid Board of Control devoting full time to the work would be more efficient and economical than the Board with advisory power only.¹

The recommendations of the Board of Charities were carried out in part in 1909. Separate boards of trustees and managers were abolished, except for penal and reformatory institutions, and a central Board of Administration was established for all charitable institutions. The State Board of Charities was also abolished and a Charities Commission created in its place with powers similar to the old board.

The Board of Administration consisted of five members appointed by the governor with the consent of the Senate. Not more than three could belong to any one political party and one member was required to be qualified to advise concerning the care of feeble-minded, insane and epileptics. Each member, expected to devote his full time to the work, was appointed for a term of six years at an annual salary of \$6,000.

1. Breckinridge, S. P.--Public Welfare Administration, p. 383.

This board assumed the duties formerly exercised by the separate boards of trustees of institutions including the purchase of institutional supplies. In addition the board visited county and city jails, work-houses, houses of correction and other places where criminal persons or persons awaiting trial were kept.¹

Of the new law the Board of Charity in a report concluding their work in 1909 said;

"The new law in requiring that one of the Board of Administration shall be qualified by education and experience as an expert in insanity recognizes a principle, which if further developed, cannot but throw around the charity service of the State strong safeguards against its being polluted by political selfishness.

"The centralization of administration must also be hailed as the dawn of a new era of greater efficiency in the state institutions. It will make for greater coordination and greater simplification and for economy and thoroughness throughout." 2.

Provision was also made for a Board of Visitors (three members appointed by the governor for six year terms) for each institution but only one or two boards were appointed.

An Efficiency and Economy Committee was created by the legislature in 1913 to investigate the multi-

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1. A Valuation of a System for the Administration of State Institutions--H. C. Wright, p. 11.
 2. Breckinridge, S. P.--Public Welfare Administration, p. 385-386.

plicity of Boards and Commissions and make recommendations. The recommendations of that Committee, which were followed in part, form the basis of the present system of a Department of Public Welfare headed by a Director.

All of the duties of the Board of Administration and of the trustees of penal institutions, except the purchasing of supplies and the construction and repair of buildings, which were given to the Director of the Department of Public Works and Buildings, were transferred to the Director of Public Welfare. In addition to the duties of the above mentioned boards, the duties formerly belonging to the State Deportation Agent, the State Agent for the Visitation of Children, the Board of Prison Industries, the Board of Classification, and the Board of Pardons were transferred to the Director¹ of public Welfare.

As given by the Civil Administration code of 1931 the Department of Welfare, in addition to the Director, who is appointed by the Governor for a four year term, consists of the following boards appointed by the governor:

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1. Wright, H. C.--A Valuation of a System for the Administration of State Institutions, p. 13.

(1) A Board of Public Welfare Commissioners of five members, appointed for a four year term coincident with the governor's.

(2) A Board of State Reformatory for Women Advisors of three women and two men.

(3) A Board of Standardization to determine a standard brand of articles to be made in the prisons and reformatories. This board is composed of five employees, one of whose duties corresponds to vocational director for the trade schools at the Illinois State Reformatory and two from the Illinois State Penitentiary and one each from the other state penal and reformatory institutions whose duties correspond to industrial superintendent and five other members representing political subdivisions of the state.

(4) An Industrial Advisory Board for Prisons consisting of the Governor or his representative as chairman, three members representing organized labor, and three members representing manufacturing interests.

Functions of the State Department of Welfare:

The Department of Public Welfare is directly responsible for the administration of the state charitable and penal institutions except for the purchasing of sup-

plies and the construction and repair of buildings which is done by the Department of Public Works and Buildings.

The present system of Mothers' Aid in Illinois provides for direct administration of pensions to mothers through the Juvenile Courts.

Plans are in the process of formation for dividing the state aid fund into two parts, one to be administered on the basis of need and the other on the basis of population. Administration of the state fund is under the Division of Visitation of Children in the Department of Public Welfare.¹

The administration of child welfare is on a state rather than a county basis in Illinois. The Public Welfare Department, through the Division of Visitation of Children, exercises direct control over state institutions caring for children.

Institutions and agencies, except day nurseries, for children are visited by the Division of Visitation of Children.

"The division has the duty of inspecting all placements of children in family homes; it may, however, accept from qualified child-placing agencies their report on the conditions found in foster homes which they are supervising. ...The division retains the right to reinvestigate any

1. Glick, Frank Z.--Executive Secretary, Board of Public Welfare Commissioners, letter dated April 21, 1932.

placement made by these agencies. The placements made by probation officers, by small institutions, and by the division itself from the Soldiers' Orphans' Home are inspected annually by the division...." 1

The department is responsible for such a large number of children that a rather superficial annual checking to see that children are not being mistreated is about all it can do. The division has the power to remove children who have been misplaced. The usual procedure is to notify the agency which placed the child that unless it is removed within fifteen days the division will remove the child.

Inquiry is made into the condition, management, adequacy of care given, and the need in the community for the institution before a license is granted to any institution. Some confusion is caused by the fact that although the state does not grant subsidies to private institutions counties may. Yet the county has no power of supervision and the state supervises all of these agencies. 2

No provision is made for the state to offer case-work service to children under the protection of the state who need such services as illegitimate and feeble-minded children. 3

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1. Report of the Committee on Child Welfare Legislation, State of Illinois, Feb. 3, 1931, p. 83.
 2. Ibid., p. 84.
 3. Ibid., p. 103.

The Public Welfare Department is also the only agency responsible for licensing maternity homes and hospitals.¹

The county almshouse is the chief institution of a public nature caring for the aged and poor, exclusive of children. A somewhat superficial visitation of the almshouses is made by the Board of Public Welfare Commissioners.

The Director of Public Welfare is also directly responsible for the administration of the penal and correctional institutions of the state. The board of welfare commissioners is expected to visit the various institutions and advise the director on matters of policy.

The Industrial Advisory Board for Prisons makes recommendations concerning the style, design, and quality of articles to be manufactured in state institutions and supervises the selection of materials and the planning of work.

The Parole Board, created in 1928, has taken over the investigation and granting of paroles which was formerly done by the department of public welfare but the welfare department retained the supervision of individuals on parole.

1. Ibid., p. 87.

The step in 1917 creating the position of criminologist as a separate division in the Department of Welfare was an important one in that it added dignity to the position and marked a definite trend toward scientific thinking in the crime problem.

According to law the State Department of Welfare is expected to license both public and private institutions caring for the insane, visit and inspect such institutions, and require annual reports from them.

The admission to hospitals for the insane or to the colony for epileptics and the transfer of insane or insane criminals from institution to institution is supervised by the welfare department through the Superintendent of Charities who acts as mediator between the welfare department and city and county officials as well as social service societies. An earnest endeavor is being made to give scientific hospitalization treatment to mentally handicapped and the board of welfare has transferred all insane persons from county to state institutions.

New notes in the care of the insane may be seen in the following item from a Welfare Bulletin.¹

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1. Welfare Bulletin, April 1931, p. 3.

"French Dressing"

"In a class by itself is the 'French' room at the Anna State hospital. The management of that institution claims that this room is the only one of its kind in the State.

"Here it is that every female patient, especially those who are dependent upon the State for clothing, is measured for her dresses, and patterns and materials are selected that will be most becoming. The room is daintily furnished with not even a suggestion of furnishings that are to be found on the wards. In getting her fitting and in the selection of material, the French detail is carried out in every particular, with little touches added here and there. The 'French' room is operated for the benefit of every female patient in the hospital. If relatives furnish the material, the dresses are made up in this room to suit the individual tastes of the patients. If a ready made dress is sent from home, it must be fitted in the 'French' room in order that all female patients may have the benefit of this personal service....

"The improvement in personal appearance of the customers of the 'French' room is noteworthy. The innovation is very popular."

The removal of supply purchasing from the Welfare Department to the Department of Public Works and Buildings has been of questionable worth. It has broken the centralized administrative policy without giving more expert attention to the purchase of institutional supplies. Retained in the Welfare Department a cooperative committee from various institutions could be used to supply the skilled hand in buying.

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1. Wright, H. C.--A Valuation of a System for the Administration of State Institutions Through One Man Control.

The Illinois system, especially with reference to state institutions is efficient and forward looking. Its chief advantage lies in the perspective it gives to state work. Problems are considered and handled as a whole. The system is coordinated to a degree making possible rapid adjustment of individual cases maladjusted in institutions. Yet the ease of transfer has remained largely theoretical showing very little results in the actual functioning of the department.

The chief criticism of the highly centralized administrative system without supervision is that it may be either very good or very bad depending entirely on the personnel in charge. The Illinois department is far too dependent on the vicissitudes of partisan politics in a two party state, since not only the Director of Public Welfare but also the Division heads and the Board of Public Welfare Commissioners are appointed for terms of office identical in duration with the governor's. This same system in part works with much less disastrous results in Virginia because there a single party rules the state and welfare officials usually succeed themselves while in Illinois no official, appointed politically, has reasonable assurance of continuity of service. Much harm inevitably befalls

the inmates of state institutions when well trained, efficient workers may be replaced by lay persons with no training or special qualifications at the end of any four year period.¹

1. Ibid.

Chapter Four

INDIANA

Throughout her entire history of statehood, Indiana has had some policy of social welfare work. Prior even to the constitution of 1816, aid from public funds was given to the poor not in institutions. The forerunner of the present system of outdoor relief had its inception in the law of 1795 providing for the appointment of "two substantial" citizens in each township to raise money through taxation for the relief of the poor. Power to farm out to the lowest bidder those who were public charges was added in 1799 and the expense was placed on the county instead of on the township.¹

The constitution of 1816 recognized the need of social justice particularly in the provision for a penal code. This was reaffirmed in the constitution of 1851 which also placed special emphasis on the need of schools for the deaf and blind, more constructive care for the insane, and for juvenile offenders. County asylums were authorized for the care of the aged and infirm.² A year

1. Butler, A. W.--A Century of Progress, p. 2-3.
2. Indiana Conference on Social Work, 1930, p. 34.

later the township trustees became ex officio overseers of the poor. By 1895 they were required to report to the county commissioners and Board of State Charities all expenses and certain other facts concerning the individuals they aided.

State institutions for handicapped classes began in 1844 with a school for the deaf followed by one for the blind established in 1847, the Indiana Hospital for the Insane in 1848, Soldiers' and Seamen's Home 1867, School for Feeble-Minded Youth in 1879, and several others later.¹

As these institutions were established each was provided with a Board of Trustees appointed by the Governor as was customary in the older states. No provision was made for supervision of these boards and, under the spoils system of political government, much corruption and abuse occurred.

Indiana, however, shared in the general awakening of social welfare consciousness following the Civil War which, after various committee investigations and petitions on the part of certain citizens who felt the disgrace of the institutional management, resulted in the birth of a State Board of Charities in 1889.

1. Butler, A. W.--A Century of Progress, p. 4.

Supervision of the whole system of public charities constituted the purpose of the Board of State Charities with the corresponding duty of seeing that every inmate of every public institution received proper care, that the institutions were properly conducted, and that the management was protected from unwarranted criticism.

The non partisan board is composed of six members appointed by the governor to serve without pay for three year terms. The Governor is ex officio member of the board and its president. A secretary to carry on the clerical work is appointed at a salary determined by the board.

The year 1889 was marked by the passage of a Children's Guardian act and the establishment of the Board of Charities and Corrections. Until 1901 the Children's Guardian act applied only to certain counties but at that time its services were extended to the entire state.

In 1903 this was followed by the Juvenile Court Law. This gave the Juvenile Court power to declare children delinquent and place them on probation. In 1907 the power to make delinquent and neglected children state wards was added. The Board of State Charities was given licensing power over all agencies receiving and caring for

1. Butler, A. W.--A Century of Progress, p. 13-14.

dependent children.

The County Boards of Charities and Corrections, non partisan boards appointed by the circuit courts, established in 1899, are expected to visit and inspect the county poor asylums, county jails, homes for orphans, if any, and each lock-up or other public charitable or correctional institution in the county.

These boards do not administer institutions but bear the same relation to county institutions that the state board, with which they closely cooperate, bears to state institutions.¹

Functions of the State Board of Charities and Corrections:

Each state institution is managed by a board of four trustees appointed by the governor for overlapping terms of four years. The maximum number from any one political party is two. Removal from the board of trustees may be made but opportunity must be granted the member being removed to be heard on a written statement of the charges against him. The board appoints a superintendent who selects the other employees and has direct charge of the institution.

1. Indiana State Conference of Social Work, 1930, p. 135.

The general duties of the Board of State Charities and Corrections include the supervision of the whole system of public charities and corrections of the state; inspection of prisons, jails, infirmaries, public hospitals and asylums; make an annual report to the governor; and examine plans for the construction of new buildings at the institutions supervised.

The only provision for mothers' aid in Indiana is that the Board may, upon the advice of the Juvenile Court of board of Children's Guardians, place state wards in the care of their own mothers allowing them compensation not to exceed the amount that institutional care would cost. ¹ This functions as a mothers' pension with the major share of direction by the Juvenile Court and county commissioners.

The Board of State Charities and Corrections is also expected to perform the following duties concerning child welfare:

a--Inspect child caring institutions.

b--License approved maternity hospitals, boarding homes for children, and child-placing agencies.

c--Regulate the importation of dependent children from other states.

1. Indiana Bulletin of Charities and Corrections,
Dec., 1931, p. 626.

d--Seek proper homes for children in care of the Board. The day of child indenture is past and this phase of welfare work is being replaced by one more constructive. The following example shows the type of individualized treatment that is replacing older methods.

"In the institution Mary Louise was considered an overgrown, unattractive girl whom no one paid much attention to. She has a spastic walk and always hung her head when she talked to anyone. Until she was examined by the psychologist and psychiatrist she was thought to be rather dumb. Then it was found that she had high average intelligence with an Intelligence Quotient of 101. A fine, discriminating young college professor who makes her home with her father, became interested in Mary Louise. She has been most interested in the special problem her unprepossessing personality produced. Her foster mother has individualized her and attempted to carry out all the detailed recommendations of the psychiatrist. Mary Louise has improved wonderfully under the influence of this cultured, thoughtful home. Now she compares favorably to the other members of her class and is considered an attractive, bright child in school. Her foster mother helps her work out her individual problems in a thoughtful kind manner."¹

e--Visit children placed in permanent homes and, in so far as possible, children placed by other agencies.

f--Remove from foster home any child who is not receiving proper care or is not suited to the home in which he is placed.

g--Consent to adoption in the case of children who
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are state wards.

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1. Indiana State Conference of Social Work--1931, p. 97,
"Individualizing Treatment of the Child".
 2. Indiana Bulletin of Charities and Corrections,
Dec. 1931, p. 606.

The county boards of Charities and Corrections cooperate with the state board and give quarterly reports to the latter board of work done.

The county poor farm, administered by county officials, remains the principal agency of public poor relief. From a few years ago when the county farm was a catch all for the sick, the aged, the unmarried mother, the orphan, the vagabond, and the insane the poor farm of today is largely a specialized institution for the aged and ill. In early days when Alexander Johnston first began the inspection of Indiana poor farms sanitary conditions were almost unknown and all types of dependents were cared for together. The care of insane persons was especially difficult. Many were placed in cages or locked in barn rooms outside the institution. So, while conditions are not now ideal, no instances paralleling these exist.

Although the condition of poor farms has been greatly improved and a movement has been inaugurated for regional poor farms where still greater advanced methods of care may be used, the prevalent system of indoor relief is very inadequate, outdoor relief still more so, and old age pensions non-existent. Case work methods have not been worked out to nearly the same degree for adults as for children.

Relief continues to pauperize and to brand the recipient as being "on the county". The same degree of self respect cannot be maintained by the elderly couple who must spend their sunset years "on the county" or in the poor farm as by the couple who receives a pension that enables them to continue a simple home life.

In addition to the inspection of penal institutions the state board is expected to formulate rules for the government of county jails; report jails unfit for use to the circuit and criminal courts and to the governor; and examine and sign the State Prison punishment record.¹ The indication is that this function is performed in a perfunctory manner due partly to lack of power to enforce recommendations for closing such institutions.

The probation work in the state is under a department consisting of a state juvenile probation officer and an advisory juvenile committee of five members. The duties of this department include; cooperation with local probation officers, application and enforcement of the probation law, collection and compilation of statistical data on probation, and an annual report to the governor.²

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1. 41st Annual Report, Board of State Charities and Corrections, 1930, p. 330.
 2. Indiana Bulletin of Charities and Corrections, Dec. 1931, p. 618.

The state board also approves the plans for out-patient clinics maintained by state hospitals for the insane.

The Indiana Society for Mental Hygiene, organized in 1916, has as its major purpose the creation of public opinion favorable to improving the care given in all kinds of mental diseases. Out-patient clinics, subject to the approval of the Board of Charities, are established over the state. The Board of Charities has recommended the extension of state resources, with a corresponding decrease in county facilities, for the care of this group of handicapped. If carried out, this will remove many difficulties in the way of maintaining high standards of care for the mentally disabled.¹

All public agencies and institutions housing insane, epileptics, and feeble-minded are inspected by the state board.

The 1930 State Conference on Mental Health stressed the teaching of Mental Hygiene in schools and the need for such training on the part of all individuals connected with the social welfare program. Again the keynote of the whole plan is individualization.

1. 41st Annual Report, Board of State Charities and Corrections, 1930, p. 331, 335.

"When studying and analyzing an individual, we need to be very much interested in determining how, when, and why he got that way. A lot of times the reputation that that individual has is not the real reason for his performing in his certain individual manner. The thing we need to be interested in, is knowing just why it is that the individual does various things and what is his own attitude toward them his trouble, or his maladjustments." 1

Indiana has a very effective supervisory system which works in so far as it has power to back its decisions. However, there is need for additional "Supervisory control" in the form of additional police power and an extension of supervision to various classes of private institutions such as homes for the aged and certain children's institutions.

One outstanding feature of the Indiana system is the increased individualization of child care. Children are handled by accepted case work methods and no longer treated in mass lots. It is an attempt to understand the dependent and neglected Marys and Johns of the state and give them care approximating as nearly as possible that of the unhandicapped child. Personality problems as well as financial needs are given attention.

Politics have played a minor part in the Board of Charities and Corrections. Provision is made for bi-

1. Indiana Bulletin of Charities and Corrections,
March and April 1931, Numbers 191, 192, p. 235.

partisan membership forming a continuous group which precludes one governor or party from gaining control.

Failure to see the difficulties in the existing system has been apparent in Indiana. Authorities have seemed eager to defend their own system, as opposed to an administrative control board, at any cost.

Some arguments presented by members of the Charities Board show distinct bias in favor of the present type of board which seems to be accepted as the apex of progress.

"It is my judgment that the Indiana system, in true economy and efficiency, is far superior to that of any state with a Central Board of Control; and with one exception is equal, at least, to that of any other state.

"The personal element of the superintendent is the strongest factor of an institution; and the elimination of this personal equation necessarily lowers the standard of the institution.

"A board of control in Indiana would also eliminate the very valuable asset we now have in the prominent and influential citizens constituting the boards of state institutions, who are especially valuable and helpful in the education of public opinion upon the management of our institutions. The members of these boards reside in various parts of the state and impart intelligent information by personal interviews, whereas a central board would be located in Indianapolis and would, therefore, be accessible to but few people.

"Again, owing to the large salaries of these boards of control and their great political power, when the term of a member is about to expire the position is eagerly sought by others, and he who has the strongest political pull gets the place whether or not he is qualified for it. When a change of state administration occurs or the term of a member expires or a resignation has been requested the new Governor may be expected to give the place to a personal or political friend, hence

changes in boards of control are much more frequent than in individual institutional boards."1

2

Board of State Charities

"One of the most important boards in the state government is the Board of State Charities. The work of social welfare is becoming more and more important and is being more commonly accepted as a proper state function as time goes on. Our present board is structurally correct, and we hope that all of its activities will be continued.

"Our Indiana Board of State Charities...has no administrative authority over the institutions. It visits, investigates, recommends....

"Not being burdened with the endless details of institutional administration, the board has opportunity to study not only the state but the local charities and in the light of its knowledge of the whole system and of what is being done in other states, to recommend desirable methods and needed legislation. Its policy is to know the situation and needs; to deal with conditions as they are, working at the same time toward the prevention of crime, pauperism and defectiveness."

Much of the opposition to control boards had its rise in Indiana during the early days of the administrative board before successful methods of combining control and supervision had been effected. At present the feeling is growing less violent judging from the general tone of reports and the realization is growing

1. Nicholson, T.--The Administration of Indiana State Institutions, pp. 3,5,6,
2. Butler, A. W.--State Systems of Charities and Correction, p. 6, Committee on Public Control (Administration) and Supervision.

that there is middle ground between iron handed business control and compulsory supervision backed by power to enforce recommendations.

Control could be exercised in Indiana with the present bi-partisan board if provision were made, by law, granting the board power to make effective its work.

Chapter Five

MASSACHUSETTS

In many respects the Massachusetts colony was only a bit of old England transplanted. There was a constant struggle to retain the old customs and mores in the midst of new and wholly dissimilar surroundings. In the resultant adjustment new standards were erected to fit the environment until there gradually emerged not only a "New England" but also a "New America".

Massachusetts, nevertheless, retained many (more than most of her sister colonies) typically English modes of life. Among these surviving influences was the English Poor Law which had a profound effect on the development of the present welfare system in the state.

Poor relief was the first phase of social welfare to be recognized as a public responsibility. This forms a bleak picture in the early days of the colony. Relief often meant only being spared from death by starvation. The paupers (old, young, sick and well) were auctioned off to the lowest bidder who was paid for their keep by the local government. From the earliest days of public welfare work it became almost axiomatic that the responsibility for relief lay with the smallest unit of government.

The relief which was granted came from the near poverty of the giver. The climate was harsh; the people, unused to the new methods of farming, were, for the most part, wresting little more than an existence from the soil. Families were large and hospitality was extended to neighbor and kinsman until the last resource was drained. Public aid, was for residents, a last resort to be staved off as long as possible.

Kelso says of the growth of the poor relief system in Massachusetts:

"Barring old England, with her debtors' prisons and her poor law unions, there is probably not another chapter in the annals of poverty among civilized peoples so drab and so dry of true sympathy as that of Colonial Massachusetts; nor yet a record so pregnant with the quality of justice, or so replete with those salient principles, however slowly developing, which combine in their final state to make up a wholesome social programme among a self governing people.

"Like the dry, unlovely arms of the century plant, the practices of those earlier decades embraced within their harsh outline a flower, coming slowly to bloom, a system of public social service which is still far short of its ideal, but which in these early years of the twentieth century stands out in American experience as an example before the world." 1

Gradually the system of auctioning the poor was replaced by the almshouse. Early almshouses and jails housed all classes of unfortunates both adult and children.

1. Kelso, R. W.--The History of Poor Relief in Mass., p. 91.

In 1701 provision was made to reimburse the local community from the province treasury for relief in cases of dependent persons without settlement who were ill with "dangerous, infectious or contagious diseases". This system soon called for regulation due to abuse by local communities.

In 1834 the first state lunatic asylum was established. Support of public patients was paid by the local community where the patient was residing at the time of his application for admittance.¹

In 1858 a commission was appointed to investigate the entire system of charitable institutions of the state and make recommendations for their management.² This commission marked the initial step in a coordinated state program of public welfare. The State Board grew out of the need for a permanent body to assume the many and varied tasks of public welfare with which the legislature was becoming swamped. The plan of centralizing policy making was adopted with a clear understanding that the Board be supervisory only.

The State Board of Charities, established in 1863, consisted of five unpaid members and a general agent and secretary appointed by the Governor, with the consent of the council, for three year terms of office.

1. Ibid., p. 126.
2. Ibid., p. 141.

This group was expected to investigate the whole system of charitable and correctional institutions of the state and make recommendations concerning the administration of the institutions.

Further centralization took place in 1879 when the State Board of Health, the Board of State Charities, and the nine boards of State Institutions were abolished and a State Board of Health, Lunacy and Charity was established. The new board was composed of nine persons appointed for five year terms by the Governor with the consent of the council.

In the same year a Prison Commission of five members (two women), appointed by the Governor with council confirmation, was created. Their duties consisted in classifying prisoners, visiting all jails and houses of correction at least semi-annually, general supervision of the state prison and of the reformatory for women-- (they were expected to visit the latter two institutions monthly).¹

By 1886 the duties of the State Board of Health, Lunacy and Charity were divided by the creation of a separate board of health of seven members appointed by the governor for terms of seven years.

1. Breckinridge, S. P.--Public Welfare Administration, p. 256-257.

This was followed by a final reshifting of state departments in 1898 when the State Board of Insanity was separated from the State Board of Charity.

In 1901 the Commissioners of Prisons were succeeded by a new Board of Prison Commissioners which, in addition to the supervisory powers of the old board, appointed the warden of the prison.¹

One must look back of this rather bare outline of growth and see in each change the changing conception of the state's responsibility for its handicapped people. Gradually has come the realization that each individual cannot "work out his own salvation". Every individual is largely dependent on circumstances and, although each uses his resources to the utmost, there will remain wide variation in attainment. Society may guide its career but the individual man cannot steer his way independently of the group. Out of this new view of responsibility has grown a system of social welfare intended to widen the margin of safety for the groups that are handicapped. Back of the machinery there were lives for whom social adjustment is being made either easier or harder because of the type of welfare system. To understand the machinery for control we must also visualize these personalities coming in contact with it.

1. Ibid., p. 347.

The present State Department of Public Welfare, headed by a commissioner who is responsible to the Governor and legislature but subject to the advice and veto of an unpaid advisory board of six members, is the result of a consolidating act of 1919 which reorganized the public charities.

The department is made up of the commissioner, its executive and administrative head, and an advisory board of six members two of whom are women. Two members of the board are appointed annually by the governor with the consent of the council. The commissioner is appointed in the same manner but for a five year term at a salary of not more than \$6,000 per year.

The Commissioner, with the approval of the Governor and council, appoints and removes the directors of the divisions of (1) Aid and Relief, (2) Child Guardianship. The director of Juvenile Training, chosen by the governor, is a member of the board of trustees of the Massachusetts training schools.

Functions of the State Department of Public Welfare:

The State public welfare department has general supervision over five state institutions, namely the State

1. Manual of Laws--Dept. of Public Welfare--1932, chapter 18, sections 7, 9, 11, 3.

Infirmary, the Hospital School for Crippled and Deformed Children, and the three Industrial Training Schools for Delinquents.

The trustees of state institutions for all classes of dependents make annual reports to the department including inventories and recommendations for legislation.

The welfare department is also expected to examine applications for incorporation for charitable purposes before granting charters, and to approve plans for new buildings or extensive repairs in state institutions.

Massachusetts has a constructive system of Mothers' Pensions. Actual administration is through local boards of public welfare which are expected to investigate cases prior to granting aid and to visit homes receiving help. The State Department supervises the local boards in granting this aid, may visit recipient families if it feels there are special problems, and approves bills for reimbursing the towns for one third of the amount given.¹

Investigation of Mothers' aid cases in Massachusetts involves social case work by a trained family visitor. Effort is made by the visitor, with the mother, to work out constructive plans for meeting both personality and financial problems involved. If a case presents unusual

1. Ibid., chapter 118, sections 3-6, 1930, p. 46-47.

difficulties a state visitor goes to the family. This visitor is able to see that desirable home conditions are maintained and also that the local board grants enough help to allow comfortable living.¹

A division of Child Guardianship, headed by a director appointed by the Welfare Commissioner (with the consent of the governor and council), forms one subdivision of the State Welfare Department and supervises part of the state child welfare program.²

This division, subject to the approval of the Health Department, issues licenses to boarding homes for babies, charitable institutions caring for children, and maternity hospitals.

Neglected children committed to the Welfare Department remain in its guardianship until they are twenty-one unless the Department transfers the guardianship to the local Board of Welfare where the child lives.

The State Department may visit the home where any child under seven is living with persons other than its parents. This power is used only when abuse or neglect is suspected.

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1. Annual Report of the Dept. of Public Welfare, 1929, p. 10-12.
 2. Manual of Laws--Dept. of Public Welfare, 1929, ch. 119, p. 48-49. (summarization of important points touched by the State Welfare Department).

Certain other aspects of child care are supervised by the State Department under the division of Juvenile Training.

In contrast to the plan of many states with less thoroughly organized systems of welfare, actual case work extends to almost every type of problem. The individual is the unit of work and the whole system revolves around the task of adjusting each personality to the social situation. The State Infirmary receives, in the course of a year, a large number of women for confinement or convalescent care. As many of the births there are illegitimate, the social problems outweigh the physical ones. Social workers are maintained to help plan an adjustment for mother and child or to investigate prospective foster homes for children. The following case illustrates the work which is typical of social welfare policy in Massachusetts.

"Mabel was referred to us by a maternity hospital, which stated that a woman was coming to take her two weeks'-old baby for adoption on that day. Mabel's family did not know of her trouble, the baby's father had sent money for the hospital bill and Mabel was going to a friend. The adopting parent was to be a person from Nova Scotia who was a sister of a friend. The mother and baby were seen and were persuaded to wait until the adoptive home could be investigated. The mother agreed to go to the Infirmary for convalescence. The would-be adopting mother came to the maternity hospital two hours after the girl had left and was referred to this subdivision, but did not come. Investigation proved the proposed home in Nova Scotia to be very unfit. The mother's family was able to provide for her and the baby was boarded by a child-placing agency in a home near the mother. If the hospital had not been so socially minded

that it referred the adoption for investigation, the baby would have been given away with less consideration than is given to the matter of giving away a kitten.

"Regardless of the many handicaps of our patients, the visitors give remarkable assistance and care to many who come to find a kindly world within the institution and a friendly service eager to help them to life outside." 1

Responsibility for adult relief rests with the division of Aid and Relief, headed by a director who is appointed by and responsible to the Welfare Commissioner. In this division the law also provides for a board of trustees of five men and two women serving three year, overlapping terms, for the State Infirmary.

Local boards of public welfare are responsible for the adult poor within their own jurisdiction. These boards are expected to keep records of expenditures for the State Department of Welfare.

Both public and private homes for the aged are licensed by the state board and inspected by it. The purpose of licensing these homes may be seen by a brief extract from the Commissioner's report for 1929.

"The care of aged persons is one of the most important problems with which we are concerned. New legislation enacted this year, which requires boarding homes for aged persons to be licensed by us, has been put into effect. Already twenty-five boarding homes have been licensed and one hundred forty-nine more have filed

1. Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare, 1929, p. 14.

applications. Such supervision over the private care of aged persons is necessary in addition to public care. We hope that it will prevent such disasters as occurred last year, when twenty elderly people in a private home in Dedham were left stranded as a result of the bankruptcy of the proprietor. We hope by cooperation with the building inspection authorities to guard against any fire hazard which may exist, as we do in our inspection of city and town infirmaries. The law enables us to require security whenever a contract for the life care of an aged person is made." 1

State supervision of penal and correctional work is divided between a department of Corrections and a division of the public welfare department. The division of Juvenile Training supervises the department's work concerning juvenile delinquents. The director of this division is also a member of the board of trustees of the Massachusetts training schools. The board of trustees consists of nine members, two of whom are women, appointed by the governor for overlapping terms of five years.

This division supervises the care of juvenile offenders committed to the three juvenile training schools both during their institutional training and while they are in families on parole.

Supervision of adult criminals is carried on by a separate department of government--Department of Corrections. The executive head of this department is a commissioner appointed by the governor for three years.

1. Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare, 1929, p. 3, R. K. Conant, Commissioner.

In this department is a Parole Board composed of one deputy commissioner and two members appointed by the governor with the consent of the council.¹

Supervision for mentally and physically handicapped:

The State Department of Welfare selects schools for the training of deaf children who are not otherwise handicapped and provides such training for dependent children.

The institutions for the care of mental diseases are supervised by the Department of Mental Diseases which is headed by a commissioner. Physicians, pathologists, and psychiatrists of the department as well as engineers, firemen, and head farmers employed by the institutions supervised by this department are exempt from the civil service law. Each institution for the care of insane, feeble-minded, and epileptics has its own board of trustees.²

The Department of Mental Diseases, in addition to supervision of institutions, operates out-patient clinics and mental hygiene clinics through a social service subdivision.

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1. Breckinridge, S. P.--Public Welfare Administration, p. 597.
 2. Ibid., p. 596-600.

We have seen that the Department of Public Welfare in Massachusetts is a highly centralized body with enforceable supervisory power. The structure is complicated and we may get lost in the maze of machinery. However, to understand the plan of work, we must visualize the people back of the structure and see how the program affects human life.

In appraising the scope of work covered by the Public Welfare Department of Massachusetts it must be borne in mind that no small portion of the work ordinarily thought of as belonging to such a department is covered by other state departments as the Department of Corrections, The Department of Mental Diseases, and The Department of Public Health.

In 1914 the Massachusetts Board of Charities resisted an attack by the so called "efficiency expert".¹ The proposal was made, by a Commission to study conditions, to abolish the various supervisory boards of the state as well as the Boards of Trustees for the various state institutions and replace them with a highly centralized administrative board. The recommendations of the commission were attacked on the grounds that the

1. Ibid., p. 401.

proposed plan meant highly centralized administrative control without adequate supervision and that the suggestions were made without a thorough investigation into the supervisory system as it was then working. The feeling was that such a system stressed money economy above human life economy and tended to make a business corporation of the state welfare program.

The spirit of that time concerning centralized administration has persisted and supervision is still the keynote of the Massachusetts system but it is supervision with the power to enforce recommendations.

One of the outstanding needs felt in many states has been recognized in the Massachusetts planning--namely the need for supervision of private as well as public agencies and of agencies caring for all classes of dependents and not children only.

The system is essentially one of centralized policy-making through the State Welfare Department and decentralized administration through local units and individual boards of trustees for state institutions.

Kelso's indictment of poor relief is equally applicable to other phases of the Welfare work. "Yet that must be said of the Massachusetts system which may be said of all other systems in the nation, namely, that it is essentially remedial rather than preventive. It is humane but un-

unscientific. It is vast in extent, but it tends to increase the numbers of the dependent whom it is designed to relieve. Its process is remedial; it follows after the fact of dependency. It does not aim in the main to forestall dependency by preventive measures."¹

The Massachusetts system is relatively free from political interference in the selection of personnel. It also escapes extreme one man power (as in the highly centralized administrative departments). However, there has been a tendency for the people of Massachusetts to lean over backward in safeguarding their welfare system to the extent of needless splitting of work between too many departments of government for most effective functioning.

On the whole the program represents an advance step in the development of social welfare policy. It recognizes the close bond between public and private social work and attempts to bind them still closer. Accepted case work methods are used in most branches of the work in an effort to make the services rendered more constructive.

1. Kelso, R. W.--History of Poor Relief in Mass., p. 193.

Chapter Six

MINNESOTA

Minnesota has followed the general trend of the country in the development of a state welfare system. The first period, until 1882, represents true laissez faire policy. State institutions were controlled and administered by local boards with no interference or advice from any state authority.

In 1883 Minnesota adopted the mode of state supervision originated a few years before by several eastern states and established an advisory board to inspect and supervise state and county institutions of a social nature. Following a regime of no supervision this board was regarded as the acme of social progress. Since the first secretary selected was a man of unusual ability the supervisory board in Minnesota was tested under very favorable circumstances.

By 1901 the heyday of the supervisory board had passed and, through the creation of a board of control, the state entered the third stage of welfare administration.

In 1901 the threshold was crossed by an act which provided for a Board of Control of three members with overlapping terms of six years. In 1921 the number was changed to five, two of whom were women, but in 1923 it

was again reduced to three with one woman. The governor, with the consent of the senate, appoints the board. Not more than two members of the board may belong to the same political party. As it is a salaried board each member devotes his entire time to official¹ duties.

In the summer of 1916, Governor Burnquist appointed a commission of twelve persons to study the need of revision of laws pertaining to children and to propose such measures as they found necessary. Thirty-five of the forty-one bills written by this commission were enacted into law by the 1917 legislature. Some additions and amendments have been made in each subsequent legislature to further define the functions of the Board of Control.²

At the request of the county board of commissioners the state board of control may appoint three resident persons (at least two women) in each county to serve without compensation subject to removal by the control board. These three appointed members with one member of the county board of commissioners and the county superintendent of schools make up the county board of child wel-

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1. Compilation of the Laws of Minn. Relating to Children,
p. 10.
 2. Ibid., III.

fare. (Counties having cities of the first class have five appointed members on the board.)¹

The probate judge, who is responsible for child welfare appoints a probation officer. He may, but is not required to, ask help from the Child Welfare Board in the supervision of county allowances (Mothers' Aid).²

The county and state boards are expected to cooperate in the administration of welfare laws. In the interest of promoting cooperation, economy and efficiency the state board of control may call annual conferences of officials responsible for enforcing welfare laws. If possible the conference is held at the same time and place as the state conference of social work.³

Functions of the Board of Control:

All of the powers and duties formerly exercised by the state board of corrections and charity as well as complete responsibility for the administration of eighteen state institutions--five penal and correctional, six for the insane, two for the feeble-minded and epileptic, one for the blind, the deaf and dumb, the hospital for crippled

1. Ibid., p. 10.
2. Ibid., p. 11.
3. Ibid., p. 12.

children, the school for dependent children, and the state sanatorium.

The Mothers' Pension Law of Minnesota, in common with most western states, is administered by the juvenile courts. The Board of Control offers the cooperation of Child Welfare Boards in directing methods of investigation and granting aid but has no real supervision.¹

"Mother's aid or county allowances, has decreased the number of children in institutions. It also is shown to be the most economical mode of care, not to mention the allimportant and valuable asset to the child in keeping mother and child together. While it appears there is an increasing appreciation of the merits of mother's aid by citizens in general, its administration and efficiency is not uniform throughout the state. From the experience of other states it would appear that state aid and supervision are necessary to secure these ends." 2

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The Children's Bureau, which started to function January 1, 1918, is the outstanding feature of the Minnesota welfare system. The bureau is divided into four departments two of which are devoted exclusively to child care.

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1. Ibid., p. 104.
 2. Biennial Report of the Children's Bureau, 1930,
p. 9.
 3. Ibid., p. 5.

1. The general department includes the special activities relating to guardianship, placements and adoptions, illegitimacy and miscellaneous cases. Working under this department and cooperating with the heads of the other departments in their special activities are six district representatives who act as coordinating agents for the bureau throughout the state.

2. The department of institutions and agencies includes the inspection, licensing and supervising of maternity hospitals, children's institutions, boarding homes, day nurseries, and child placing agencies--public and private.

Either directly or through the child welfare boards, the Board of Control has tried to learn whether each foster home is desirable and suited to the particular child in question. Under the old plan the State Board investigated each home. Under the present plan the agency making a placement sends a complete report to the Board. The State Board in turn sends notification to the county Child Welfare Board which sends a worker to the home. This one visit is required by law. If conditions seem satisfactory no further visits are made.

However, the Board of Control reserves the right to make a full investigation if it feels that any placement is not suitable.

"It is gratifying to see that the judges passing upon adoptions are showing an increasing sense of social responsibility. Recently the judges in the larger counties have insisted that direct consent from the parents be obtained where the child has not been placed by a Minnesota agency....Several judges insist, also, that the divorced parent other than the one granted custody be notified." 1

The Board of Control attempts to establish the paternity of illegitimate children and secure for them care approximating, as nearly as possible, that of a normal home.

Important legislation for the care of children unsuitable for adoption was passed by the legislatures of 1917 and 1925. The Board of Control was given legal guardianship over all children committed by the courts either to the board or to institutions managed by it. Children not committed for delinquency are not placed in institutions for delinquents nor are children committed for delinquency placed for adoption. Children physically or mentally handicapped so as not to be placed for adoption are committed to the State Board. 2

1. Ibid., p. 13.

2. Compilation of the Laws of Minn. Relating to Children,
p. 15.

The Board arranges for tests and investigations for the classification of handicapped children and, if possible, fits them for adoption or self support. If not suitable for adoption they may be placed in supervised homes for care.

Children unsuitable for adoption are committed to the department of Guardianship. These children are not eligible for admission to the state Public School and cannot be placed for adoption. Since the state has not yet made any appropriation for their care, part of the expense burden, out of proportion to ability to provide, is being forced on the counties. The need is for appropriations to enable the department of Guardians to function in a constructive way.

Administration of poor relief is through the county and local units of government. The Board of Control visits and inspects local poor homes and approves plans for repair or construction if the estimated expense is over two hundred dollars. There is no state plan of poor relief or of old age pensions.

The Board of Control also has complete administrative responsibility for the penal and reformatory institutions. Local jails or correctional institutions are also inspected.

Parole agents are appointed by the Board of Control to investigate the homes of inmates of penal institutions

previous to parole and to supervise individuals on
parole from the training school for girls.¹

The Department for the feeble-minded in the Children's Bureau acts for the Board of Control in matters concerning guardianship, supervision, entrance to institutions, and release of feeble-minded persons committed to the Board of Control or institutions administered by it.²

State agents may also be appointed for the supervision of patients paroled from state institutions for the insane, feeble-minded, and the colony for epileptics.

A large number of wards are supervised outside of institutions either in their own homes, in approved boarding homes, or in clubs. This work consumes much time and painstaking effort on the part of officials in the department as well as by those caring for the parolee.

"The more carefully one reviews the work of supervision of the high-grade feeble-minded the more one is convinced that rarely, if ever, do they make it possible for a person charged with active supervision to feel that adjustment is completed. Frequently, just when it seems that all is going well, the surprise comes and the work of months seems to count for naught. When we total the months and years of successful living up to the standards of modern life, however, we find we have salvaged much, and that time and money spent have been worth while from both an economic and an humane standpoint." 3

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1. Ibid., p. 32, 25.
 2. Biennial Report of the Children's Bureau, 1930, p. 5.
 3. Ibid., p. 23.

In the Children's Bureau there is also a department of Aid for the Blind which directs the state program for prevention of blindness and care of the blind.¹

The Board of Control cooperates with state or local boards and agencies interested in the education and general welfare of the blind. The Board of Control is especially interested in those eligible for admittance to the state school for the blind.

There are two home teachers who travel around the state giving instruction to adult blind persons in their own homes. In many cases this is the only means the newly blind have for learning Braille reading, writing or new types of work. "To be able to read again is a great consolation to adults who have lost their sight in later life, and the home teachers, through their instruction in Braille, make this possible. They also do much of the general field work, which eliminates duplication of travel."²

Those connected with the Minnesota Public Welfare Department believe that the strength of the system lies in the centralization of authority with a state agency which defines policy, erects standards and secures

1. Ibid., p. 5.
2. Ibid., p. 26.

uniform action throughout the state. Local authority and prestige is granted through the appointment of three county residents on the local welfare board. The county school superintendent and one county commissioner serve on the county welfare board ex officio. Since the Board of Control appoints the three members of the local board it is possible to influence county action through local people.

The belief is strong in the state that the system is relatively free from political influence due to various safeguards which have been erected. The law setting up the system provided for a Board of three members, devoting their entire time to the service, holding no other office, and receiving a salary of \$4500 per year which is sufficient to provide a good standard of personnel. Not more than two members may belong to any one political party. Any member of the board or any officer or employee in any institution controlled by the Board may be removed from office for the following political activities: directly or indirectly soliciting or attempting in any way to influence other officials or employees to side with him politically; contributing funds for political cause, or favoring any particular candidate. That the principle of no political interference has been recognized is at-

tested by the long terms of service that have been enjoyed by competent superintendents and officials.¹

Some weakness in the system is seen in the relationship between the state and the county child welfare boards. Cooperation is secured through the appointment by the Board of Control of the members of the county child welfare board but there is no way of enforcing cooperation. It is optional with county commissioners whether or not a child welfare board will be created and even after established the board may be abolished at the will of the commissioners.

Even in counties where child welfare boards are in operation they need not be consulted on matters pertaining to payment of Mothers' Pensions which is by the probate judge. The feeling has been expressed that state control in both Mothers' Pensions and probation might yield more fruitful results than the present system.

Through the efforts of the Children's Bureau most counties organized child welfare boards but a number have been abandoned due to financial stress.

Lack of state supervision and planning in poor relief and in the care of the aged is another outstanding gap in the program.

1. Charles F. Hall--Director of the Children's Bureau,
Letter dated March 2, 1932.

Strong points of the program are also seen in the stress which is being placed on case work methods and on individualizing the work. The care of children, of feeble-minded, and of the blind has been especially fast in the development of case work technique. Lack of funds has seriously handicapped more rapid development along this line.

Minnesota, while not at the top of the list of states in social welfare development, has elements of a sound system and is awake to certain possibilities. The recognition of the need for supervision of private as well as public agencies has been one indication of this.

Valuable assistance in appraisal has been received from Mr. Charles F. Hall--Director of the Children's Bureau--and Mr. Otto F. Bradley--Executive Secretary of the Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies--as well as from Biennial Reports of the Children's Bureau.

Chapter Seven

NEW JERSEY

New Jersey, small in area but densely populated, has been faced by much the same type of social maladjustment as every other state. And, in the solution of these problems, she has followed much the same trends as elsewhere.

The first step toward state supervision was taken in 1883 with the creation of a state Council of Charities and Corrections, composed of six members appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the senate and presided over by the Governor. Visitation and inspection of local penal and charitable institutions¹ comprised the main function of this board.

In 1918 a commission appointed to investigate the penal and correctional institutions recommended a new law centralizing all responsibility for management of state charitable, correctional, and institutions for the insane including the power of appointing local boards of managers for these institutions.

1. National Conference of Charities and Corrections, Proceedings, 1883, p. 209.

The central power proposed was a State Board of Charities and Corrections of nine members, Governor ex officio and eight members appointed by him. The duties of administration and supervision were to be executed through an expert commissioner appointed and controlled by the board. Provision was included for not over six assisting bureaus.

When the plan was put into action the name was changed to "State Board of Control of Institutions and Agencies". Burdette Lewis, Commissioner of the State Board of Control in 1919, said of the plan:

"New Jersey has not hesitated to centralize in the hands of a small board vast powers relating to charities and corrections and has changed from a weak, supervisory system to a strong, unified administrative system."

The system today is substantially as recommended by the commission of 1918. The Department of Institutions and Agencies is responsible for coordinating the activities of all types of state public welfare institutions and agencies, formulating the general policies, and supervising the management, expenditures and staff service of local institutions.

The Board has eight members (at least one woman) appointed by the governor, with the consent of the senate, for overlapping terms of eight years. It is a non-partisan, unpaid body.

1. Handbook of State Institutions and Agencies, 1928, p.8.

The Commissioner is selected by the State Board for an indefinite term of office. He devotes his entire time to official duties. In the selection of the commissioner the board is at liberty to secure a person from outside the state if it so desires.¹

New Jersey has permissive legislation for the creation of County Welfare Boards of five to seven members to coordinate the work of the county and cooperate with the State Department of Institutions and Agencies. The chief functions of the County Welfare Boards, carried on by a director of public welfare appointed by the county board, are:

1. Family welfare work--rehabilitation and relief.
2. Child Welfare administration--including Mothers' Aid and care of mentally and physically handicapped children.
3. Administration of county welfare house or almshouse.
4. Cooperation with the state department.

It is mandatory for counties to have similar boards to administer Old Age relief. The granting of old age pensions is permissive but encouraged by the State agreeing

1. Laws of New Jersey, 1929, ch. 147, Art. I, Sec. 108,111.

to pay three fourths of each pension granted.

Functions of the Department of Institutions and Agencies:

The Board of Institutions and Agencies, with the consent of the governor, appoints a "Board of Managers" of five to seven members for each state institution. Under the supervision and control of the State Board, the Board of Managers has charge of the administration of the institution.

Final policy making power and administrative regulation of all institutions and non institutional agencies under its jurisdiction rests with the State Department.¹

The Board of Institutions and Agencies has complete control over the following institutions:²

- a--New Jersey State Hospital at Trenton
- b--New Jersey State Hospital at Greystone Park
- c--New Jersey Village for Epileptics
- d--New Jersey Sanatorium for Tuberculosis Diseases
- e--The State Institution for Tuberculosis

1. Ibid., Sec. 117, 119.

2. Ibid., Chapter 147, Article I, Section 116.

f--State Colonies for Feeble-Minded Males

g--New Jersey Memorial Home for Disabled Soldiers

h--New Jersey Memorial Home for Disabled Soldiers,
Marines and their Wives and Widows

i--State Board of Children's Guardians

j--Commission for Amelioration of the Condition of
the Blind

Correctional Institutions:

a--New Jersey State Prison

b--New Jersey Reformatory

c--New Jersey Reformatory for Women

d--State Home for Boys

e--State Home for Girls.

The county and state welfare boards also act in co-
operation in the administration of mothers' aid or
"widow's pension" as it is called in New Jersey.¹ The
pension is paid through the State Board of Children's
Guardians which is responsible for the investigation of
cases receiving the pension.

Responsibility for all child care rests with the
county welfare board in organized counties but as only

1. The County Welfare Board, 1931, p. 20.

three counties have county welfare boards for the administration of child welfare it is largely left to the State Board of Children's Guardians in the State Department.

The Bureau of Children in the State Department serves also as the coordinating link between the local and state agencies and the Commission for the Blind. This bureau receives and investigates complaints relating to the care of dependent or neglected children and advises as to their care. It visits and investigates private and local child caring institutions and supervises the administration and management of them.

One of the important services of the Children's Bureau is the maintenance of an information service on the social resources of the state for handling family situations in the interest of child wards of the state.¹

The State Board as guardian for dependent and neglected children is responsible for visiting and investigating foster homes prior to adoption of children or where children are boarded.

Poor Relief, other than old age, rests with the municipalities. Many are too small to justify the ap-

1. Handbook of State Institutions and Agencies, 1928, p.9.

pointment of the full time overseer of the poor which the present system requires. Poor relief by municipalities includes both outdoor relief through mothers' aid and the traditional institutional care in the county almshouse.¹

Old Age pensions are paid by a county board appointed for the purpose. The state repays three-fourths the amount granted for each pension.

Outdoor relief is under the general oversight of the state board but little is done as a large part of the relief is alms giving according to antiquated methods rather than constructive relief service.

Need for more constructive efforts in outdoor poor relief has been felt and an effort is being made through the organization of county welfare boards to secure more intelligent treatment of this class of dependents.

If the creation of general county welfare boards as well as of boards to administer old age pensions were mandatory instead of optional the movement would be hastened. Such a move might prove doubtful "progress" since a fine structure which is not functioning makes future action even harder than the absence of framework. As is, the

1. Ibid., p. 19.

state board is educating local communities to the need for county welfare boards. When the county, seeing the need, organizes of its own accord action is more likely to be continuous.

The State Department functions in poor relief by approving charters for the incorporation of institutions giving aid to dependent persons as well as inspecting such institutions. The actual supervisory power is slight, however.

In addition to having direct control of the state penal and correctional institutions through the appointment of the board of managers and the superintendent, the State Board visits and inspects all county and city jails and places of temporary detention.

The rehabilitation policy marks one of the forward looking aspects of the state department.

"It is the policy of all the penal and correctional institutions to do all in their power to rehabilitate persons committed to their care, in order that they may not be a menace to the community when they are later discharged from these institutions.

"In accordance with this policy, each inmate upon admission is studied by specialists from the following points of view: medical, psychological, psychiatric, educational and industrial, social history and background in order that a plan of training and employment may be worked out in preparation for return to the community. Whenever an inmate is eligible to be considered for parole he is again passed upon by the same group of specialists who make recommendations to the Board of Managers considering his release." 1

1. County and State Welfare Work in New Jersey, p. 35.

Rules for the release of inmates of penal institutions on parole are made by the state board. The board of managers of each institution may release, subject to the above mentioned rules, any inmate except those under life sentence.¹

State agents visit all county and city jails and places of temporary detention but no indication is given that it is other than form.

The board of institutions and agencies also licenses annually and visits semi-annually all public and private institutions and hospitals for the care of the insane.

An annual sum is appropriated for use in education, in institutions, of certain deaf and dumb, blind, or feeble-minded persons of the state selected by the board of institutions and agencies.²

The state board also has control of granting outdoor aid to blind persons and the administration of State Hospitals for blind babies and young children.

Some aims of the Department of Institutions and Agencies have been stated thus: "The Department....

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1. Laws of New Jersey, 1929, p. 15, Ch. 147, Laws of 1918, Art. II, Sec. 201, As Amended by Laws of 1923.
 2. Ibid., Ch. 281, Laws of 1913, Sec. 654, p. 73.

as a state welfare department, has endeavored to work with all such groups. It has recognized that certain types of defectives and delinquents are considered the State's own peculiar problem. It has sought to assist in building up local initiative and to promote a sense of local responsibility toward public welfare. It has aimed to disseminate a wider knowledge of the methods of care, treatment and training of the mentally and physically handicapped and has advised as to standards of supervision, education, housing, and medical care of the wards of the State, the counties, and municipalities. It has established clinical services in the State institutions to serve throughout the state and with local general hospitals or special hospitals for mentally diseased or tuberculosis, has worked for the development of clinical services in the community. There has been a splendid spirit of cooperation between the state institutions and the local clinics and hospitals."

The New Jersey system represents centralized, coordinated organization above average, a high type of personnel, largely unaffected by politics, supervision effective though not as inclusive as necessary for most

1. County and State Welfare Work in New Jersey, p. 5.

constructive work. The entire system has been handicapped by inadequate funds to carry on the stupendous task falling to the department.

The type of work maintained in the state institutions has been quite thorough. The system, as in most states, is weakest where it touches private institutions and agencies and local relief.

There is a slight degree of supervision over institutions aiding the poor through inspection and approving of charters. An effective licensing system is not incorporated in the welfare department either for children's institutions or agencies concerning adult dependents with the exception of the insane.

The unpaid, non partisan, continuous board of eight members serving for eight years each has served as an effective check on political dominance. Still further security from politics is evinced in the appointment of the commissioner, who may be an out of state person, by the board and for an indefinite term. Since the appointing board is continuous there is no incentive to change commissioners with changing administrations in government.

Chapter Eight

NEW MEXICO

New Mexico, in addition to sharing the picturesqueness of the mountain West, represents a cross road where three civilizations have met. These divergent cultures have met, and, in some measure, mixed but have not yet become one. Especially in Northwestern New Mexico the old Indian life goes on very much as it did in the past with a slow infusion of new social habits. From the South came the Mexican culture, a mixture of Spanish and Indian. Scattered over the whole region and gradually overshadowing the other groups is the so called American culture.

There is as much variation in economic activity as in social background of the people in this region. The northern section is almost solely engaged in mining. Further south farming and stock raising furnish the means of livelihood. Rainfall is scanty over the entire state and irrigation has proved a great boon to the agricultural people. In the semi-arid land a dense population has been, in the past, and will probably continue to be, an impossibility.

The problem of education has been a more difficult one here than in most of the eastern states. Coupled with

the scanty population making distances between schools great is the large portion of the population that does not understand the meaning of the American system of education or appreciate its advantages. The state has been successful in meeting this problem and has made schools accessible for all of its people.

A similar problem has long been growing, that of social education. Because New Mexico is a rural state social maladjustment has been recognized but slowly. Recently, however, New Mexico did have an awakening of governmental responsibility in social welfare.

The welfare system established provides for an unsalaried State Board of Public Welfare appointed by the Governor. This board appoints the heads of two bureaus of the department, Public Health and Child Welfare. These directors are responsible to the appointing board.

The Director of the Bureau of Child Welfare visits and inspects public child caring institutions in the state or appoints an agent to do so. All other state institutions are governed by local boards of trustees and are not subject to any state oversight. Cooperation has been secured from many private children's agencies and institutions to the extent that they welcome suggestions from the state bureau.

Thus far the state department has centered practically all of its work around the child and its welfare. There is no supervision over penal institutions either local or state and virtually none over poor relief. Each community is responsible for its own poor including care of the aged.

County commissioners may make a tax levy up to one-half mill for poor relief funds. "In three counties (Santa Fe, McKinley and Dona Ana), the county commissioners give their relief upon careful investigation by a trained social worker employed by a county welfare association....Seven of New Mexico's thirty-one counties (including the three above) have the services of trained and experienced social workers, responsible jointly to local officials or groups and to our state office."¹

An act was passed by the 1931 legislature which provided for Mothers' Aid to be granted by the county commissioners subject to the supervision of the state Child Welfare Bureau. Applications are filed with the county clerk who notifies the Bureau which investigates the case. The amount of aid (within limits provided by law) is de-

1. Child Welfare News, Oct. 5, 1931, Child Welfare Bureau Bulletin--mimeographed.

cided by the Child Welfare Bureau and the county commissioners.¹

Among the functions of the Child Welfare Bureau are: the supervision of children's institutions and child placing agencies, issuing work permits for children, and visitation of children in foster homes or in homes where difficulties have arisen. Established case work methods are used in much of this work. The Bureau is also fostering the organization of community units for social work (as in the counties mentioned above which employ a full time social worker to assist the county commissioners). The county unit is thought to offer a better opportunity for the development of thorough social case work policies as well as to decentralize administration. The type of contact made by the bureau in homes where difficulties are present is illustrated by an account given in the report of 1926.²

"Just a year ago, a bad family situation was reported to this office by a District Judge. The family had moved out of his jurisdiction but he asked that the case be investigated and the facts reported to the proper court authorities. Our agent found this family living in a three room shack without windows, without floors, with the beds unspeakably dirty and the whole place in great

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1. Mothers' Aid Law enacted by the 10th Legislature-- State of New Mexico, House Bill no. 284.
 2. Biennial Report of the Bureau of Child Welfare, 1925-1926, p. 15-16.

disorder. The mother had died a short time before with pneumonia....At the time of her death, the children voluntarily expressed the wish that it could have been their father instead of their mother who had left them. The father is a ne'er do well, and worse. He had been an habitual drunkard and most of the community feel that mentally he is not now thoroughly responsible. He is the town character, a constant source of many practical jokes....The matter came to a head when it was reported that some people considered his older daughters were not safe in the home with him after the death of his wife. After a very thorough investigation, including communication with a number of relatives now living in other states it was found that it would be necessary to place the younger children in family homes or institutions in New Mexico. None of the kinfolk were in a position to assist. The oldest boy, past juvenile court age, has gone too far in the general direction traveled by his father to make his outlook hopeful. The next child, a girl of eighteen, was found a place to work with a private family in another community. The next two children, fourteen and eleven years of age, were placed in a mission school; the two youngest in a free foster home, where they are receiving excellent care and training.

The District courts are responsible for all adoption cases, and, as juvenile courts, have jurisdiction over problems relating to juvenile delinquency. The spirit of cooperation between the courts and the state bureau is constantly being developed until in most cases their work dovetails quite well.

The Children's Bureau also makes an effort to locate the blind and deaf children of the state and have them placed in the state schools for training. An illustration of such work follows.

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1. Biennial Report of the Bureau of Child Welfare, 1925-1926, p. 26.

"In isolated places we have found much ignorance regarding our state schools for the blind and for the deaf, and even fear on the part of some parents in permitting their children to leave home to go to these schools. This situation, of course, can be duplicated in other states. Sometime ago a little blind girl was found by our agent in a tiny, isolated community 35 miles from the railroad. She was a pathetic object, completely sightless, hanging to her mother's skirts, as if she feared everything and everyone. Of course, she had never been to school. After some effort on the part of our social worker, the family was persuaded to permit the little girl to go to the State School for the Blind at Alamogordo. Fearing that the parents might change their minds, the state worker waited over one night and personally placed the little girl on the train, wiring for her to be met at the end of her journey. Later on the same field trip, when visiting the State School for the Blind, our agent saw this little girl busy at her work, apparently most happy and contented in her new environment. She was enthusiastic over the fact that she had already learned to do several things."

Work such as this involves the most delicate relations between the state department and the people of the state. The interpretive work calls forth the best efforts of the social worker and positive results are dependent upon a well trained personnel.

There is no state department or division for the supervision of the mentally handicapped of the state. Members of the Children's Bureau have expressed the need of a special institution for mental defectives where they may receive training suited to their ability. At present they are cared for in the same institutions with normal children. Such an arrangement is detrimental to both groups of children.

The Children's Bureau conducts a Mental Hygiene program through a trained psychologist. This psychologist studies children who present mental hygiene problems and advises parents, teachers, and other persons concerned with the care of such children. Volunteer work is also done in mental testing and examination by the State University and Normal schools.

Public Welfare work has taken great strides forward since the present plan was launched but the achievement has been felt to be largely due to the drive and personality of the present Director of the Children's Bureau. Should a worker with less executive ability and a less "magnetic" personality become Director there is danger of back sliding on account of the looseness of organization including lack of legislative provision for expansion.

Established case work methods have been widely employed by the department and many very effective results accomplished.

One of the urgent needs of the Bureau is "A more adequate staff of social case workers for the State Bureau... in order that it may be possible to extend this service to all cases of need which are referred to this office. It is generally considered by social service agencies elsewhere that a trained worker can carry

a load of approximately fifty problem cases. On this basis, our present staff of two case workers could handle 100 active cases. As this goes to press, there are approximately 1400 cases in our active files needing attention, or fourteen times as many as we are now equipped to handle."¹

Workers have been added but with the present condition of unemployment and attendant social problems the increased number needing aid and adjustment has kept pace with the original overload per worker.

The outstanding difficulties of the system are still its looseness of organization and its narrowness of scope. The effectiveness of the work done is almost wholly dependent upon the initiative of the director while many gaps are readily seen in the scope of work covered. It is exclusively a child welfare program and, though effective in so far as funds have permitted, the broader aspects of social welfare have been ignored. There is no provision for state supervision of penal institutions, state or local, no inspection of poor farms, no oversight of out door relief (except Mothers' Aid), no state program for aid to the aged, no supervision of institutions for the mentally diseased and no separate institution for mental defectives. Each of these gaps represent many social problems which need state supervision.

1. Biennial Report of the Bureau of Child Welfare, 1926,
p. 33-34.

New Mexico as a new state, sparsely settled and with a large Mexican and Indian population presents many problems foreign to most of the other states studied. The need for coordinated social service is being recognized and may lead to a closer knit welfare system in the near future.

The Children's Bureau, which represents the beginnings of the work, is doing excellent work and is spreading its influence in such a way as to give a bright outlook for the future.

Chapter Nine

NEW YORK

As might be expected, New York was among the first states to begin a constructive program of state welfare work. The movement toward central authority in social welfare organization had its rise in New York between 1845 and 1860 when a State Board of Inspectors for the three prisons, a State Board of Emigration Commissioners, and a Department of Charities and Corrections in the City of New York were established.

In 1866 New York organized a State Board of Charities composed of eleven members appointed by the Governor--one from each judicial district, two from New York County, and one from Kings County. The term of office for the board, at least two of whom were women, was eight years. Ex officio members were the Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State Comptroller, and the Attorney General. This board, which was advisory only, was expected to visit and inspect the charitable, eleemosynary, correctional, and reformatory institutions of the state.

1. National Conference of Charities and Corrections, Proceedings, 1881, p. 39.

Many steps forward in the effective administration of welfare policies have been made in the years between 1860 and 1931. The old laissez faire indifference to the problems of others is being supplanted by a strong governmental interest in the formulation of policies.

The State Board of Social Welfare in a supervisory capacity is now head of the State Department of Social Welfare and appoints the Director of the Department who acts as chief executive and administrative head.¹

The State Board of Social Welfare consists of twelve members, one from each of nine judicial districts of the state and three additional members from New York City. The members are appointed, for terms of eight years, by the governor with senatorial consent. They receive compensation per diem to the amount of \$500 a year for actual time spent in official duties.²

The department is organized into the following divisions and bureaus:

I. Division of General Administration, in direct charge of the Commissioner of Social Welfare.

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1. Social Service Review, Sept. 1930, Breckinridge, p. 385.
 2. New York Department of Social Welfare--Mimeographed.

1. Bureau of Research, in charge of a director, collects statistical material on property, receipts, expenditures, and activities of all agencies and institutions controlled by the department.

2. Bureau for the Blind, in charge of the executive secretary.

3. Office Administration, in charge of the Chief Clerk and Auditor, has supervision of the fiscal affairs of the department.

II. Division of Old Age Security, in charge of an Assistant Commissioner.

III. Division of Child Welfare, in charge of an Assistant Commissioner.

1. Bureau of Child Welfare Boards, in charge of a Director, supervises the work of local boards of child welfare.

2. Bureau of Foster Home Care, in charge of a Director.

3. Bureau of Home Relief, in charge of a Director, supervises home relief given by local public welfare officials through the state.

IV. Division of Medical Care, in charge of an Assistant Commissioner.

1. Bureau of Dependent Adults, in charge of a Director.

V. Division of State Aid, in charge of an Assistant Commissioner.

1. Bureau of Removals, in charge of a Director, removes to other states and countries the non resident and alien poor.

2. Bureau of Indian Affairs, in charge of a Director, supervises the administration of state functions pertaining to Indian Affairs.

VI. Division of Administration of State Institutions, in charge of an Assistant Commissioner.¹

The State is divided into Public Welfare Districts (New York and several other large cities each constitute a welfare district, others are on the basis of county units). A public welfare commissioner is in charge of each district acting in cooperation with the state department.

Local boards of child welfare are appointed by the county judges. These boards have direct control of the county child welfare activities under the supervision of the state bureau of child welfare.

1. New York Department of Social Welfare--Mimeographed.

Functions of the State Department of Social Welfare:

The state board is expected to inspect all state, county, and municipal institutions of a charitable, eleemosynary, correctional, and reformatory nature except state institutions for the education and support of the blind, deaf, and dumb or institutions which are inspected by some other department of state government--(insane hospitals and adult penal institutions)¹.

Mothers' Aid is given through the local public welfare officers who are supervised by the bureau of home relief of the division of child welfare. New York has no specifically designated system of Mothers Aid. Local boards of child welfare, in cooperation with the children's division of the state welfare department, superintend child welfare activities. The state Department assumes responsibility for children boarded out or placed in foster homes. Institutions receiving state aid for child care are licensed annually by the welfare department.²

The machinery for administration of child welfare through a county commissioner of public welfare which went into effect in 1930 had not begun to operate in

1. Formation of Corporations for Charitable Purposes, Compiled by Wm. C. Hinkley, 1931, p. 21.
2. Social Service Review, Sept. 1930, Breckinridge, p. 385-422.

all counties and cities when the last report available was issued but as understanding of the law became more clear the goal was to have it effectively operating shortly.

A new article was added to the public welfare law in 1930 which provided for old age relief through pensions to persons over seventy who meet certain other requirements. The relief is administered directly by the public welfare districts. Semi-annually the state reimburses them for one half of the amount spent on such relief if approved by the state department.¹

The state department supervises and inspects city, town, and county homes for the aged if they receive any support from taxation. Plans are being made to draw small county homes together into district poor homes which can be more adequately staffed.

As with children's homes the private homes for aged give no report to the state and receive no supervision.

There are some two hundred homes for the aged in New York State, other than public homes, conducted under private charitable or religious auspices.

1. 64th Annual Report of the State Board of Social Welfare, 1931, p. 9.

"The State Board of Social Welfare supervises and inspects only twenty of these which are in receipt of public funds for the support of some of their wards; the others being entirely supported by non public funds do not report to our Board." 1.

The division of child welfare has charge of delinquent children and supervises reformatories for juveniles. The department has direct administrative authority over the New York Training School for Girls at Hudson, the State Agricultural and Industrial School at Industry, and the New York Training School for Boys, Warwick. The state board of social welfare appoints the superintend-²ents of these institutions.

Penal institutions for adult offenders are supervised by a separate governmental department--the Department of Corrections.

Legislation of 1930 requires that probation officers investigate circumstances responsible for a child's appearance in court. This requirement is one more step in the direction of complete social case work for all maladjustment. It provides a means of greater understanding of the child's difficulties and greatly increases the chance of providing an adequate solution for the difficulty through greater individualization.

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1. Annual Report of the Board of Social Welfare, 1930,
p. 29.
 2. New York Department of Social Welfare, Mimeographed,
p. 5-6.

For the care of mentally ill or defective New York has a separate department of government (the Department of Mental Hygiene). This division of labor is felt to be the most satisfactory arrangement for a state so densely populated.

The blind are supervised by the state department of social welfare through the bureau for the blind which keeps a register of the blind persons in the state; gives instruction in reading raised type and writing. Much of this instruction is given through field service to persons in their own homes. The department also aids them in becoming established in business and in procuring medical care. A constant effort is always being made to foster a preventive program for blindness.¹

A dense population coupled with the dual problem of metropolitan and rural areas have led to the creation of complicated administrative machinery for the welfare department. New York has been quite successful in keeping the functional growth apace the structural addition --allowing a short lag as new machinery is launched (the child welfare program of 1930-1931).

Recognition of new problems necessitating new policies of relief is seen in the Old Age Security law which was also

1. New York Department of Social Welfare, Mimeographed.

put into operation in 1930. One of the greatest lags in the whole welfare program is the utter lack of supervision over agencies not receiving support from taxation. In a state with the population of New York it means thousands of dependents being cared for with no oversight from the state.

For example one lapse in the provision for supervision of child care is seen in the following account.

"Not included in these figures [the number and classification of children cared for] are approximately 2500 children cared for in thirty-seven institutional homes which are not subject to the visitation of the State Board of Social Welfare, since they do not receive payment from public funds. There are also a large number of temporary and special institutions, day nurseries, summer charities and camps caring for children which the Board is without authority to visit and which make no reports of their work to the Department. It is impossible even to estimate the number of children cared for by the institutions and agencies of this group." 1

The same is true of private homes for the aged as has been pointed out (p. 112). A directory of private homes for the aged has been compiled by the welfare department but contains only such information as the homes have voluntarily given.

1. 64th Annual Report of the State Board of Social Welfare, 1930, p. 13.

This is indicative of the condition prevalent to a greater or less extent in practically every state and marks an omission of no trifling import.

Long tenure of office by the state board and appointment of the welfare commissioner by the board instead of by the governor has helped keep the welfare department free from politics and has been an incentive to service on the part of high calibre men.

Chapter Ten

PENNSYLVANIA

Pennsylvania, too, was among the first states to recognize governmental responsibility in the field of social welfare. The start was made in 1826 with the first official recognition of what we now term juvenile delinquency.¹ This act applied only to Philadelphia and provided for the care of delinquent youths in a reformatory school not in the prison. This act has been supplemented at various times until the present juvenile court system has evolved.

Consciousness of governmental responsibility for social welfare took shape in the start toward centralization of policy-making shortly after the Civil War in several eastern states. Pennsylvania joined this early movement in 1869 by a law authorizing the governor, with the advice and consent of the senate, to appoint five commissioners with overlapping terms of five years to constitute, with a general agent and secretary, a board of public charities. The board was to meet once every three months and was paid expenses only.

1. Code of Juvenile Delinquents in Pennsylvania, 1928,
p. 5.

The general secretary, ex officio board member, held office for a three year term at a salary of \$3000 per year plus traveling expenses. Under the direction of the board he kept records of proceedings, conducted the out door business, visited the charitable and correctional institutions receiving state aid annually, and visited and inspected the city or county jails, prisons, alms or poor houses at least once every biennium.

Annual reports were made by persons having charge of all charitable and correctional institutions and the Board of Charities made an annual report of conditions to the Governor and state legislature.¹

In 1883 three additional members, appointed in the same way, were added to the board. Two of these three members were professional men, one a practicing physician and the other a member of the bar of ten or more years standing. At this time supervision was extended to all homes or places where any person of unsound mind was housed if any compensation was received by the custodial, or where two or more insane persons were kept even though no compensation was received. A committee on lunacy of five members was appointed by the board to examine and

1. Breckinridge, S. P.--Public Welfare Administration, p. 270-273.

report annually on the condition of the insane. The two professional board members were ex officio members of this committee.

The legislation establishing the present set up, passed in 1921, created a Department of Public Welfare of a Commission of Public Welfare, a Commissioner of Public Welfare, a Deputy Commissioner, and certain bureaus, officers, agents and employees.

The Commission of Public Welfare is composed of nine members, six appointed by the governor with senatorial consent for terms of four years, and three ex-officio members--the Commissioner of Public Welfare, the Commissioner of Labor and Industry, and the Commissioner of Health. ² In 1928 the title "Commissioner" was changed to "Secretary".

The Secretary of Public Welfare, at an annual salary of \$10,000, is appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the senate for a term of four years. A Deputy Secretary is appointed in the same manner at an annual salary of \$7,500.

The Commission, which has general supervision over the policy making of the department, meets at least once

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1. Breckinridge, S. P.--Public Welfare Administration, p. 274.
 2. Acts of the General Assembly, No. 425--1921, Sec. 1-3.

every three months and oftener if called by the Secretary. In the act creating the department, the Secretary, with the approval of the commission, was authorized to establish bureaus (not to exceed four in number) in the department, appoint a chief for each and assign specific duties. The bureau of Mental Health with a chief at an annual salary of \$7,500 (other bureau heads receive \$5,000) was definitely provided.¹ The other three bureaus created are:

Bureau of Assistance which deals with state subsidies, poor relief and licenses; Bureau of Children; and Bureau of Restoration which supervises the penal and correctional activities of the department.

In the administrative code the department of welfare is given authority to promote the organization of county councils of social agencies and county welfare boards in order to coordinate the activities of the counties and obtain better cooperation with the state department.

1. Ibid., Sec. 6-7.

Functions of the State Department of Public Welfare:

The state department of public welfare has supervision over all state institutions, all children's and maternity homes in the state except the State Hospital for Crippled Children which is under the Department of Health, all prisons, jails, hospitals, almshouses or poor homes maintained by local governmental units, all institutions where two or more insane persons are kept or where compensation is taken for the care of insane.

All plans for erection or alteration of state or state aided institutions are expected to be approved by the department.

Also this department determines the capacity of such institutions, the type of persons to be received by each, and issues requisitions from the Auditor General for warrants for payment from state funds to these¹ institutions.

The first Mothers' Assistance law, enacted in 1913, placed administration in the Department of Public Instruction. The 1923 revision of the law transferred the administration to the bureau of children in the welfare department.

1. Act of the General Assembly No. 175, 1929, Secs. 2303, 2314, 2315.

County organization to administer relief through mothers' pensions is optional. Counties may appropriate money for the fund through the county commissioners and must duplicate the amount of aid granted by the state. Counties granting mothers' aid under the law have a board of seven women, residents of the county, appointed by the governor. This board is called the "Board of Trustees of the Mothers' Assistance Fund". Supervision is through a state supervisor who is appointed by the governor. The supervisor is on the staff of the department of welfare and reports to the department annually on the work done in the counties through the Assistance act.¹

In matters concerning both child care and mothers' aid the state department has tried to interpret to local communities as well as cooperate with the agencies and institutions supervised. Numerous conferences have been held by department officials and social workers over the state to establish standards for work. The State Department has had numerous pamphlets published

1. Manual of the Mothers' Assistance Fund, 1927,
p. 7, 17, 19.

for distribution among interested agencies and individuals. All such devices help knit state, local, and private workers together and helps create a feeling of joint responsibility. Much stress has of late been placed on what type of home to break up. The individual case is being studied in an effort to give every child as near normal home life as possible. "A mother of four children has a full time job in the home" is being recognized as valid. If a mother is physically and morally able to care for her child poverty alone should not force her to give him over to other care.

The state department also supervises all charitable institutions for children or adults including maternity hospitals and has the power to license boarding homes where more than two children under the age of two years are under paid care. In addition to the annual report from each institution an agent of the board is expected to visit each monthly.

Children placed in Pennsylvania from unlicensed agencies in other states may be returned to the state of their legal residence by the state department if it seems desirable after an examination of their foster homes. ¹

1. Act of the General Assembly, 1929, No. 175, sec. 2310.

The children's bureau of the welfare department is cooperating in the "ten year program for children", launched in 1930, which proposes to determine the problems surrounding the handicapped child and work out an adequate solution for child care in the state.

The department supervises all county and city alms houses, and has access to all records of these institutions, which are required to make an annual report to the state on a provided form. The department also authorizes the payment of state aid on a per diem care basis to stated hospitals. It does not have the authority to pay for the care of the poor or aged in their own homes.¹

Private homes for the aged are supervised by the state welfare department but they are not licensed.

There is still need to concentrate on a "childless almshouse" as well as to raise standards of care given adults in the county homes.

An old age pension would do much to relieve the minds of the aged of the fear and dread of the almshouse. With the constantly lowering age of "scrapped men" and the growing insecurity of savings the state needs to

1. Bedinger, George R., Executive Secretary of the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, letter May 5, 1932.

throw additional protection around the lives of many of her citizens to a much greater extent than Pennsylvania has thus far.

In addition to the inspection of penal and correctional institutions of the state the welfare department has oversight of prison labor. This includes the establishment and maintenance of industries in the institutions where industrial work can be effectively conducted; the regulation of the machinery used; the disposal of the articles manufactured; and the employment of inmates.¹

There is no centralized state control over probation and parole even to the extent of setting up standards. Parole from state institutions lies with the institution, the Parole Board and the Department of Justice.

One of the functions of the Bureau of Mental Health is the prevention of mental disease by offering the services of a psychologist and psychiatric consultant in early stages of a case with a view to securing treatment in the incipient stages of the disease. This is carried

1. Act of the General Assembly No. 175, 1929, sec. 2312.

on through a system of Mental Health clinics which covers nearly the entire state. ¹

The state department also licenses and inspects all homes or institutions keeping insane persons for compensation, or keeping more than one person without compensation.

The state welfare department is expected to enforce the laws relating to the prevention of mental diseases and defectiveness, the admission of patients to hospitals and institutions, and any action with other states concerning the insane, feeble-minded or epileptics. ²

The bureau of Mental Health stresses preventive work and the need for mental examinations together with an intensive effort to discover all facts on each case.

The following excerpt from a bulletin of the Mental Health bureau will illustrate the type of work done.

"The cases of a brother and sister, Joseph and Annie, will illustrate the value of securing every possible bit of information that can be gained. These two children were not very bright, and were great problems in the institution. They could not fit into the discipline of the place, they were dirty, did not soon learn habits of cleanliness, and stole food, money, candy etc., whenever they got a chance. Their psychometric test did reveal borderline intelligence and there were some physical defects, but the explanation of their conduct came largely from information secured from other

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1. Mental Health Clinics--Bulletin 28, Sept. 1930, p. 2.
 2. Act of the General Assembly No. 175, 1921, sec. 2313.

sources than the institution. The institutional record contained the statement that the children had been sent from the County Home, so the County Home was written to. The superintendent of the Home gave some information, and suggested that we write the Director of the Poor who had been interested in sending the children there for temporary care. His letter also contained the statement that the mother was in the Mental Hospital of the County, so the next letter went to the County Hospital. From these three sources we got the following picture of the family: The parents were born in Russia. The mother was a manic-depressive, and had three previous attacks of mental illness before she was committed to the County Hospital. The father had lost both legs in a railroad accident that was his own fault, and walked on knee-pads. He had begged around the city, and had been sent to jail for non-support because he spent his money for 'moonshine' and allowed his wife (insane as she was) to look out for herself and the children. The wife was then sent to the hospital and the children to the County Home, pending admission to the orphanage. The man was later sent to the County Home, but was making every effort to get out as he claimed he could make a better living begging than he got at the County Home.

"It is no wonder that children raised in a home of low foreign standards with an insane mother who could not give them proper care, neglected by the useless father, running wild, destitute part of the time, living by their wits, and obliged to steal almost everything they got, should not conform easily to the high standards and discipline of the institution. These habits had been established in them over a period of years, and it was not to be expected that they could be eradicated in a few months." 1

The attitude of attempting to understand the case and work out a solution is very different from the one

1. Mental Examinations in Institutions for Children,
p. 3, G. F. Willey and Florentine Hackbush.

prevalent not so long ago when children were regarded in mass lots or as "types" and if they did not conform to certain predetermined ways of behaving they were regarded as delinquent, "born contrary" or just dumb.

A state council for the blind formulates the policy and program for the prevention of blindness and the treatment of the blind. This council cooperates with the state and local agencies in putting their proposals into operation.

A 1925 report of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare made the following statement of the policies considered effective in guiding the growth of the department:

"1. Major emphasis should be placed on education of the public, Boards of Trustees, and Superintendents rather than on such police powers as the law might give in the effort to improve standards of scientific work, social service or business management in various fields.

"2. That the principle of 'home rule in welfare work' should be recognized as fundamental and that local responsibility and initiative should be encouraged in all social activities whether conducted by private charity or public officials.

"3. That the Department should so develop its organization that it should be ready at all times and in all places to render expert consulting and advisory service to communities, organizations, and individuals

1. Acts of the General Assembly, No. 175, 1929, sec. 2320.

throughout the State in all matters relating to professional social work or institutional administration.

"4. That in the reinterpretation of the laws under which the Department operates the emphasis should always be placed upon the prevention of the conditions which have created the necessity for public and private welfare activities, namely, the Prevention of Poverty, the Prevention of Delinquency, the Prevention of Crime and the Prevention of Mental Disease and Defect." 1.

The lay board of the Pennsylvania system is only advisory to the Welfare Commissioner who is appointed by and responsible to the governor.

The need for more control by the Welfare Department has been signified by social workers in the state. Authority is decentralized in the Bureau of Restoration by each institution having final authority over its own plant. The same condition prevails in the Department of Assistance and the Department of Children except for Mothers' Assistance. (Counties organized for the granting of Mothers' Aid include about 98% of the state's population). Greater centralization is to be found in the Department of Mental Health.

Recognition of the need for supervision by state authorities of private as well as public institutions is

1. Breckinridge, S. P.--Public Welfare Administration, p. 626.

evinced by the provision for visitation of agencies caring for children and aged persons yet there is no system of Licensing such institutions except certain types of "baby farms" and maternity hospitals.

Framework exists for adequate inspection of most agencies caring for the delinquent, dependent, and mentally handicapped classes but the authority of the State Department is, with few exceptions, advisory only. There are no "teeth" in the law to enable the department to enforce its recommendations.

Political pressure has not been brought to bear on personnel to any marked degree--bureau heads usually are held over from one administration to another. The Secretary of Welfare and the appointed members of the Welfare Commission have four year terms coincident with the governor's . The Secretary can succeed himself. However, there must be a lapse of one term of four years before a governor can be elected again. This causes frequent turnover in appointive personnel and, in some ways, counteracts the good effect of bureau heads etc. being held over.

In the ten years of the department's existence a high type of personnel has been maintained and much valuable cooperation has been secured between the de-

partment and social workers as well as with institutional heads. This, however, has been in spite of rather than because of the short term of office for the Secretary. A greater continuity of work as well as better assurance of continued high type of personnel might be secured through making the Welfare Commission a body, still appointed by the governor, with overlapping terms and give to the Commission the power to appoint the welfare secretary.¹

In connection with the ten year program (1930-1940) the following worthwhile standard for county welfare organization has been suggested.

WHAT EVERY COUNTY NEEDS FOR A PUBLIC WELFARE PROGRAM

1. A Health Program with post- and pre-natal clinics, a clinic for the preschool child, a county health officer, at least one county public health nurse and school nurse.
2. A Board of the Mothers' Assistance Fund giving adequate grants and trained supervision.
3. Adequate relief through Directors of the Poor, administered through qualified public social workers.

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1. Bedinger, George R.--Executive Director of the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania assisted in the evaluation of the system.

Information was also secured through reports and studies of the set-up. See Bibliography.

4. A Childless Almshouse.
5. A Childless Jail.
6. Special Education and Training for the mentally handicapped child through mental clinics and special school classes.
7. Care, Treatment, and Education for the physically handicapped child through diagnostic and treatment clinics; special classes in school and vocational guidance.
8. A School counsellor, or socialized school attendance worker to deal with unadjusted children.
9. Scholarships for promising school children to help them complete high school or vocational training.
10. Probation Service--sufficient and trained, in the Juvenile Court, with a woman worker to supervise girls.
11. A county social worker trained and experienced, having special responsibility for making plans for dependent and neglected children.
12. Recreation, regulated, and year around, for children of both sexes.

NO COUNTY IN PENNSYLVANIA IS SO SMALL IT DOES NOT NEED A FULL TIME MEDICAL OFFICER, A PUBLIC HEALTH NURSE AND A FULL TIME TRAINED SOCIAL WORKER.

Due to lack of coordination and some looseness in supervisory power there are administrative difficulties in the Pennsylvania system. However, it is designed to meet the needs of the individual and the work is carried on from the viewpoint of value in human life. The ten year program for children, in which the State Department has a part, is an attempt to plot out in advance definite tasks to be accomplished. It will, if fully worked out, coordinate child and adult social welfare work and be a big step toward securing for every child a social heritage that is wholesome and healthful. It will help secure for Pennsylvania a machinery for social welfare which is humanized and individualized. Instead of mere manipulation of mass lots of people it will help to insure helpful, constructive, understanding rehabilitation for social maladjusted individuals.

Chapter Eleven

VIRGINIA

Today, as with most states, public welfare in Virginia savours of ancient, medieval and modern. The prototype of the Virginia county is to be found in the English shire. The earliest governmental unit for representation was a group of adjacent plantations. Later the colony was divided into shires and in 1639 the county became the unit of local government and continues to function within limits prescribed by state law although it has no code or constitution apart from the state.¹

The system of poor relief, similar to England's, which for two hundred years formed the background of charitable and correctional work, was established early as were county jails and almshouses. The present vast system of state institutions has grown from the establishment, in 1769, at Williamsberg of a state hospital for the insane (the first institution of its kind in America).²

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1. Hoffer, F. W.--Counties in Transition, p. 10.
 2. James, A. W.--Public Welfare as a Function of Government in Virginia, p. 2.

In some counties that have not taken advantage of the welfare unit now provided by the state the statute of 1634, modeled on the English act of 1601, is still in effect. Obviously, however adequate at the time, it has long since outgrown its usefulness and has been largely abandoned in actual practice. The present welfare unit system provided a constructive, preventive plan of work under the supervision of the state.

One need not search in dust covered history books to discover the type of penal institutions in use in the early days of Virginia but needs only to look to some of the county jails in use today. Virginia, in common with a majority of other states, shows most clearly the hangover of inefficient, unprogressive, unscientific policy in her jails and old county almshouses.¹

Virginia, now one of the leading rural states in her welfare program, was slow to follow the general trend. Local autonomy for institutions and welfare policies held sway until 1908 when the State Board of Charities and Corrections was established. (At this time many other states were passing from supervisory to control boards.)

1. Ibid., p. 12.

In 1922 this board was reorganized into a state Board of Public Welfare. A state wide system of local welfare units, juvenile and domestic relations courts, boards of public welfare, and superintendents¹ of public welfare, was inaugurated.

This act provided for the appointment, by the governor with the confirmation of the General Assembly, of a Commissioner of Public Welfare to hold office for a term equal to the governor's. An Assistant Commissioner to serve at the pleasure of the Commissioner may be appointed by the Commissioner with the approval of the Welfare Board.

In 1928 the term "Board" was changed to "Department."

A Bureau of County and City Organization in the state department promotes the organization of local welfare units and also promotes the cooperation of state and local officials and agencies in more effectively conducting the social welfare work of the state.

The establishment of the Mental Hygiene Bureau represented the culmination of more than a decade of effort on the part of the Public Welfare Board. Ever since

1. Ibid., p. 3.

1915 the establishment of a mental hygiene bureau was specifically advocated by the board in its reports.

This bureau, which has been emphasized in surveys of the state's activities, became expedient with the growth of closer cooperation between the welfare department and the state institutions.

Richmond secured a clinic in 1924 where all children committed to the welfare department by juvenile courts were examined. A state clinic was opened in Richmond in 1929 which took over the examination of children committed to the welfare department.

Functions of the State Welfare Department:

The welfare department is expected to visit all state institutions, except educational, semi-annually and, if requested by the governor, carry out special investigations in these institutions. This visitation is perfunctory unless special investigation is requested.

Aid, through pensions, may be given to mothers with dependent children from county and city treasuries. The 1932 legislature passed a Mother's Aid law in which the

1. Law Manual, p. 111-112.

state will cooperate financially with the local community
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for the support of mothers.

The state public welfare department cooperates with courts and local welfare boards or their agents in matters of investigation, supervision, and record keeping for mothers' pensions.

In the Welfare Department is a Children's Bureau, headed by a director, which conducts the work of the state concerning children.

The Welfare Department is the guardian of all dependent, delinquent, and neglected children committed by the juvenile or domestic relations courts to the department.

The state board licenses and inspects temporary detention homes; agencies receiving, caring for or placing children; and maternity hospitals. The county or city boards of health also approve license applications.

The children's bureau keeps records of children placed for adoption and may find foster homes for state wards.

1. Hoffer, F. W.--School of Sociology, University of Virginia, Letter dated May 2, 1932.

"Owing to the small size of its staff the Children's Bureau is unable to attain the standard of visiting each newly placed child within the month and all children not less than four times a year. The bureau has endeavored so far as possible to visit each child not less than once a year. It recognizes that the amount of supervision it is able to give with its present staff is inadequate for normal children and especially so for delinquent children, many of whom are feeble-minded. The bureau has had, however, invaluable assistance from county welfare superintendents, probation officers, juvenile court judges and others." 1

Child care and Mothers' Aid as supervised in Virginia individualizes the service some but leaves a long way to go before the state will have a thorough check on the actual accomplishments of both public and private aid in the state.

County and city almshouses are visited annually but the welfare department has no administrative power in them. "There are now four district almshouses. County almshouses have been consolidated into district homes in all but twenty counties." 2

A War Service Bureau is organized in the department which gives assistance to veterans and their families through pressing claims for government benefits and disseminating knowledge of legislation concerning them.

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1. State Department of Public Welfare, 1931 Report, p. 14.
 2. Hoffer, F. W.--School of Sociology, University of Virginia, letter dated May 2, 1932.

Two extremes are represented in the dispensation of outdoor poor relief in Virginia. Counties which do not have local welfare boards, for the most part, follow the so called "old" plan of relief. In substance it is the same as the Old English Poor law whose offspring it is. The overseers of the poor have a limited drawing account on the county treasury which is dispersed in small amounts without investigation. Such relief is dispersed as a dole and the recipients are county "paupers". There is no rehabilitation program and no effort to provide social case work officially. Strong indeed is the person who can keep his self respect when driven to accept aid given in such a manner as this!

The other side of the picture represents the "new" method of outdoor relief as given in the counties which have welfare units. All help is given through the county board of public welfare by the public welfare superintendent. Constant investigation, supervision, and revision of the relief list is carried on by this board. In these counties dependent individuals are given aid in amounts sufficient to live not merely to exist. Problems other than financial are given consideration. Every effort is made to reestablish the family or individual on a self supporting basis without loss of status in the community.

The welfare unit represents an advanced idea and an excellent system which is, so far, largely on paper only as organization is permissive. Twenty-one out of one hundred counties have organized welfare units!¹ Part of this slow development is due to lack of education about the system but by far the greater number of unorganized counties remain so because of financial inability to carry out the plan.

"The administration of county welfare work is now in a somewhat chaotic state, though giving promise of betterment in the near future, even under the handicaps of the present organization of county government."²

The state welfare department is endeavoring to secure a regional system of organization to replace the county system and make the plan effective over the entire state. As there is no law prohibiting such organization the Attorney General has ruled for regional units and their organization is now under way.³

In addition to visitation of state penal institutions the board of welfare has virtual control over local

1. Bane, Frank--Former Welfare Commissioner of Virginia.
2. Public Welfare Laws of Virginia--1928, p. 9.
3. Bane, Frank--Former Welfare Commissioner of Virginia.

jails. A number of jails have been closed and others will be within a few years. Through the power of the State Department to transfer prisoners from one jail to another or to other penal institutions, the department has more than supervisory control over the jail.

The welfare department is the only agency in the state for the investigation of penal cases including pardon and parole grants.

The State Board makes recommendations for all probation officers and supervises their work. A Children's Code Commission was appointed in 1920 to make a study of the institutions, agencies, and laws of the state concerning children.

"One of the first matters to which the Children's Code Commission turned its attention...was the children's court. It was found that several hundred, indeed more than a thousand, justices of the peace were handling children's cases with the power to send to jail, commit to the industrial schools, apprentice out, send to almshouses, etc. With such a large number of courts, admittedly untrained in child welfare work as well as in law, it was impossible to maintain connection, establish a system of probation, furnish assistance and supervision or even reach them....

"It was natural that the Commission should turn to a consideration of a special justice of the peace in each county and city for children's cases. The juvenile court was already twenty-five years old in America and ten years old in Richmond when it was provided for all the counties and cities of the State in 1922....

"It should be mentioned that, notwithstanding the great increase in the jail and penitentiary population, the industrial schools have not increased their capacity

in the past decade, and that, based on industrial school costs, the system of placing youthful delinquents in foster-homes and private institutions and agencies under supervision has resulted in the saving of dollars by the hundred thousands as well as in an admittedly superior type of care." 1

All institutions for the care of the feeble-minded and insane are also supervised by the welfare department. Institutions for the feeble-minded are licensed annually.

The state department is supposed to keep a register of all feeble-minded persons in the state in order to help protect their interests and give instruction on the care of feeble-minded individuals to parents of such children that are not dependent on the state. This record is not complete, however.

The plan for mental hygiene, as outlined by the Mental Hygiene Bureau, includes the employment of a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and two psychiatric social workers to travel through the State and work in contact with public health officers and private physicians.

Some recommendations made by the Bureau of Mental Hygiene are:

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1. James, A. W.--Public Welfare as a Function of Government in Virginia, p. 15, 17.

"The Bureau and the entire Department of Public Welfare most earnestly advocate psychopathic hospitals and psychopathic wards in connection with general hospitals.... This would be one of the most advanced steps that could be made in psychiatry and mental hygiene. The University of Virginia medical school has recently taken steps looking to the establishment of such a unit.

"The psychiatric service at the penitentiary, initiated several years ago, should be enlarged so as to have a whole-time psychiatrist and a psychologist, and similar service should be provided at the industrial schools. To this should be added adequate social service. A follow-up system with discharged convicts would undoubtedly help to prevent recurrences of crimes, especially in those having a low mentality. The social history of every convict should be thoroughly studied so as to ascertain his childhood make-up, family and personal background, and study these in relation to his subsequent criminal conduct." 1

This represents an ambitious program for social service and mental hygiene work and one which cannot be realized all at once but Virginia is making headway toward the realization of just such ideals.

While the welfare department in Virginia is not ideal it is far in advance of that of many other states. The work has been individualized to a considerable extent and case work facilities are being extended to as nearly all branches of work as possible with available funds. Outstanding in the progressive trend is the Mental Hygiene program which is being linked with all other branches of social welfare.

1. Drewry, W. F.--A State Mental Hygiene Program, p. 24-25.

The financing of the state welfare program has been "fair" not unduly hampering the work nor yet allowing any unusually rapid push forward. County work has been retarded by financial strain much more¹ than has the state program.

Politics have not influenced the selection of the welfare commissioner in any perceptible degree. Although the Commissioner is appointed by the governor for a term coincident with his there have been but two commissioners since 1908. The Commissioner of the Public Health Department is an out of state man and the last Commissioner of Public Welfare was from out of the state. One reason stability in office tenure is possible with such a system of appointment is² the dominance of one political party in the state.

1. Bane, Frank--Former Commissioner of Public Welfare.
2. Idem.

Chapter Twelve

WISCONSIN

The movement for state boards of charities and corrections, as we have seen, began during the Civil War period and received impetus from problems growing out of the war. By 1899 boards were operating in thirty states. At this time they fell into two groups (1) those having powers of supervision, inspection and recommendation but none of administration or business management, and (2) paid control boards having full responsibility for the management of state institutions.

Four periods may be said to be presented in the Wisconsin history of institutional management. From the establishment of any institutions to 1871 there was a local board of trustees for each institution but no state supervision. In the second period, covering the decade after 1871, the local boards of trustees managed the institutions but under the supervision of a State Board of Charities and Reform which had advisory powers only.

The third period, 1881-1891, was marked by the creation of an additional board, State Board of Su-

pervision of Charitable, Reformatory and Penal Institutions, composed of five paid members having five year terms. The responsibilities of the previous board were divided with the new board. More important, however, than the creation of an additional supervisory board was the abolition of the local boards of trustees for institutions and the introduction of a more simple type of administration. Replacing the local boards of trustees was a single warden or superintendent, directly responsible to the State Board,¹ for each institution.

The earlier local, unpaid boards were appointed by the governor for from three to five years. The creation of the state board of charities and corrections in 1871 was to secure sound principles of economy, justice and humanity, to improve the relationship between the state and its dependent and criminal classes. The board could make suggestions and recommendations but had no real authority to enforce them.

The dual system inaugurated in 1881 caused jealousy and conflict over jurisdiction which eventuated in another development. In 1891 the two boards were abolished

1. Sparling, S. W.--State Boards of Control, Annals of American Academy, Vol. XVII, p. 78-79.

and a State Board of Control was established. In 1895 the number of members was changed from six to five.¹

Reorganization of the board was effected in 1917 and 1919 without altering the general plan of control. The number appointed to the board was reduced to three one of whom must be a woman. The governor, with the consent of the senate, appoints the members who serve for six years at an annual salary of \$5,000. One member is appointed each biennium thus forming a continuous body. The members give their entire time to official duties. They may be removed only for neglect or inefficiency, and, in case of such removal, the governor is required by law to give the member being removed a copy of the charges against him and to allow him an open hearing for defense within ten days.²

The Board of Control appoints the following employees: a secretary who keeps the books, accounts, and records of the board; agents and inspectors for all institutions under the supervision of the board; parole officers; superintendents, physicians, and stewards for the various institutions.³

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1. Ibid., p. 81.
 2. Laws of Wisconsin Relating to Charitable, Curative, Reformatory and Penal Institutions and Agencies, 1927, Ch. 46.03, p. 557.
 3. Ibid., Ch. 46.04, p. 558.

Functions of the State Board of Control:

The State Board of Control has direct business management of all state established or maintained institutions of a charitable or penal nature. The board is expected to visit each at least once a month and annual reports are made to the board by the institutional superintendents.

The supervision over Mothers' Aid is largely nominal. The Board has power of "approval of cases in which all other conditions for granting aid shall be satisfied, but in which the child does not have a legal settlement in the county in which application is made." Supervision is limited largely to gathering statistics from local units as payment of state aid for the care of children in their own homes is dependent on presenting satisfactory evidence to the Board of Control "that the certification of amount is correct and that the aid allowed in such county has been granted in compliance with the Mothers' Aid Law".¹

The State Board of Control licenses associations, corporations, and private institutions which receive

1. Foster, Edith--Executive Secretary, Children's Code Committee, Wisconsin, letter dated April 23, 1932.

more than four children for care for periods of more than seventy-five days in any year. This includes home finding agencies, larger boarding homes for children and baby farms. Maternity hospitals are licensed by the State Board of Health, but licenses are conditioned upon the approval of the State Board of Control.

Foster home permit issuing is directly by the Juvenile department of the State Board of Control in places where there are no licensed welfare agencies.¹

The Juvenile Department is expected to promote the enforcement of all laws for the protection of mentally defective, neglected, dependent and illegitimate as well as delinquent children. This department cooperates with juvenile courts and licensed child welfare agencies both public and private. The Juvenile Department takes the initiative in matters pertaining to such children where adequate provision has not been otherwise made.

The State Public School, as the state orphanage is called, is one of the most constructive institutions of its kind in the United States. A very high type of social service is rendered by this institution which re-

1. Ibid.

Also--Laws of Wisconsin Relating to Charitable, Curative, Reformatory and Penal Institutions and Agencies, 1927, Ch. 53.03-53.04, p. 633.

cognizes the need of community social work and "child planning" not merely "child placing".

"The community must remember that the problem of the dependent, neglected or abandoned child is, after all, a local community affair; the family group has its local residence, it usually remains there whether some of its members are made state wards or not, it goes on functioning as a family; the child returns to a community eventually, often to the original one. The solution and end are not reached by a court commitment....

"The county judge cannot leave the bench and do social work, the county nurse has her own specialized job, the social workers of the State Public School cannot assume the duty of planning and caring for local problems which are not proper subjects for state guardianship; court action which breaks down and unnecessarily separates families leaves scars on children which can never be healed. The local community must face its own problem or face the results of its own negligence and improper functioning." 1

County social work is thus stressed by the State School and every effort possible is made to prevent unnecessary home breaking which puts children in the orphanage.

Supervision of poor relief is, as in most states, inadequate. Aid is largely distributed on a local basis with a somewhat cursory annual inspection of public poor farms by the state. Old Age Pensions, of which the state

1. Nineteenth Biennial Report of the State Board of Control, p. 420.

reimburses one third, may be granted by county boards of commissioners. After January 1, 1933 this pension system will be compulsory. The Board of Control supervises this through the approval of county warrants for state aid.

Through the appointment of prison wardens the Board of Control has administrative control of all penal and reformatory institutions of the state.¹

The Board of Control supervises the binder twine industry at the state prison and may conduct industries in the other penal institutions as it sees fit. It also has charge of the leasing of convict labor and the maintenance of vocational instruction at the reformatory at Green Bay and at the industrial home for women at Tac-butah.

Local jails, prisons, houses of correction, work-houses, and places of temporary detention of persons convicted or awaiting trial are visited and inspected by the Board.

The Juvenile Department, with a director as head, was established to exercise the powers and duties delegated by law to the State Board of Control as the

1. Ibid., Ch. 57.02, p. 628.

direct charge of the education, reformation and protection of dependent, neglected, mentally defective,¹ or delinquent children. This department has functioned largely through cooperation with institutions and agencies charged with the care of these children. The purpose of the Juvenile Department is perhaps best given through an extract from the report of the director in 1928.

"As the Juvenile Department has studied the children of Wisconsin, it has perhaps realized more keenly than any other social agency, how little has been done to make the children free, and as a result, it realizes how society is suffering today and will have to suffer in years to come because of the many stunted, dwarfed, crippled lives. A child to be plastic and free should have a happy home, parents intelligently interested in character training, an opportunity for vocational and cultural education suited to his individual needs, an opportunity for play, for work, for health, for moral and spiritual training, for companionship, and above all--an opportunity to be understood. If the child's own relatives cannot give him these opportunities, society must. Therefore, this is a family, community, and State responsibility. The Juvenile Department's interest has been with these children where either or both the family or the community has failed."²

Adult probation and Parole work, outside Milwaukee county, is carried on directly by the Board of Control which makes the rules governing probation and parole

1. Ibid., 46.04, p. 558.
2. 19th Biennial Report of the State Board of Control, p. 120, Juvenile Department Report--Elizabeth Xerxa.

and standardizes policies through the state. Milwaukee county has its own adult probation department established under county civil service.

Probation service in Wisconsin has been superior to that of many states largely because the probation officers have to pass a rigid examination to secure office thus insuring a group of trained workers. A very effective examination has been worked out which covers academic training, experience, and personality qualifications for the position. Appointment is made from the three applicants ranking highest on the examination. Adequate social case work for all parolees is the ideal of the Board.

Wisconsin has three state hospitals for the insane which are operated by the Board of Control. Milwaukee county has both a hospital for the care of mental diseases and an institution for the chronic insane.

Epileptics and feeble-minded are cared for at two colonies and training schools administered by the State Board.

Mental Hygiene work is directed by the board of control through Psychiatric Field Service. At the present this service consists mainly in the examination of

inmates of penal and correctional institutions with recommendations for removal to institutions for the insane and feeble-minded.

The Board of Control also manages the institutional care of the blind and deaf. A state agency has been established to look after the interests of the blind not in institutions.¹ The Work of this agency is divided into the following activities: keeping a census of the blind, home teaching of the blind, purchasing raw materials and selling the finished product for the blind, finding employment for them, assisting the blind and county boards in county adjustings.²

The division of home teaching has done much to help reestablish older blind people in some form of remunerative work. Learning to read Braille means more to many shut ins than can be appreciated by one who is not thus handicapped.

Although, as has been seen, the Wisconsin welfare program contains many advance steps, there are also certain weaknesses.

Supervision, with the power to enforce recommendations, has not been provided for private and public in-

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1. Laws of Wisconsin Relating to the Charitable, Curative, Reformatory and Penal Institutions and Agencies, 1927, Ch. 47, p. 571.
 2. 19th Biennial Report of the State Board of Control, p. 395.

stitutions caring for all classes of dependents (such as licensing or inspecting homes for the aged).

In common with most states effective work has been thwarted because appropriations for institutional care have been inadequate. This lack of financial support has not been due to any one political party but rather to the cry of taxpayers irrespective of the party in power.

One of the strongest features of the program is seen in the Civil Service appointment of department employees. This protects the personnel of the department, including the director of the Juvenile Department, from political overriding.

Miss Edith Foster, Executive secretary of the Children's Code Committee, expressed her desire for future public welfare developments as follows: "Personally, I should like to see state service developed in the various recognized fields of public welfare, allowing the divisions to be determined by welfare problems rather than by institutional activities. In other words, I should like to see state service in the field of mental hygiene, corrections, family welfare, children's work,

probation, etc. As local services developed in these various fields they should be related to the state service in a plan of full cooperation."

Wisconsin recognizes many problems inherent in a sparsely settled, rural state and has taken steps to meet them. Regional planning affords many opportunities to coordinate the work of local and state officials as well as giving opportunity, under the direction of well trained workers, for interpretation of social welfare standards to the local communities.

Miss Foster also offered valuable comments on the evaluation of the welfare system as it is now functioning in the state.

Chapter Thirteen

CONCLUSION

Perhaps it would be well to pause and take stock of the situation in broad terms as an assurance that in examining the trees we have not lost sight of the forest. In tracing the development of welfare work in the United States several stages are perceptible in administrative technique. Variations are seen in each stage just as some states may now be found representing not only every stage but almost every variation that has been used.

In general the steps, since supervision began, have been three:

1. 1870-1900--Separate boards of administration for each state institution with general supervision by an unpaid, non partisan state board of charities.
2. 1900-1917--State Boards of Control, administrative and executive control of state institutions by a small, salaried board.

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1. National Conference of Social Work, Proceedings, 1929, p. 524, Brown, J.A.--Organization of State Welfare Departments. As defined at this social work conference the third step in development has been the bureau or federal system as originated in Illinois. This type of organization involves man-

of public charities and corrections by one person who is appointed by the governor and is a member of his cabinet.

However, the departmental plan which may or may not be a bureau system seems to be a more general and inclusive term for describing the prevailing trends.

3. 1917 or 1920-----Welfare Departments co-ordinating and giving a broad perspective to the social welfare work of the state, constantly embracing a wider scope of activity.

Throughout the development of the work much controversy has ensued over which state system is most efficient, advisory or control (administrative), and over what should constitute the scope of the work.

At times the controversy seems almost to assume the proportions of a pitched battle with each side shooting argument for argument, as interested, if not more so, in breaking the other camp's balloon as in finding facts to determine the effectiveness of the respective welfare systems as measured by the way in which they were meeting the social problems.

About the middle of the first period, around 1880, much was written extolling the merits of the supervisory board. Utopian conceptions of the duties which the board was to perform were wide spread. Prestige in the community and with the executive heads of institutions was relied on for power.

The following is a typical example of the "proper functions of the Board of State Charities" which had advisory power only and too often lacked both power and prestige to enforce recommendations.

"The highest service of Boards of State Charities and Corrections consists in bringing, on the one hand, to legislatures, and on the other, to boards of trustees, the best knowledge--the fruit of the largest and ripest experience touching the care of dependent, delinquent, and criminal classes....It is the special function of Boards of State Charities and Corrections to furnish this needed information and guidance." 1

The Advisory Board did mark an initial step in a great movement forward. Attention was at first centered almost wholly on State institutional management. Gradually it spread to cover local institutions, then to non institutional policies. Almost any kind of supervision was an improvement over the complete freedom from accountability previously enjoyed by charitable and penal institutions. In truth, much very important work was accomplished by these early boards. Many boards were composed of men of high intellect, broad views, clear insight, and keen judgment. Their keen knowledge of what was happening in institutions, as well as their ability to work with men, led to a molding of public opinion in

1. Quoted by Breckinridge, S. P.--Public Welfare Administration, p. 368, from G. I. Chase--1882.

favor of right treatment, until pressure from the outside forced the recommendations of the board to be considered. The personnel of the board largely determined the type of work which was done, and, after all, the operation of any system depends in great part on the human element involved.

During this initial period of supervision much "clean up" work was done in institutions. When the knowledge was vigorously enough impressed on the public that inmates of state institutions were dying from lack of food or from unsanitary living quarters public opinion became aroused and action began. This movement to improve the physical surroundings in institutions has since spread somewhat to local institutions of a public nature although standards have not been raised as high as for state institutions.

Sentiment began to grow in favor of a small, central control board or board of administration for all state institutions, and, about 1900 this type of agency began to be provided.

Being such a radical departure from the advisory plan, the adoption of the control boards led to controversy, with renewed vigor, over the merits of the respective systems.

The arguments advanced pro and con at the National Conference of Social Work in 1902 give the kernel of the feeling at the time.

Arguments for the Board of Control:

1. Economy.
2. Increased efficiency in administration.
(full time job for administrators.)
3. Unity of system in the management of institutions.
4. Facilitates the adoption of the merit system.
5. Gets away from local trustees exploiting institutions for local gain.
6. In line of change taking place in private business.

Arguments against a Control Board:

1. Political power--too much expenditure and patronage in the hands of a few.
2. Membership would tend to become a political prize.
3. Peril to republican government and popular freedom lies in the direction of centralization.
4. A paid board must administer to earn its money. Tends to take power from local superintendents and causes hiring inferior superintendents that can be controlled.
5. Objects and methods in different state institutions are dissimilar in detail in spite of general resemblance. It is better to have separate trustees interested in special problems.
6. The establishment of a central board of control cannot be effected without the abolition

of the central supervisory board and local trustees. The injury done to the entire system exceeds any good done. 1

In the light of subsequent development we see the weakness of some of the arguments on both sides of the issue. The economy cry in favor of central boards coupled with the business trend movement has been bitterly assailed as putting money ahead of social welfare. State institutions are not money-making institutions. Although they should be efficiently and economically managed, the well-being of the inmates is infinitely more to be considered than a saving in dollars and cents.

Exploitation by local trustees has been avoided in other ways than by the control board, most effectively perhaps by appointing trustees over a state wide area rather than in the immediate vicinity of the institution and by making all supply purchasing subject to open bids.

Political power, stated in various ways, seems to be the chief fear of control boards. Experience in Minnesota and Wisconsin seems to bear out the proposition that control boards need not become tools of partisan politics if certain precautions are taken such as civil service examinations, bi partisan boards, and overlapping terms of office for the board members.

1. Breckinridge, S. P.--Public Welfare Administration, p. 377.

An efficient institutional superintendent is important because details of management do differ widely from institution to institution. Much may be said however, in favor of the fact that a full time board, skilled in general methods of management might be as able to advise institutional heads as unpaid boards of trustees who, at best, can devote but a fraction of their time to a study of the work.

The point most stressed by the opposition to the establishment of a central administrative board has been the abolition of supervisory boards. The opinion has been repeatedly expressed that the same group cannot administer and supervise.

This fact seems to have merited recognition because few states have control boards without provision for supervision also at the present time. (Kansas, Minnesota, and Wisconsin in the group studied.)

Odum has expressed current feeling on the merit of supervision as follows:

"In states where the central board (commonly called a board of charities) is a supervisory board, and the administration of the state institutions is confined to individual boards of trustees or managers, the system adopted secures the benefits both of responsibility in the discharge of executive functions and also of independent inspection, criticism and suggestion. In states where the central board is a board of control, the administration of the state institutions may be equally good,

or it may be worse or better; but there is no adequate supervision of their methods and results. In other words the loss is certain, but the gain is problematical....It is natural...that an executive board which believes itself to be doing all that can or ought to be done, with the means and facilities at its disposal, should be indifferent to public opinion or sensitive to criticism of its methods by the community. But a supervisory board, whose function is criticism, welcomes and stimulates the closest inspection of public and private charities by the public at large, feeling that in such inspection it receives moral support of inestimable value to the state." 1

The feeling that supervision, of an enforceable nature, is necessary and in many points superior to state administrative control seems to be the prevailing trend of thought.

The present tendency is for the department of public welfare to embrace an ever widening field of preventive as well as remedial work. With the widening scope of development has grown the principle of centralizing the planning program and broad aspects of policy making in the state department while decentralizing the administrative functions of social welfare, in so far as practicable, in the smaller units of government. ² Also, in the growing conception of welfare work, has come the realization of the need for supervision of private as well as public agencies.

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1. Odum & Willard--Systems of Public Welfare, p. 22-24.
 2. Kelso, R. W.--The Science of Public Welfare, p. 133.

The trend, as has been stated, is toward more and enforceable supervision rather than toward greater administrative control in the state department.

The following safeguards have proved effective against making political footballs of welfare departments. No one state uses all of these plans for protection and combinations vary.

1. Long terms of office with overlapping terms for board members. This prevents the appointment by one governor of an entire board--at least at one time.

2. Requiring the board to be bi-partisan.

3. Appointment of the commissioner or director of welfare by the board as in New Jersey. Since the appointing board is a continuous body there seems less likelihood of political favoritism than when the governor alone appoints although the appointment is confirmed by the governor.

4. Freedom to chose a non resident individual as director. This leads to the selection of a person of outstanding ability in social welfare work and there is less likelihood of removal on political grounds.

5. Civil service requirements with examinations especially adapted to social welfare service.

6. Aggressive public opinion which will not warrant interference from political groups although other protective devices are not present.

Certain other plans apparently have led to political interference and instability of tenure. The appointment of the commissioner and welfare commission by the governor for a term coincident with his as in Illinois has led to constant change in personnel. Virginia has employed the same plan, for commissioner only, without the resulting shift in personnel largely because Virginia is a one party state.

Appointment of a director for a definite length term (four or five years) and prohibiting him from succeeding himself also keep prominent, well qualified persons from seeking the position.

One of the outstanding difficulties in the development of a state welfare program has always been the relation of the state department to local units of government. Most recent developments preserve the local unit, both institutional and departmental, as a complete administrative mechanism. County welfare departments are being organized in an attempt to define the position of the local unit in relation to the larger whole and general interests. State field representatives work through the county unit to interpret to the public the whole social welfare program and to educate the public to an acceptance of a progressive program of work.

Hoffer's summary of the services which the state department may render local welfare systems seems aptly put.

"The State Department may well be responsible for service to the counties in the following ways: (1) educate the county to realize the existence of serious local problems in its midst, and the value of skilled service in dealing with them; (2) guide the organization of the local county work so that the program planned will meet the primary needs of the county concerned; (3) help find a worker whose qualifications are especially suited to the character of the program needed and to the people served; (4) supervise the work so that the relationship between the State and county agencies will be so sympathetic that the county agency will welcome new policies and facilities needed to carry out an enlarging and expanding State program....

"Public administration, in the last analysis, must respond to the thoughts and beliefs of the majority, or suffer extinction. The agency which has the highest standard of service has the least to fear from State interference, because of the intrinsic merits of the work it does and because that merit is usually well known." 1

What constitutes an adequate welfare program? That is a question which can never be answered for any length of time but an answer may be couched in tentative terms of what "seems adequate for here and now".

Adequacy must always be measured by the degree to which a social welfare program solves the problems of adjustment for the individual. If the method of treatment increases suffering it is not adequate. Methods

1. Hoffer, F. W.--Counties in Transition, p. 239.

efficient in an age of domestic industry are not applicable to the present machine age. The measure of efficiency must always be in the application.

Although every state may justly be said to have its own social problems there are certain aspects of these problems which seem common to all. Out of the common experiences of the states studied we find the following aspects emerging as typical which seem to have made for the advanced character of their organization. These items seem worthy of careful consideration by any state attempting to set up machinery through which to channel an effective social welfare program.

1. A State Welfare Department consisting of the supervisory board, the welfare commissioner, bureau and

1. In a state like Kansas a new structure would need to be as devoid of cumbersomeness as possible in order to prevent a framework that would hamper its early functioning and interpretation to the people. Division into bureaus may come as a natural growth in a state with a large population and complicated problems, especially problems of an industrial nature, while in a more thinly populated rural state the need for such subdivision may not be felt.

It would be undesirable to take over bodily the welfare machinery of any other state for Kansas. However, it would be profitable to examine closely the experiences of other states and, in the light of the present stage of development, the state of public opinion, and availability of leaders to work out a system adapted to the unique situations in Kansas as well as embodying some of the typical aspects of other systems.

division heads (the work of bureau or division heads may be taken care of by the department head or welfare board in states with less complicated problems.) Since social welfare jobs have so long been political plums, certain safeguards must be erected to help retain the spirit of the advance movement.^{1.}

2. Supervision of State Institutions--charitable, penal, and those for mental patients. New Jersey, Minnesota, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Kansas have administrative control of state institutions by the state board. Massachusetts and Virginia have effective supervisory power.

3. A Mental Hygiene Program: The employment of state psychiatrists, psychologists and psychiatric social workers is a part of this plan. Traveling mental clinics provide unusual services for rural areas. (See Virginia, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Massachusetts for variations of this plan.)

4. A Child Welfare Program:

a--Institutional care.

b--Foster home placement.

c--Licensing children's boarding homes and placing agencies.

1. See page 166 for safeguards which are now being used effectively.

d--Preventive program for delinquency.

It is recognized that for some children institutional care will continue to be desirable. Certain types of cripples, mental or physical, or families of children that cannot well be placed in one home may need institutional care. For such cases institutional planning is receiving increased attention.

Massachusetts has proved the possibility of foster home placement for a large proportion of cases. In foster home placement the availability of trained social workers to select homes where personality adjustment seems most probable is important.

Licensing children's boarding homes and placing agencies is effective only if the licensing department has authority to close unlicensed homes and agencies.

Improved systems of probation and parole are two important constructive measures in treating delinquency. High requirements of training for officers and a case load that can be handled are essentials.

Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Indiana, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania have taken advance steps in solving various phases of this problem.

5. Supervision of Local Charitable and Penal Institutions: This may be accomplished through state agents or through local welfare boards acting in cooperation with

the state department as in Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Massachusetts or the State Board may do the actual supervisory work as in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois. Local penal institutions in Virginia are virtually controlled by the state department through the power to move and transfer prisoners.

6. Supervision of local out door relief:

a--Mothers' Aid: The state department in Massachusetts has active supervision including case work service on mothers' aid cases which present unusual problems. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York also have state supervision as well as state aid for Mothers' Pension.

b--Old Age Pensions: New Jersey has a county welfare board exclusively for the administration of old age pensions. Wisconsin and New York also have compulsory old age pensions with supervision.

7. Supervision of private agencies for the care of:

a--Children, see New York, Wisconsin, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts.

b--Aged as in Massachusetts. (Pennsylvania has supervision but does not license private homes).

c--Insane, see Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois, and Massachusetts.

Items six and seven are still scarcely prevalent enough to be called typical but the trend seems in their direction in all newer formulations of state programs.

Additional typical elements of state programs which are applicable in general to the above divisions of work are:

1. The State Board Supervisory. "Supervisory Control" in place of administration by the state department is in accord with the tendency to centralize policy formation and decentralize business administration.

2. Power to enforce supervision. The law must have "teeth" if the system is to function. This is especially true in supervision of local and private institutions and agencies. The state department should not have to depend on voluntary cooperation from county courts or other agencies to enforce its recommendations but should have sufficient police power to enforce its own decisions.

3. Inclusiveness of scope. Both preventive and remedial work should be planned. Provision is necessary for interpretive work to the citizens in the attempt to create public opinion favorable to constructive welfare work. Private as well as public agencies should be included in the supervision. The state department may

serve as a laboratory for discovering advanced ideas and methods in welfare work.

4. County or regional welfare boards should be included in the state system. These local units need to be over an area large enough to finance a well trained staff. Administrative work for local institutions and agencies may be by the local boards supervised by the state department.

5. Definition of the relationship between state and local departments should constitute a definite function of the state department. This usually embodies an interpretation of the work of each division by the division itself.

Until the last few years the welfare systems of the United States, like Topsy, "just grew". There was little effort to predetermine future needs in order to build a flexible, adaptable system. Additions were made as some sort of supervision became imperative, usually with reference to state institutions. Attempts to coordinate the program or relate it to local units were accepted half heartedly or ignored. The program was seen as involving individual problems and remedies, not in broad perspective as a device to unify and coordinate the work.

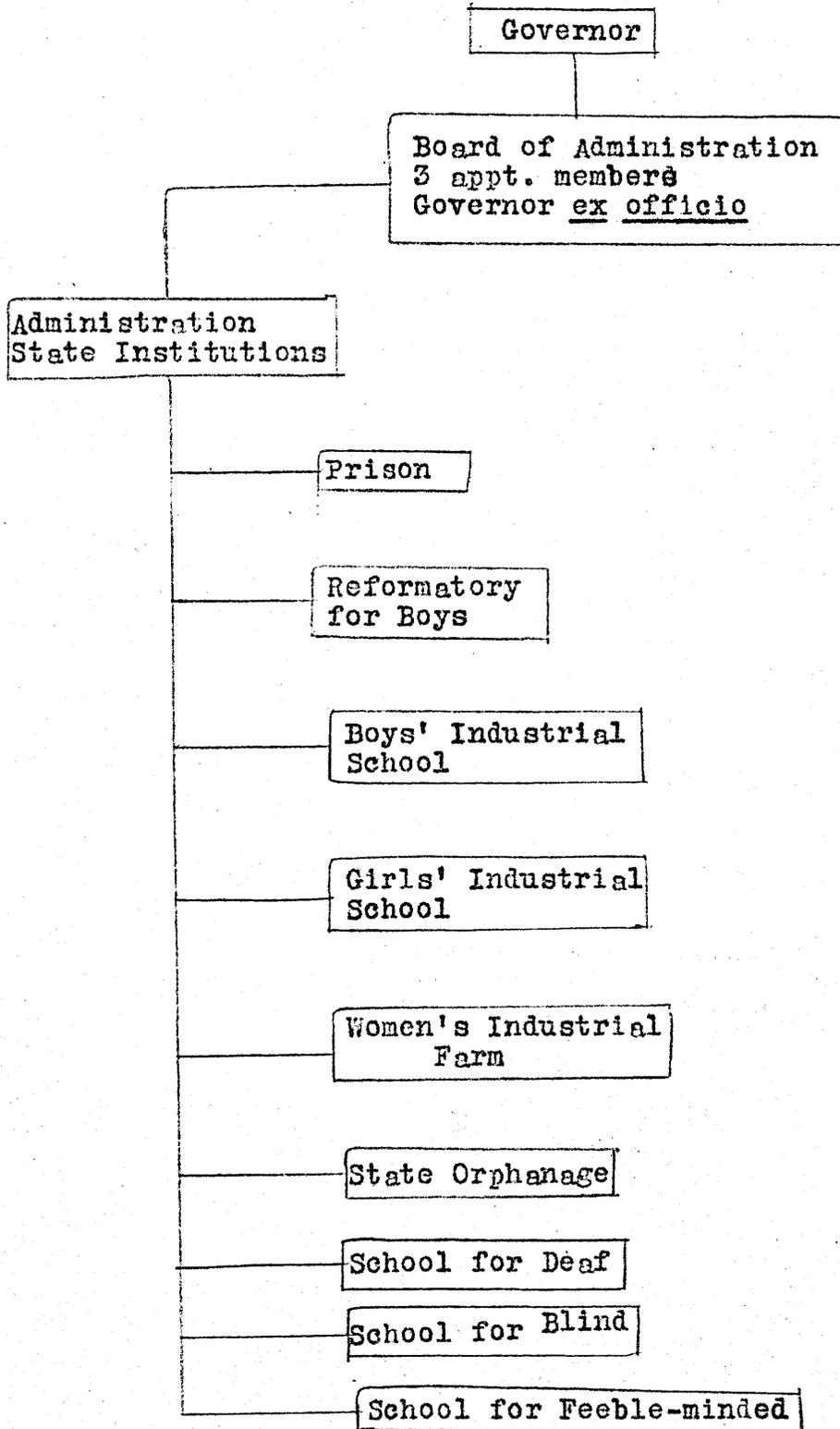
Recent developments have come about, however, as a result of conscious effort on the part of socially minded lay individuals and of leaders in the fields of public and private social welfare work. They have essayed to determine the problems, to study the successes and failures of other states and to plan systems flexible enough to meet future needs.

Effort is constantly being made to adopt accepted methods of case work more fully into public welfare departments. The task of social work is being defined more and more as one of adjustment for the individual to his social milieu. The role of the state department in the field of social work is to supervise, to develop new ideas, and, to see that each branch of social work is rendering the best possible service to the people it reaches. The final success of the welfare program lies in the success it has in preventing social unadjustment and in redirecting the unadjusted individuals in the state.

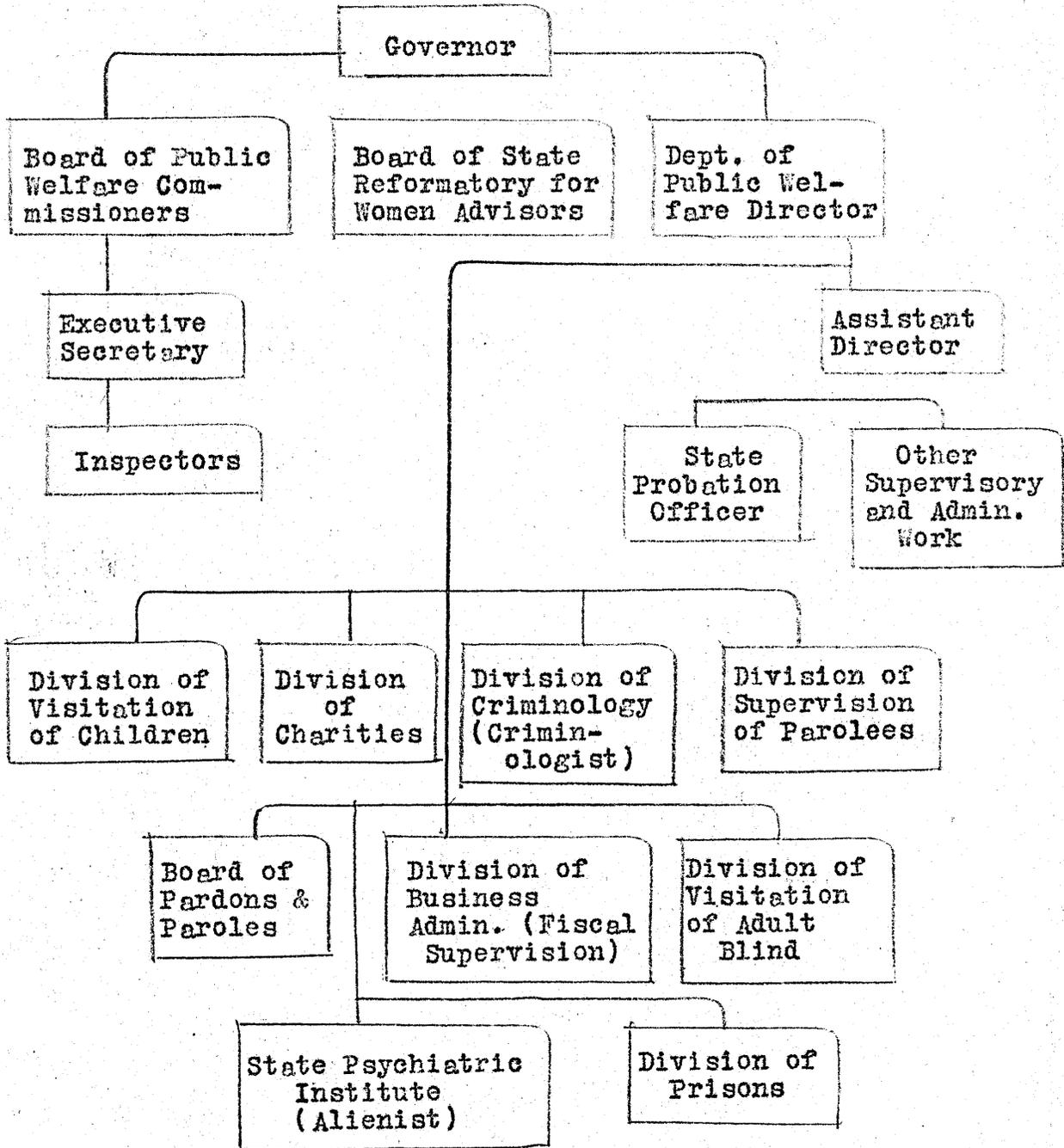
APPENDIX I

A series of charts showing in diagramatic form the organization of the various state welfare systems.

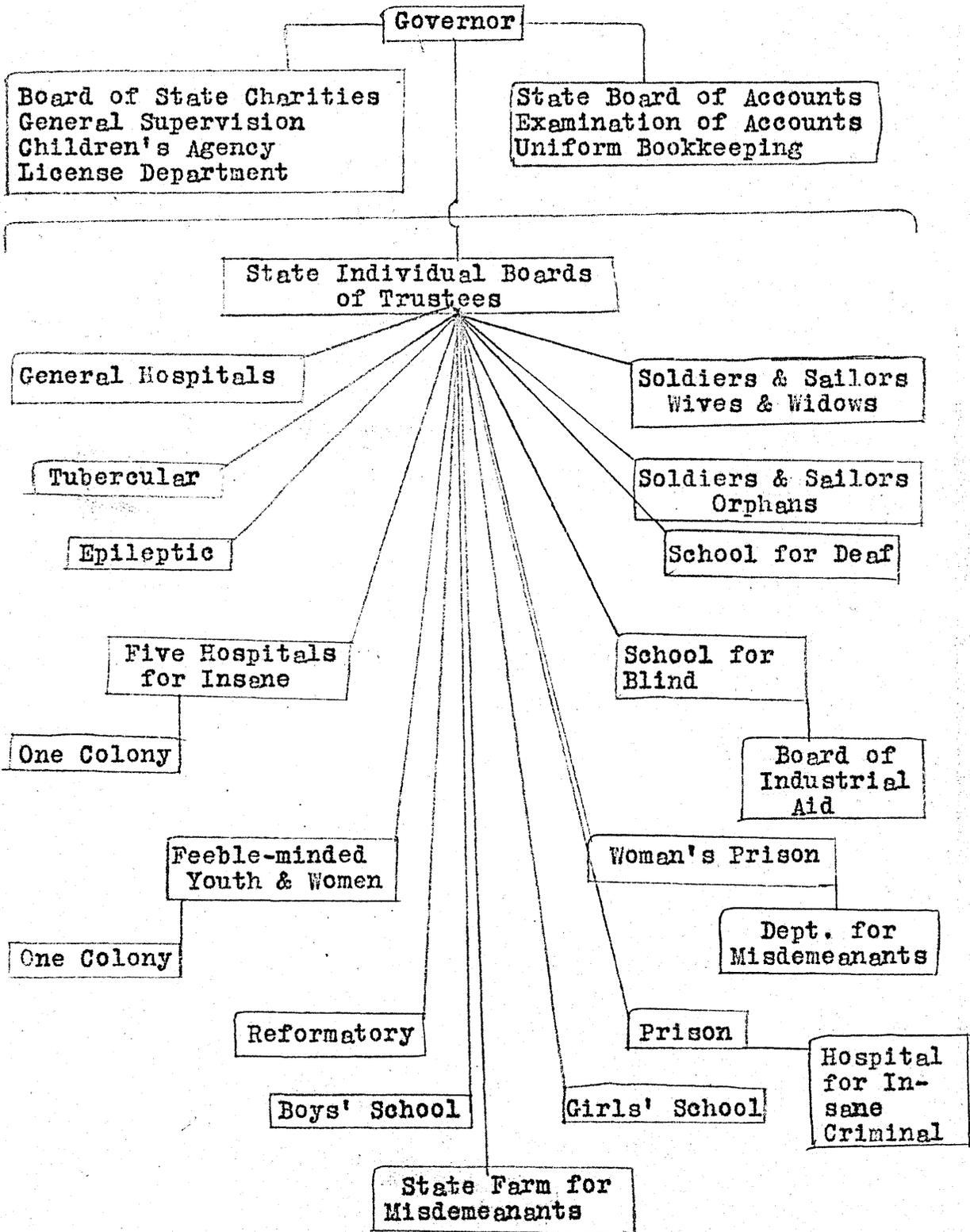
KANSAS BOARD OF ADMINISTRATION



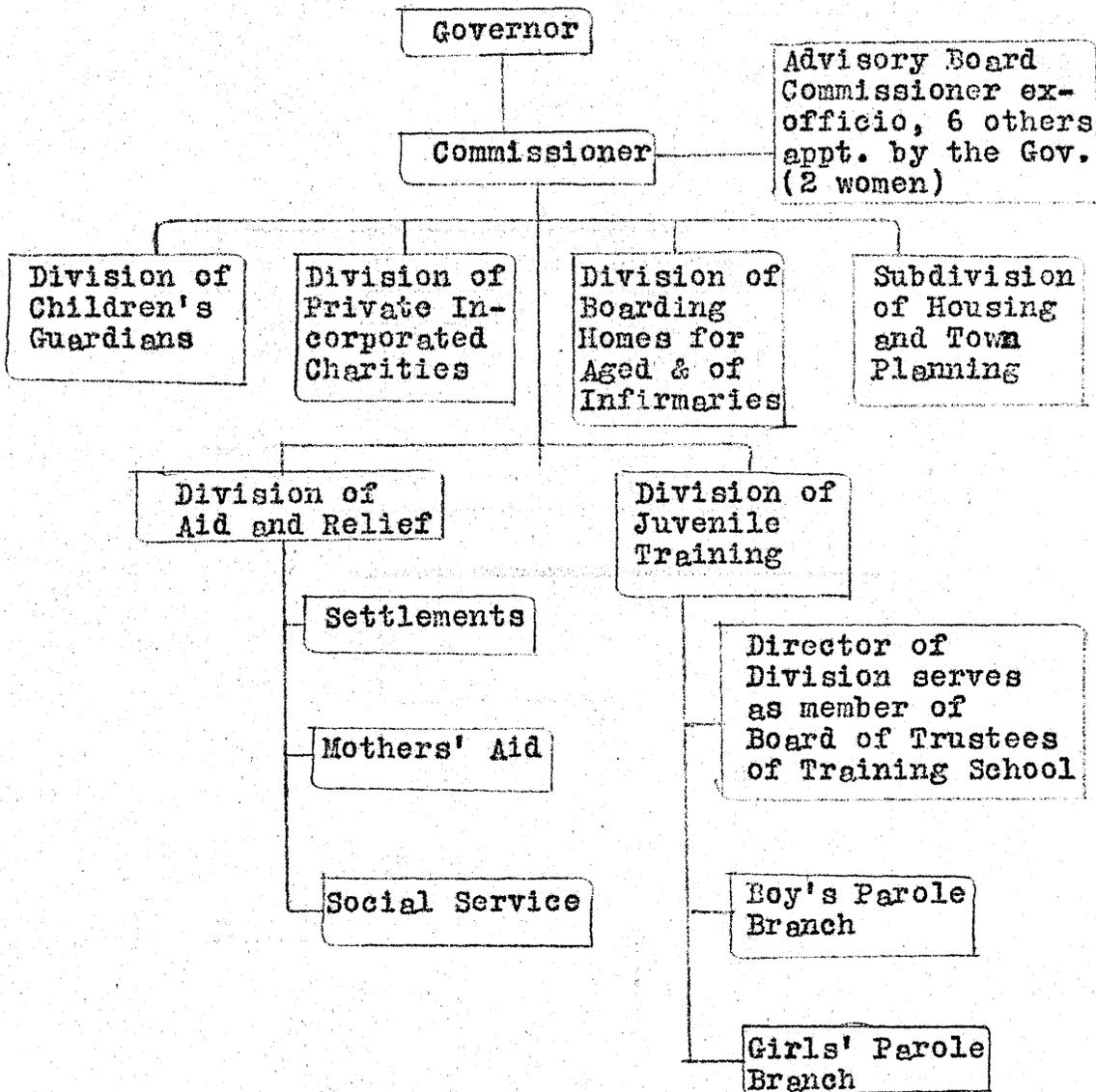
ILLINOIS DEPARTMENT OF
PUBLIC WELFARE



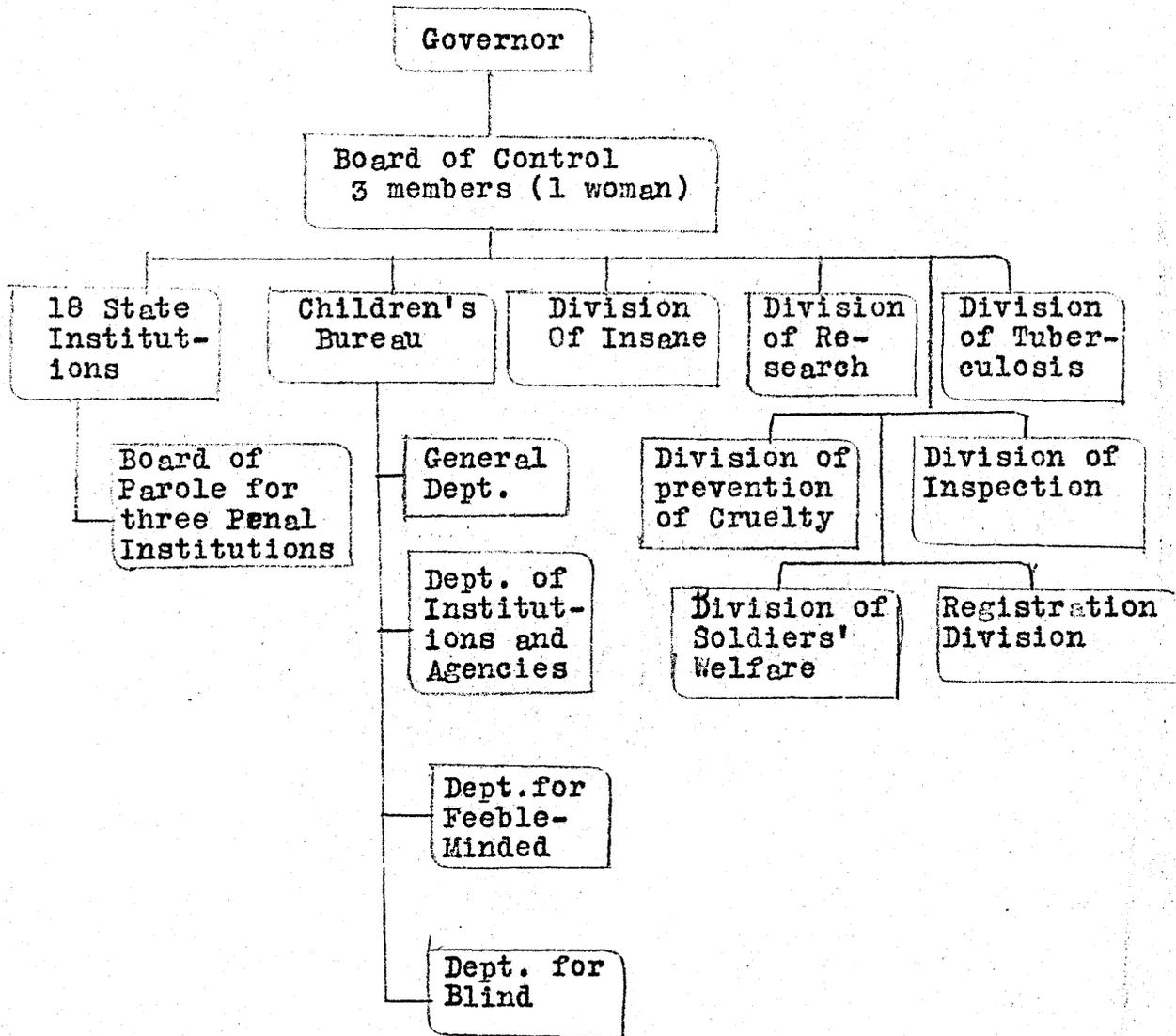
INDIANA STATE BOARD OF CHARITIES



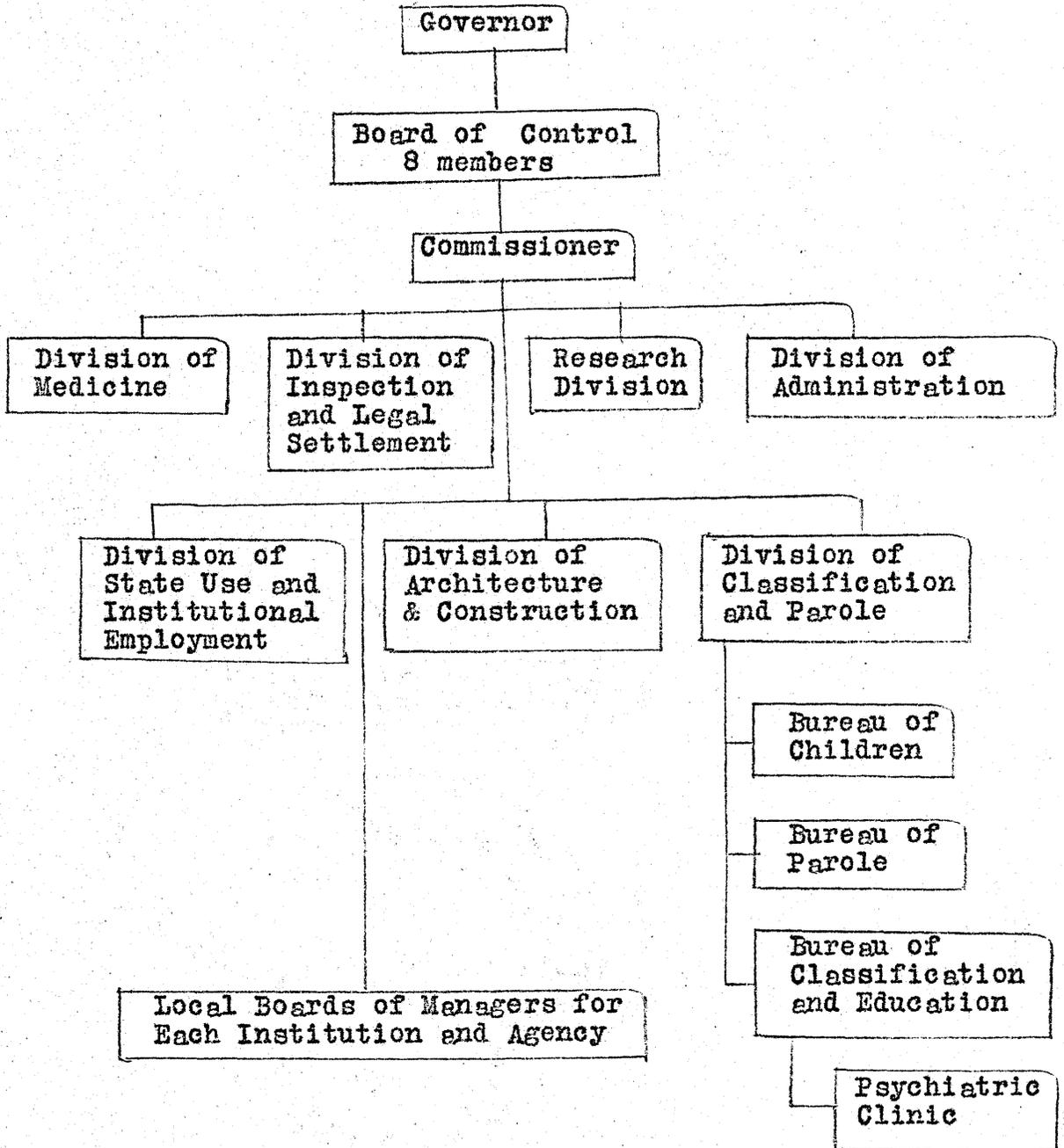
MASSACHUSETTS DEPARTMENT OF
PUBLIC WELFARE



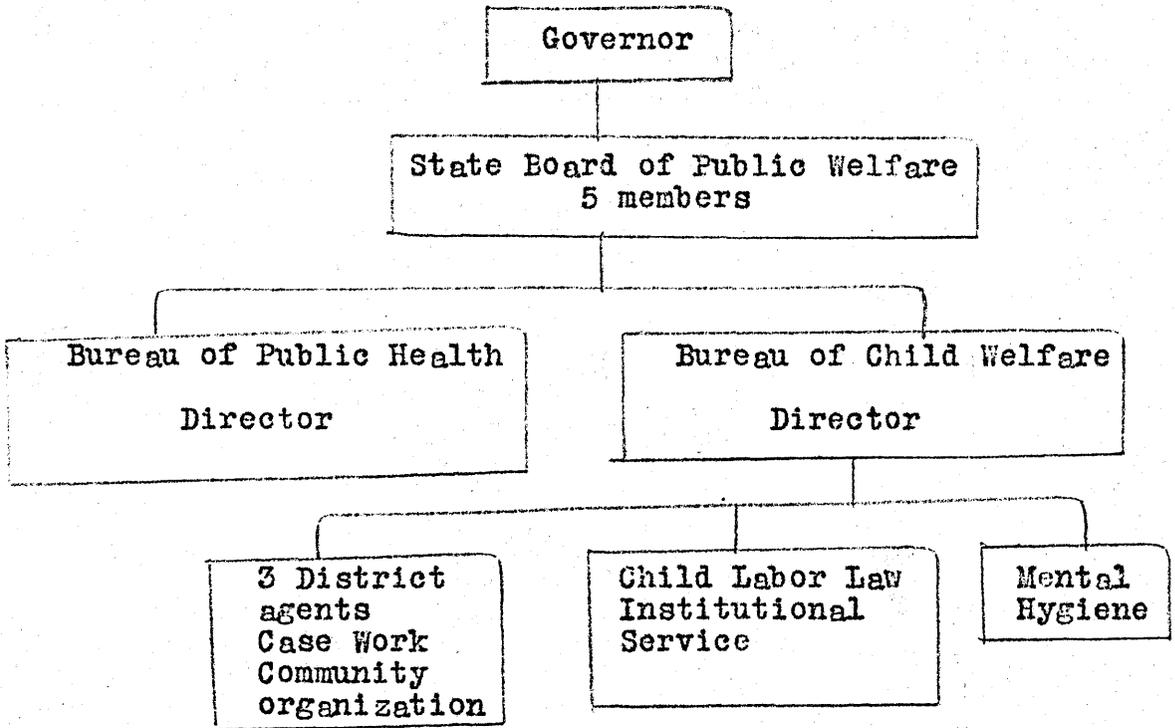
MINNESOTA DEPARTMENT OF
PUBLIC WELFARE



NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF
INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES



NEW MEXICO DEPARTMENT OF
PUBLIC WELFARE



NEW YORK DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL WELFARE

State Board of Social Welfare
12 members, one from each of
9 judicial districts and 3 from
New York City.

Secretary

Commissioner

Div. of
Child
Welfare

Div. of
Medical
Care

Div. of
State
Aid

Div. of
Admin. of
State In-
stitutions

Div. of
Old Age
Security

Div. of
General
Admin.
directly
under the
Commis-
sioner

Bureau of
Boards of
Child Wel-
fare

Bureau of
Dependent
Adults

Bureau of
Foster
Homes

Bureau of
Home
Relief

Bureau of
Research

Bureau of
Office
Admin.

N. Y.
Office

Buffalo
Office

Commis-
sioner
for
the Blind

(Each Division has an Assistant Commissioner)

PENNSYLVANIA DEPARTMENT OF
PUBLIC WELFARE

Governor

Secretary of Welfare
and Deputy Secretary

State Welfare Commission. Secretary of
Welfare and 8 others.
An Advisory Board

Bureau of
Children

Bureau of
Assistance

Staff
Officers
for State
Institutions

Bureau of
Accounting

Bureau of
Mental
Health

Mothers'
Assistance
Section

Orthopedic
Section

Medical &
Surgical

Correctional

Mental Diseases

Mental Defectives

Epileptics

Penal

Council for
the Blind

Bureau of
Restoration

Prison
Labor
Section

VIRGINIA DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

GOVERNOR

Commissioner of
Public Welfare

Board of Public Welfare
appointed by Gov., 5 mem-
bers with overlapping
terms-Advisory Board
Visitorial & supervisory
powers, statutory author-
ity to conduct investiga-
tions.

State Prison
Board appt. by
Gov. Commissioner
a member

Board for State
Hospitals for
Insane. Appt. by
Governor, Commis-
sioner a member

Industrial School
Board
Indust. School
Board for
Colored Children
2 boards appt.
by Gov., Commis-
sioner a member

Administrative
Department

Commission for
Blind--Commis-
sioner a member

Bureau of Finance & Statistics

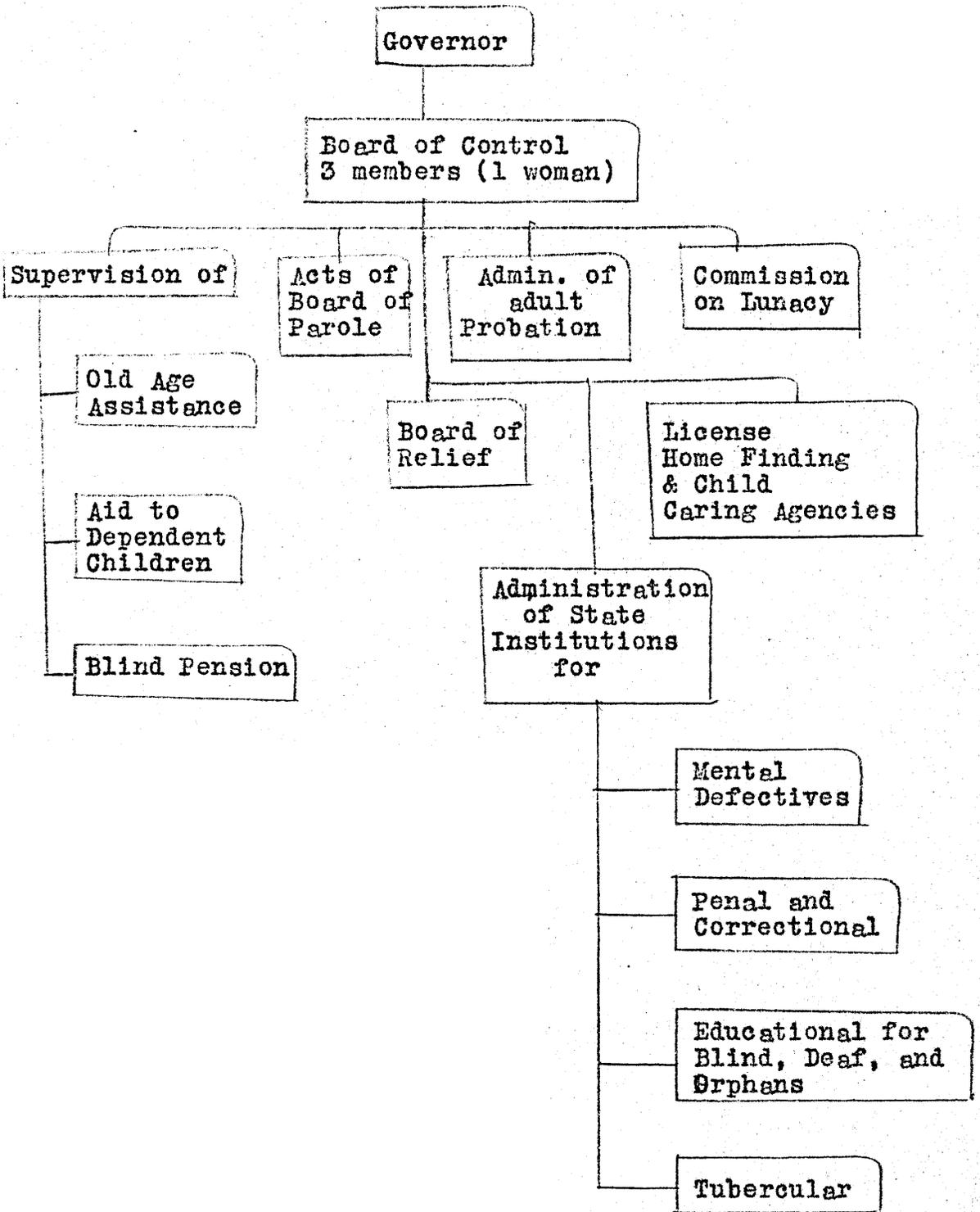
County & City Organization

Children's Bureau

Mental Hygiene Bureau

War Service Bureau

WISCONSIN STATE BOARD OF CONTROL



APPENDIX II

In the envelope pasted in the back cover will be found a comparative chart giving a "thumb nail" sketch of the functions of the different state welfare departments.

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PRESENT SYSTEM STATES	TYPE OF SET UP	RELATIONSHIP WITH LOCAL UNITS	D W I E S	STATE INSTITUTIONS	MOTHERS' AID	CHILD WELFARE (Exclusive of Mother Aid)	POOR AND OLD AGE RELIEF	PENAL AND CORRECTIONAL SUPERVISION	MENTALLY HANDICAPPED MENTAL HYGIENE	BLIND DEAF DUMB
Illinois	Pub. Welfare Dept., Director appt. by Gov. Advisory Commission, 5 mem. Div. of Visitation of children	Supervision of county almshouses and jails		Direct responsibility for admin. except purchasing of supplies and construction work	Administrative supervision by the state board	Admin. loc through county State bd. visits & inspects child caring & placing institutions and agencies	Local admin. thru county almshouse visitation by state board	Director of pub welfare directly responsible for admin. of state institutions. Parole Bd. separate from Welfare dept. Advise by bd. welfare commis.	Institutions caring for insane licensed & visited by State Dept. Admin. of State Colony for epileptics.	State Institutions Admin. by Welfare Dept. No control of local or private homes of State Colony schools.
Indiana	Bd. of State Charities--5 members, non-partisan--appt. by gov., unpaid, supervisory. Commission on Children and one on licensing.	County Bd. of Charities & Corrections, non-partisan appt. by circuit court visits and inspects county institutions		Admin. by board of trustees for each institution. Supervised & inspected by State Board	Bd. on advice of Juv. court may place in care of own mother & pay an amt. equal to cost of institutional care. No Mothers' Aid Fund.	Inspects Child caring institutions foster home placement of state wards & visitation of su homes. License mater by homes. Orphan's home admin. by state bd. Crippled Children's Commission	County administration Reports to State Board.	Visits and inspects penal institutions State. Makes rules for Govt. of county jails.	Approves plans for out-patient clinics. Inspects agencies housing insane and epileptics.	Inspects state institutions caring for blind, deaf and dumb.
Kansas	Board of Administration Gov. & 3 appt. Salaried board of control	no supervision		Bd. of Admin. direct control of charitable and penal institutions purchasing included.	Optional county organization largely inoperative.	Orphan's home admin. by state bd. Crippled Children's Commission	No supervision County poor farms. No old age pension Bd. of Managers for Soldiers' Home	Complete Control by Bd. of Admin. which does purchasing and appts. Manager for each institution.	State In. under Board of Admin. No supervision of Private institutions No Mental Hygiene Bd.	School for Blind under Board of Admin.
Massachusetts	Pub. Welfare Dept. Director appt. by Gov. Advisory Bd. 3 members appt. by Gov., 6 yr. overlapping terms Children's Bureau	local autonomy in welfare admin. supervision & inspection of local institutions		Supervision of 5 state institutions. Examines applications for charters for charitable institutions.	Admin. thru local boards of welfare with supervision and inspection State Board	Div. of Child Guardianship Director guardian of neglected children. Supervises child placing & adoption.	Inspection of local poor homes. Licenses all of homes for Aged. Division of Aid & Relief.	Dept. of Corrections separate Dept. of Juv. Delinquency and supervision of 3 Industrial schools & Juv. Parole by Welfare Dept.	Dept. of Mental Diseases separate dept. supervises institutions for mental patients	State Dept. of Welfare selects schools for training of deaf children.
Minnesota	Board of Control. 3 members appt. by Gov. 6 yr. overlapping terms. non-partisan Children's Bureau	Permissive County Board of Child Welfare appt. by State Board of Control		Complete Control of Eighteen Institutions	Admin. thru Juvenile courts State Board directs investigation & cooperates with Juvenile Courts.	Children's Bureau supervises placement & adoption licenses with maternity hospitals	Admin. control over all state institutions. Supervision of county poor farms. No old age Pension.	Complete control of state penal institutions. Supervision of co. jails. Parole supervision.	Dept. (in welfare dept.) for feeble-minded. Supervises entrance and dismissal to state institutions.	Dept. for Aid for Blind in welfare dept. Preventive work. Supervised education & vocational training.
New Jersey	Dept. Institutions & Agencies non-partisan, 8 members, unpaid, appt. by Gov. Director appt. by Executive Bd. admin. of Bd. Children's Guardians.	Permissive creation of 8 child welfare boards. Also County welfare boards for Old Age Pension		State Board appoints a board of managers for each institution	County & State Board admin. in cooperation Paid thru State board of Children's Guardians.	responsibility on Co. Bds. with State Bd. information service on resources of state for family difficulties	Admin. by county. State Board approves charters for institutions for poor relief	Control thru appt. of board of managers for each institution. Visits county and city jails.	All hospitals for care of insane are licensed and inspected by State Board.	Charge of Hospitals for Blind Babies. Grants relief to blind.
New Mexico	Pub. Welfare Dept., Exec. Bd. No director Exec. Bd. appts. Heads for two Bureaus Child Welfare & Public Health	Organization of local communities headed by social workers has been stated no general coord. between State & county		Child caring institutions visited and inspected	Paid by co. commissioners supervised by Child Welfare Bureau-- Permissive	Case work with child caring institutions Coop. with Juv. Court Judge.	County Administration. No Old Age Pension.	No State Supervision	No State Institution for mentally defective. Psychologist works on Children's Bureau. Clinic	Children's Bureau trying to get all blind and deaf children into the state schools.
New York	Dept. Social Welfare. Exec. Bd. of 12 members, overlapping terms of 8 years. Exec. Board appts. Director Div. of Children	State Dept. visits & inspects county and city jails.		Visits & inspects state charitable, eleemosynary except those under Depts. of Mental Hygiene & Corrections	Admin. by local public welfare Bds. supervised by State Dept. thru Bureau of Home Relief	Admin. of Child Welfare by local bds. Bureau of Foster home care approves charters for institutions	Div. of Old Age Security inspects all homes for aged supported at all welfare districts. Old Age Pensions.	Dept. of Corrections, jurisdiction over penal institutions for adults in welfare dept. & reformatories	Dept. of Mental Hygiene control of institutions for insane and defectives. Separate dept. of Govt.	Bureau for Blind in Dept. of Welfare registers blind persons and grants allowances to needy blind.
Pennsylvania	Dept. Pub. Welfare. Director appt. by Gov. State Bd. of Admin., 9 members--3 ex officio -- 4 yr. term coincident with Gov.	State Dept. promotes organization of county councils of social agencies & county welfare boards.		Supervision of all charitable penal institutions except State Hospital for Crippled Children.	Organization for Mothers' Aid optional with counties County furnishes half the money	Licenses Children's institutions & maternity homes. Inspects same.	Visits and supervises all county and city almshouses.	Inspects and supervises all penal institutions. Direct management of prison labor.	Bureau of Mental Health-- preventive & psychiatric work. Clinics for insane licensed.	State Council for Blind. Preventive Program. Coop. with local agencies.
Virginia	State Dept. Public Welfare appt. unpaid board. Gov. also appts. Welfare Commissioner 4 yr. term.	Dept. has Bureau of Co. & City Organization to secure local coop. and educate toward local organization.		Semi-annual visitation of all state penal and charitable institutions	Admin. thru county and city officers with supervision by the State Board.	Licenses all child caring institutions Children's Bureau.	County welfare boards grant outdoor, old age relief with investigation. State Bd. inspects county & city almshouses annually.	Recommends all probation officers. Inspects local jails. Control thru power to transfer prisoners.	Supervision of all institutions for mentally handicapped. Educational aid to parents of feeble-minded children not in institutions.	Schools for feeble-minded deaf, dumb, and blind all under the admin. of the State Board of Control. Governs transfer of patients and regulates intake and discharge of institutions.
Wisconsin	Bd. of Control 3 members, 6 yr. overlapping terms, salaried board appt. by Gov. Juvenile Dept.	no structural connection in Old Age Pension plan and thru penal supervision		Direct management of state Institutions	no provision except as given thru outdoor relief by counties	Guardian of Children in State Pub. School. Foster Home Placement. Licenses children's institution and maternity hospitals	Local admin. of relief. Old Age Pensions. County organization optional. Visits county poor homes.	Direct control of all penal institutions. Appt. wardens. direct prison labor, regulates probation & parole. Inspects local jails etc. Juvenile Dept.		