



MISS CLARK.

Illustrations.

Some explanation of the three groups of the members of the State Children's Council may be useful. There are always twelve, and four go out every year, and are generally re-appointed. During the presidency of Dr. Stirling one death occurred, so that there appears to be twelve members surrounding him. During the presidency of the late Mr. H. W. Thompson deaths and resignations through leaving the colony make him the centre of a large body of ladies and gentlemen, and during the long period in which our present zealous President (Mr. Thomas Rhodes) has held office (since May, 1893) the changes have been many indeed.

The photograph of Miss Clark and of the present writer need no explanation, and the Industrial School at Magill, now used as the Protestant Boys' Reformatory, has entered into the history of the movement at three critical periods, and deserves to appear in our moderate list of illustrations.

STATE CHILDREN
IN
AUSTRALIA :

A History of Boarding Out and its
Developments.

BY
CATHERINE HELEN SPENCE.

ADELAIDE:
PRINTED BY VARDON AND SONS LIMITED,
GRESHAM-STREET.

1907.

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Preface.

This book is a labor of love. It was written by Miss Spence as a recognition of the services to the children of the State rendered by her friend, Miss C. E. Clark. The two ladies have been friends for fifty years, and were associated in the beginning of the Boarding Out of State Children in South Australia.

When Miss Clark resigned from the State Children's Council after attaining her eightieth year, and in consequence mainly of defective hearing, the Council expressed a wish to pay some tribute to her long service, her public spirit, and her origination of the system under which the wards of the State have done so well, and for the administrating of which the Council was called into existence.

Miss Spence wrote the book, and the Council and other friends have subscribed to print and publish it, and present a copy each to Miss Clark and the Author. It will be found to be interesting and instructive by those who are interested in children, and the best way of dealing with such of them as are "dependent."

It is hoped that this book may help to secure for Miss Clark the appreciation of many who hitherto have been ignorant of the great value and extent of the work she inaugurated, and for the Council some additional public favor. It is sent forth to assist any fellow-workers among children, to whom its pages may bring encouragement, stimulus, or information.

JAMES GRAY,

Secretary S.C.C.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

What distinguishes work for children in Australia is that it is national and not philanthropic. Instead of constant appeals to private benevolence to support child-saving institutions or organizations, there is a Government department which is responsible for everything connected with the children thrown on public charity as destitute, neglected, uncontrollable, or delinquent. The cost of them is a charge on the general revenue, and not on local rating, as is the case in the United Kingdom, in the United States, and in the provinces of Canada.

All the colonies now called States of the Commonwealth have had an amount of unification in their public utilities unknown elsewhere. The general revenue has been the security on which the colonies built railways, constructed waterworks, telegraphs and telephones, and other general means of development, and the Government, resting on a Parliamentary majority, has accepted the whole responsibility of education. It was in the central State, known as South Australia, that the Government first adopted the system of boarding out in family homes the children committed to its care; but the evident advantages of the plan made it imitated by other States. The independence of charitable aid is the cause why in Australia, where the principles and the administration of child-saving are the best in the world, there is no literature on the subject. The books and pamphlets, properly illustrated, in England and America are legion, because by their means public benevolence was stimulated. Visitors to Adelaide, to Melbourne, and to Sydney have asked for some book which will show how we deal with children on subsidy and at service; how our Children's Courts of Justice are constituted, and how

we by law and by supervision protect infant life; and hitherto the only reply would be an annual report of the department's work, which does not explain the principles which guide it.

For this reason I have been overjoyed that the State Children's Council asked me to undertake the writing of this little book. It is a pleasure to pay a deserved tribute to the work of Miss Clark, who was our pioneer, while she is still alive to receive it; but it is also an opportunity of producing a handbook of our experience and of our aspirations for the benefit of workers for children all over the world.

Any history of the movement in South Australia for the benefit of the children thrown upon State charity as destitute, neglected, or delinquent ought to be valuable, not only for the Commonwealth, but for all other countries in the civilised world. It is, therefore, necessary to begin by giving our readers some idea of the conditions under which South Australia was founded, and of the organization of which the original Boarding-Out Society was a voluntary offshoot.

The Central State of the Commonwealth was the first British colony founded on distinct lines, leading consciously to self-government, free from the possibility of being made a dumping-ground for the criminals of the mother country, and with all the machinery of orderly government from the beginning. Land was not to be given in large blocks to settlers who appeared to be likely to develop it, as had been done in New South Wales with the help of convict labor, and in West Australia without it, with the result that no agricultural development had taken place on either side of the island continent, and the West Australians had narrowly escaped starvation. Every acre of land in the new province could only be alienated on payment of hard cash for the fee-simple, and the original squatters had no security of tenure beyond what could be obtained by leases from the Crown, liable to be disturbed when land was required for closer settlement. According to the Wakefield system, on which South Australia was originally settled, all the money paid for land was em-

ployed to bring out immigrants of equal sexes, along with the families of the married couples, who would be available to work on the sections of 134 and, later, of 80 acres, and produce grain and other food supplies for the population. Immigrant ships, therefore, came continuously to the port of Adelaide so long as the sales of land furnished the funds for their passage-money, and under the 80-acre section system the province became the pioneer of Australian agriculture, horticulture, and of the wine industry. In the time of the gold diggings it was the colony founded in 1836, and not the mother colony of New South Wales (founded 1788), that was the land of Egypt to the hungry new arrivals. Pastoral holdings extended in Victoria almost to Melbourne, and the cry was then to "unlock the lands," so as to utilise the splendid agricultural soil so near the gold-fields.

The continuous stream of immigration, which I recollect so well in the early years, demanded and obtained careful and humane treatment. A square of wooden houses were erected on the West Park Lands, facing West-terrace, almost the only invasion of the 2,000 acres which surround the city, in which immigrants and their families were lodged and rationed for a fortnight, until they could obtain employment; and there was an Immigration Office to assist them in getting work. This Immigration Office took also on itself the care of the destitute, whether from sickness, bereavement, or desertion of head of family. From its first inception South Australia has had a poor law, based on the English principle that absolute destitution had a claim upon public charity, but in the infancy of any State local rating is inadvisable, and, indeed, impossible; and the relief of poverty has always been a charge on the general revenue, and continues to be so.

From the foundation of the State in December, 1836, till the year 1848, this duty continued to be in the hands of the Immigration Department, though immigration became less and less, as the people brought out at our expense found their way to the neighboring States either by sea or overland.

In 1848 a Board was constituted, called the Children's Apprenticeship Board, to provide by apprenticeship for the protection, guardianship, and advancement in life of emigrant orphan children and of other poor children maintained at the public expense. This was consequent on the Irish famine, and as many as 219 orphan girls once arrived in one ship. This Board continued operations till 1867, but was known as the Destitute Board.

South Australia, when it attained to responsible government, delegated a good many departments to unpaid Boards with paid staffs, and one of the first of these Boards was entrusted with the care of the destitute poor. There was a paid Chairman, a notable exception to the rule, and five unpaid citizens to be responsible for the Destitute Asylum, where the aged and infirm, and originally all destitute children, were located, also the reformatories for delinquent and uncontrollable boys and girls. But beyond these resident poor the Board had the responsibility of all outdoor relief over the whole State. The services of this unpaid Board have been invaluable. On the many occasions when, from bad seasons or over-speculation, there have been bad times, and great want of employment, the Destitute Board has relieved want, provided for deserted families, given medical aid as well as food to the sick poor, and greatly lessened the intensity of the suffering. I recollect overhearing a conversation between two middle-aged women in an omnibus, one of whom had returned from Victoria, where her husband had been ill for weeks. And the worst was that "there was no Destitute." "What? No Destitute?" asked the other in surprise. "No; no Destitute at all, and I did not know where to turn to for help." The women knew the Destitute as the organization that gave help, not as the condition that needs it. And up to the present time there is no such organization in any of the Australian States but the central one.

At the time of the appointment of the Destitute Board in 1867 a great wave of public opinion in England had protested against the orphan and the destitute children living in the workhouses along with the aged

and infirm, and still worse with the flotsam and jetsam, the ins and outs who crowd into the parish shelter during the winter or in a pinch at any time of the year. There they received next to no school education, but were likely to learn much that is most hurtful from their enforced companionship with adult paupers. Dickens, in the pathetic story of "Oliver Twist," showed the misery, the social degradation, the cruelty to which a sensitive child was exposed, but he did not show the moral deterioration which was almost certain to come to children in such an evil atmosphere. His young hero was quite innocent of vice. The report of Mrs. Nassan Senior (the first lady who executed a Royal Commission of Enquiry) showed how the children suffered in physique as well as in morals from an environment which enfeebled and corrupted them. And she also showed the weak side of institutional life.

It has been asserted by Richard Dugdale, the author of that much quoted but little read book, "The Jukes," that until the British nation abandoned the system of transporting convicts beyond seas, out of sight and hearing, they never attempted to do anything in the line of reformation either for adult or for juvenile offenders. Much of the lawlessness in the Southern States of America even now is believed to be due to the descent from convicts who came out of their time into a world where all agricultural or servile work was done by negroes and convicts. New South Wales and Tasmania have this advantage, that there all free white men have to work for their living; but still we in Australia are very sorry that our virgin lands were made a dumping-ground for undesirables of whom the mother country wanted to be rid.

With the cessation of transportation offenders had to be dealt with at home, and the number of persons sentenced to penal servitude has steadily decreased. Penology has still much to learn, but the world is learning. The very wisest and most scientific of observers are diagnosing the criminal and prescribing treatment, in which hope plays its magical part, in changing character; in which the blessed influence of sympathy con-

quers the anti-social instincts of the lawbreaker, and in which the gradual softening and rationalising of the penal laws which have gone on steadily since the time of Romilly and Bentham will narrow the field of the philanthropic reformer.

Under this wave of public opinion reformatories for delinquent boys and girls were built and staffed in England, most of them endowed by private subscription. And the Unions, composed of many parishes, built large district schools, into which the children removed from the workhouses were taken. It was such an enormous improvement on the old system of things that reformers were disposed to say, "Enough." The children were well fed, comfortably clothed, lodged in fine buildings with every modern convenience, taught religion as a primary matter, taught obedience, subjected to discipline, and had as much secular education as was good for them. They did not go out as parish apprentices till they had a modicum of the three R's, or at an earlier age than twelve.

But the teachers were universally inferior from the first, and since the vast improvement in education in Board and other schools outside, the comparison is still worse, and the training was mechanical.

The building of these district schools, however well-intentioned on the part of the Unions, their complete equipment, their large staffs of matrons, teachers, and attendants have been the greatest hindrance to the initiation of better methods of dealing with the children of the State. When I saw the pile of buildings at Sutton, containing 1,800 boys and girls, I saw that it must be hard for the guardians to sacrifice so much expensive property, and hard for the staff to find their occupation gone, as it would be if England adopted the plan universally followed in the Commonwealth and in New Zealand. This is to disperse all children who depend on public charity in family homes, except those delinquents who need some discipline before they are fit for ordinary life. In other English-speaking countries boarding out in families is sometimes permitted, but here under the Southern Cross it is the law of the land that children

shall not be brought up in institutions, but in homes. That the child whose parent is the State shall have as good schooling as the child who has parents and guardians, that every child shall have, not the discipline of routine and red tape, but the free and cheerful environment of ordinary life, generally in the country, going to school with other young fellow-citizens, going to Church with the family in which he or she is placed, having the ordinary duties, the ordinary difficulties, the ordinary pleasures of common life, but guarded from injustice, neglect, and cruelty by effective and kindly supervision. This movement originated in South Australia, and with all its far-reaching developments and expansion, it is due to the initiative of one woman, of whom the State and the Commonwealth is justly proud—Miss C. E. Clark.

South Australia was originally founded by doctrinaires, by a small enthusiastic band of advanced radicals, who saw from afar what colonies rightly organised were capable of. The immigration to the new land was of men and women in equal proportion, and it was to be as far as possible family immigration. New Zealand was originally founded on the Wakefield system also, and in these two settlements women have taken a larger share in public matters than elsewhere. The political franchise was given to women first in New Zealand, and secondly in South Australia. This last, obtained in 1893, was the cause of the Commonwealth enfranchising all the women in the six States for Federal elections, the greatest step for woman's political rights that has ever been taken.

The province of South Australia, partly on account of its doctrinaire origin, and partly because of the free institutions which from the first it enjoyed through the foresight and persistency of its founders, has never been afraid of any new thing that appears good. It has not only been the agricultural pioneer, it has been the initiator of most of the distinguishing reforms in all the States. In our first representative Parliament, though composed of one-third nominees, we separated for ever between Church and State by ceasing to pay

public money to any religious denomination either for Churches, schools, or orphanages. In our second Parliament we devised and used the secret ballot, the first time it was used in the world. A little later the Torrens Act, for the simplifying transfer of real property and giving an indefeasible title, was passed here. Further on the municipal vote was given to women, the law of primogeniture with regard to landed property was repealed, and the widow and younger children allowed to share in it if there was no will. The construction of the overland telegraph by a handful of people, only 180,000 in all, was a daring enterprise, which has benefited all Australia. The first tax on the unimproved value of land was imposed in the central State. But the part which Miss Caroline Emily Clark took in the reform of principles and methods in the care of the children of the State was not like that of passing a Bill or of constructing a telegraph line, done once for all.

After prejudice and ignorance had been combated, and the permission to take some children out of the Industrial School obtained, a long, continuous course of watchfulness was needed, opportunities taken advantage of when they presented themselves, or made when they did not, for the extension of the scope of operations, for enlisting the sympathy and co-operation of the public and the press, and also for lending the help of counsel as well as of example to the sister colonies, as well as of aiding the workers in England and the United States. It was easier to start such a movement in South Australia than elsewhere. It was the sphere of the least resistance, but still it needed a stout and resolute heart to make the beginning, with no experience to guide her, and much mistrust and prejudice to counteract and disarm.

The same wave of conscience that was at work in England swept over the Destitute Board in Adelaide, and the children were removed from the Asylum at North-terrace and lodged in separate quarters. Probably that was one reason why the number of children increased. Careless parents, who did not care to have their children there with the old folks, did not so much

object to have them in more comfortable quarters, where they could go to see them once a month, and could generally get them back on petition to the Government.

A fine piece of land (sixty acres) was obtained by Government, and plans were called for a handsome building to be erected for the accommodation of children not delinquent. The Reformatory boys were then placed with a Superintendent at Ilfracombe, quite away from either the Asylum or the proposed Industrial School at Magill. The Reformatory girls had a wing of the Destitute Asylum, which was composed of the original immigration quarters, and the abandoned barracks, left empty when the Military Force was removed. At this crisis Miss Clark stepped in, and I shall leave her to tell the interesting story of her efforts and her final success.



CHAPTER II.

The Boarding-Out Society.

BY MISS C. E. CLARK.

In the month of March, 1866, I wrote a letter to the Adelaide "Register," headed "The Destitute Asylum," from which some extracts will show what gave rise to the Boarding-out Society.

"It is painful to think that pauperism should be on the increase among us, but the necessity for again enlarging the Destitute Asylum appears to be sure proof that this is the case. Is there nothing we can do to strike at the root of the evil, and get rid of it while its proportions are comparatively insignificant?"

The workhouse of England has become not merely the refuge, but the nursery, of pauperism. It is an acknowledged fact that most of the children reared within its walls come back to it sooner or later as men and women, and their children and grandchildren follow them. "Pauperism is hereditary," say the English Parliamentary Commissioners. Consumption is hereditary; yet in this fine climate many people escape its penalties, and we may hope to escape the taint of pauperism if we take the right means to set about it at once.

In an article recently reprinted from "Fraser's Magazine," September, 1864, entitled "The Philosophy of the Poor Laws," Miss Frances Power Cobbe, who has made workhouse visiting one of the objects of her life, and who carries the sunshine of her clear intellect and the warmth of her tender sympathy into every place she enters, points out the evils which arise from the want of classification among the inmates of workhouses. The sick, the healthy, the sane, the insane, the aged and the young, the unfortunate, and the criminal, all are

gathered together under one roof, "poverty bringing all to one sad level."

Our system in South Australia does away with some of these evils, but the aged and the young, the unfortunate and the criminal are left together still, with danger not only to individuals, but to the community.

If pauperism is hereditary, surely it is the greatest mistake to bring up young children in the midst of it. It is said that the authorities propose to spend two or three thousand pounds in additional buildings for the Destitute Asylum. Would it not be possible to spend this additional money in a better way? It would surely be less expensive, as well as more healthful, to bring up the children in the country.

In Scotland this principle has been acknowledged, and from most of the large towns the children, instead of being brought up in pauper nurseries, are sent out first to be nursed, and then boarded out with some family in the country. As they reach the age for school the person who has charge of them is obliged to send them to one in the neighborhood, certified by the inspector, and to produce certificates from the teacher of the child's attendance. Thus the desired end of education is attained, with the immense advantage of its being an education in common with non-pauper children.

"Cannot we do the same with the young inmates of the Destitute Asylum? The plan has been used successfully in Edinburgh for eighteen years, and it is well worth trying here. Cannot we scatter and lose these unfortunate children among our healthy and industrious population instead of fostering them in the hotbed of their own moral disease? Let us at least take them out of the town. In the country they would be removed from sight and sound of evil among their elders. It is not training of the mind half so much as training of the habits that is needed, and the habits are more easily trained during manual labors than in the school-room. Nothing is more elevating to the feelings and conscience of a child than to be employed in really useful work. It is to be hoped that the advisability of adopt-

ing some such scheme as that here suggested will be carefully considered before a further sum of money is expended simply to continue and extend the evils of the present system.

This letter, which was signed "C.," must have produced a good effect, for the children were removed to the old Grace Darling at Brighton, and the addition to the Asylum was not made.

Miss Cobbe said the experiment had been first made in order to disperse the pauper children when the building in which they were housed had been burned down. Something had to be done at once, so they were placed out temporarily in family homes, and went to school like other children. This plan proved such a success that it has been carried out ever since. In one respect it seems to have been better than our boarding-out system in South Australia, for the foster mothers appear to find places for the children when old enough to be sent to work in their own neighborhood, and so keep up a connection with them. Unfortunately, this is rarely possible in a sparsely populated country like ours, but the children write frequently to their old homes.

The necessity for a change from the Destitute Asylum for the children was forcibly brought to my mind by a dear friend, since well known in educational circles, Miss A. M. Martin. This lady used to visit at what was called the Destitute School from pure kindness, and her desire to make the children's life happier. On one occasion when she arrived there she found the schoolroom empty. The children had been invited to attend some exhibition—I think it was of Bellringers—and were all being dressed for the occasion. Miss Martin followed them into the bedroom.

To her great surprise she found that the children were all being dressed by the nurses. One nurse was armed with a brush, and the boys were being passed under it, one after another.

"Cannot these boys brush their own hair?" she asked in astonishment.

"No," was the reply, "they cannot do anything for themselves."

"How about the girls?" said Miss Martin.

"It is just the same," said the nurse, "we have to do everything for them."

Surprised and shocked beyond measure, Miss Martin went down to the girls, who, ready dressed, were waiting to be taken to the exhibition. Wishing to test the assertion of the nurses, Miss Martin held up a penny, and said she would give it to any girl who had put on her own hat and cloak. There was not one who could claim it; and when we remember that these children were to be sent out as little servants to help others when they could not help themselves, it may be imagined how useless they would be.

Shortly after this experience Miss Martin told me of a little boy, who had recently come into the school, and who seemed very unhappy. He was an orphan—a delicate boy, and quite unable to stand the rough usage of his companions.

Mr. Blyth (afterwards Sir Arthur), a personal friend of mine, was then at the head of the Government. Then I thought there might be an opportunity for trying the new plan. I wrote to "The Register" the letter from which the extracts have already been given, and it was printed at once. Then I went to see Mr. Blyth, asking if I might have the boy, and the money he would cost if he remained in the asylum.

My request was granted at once, and the suggestion made that I should take a little girl also. I placed them with respectable people well known to me, but I was very unfortunate with both these children. The little girl caught a violent cold the day she left the Asylum, probably from being dressed in the thin and scanty clothes she had come into it with. Although she was very tenderly nursed, and attended by Dr. Benson, she died within a fortnight. The little boy did very well at school, and was quite happy till he reached the age of thirteen, when he developed the disease of which his father and his brother had both died, and he died also.

I took out another little girl in the place of the one that died, and placed her with some people who came

out with us in the Fatima, and she seemed quite happy there. But, unfortunately, her mother found out where she was, and went to the house at 11 o'clock at night, when she was drunk, clamoring to see her. The good people put up with this several times, but at last they could bear it no longer, and I was obliged to take her away. I then placed her with some people living near me, whom I knew very well. The child was an engaging little creature, and the husband and wife became very fond of her, so fond that each grew jealous of the other, and the woman came to ask me to take her away, as she herself was going to leave the colony. There was no time to lose, and, finding that the people who had the boy were willing to have her also, I put her under their care, and there she stayed for six years, learning to sweep and to wash and to cook. She is married and living still, and writes most grateful letters to me. Her one idea now seems to be to return to others the kindness she herself has received. This wish led her when she had a home of her own to take charge of a little boy, whose parents were dead. This boy is with her still, and has lately, to his great delight, discovered some of his relatives.

The difficulties and anxieties about these early experiences were very real, because anything like failure injured the cause which I had so much at heart.

At the time when I took out these children those at the Destitute Asylum were said to cost 9/ a week.

I thought this was too much, so I paid the guardians 6/ a week for each, and provided all the clothes besides. It was well I did so, for soon the allowance was reduced to 6/ without clothes. When boarding-out was fairly inaugurated, the subsidy came down to 5/, which included clothing the child. I feared that my foster parents would give up the children, but they did not do so. They loved the children, and also, when the money was paid quarterly instead of weekly, it came in a lump sum. They could lay in a stock of groceries and get the needed clothes for the children.

The premises at the Grace Darling became too small for the number of children, and the Government, in-

stead of expending money on adding to the Destitute Asylum, determined on building a large Industrial School near Magill, five miles from town. Though there were sixty acres of land, an imposing building of four floors, with large dormitories and schoolroom, was projected.

I thought this an opportunity, and asked Mrs. Davenport, Mrs. Colton, and Miss Spence, with Mr. Neville Blyth, Mr. C. B. Young, and my brother, John Howard Clark, to go with me as a deputation to request that instead of building a big institution, the Government would try the experiment of boarding out the children in family homes. We would undertake to find such homes, and to visit regularly the children, and report on their condition and education.

We met with no encouragement. There was a profound distrust in such a disposal of the children among ordinary people, and a confidence in the methods adopted in England, where the Unions were directly responsible for the teaching and training of pauper children.

The specious reply was given to us that as we did not propose to bear any share in the cost of the children the Government could not entrust us with the disposal or management of them.

The big school at Magill was built for 230 children, and 130 went into it, with ample space for all. In two years the school was so full that an addition was needed if they were to be retained. I heard that to make room Mr. Reed, Chairman of the Destitute Board, was placing out children very rapidly, the younger for so-called adoption and others as licensed to service, and still the school was crowded.

I felt that these children needed visiting as much as if they were on subsidy, and again called on my friends to accompany me on a second deputation, which was more successful than the first. Our modest petition for no addition to the building, but for the overflow to be boarded out in country homes, was granted, and the boarding-out system inaugurated in 1872.

Various little difficulties cropped up. It was neces-

sary to find a room to meet in, and to find the right persons to take the work. Miss Spence was, I believe, the first person I asked, and Mrs. Davenport and Mrs. Colton, with whom I had been associated on the committee of the Servants' Home, were also pleased to join us.

As that committee did not meet very often, I thought they might allow us to meet there, so I called on the President (Mrs. Short), wife of the first Bishop of Adelaide, and explained the plan to her. Fortunately, she approved of it, and several other members of that committee joined, as well as my brother, John Howard Clark, Mr. Neville Blyth, and Mr. C. B. Young. These last two gentlemen had taken children out in 1866, when I did.

Our plans were nearly wrecked at the first by an endeavor to insist on all so-called Church children being placed only with Church families. The Bishop got us out of that difficulty by writing a letter to the press, in which he said that if clergymen could find out and send lists of people belonging to the Church of England who were fit and willing to take charge of such children our society would find children to put in these homes. In 1872 the difficulty was to find homes for the children; in 1906 the difficulty is to find children for the homes.

After a time the dissatisfied members of the Boarding-Out Society dropped off their attendance, and the committee worked more smoothly.

The Chairman of the Destitute Board, Mr. Reed, and I as Secretary to the society had some small disagreements; but I think I may say that they ended in an increase of mutual respect; and I think the colony owes some gratitude to that gentleman, as he did more than any one else to spread the system of boarding out, with the principle of the dispersion of the children of the State, when he was convinced of its value.

Unfortunately, he afterwards made a great mistake in trying to substitute adoption in place of boarding out, and we were often extremely vexed to find him taking boarded-out children from good homes when he found people willing to take them for nothing.

I myself believe that boarding out is better than adoption, because it is more elastic. If the child does not suit the home or the home does not suit the child it can be removed to some other home much more easily. I am sure that if I were a visitor I should be very unwilling to find fault with the foster parents who were doing so much for the child for nothing.

Looking back over the fourteen years of the existence of the Boarding-Out Society, there is so much that is interesting and instructive to recall.

The children generally keep up a connection with their boarded-out homes, and affectionate letters pass between them and their old guardians. In many instances girls have given up good places to go to nurse their foster-mothers in times of trouble.

Another of our foster parents, when asked why she, who had brought up a large grown-up family of her own, could think of taking more children, replied, "Well, ma'am, you see, me and my husband have done well in the world ourselves, and we thought we ought to do something by way of good works; so, I said, what could we do better than take two of the destitute children and bring them up as our own."

In the opinion of our visitor, no two children could have had a better or a happier home.

Miss Blyth assisted me for some time, and Mrs. J. H. Clark also took the duties of Secretary temporarily. During my absence in England in 1878-9 Miss Spence was Acting Secretary. She had such a large round of children to visit for the fourteen years that her acquaintance with them personally was better than my own. We have worked side by side in the Boarding-Out Society and afterwards in the State Children's Council, though one after another so many have dropped off. Lady Davenport, with her sympathetic spirit, and Lady Colton, with her splendid philanthropy and practical commonsense, who were with us from the first, have been dead many years. This little record of our beginnings owes a special tribute to them.

[Here ends Miss Clark's narrative.]

CHAPTER III.

The Destitute Act Commission, 1883-5.

The Boarding-Out Society had been carrying on its modest office of auxiliary to the Destitute Board for eleven years, when complaints from various quarters—some very frivolous, and others serious—were made in the press and in Parliament as to the administration of public charity by that department, and a Commission was appointed of gentlemen well known and trusted, with Chief Justice Way (afterwards Sir Samuel Way) as Chairman. The Commission began its sittings on May 18, 1883, and brought up the final report on October 15, 1885. The volume containing the evidence report and appendices is a most bulky one, and needs a good deal of patience to gather all the facts from it. The verdict given was that the Board was embarrassed by the multiplicity of its functions, and that most of the complaints were due to the difficulty of doing justice both to the adult poor, in the way of indoor and outdoor relief, and to the children of the State with the juvenile offenders.

Especially with regard to the two Reformatories, the administration was most unsuccessful. The boys received no useful training on the old hulk Fitzjames, to which they had been removed from Ilfracombe, which could not prepare for work on a sea-going ship any better than for work on land, and where the school education was lamentably inefficient. Children who need the best teaching, under the ideas reigning forty years ago generally received the worst.

There could be no classification on the hulk or any separation of the worse boys from better.

The Girls' Reformatory had been equally unsuccessful from want of means of classification, and from third-rate women in charge.

For the work of the Boarding-Out Society there was the highest commendation. Miss Clark and Miss Spence gave evidence of the valuable services of over a hundred visitors scattered over the country, but they showed the limitations under which they worked. They could only visit and report, and recommend removals or object to removals. They both said that if it had not been for the desire to get children taken for nothing there need not have been 103 in the Industrial School, nor such an epidemic of purulent ophthalmia as necessitated the renting of another house for observation and retention of children too delicate to mix with the 103. There were sufficient subsidy homes to be had to make nothing needed but a receiving house.

The Boarding-Out Society had nothing whatever to do with either of the Reformatories or their administration—only to visit boys and girls placed out from them when the Destitute Board considered the children fit to go into the world. The Boarding-Out Society believed that all the young wards of the State destitute, neglected, uncontrollable, and delinquent ought to be placed under a Board of their own, separated entirely from the original Destitute Board, with full powers of action, in the best interests of every child. Corroborative evidence was obtained from the State Children's Relief Board of New South Wales, which, however, had nothing to do with reformatories, and from the Secretary of the Industrial and Reformatory Schools in Victoria. It seemed hard to South Australia that heads of departments, which had been so many years behind us in starting boarding out, should be called in to give us advice in 1884; but we ourselves knew very well where the shoe pinched.

Waiving altogether in this little book the recommendations with regard to the Destitute Asylum work and outdoor relief—I shall briefly state what was recommended by the Commissioners to the children:—

1. Absolute separation from the Destitute Board.
2. Formation of a Board of men and women to deal with children, with full powers.
3. Boarding out to be the normal condition for plac-

ing out children. Adoption to be only when there is every guarantee for education and every probability that this is offered from affection and not for the sake of work.

4. Reformatory boys to be removed from the hulk Fitzjames, which was most unsuitable, and was becoming more and more unsafe. Work at the pumps of a very leaky ship was not a good preparation for work on the land. The Reformatory boys were to be moved to the sixty acres of land at Magill to work on it, and as much classification as the building allowed of to be carried out. A competent school teacher to be engaged under the Education Department, and periodical examinations held.

5. The Girls' Reformatory to have a new building, where classification can be carried out. Separate cottages much to be preferred to a large institution.

6. All children committed to the care of the State—boys as well as girls—should remain under its surveillance and control till they reached the age of eighteen, with power to extend by a year at a time till they reach the age of twenty-one. Any child may be released by the Governor of South Australia on petition, but the grounds of such petition to be satisfactory to the future State Children's Board. No adopted child to be exempt from surveillance by the department, but may be freed from local visitation.

7. Separate Courts of Justice for juvenile offenders, on the model of the system reported on by Mr. Joseph Sturge, as carried on in Boston, with the practice of probation, was recommended.

8. It is highly advisable that the Roman Catholic Reformatory girls should be placed under the care of Roman Catholic Sisters, as is done in Victoria.

In looking at the reports of the Boarding-Out Society we see that, although it was nearly fifteen months after the Destitute Commission report was made before the new Board, which took the title of the State Children's Council, was inaugurated, the recommendations with regard to dispersing the children in subsidised homes was adopted. The number at Magill was reduced from 103

to 16, and the rented premises had been shut up at the date of the last annual report on August 12, 1886.

The society had begun in 1872, and during the first year had reported on 103 children, and in 1886 had reported on 632 children out in the world, and had been aided for the last few years by a paid inspector, so that the homes had been more thoroughly examined and were steadily improving.

There is generally a tinge of melancholy in doing anything for the last time; but in this fourteenth report the Secretary did not anticipate death to the movement on behalf of the State children, but a resurrection, with fuller powers, with wider scope, and with a great future before it. I cannot do better than quote the beginning of this report to the subscribers, who had provided the modest income of £8 to £9 a year for postage and stationery for fourteen years, to the 123 visitors who had done such good work for us, and to the public, whose sympathy had been our most valuable auxiliary.

"In presenting to the public, and especially to the visitors, the subscribers, and the friends of the Boarding-Out Society our fourteenth, and probably our last, annual report of its proceedings the committee may be allowed a little retrospection as to the past and a little anticipation as to the future.

"As a voluntary agency, working side by side with the official and responsible organization—the Destitute Board—the committee has to congratulate itself on having worked harmoniously with the Government staff, and on having lent valuable aid in the care of the children of the State, for this is the name by which its wards will be known henceforward. This work has been done in two ways—in saving expense to the taxpayer, and in strengthening the confidence of the public in the administration of a system which, now that it has been initiated in all the Australian colonies, people are disposed to forget was a daring innovation.

"But honor should fall chiefly where honor is due, and first and foremost on the foster parents and guardians and employers, who have in so large a majority

of cases done their duty, and more than their duty, to the children under their care; and, secondly, to the large body of visitors, who have, often at great trouble and inconvenience, efficiently carried out the supervision of the children.

"Compared with these the labors of a committee sitting in Adelaide a dozen times in the year, and even of the Secretary to the committee, appear very insignificant; although it has been by means of this committee that the work has been made coherent, and relations kept up between the visitors and the Destitute Board. The committee desires here to thank 123 visitors in active service.

"Whatever theoretical objections have been made to the objects of the Boarding-Out Society, practical experience during fourteen years has satisfactorily proved that this best possible substitute for a respectable natural home leads to the happiness and to the complete development of the child. With sufficient care in the selection of the homes, and efficient, but not vexatious, supervision, the failures are reduced to a minimum, far below that of the best managed industrial schools, while the cost to the country is always less. Over all the colonies the system has taken root beyond any chance of change as to principle, though there may still be improvements as to administration. It is gradually winning some favor amongst the most conservative class in the world—the guardians of the English Unions—in spite of the fact that these have generally built at the cost of the rates great workhouse or district schools to hold all the children who fall under their care."

With these hopeful anticipations exit the auxiliary and irresponsible body of ladies and gentlemen—the Boarding-Out Society. Enter the responsible State Children's Council of South Australia.

CHAPTER IV.

The State Children's Council.

According to the recommendations of the Destitute Board Commission the new body was mainly composed of members of the old Boarding-Out Society. The greater number were always ladies, but we had always one or two gentlemen with us. A recent acquisition had been Mr. James Smith, who had long been a most valuable member of the Destitute Board, and he was appointed as a member of the new body which received the distinctive name of The State Children's Council. Dr. Edward Stirling, one of the ablest men in the profession; Mr. Charles Henry Goode, and Mr. H. W. Thompson, who had both been on the Destitute Commission; and Mr. Dempsey made up five gentlemen; and of the seven ladies six were drawn from the Boarding-Out Committee.

Miss Baker, Miss Clark, Mrs. (afterwards Lady) Colton, Lady Davenport, Miss K. Howard, and the present writer (Miss C. H. Spence) were the old workers, and Mrs. Farr's name was added to make up the required number of twelve.

The first proceeding was to elect Dr. Stirling as the first President of this honorary Council. The office of the new department was the old Servants' Home, which had been in active use so long as immigration was carried on, but which did not pay expenses when it was a mere boarding-house. The premises have been altered and enlarged for the needs that arose, for ere long it had to provide a Children's Court Room and a place of safe detention for young delinquents. The old members therefore continued to sit in the same place in Flinders-street, within a stone's throw of the Chief Secretary's Office, and within two streets of the Police

Court, from which the Magistrate has to walk when he is telephoned for to conduct a juvenile trial.

From the Destitute Board's official staff we obtained as Secretary Mr. John Beeby Whiting, who had had much experience in the work. His knowledge, his zeal, and his remarkable administrative ability justified the confidence reposed in him by both departments. We know that all honorary Boards depend very much on the Secretary—sometimes, I think, too much—but in this case we were greatly indebted to Mr. James Smith, who said we should ask for Mr. Whiting.

Under the new conditions there were opportunities given to such a capable man as Mr. Whiting for more vigorous and more farseeing action than was given in the Destitute Department.

The Council also took over as travelling inspector Mr. James Gray, whose evidence before the Commission showed a full appreciation of the responsibilities of the State to its children; and one or two more members of the clerical staff. After the lapse of nearly twenty years many changes have taken place in the personnel of the Council and of the official staff.

Mr. Whiting, when on a well-earned holiday trip to Europe in 1903, was captured by the Agent-General's Department in London, and accepted promotion as chief clerk there, with some regrets for the old sphere of usefulness. But we were fortunate enough to get Mr. Gray appointed in his place. His work had been so varied and so successful in the new branches taken up by the Council that he had every detail of the work not only at his finger ends, but in his inmost heart.

But to go back to 1887, as our Council was composed of men and women in nearly equal proportions, it was felt that there should be women on our clerical staff. We began with Mrs. Lucy Duval Hood as recording clerk, and she held the position till her death ten years afterwards. If you mentioned one of the children she could tell you where it was, and if it was doing well or ill, without looking at the books. The expansion of woman's work since 1887 has been great, and also the extension and ramifications of our work. We have

now (besides the staff at the institutions) in the office two recording clerks, Miss Sara and Miss Austin; one probation officer, Miss Cocks; one travelling inspector, Miss Evelyn Penny, who takes the same rounds and does the same work as Mr. Wheaton; one inspectress of the infants boarded out by their own mothers or relatives, Miss Moule; and one in charge of the office and of the place of detention under the Children's Courts, Miss Uppington.

These last will be treated of in the subsequent chapters on Children's Courts and in the protection of infant life; but I think Mrs. Hood's appointment was an innovation in a Government office.

The visitors attached to the old Boarding-Out Society continued their services to the new organization. They no longer were required to send reports in duplicate, nor were their requests or remonstrances to be forwarded through the Secretary of the Boarding-Out Society to headquarters.

The recommendation of the Commission, that the country visitors should form committees in local centres, was approved by the Council, and gradually such committees were formed in South Australia, with good results; but South Australia has trusted less to these than Victoria has done, while New South Wales has trusted much less. The staff of paid inspectors in Victoria is very small, no more than ours with a third of the children, while the staff in New South Wales is very large. Queensland only counted thirteen volunteer visitors two years ago, and trusts to paid inspectors mainly.

The departmental work is done by the paid staff, but the Council has, under the Chief Secretary, the responsibility for all action taken. There is a regular meeting of the Council on the second Monday of every month. There is a fortnightly Ladies' Committee, which does much of the work of the old Boarding-Out Committee, in considering applications for children for subsidy or service, in judging any complaints as to conduct of children, or of their employers or foster parents, any request for abatement of wages, or for lengthening

the term of subsidy, for granting licences for foster mothers whom we do not pay for, but are bound to inspect, and for keepers of lying-in homes. Any questions of detail about the Industrial School or the Girls' Reformatory is brought before the Ladies' Committee, but if the matter is important it is referred to the full Council. The Gentlemen's Committee meets once a month, and deals with the Boys' Reformatories, and with petitions for release, which are much more frequent than can be granted.

Special meetings for special subjects may be held both of Council and committees, but this is the routine work. However, it was one thing to form a State Children's Council and quite another to follow the other and more costly things recommended for the Council to do. The Reformatory boys got better teaching, but they were still at the hulk, and the old ship leaked worse than ever.

The big building at Magill was a curious example of the old difficulty of the man crossing a stream with a fox and a goose and a cabbage, when he could only take one at a time. Before the Reformatory boys could be sent to work on the sixty acres of land the Industrial School and the Reformatory girls had to be otherwise located. The Council said that the Reformatory girls should be put in new buildings on the cottage system, as recommended by this Commission. The Government did not want to go to the expense for such a handful of girls. There was plenty of room for both Reformatory boys and girls at Magill. The Council absolutely protested against this.

Other grounds of friction arose between the Council and the Government. The scale of salaries to the clerical staff was exceedingly low, and after the first year the Council requested an increase all round. This was not acceded to. Also the recommendations of the Council as to dealings with children in the way of release or of extension of sentences were disregarded by the Minister at the head of the department—the Chief Secretary. Correspondence went on between the Council and the Government on these matters without any

satisfactory solution from April, 1888, till the end of the year, when a sort of ultimatum was sent by the President of the Council, and as it was not acceded to the Council on January 16, 1889, resigned in a body, with two exceptions—Mrs. Colton, who was at the time in England, and Mrs. Farr.

For more than three weeks there was no Council, and among the protesting members there were great searchings of heart. Miss Clark received letters from our country visitors threatening to resign their work. Mrs. Farr persuaded me to go with her to Magill to see how the Superintendent of Public Buildings proposed to make the big four-floor building, an excellent place for the two dangerous classes, which the late Council declared should be kept apart. And he utterly failed to persuade either of us that the thing was feasible, let alone advisable. Mrs. Farr, from her twenty-four years' experience as the wife of the Head Master of St. Peter's College, said she knew what boys were in the neighborhood of a ladies' school, and we both thought we knew what Reformatory girls would be like in the same building with Reformatory boys of their own age. Love, or what passes for such, laughs at locksmiths, and we smiled at the proposed partitions and separate stairways. No; on that point Mrs. Farr, who had not resigned, and I who had resigned, were quite agreed.

On the yielding of that point I felt I could go back again, and trust to time and perseverance to win the recognition of our other demands.

All the members, with the exception of Dr. Stirling and Mr. James Smith, came back. Mr. Thomas Rhodes and Dr. R. Robertson were appointed in their places. Personally, no member regrets that episode in our career so much as I do. Dr. Stirling was not only a friend, the son of dear friends, whom I had known all his life, but he was such a strong, such an able man, that he was a great loss to the Council. In a subsequent chapter I shall tell of the great services for the protection of infant life Mr. James Smith had inaugurated and pressed for when he was on the Destitute Board. The loyalty to his chief which made him leave that Board when Mr.

Reid was forced to resign made him leave the two years old Council with Dr. Stirling. I could not do the same. I could not leave the work that for sixteen years had appeared to be of vital importance to the community, because the Government would not give us all we asked for, though I felt we were entitled to it.

The reconstructed Council elected Mr. H. W. Thompson, of Port Adelaide, as Chairman, and the work had to be carried on without these two able men.

But it was a good while before the Government built the range of cottages at Edwardstown for the Reformatory Girls according to the plan approved by the Council. First-class cottage, "Charity," where the matron had her head-quarters; second class, "Faith," for intermediate girls, in charge of a wardswoman; third class, "Hope," for the least deserving of our wards; a cottage for the sick and a laundry were also built.

It was a bare, ugly spot, within three and a half miles of Adelaide, with a ten-foot galvanised-iron fence, with barbed-wire on the top. Now the place is quite pretty, with flowers and vegetables and orchard and trees all round it. Also with blockers in all directions, for the land was unsold, and was reserved by Government for workmen's blocks, granted on perpetual lease, where working folks can build a house and cultivate a garden, grow vines and fruit trees. But now that the place is so pretty the reformatory girls are no longer there.

In spite of the height of the fence and the barbed wire the girls absconded very often, and made their way to Adelaide to their relatives or companions. And this became such a constant source of trouble that the Matron begged to be sent further away from town. Though we hear constant complaints of the degeneracy of the age, we find in South Australia that the prison population grows less every decade, and that prisons built in the country for rural crime are emptied.

A request from the man in charge of Redruth Prison for some repairs led to the discovery that there had not been an offender there for years, and this empty gaol was offered to the Council for the girls. Though



within two miles of the small town of Kooringa and the old Burra mines, Redruth is 100 miles from Adelaide. Redruth was a most unlovely place, with all the look of a prison about it, and with the traditions that it had actually been a prison clinging to it. The Council was very reluctant to accept it; but the question was that or nothing else. An impecunious Government was not going to put up another new building for a handful of girls, who certainly were not the pick of the community, and allow a large, costly structure to lie empty.

On the whole, Mrs. Holden preferred to go where the girls would find difficulties in absconding. She made the best of a bad bargain, did what she could to make the place look better, moved her "Faith" girls, her "Hope" girls, and her "Charity" girls to the new establishment, which she calls Hampton Court, and this date on the letters which the inmates are permitted to write, and to send to their friends when she has read them first, gives a sort of air to the place of detention.

After the Edwardstown cottages were vacated they were given over to the Industrial School children, who were moved from Magill, where for years they had had their quarters with the reformatory boys.

Partitions, which were insufficient protection for the two classes of delinquent children permanently committed, had to suffice to separate the big reformatory boys from the younger children, who came to what was mainly a receiving depot.

But it was not quite satisfactory, for the Matron wanted to set the big boys temporarily there to work, and they could not be allowed to work with the bigger delinquent boys, and there was no work for them. And there were great difficulties in supervision in playing and in exercise with a perpendicular division down the building on four floors and a fence across the playgrounds. Neither the Superintendent of the boys nor the Matron of the girls liked the joint occupation of the building; and the Council saw the opportunity of the move to Redruth to give Miss Mercer and her girls the cottages at Edwardstown, where the bigger boys have

twelve acres to work on, under a gardener, and cows to milk, where there are separate cottages for the boys and the girls, where there are good play spaces, and which is much more accessible from town, and much better for a receiving depot.

There are more children at Edwardstown than when the Council took hold of the administration, because as years go on the number of afflicted or deficient children increases. It is not for want of sufficient normal homes on subsidy, but because there are many who cannot be placed out, whom we are bound to keep till they are eighteen. Meanwhile the condition of the reformatory boys has been improved.

They have the undivided possession of the school, built for 230 industrial children; so they have a workshop for carpentering, and make all the boxes for the department, as well as many simple pieces of furniture. The produce sold from this farm and garden is a considerable offset from the cost of their keep, but as it all goes into the Treasury it does not appear as lessening that expense.

The records of the boys on land contrasts most favorably with those obtained when the same class of boys were bound in the hulk Fitzjames, where they suffered from lack of exercise and employment, and where they could neither learn seamanship nor anything else.

The farming, and especially the gardening and the care of fruit trees, is as good as it can be; and I often feel that our boys will think a bare Northern farm or a dreary station in the South-East a poor exchange for the beautiful surroundings under the Mount Lofty Ranges at Magill. But liberty is sweet, and the reformatory boys like to be free. They are such capable boys that we could place out three times the number we do, but they must rise to the first class before they can be licensed for service, and that depends on more considerations than their skill on the farm, though that certainly counts in their favor.

In January, 1907, we had reached the lowest point on record. We had only 21 boys in the Magill School, which has played such an important part in our history.

CHAPTER V.

Underlying Principles.

The Boarding-Out Committee, by its very title, aimed at the substitution of family homes for institutional life. It, however, did not discourage genuine adoption where proper education was secured, and the child was protected from overwork. It intended that the children should be paid for at such a rate that respectable working people would be glad to have them. At its first inception there was a large demand for children for adoption, but that naturally finds a limit, and as the inspection became more thorough and the educational requirements more stringent the proportion of adoptions became less and less and the relative cost of the department rose. In Scotland, from which Miss Clark had the original idea, the children were almost all paid for by the parish authorities, and supervised by official inspectors, without any volunteer aid from lady visitors.

You may read innumerable books and pamphlets on child-saving in the United States, and never see clearly what "placing out" in family homes means. There are adoptive homes, where the children seem to be given up altogether; there are "free homes," over which some kind of supervision is exercised, and these appear the rule, and there are exceptional homes, where children are paid for at a considerably higher rate than in the Australian States. In Philadelphia, when I visited it in 1893, the Children's Aid Society paid two dollars a week (8/4), and provided clothes much superior in quantity and quality to the outfit sent with our boarded-out children, which is just such as working people could afford to keep up on the subsidy of 5/ a week. The ladies told me that after a few years the children were mostly adopted. They were sent to well-to-do people, who would not be satisfied with a dollar and a quarter.

The illustrations published in the reports showed beautiful homes, well-dressed children riding on ponies or playing with expensive toys.

A lady belonging to New York's upper circles said that every young and prosperous country ought to be able to absorb all its orphans and neglected children into families without cost to the State or to the city. She never hinted to foster parents that in other countries they were boarded out, and talked of the thousands of free homes that offered all over the United States.

It is many years since this was said to an earnest Englishwoman interested in boarding out, but quite unable to find free homes for children in the old country, though she thought it might be easy in South Australia.

This, however, relieves the wealthy classes of their share of the burden, for that is not the class that gives free homes. In our early experience in South Australia we found that it was children of ten or eleven who were sought for adoption, in the near prospect of services without payment. Now children of that age are not allowed to be adopted in South Australia unless they have been for many years with the family, and real affection has been proved.

No doubt adoptive homes might be found for all real orphans, but they form a small percentage of our State children—6 or 7 per cent.—but the principle laid down in Australia is that all children must be placed in family homes; not only the children who are deserted, but those who are taken from unworthy parents, because they have been neglected or corrupted by them; children who are not pretty or attractive, who have many bad habits, and who need patience and love to reclaim them. The admirable manner in which the paid foster mothers have done this work is a constant satisfaction to the inspectors and to the Council. There has been an education going on all these thirty-four years. The more the Council expects from them the more these good women rise to a sense of their responsibilities.

Not every kind woman can afford the luxury of taking an extra child to feed, clothe, and care for.

Every child of school-going age must regularly attend the State school, and no child is placed out of reach of a school. The attendance of boarded-out children shows the best average in the State, because the school teachers' reports as to attendance and conduct are sent quarterly to the department.

The school laws of the United States, especially in country districts, are far less strict than they are in Australia, and not so well enforced, and this favors the offer of free homes. Mr. Kelso, head of the Toronto (Canada) Department, warns fellow-workers in the United States that adopted homes need visiting. Still more do what are called free homes need vigilant inspection.

We have seen that the system was seriously damaged here by Mr. Reid's well-meant attempts to save the taxpayer. When I was at the Charity and Correction Congress in 1893 a grand old man from Michigan told us that the New York people sent their children to free homes in Michigan and other western States, and sent no one to look after them. He said he looked after the Michigan children properly, but had no authority to protect those from other States.

Now, it is by direct taxation, which generally falls heaviest on the rich, that the City of New York maintains those children who are not in charitable institutions, and the charitable institutions are subsidised by the city; so that every child who is in a free home anywhere saves the direct taxpayer the cost of his keep, and throws that on the mechanic or the working farmer, who takes the child for nothing. The wealthy lady had not only a benevolent satisfaction in the good free homes offered, but she had distinct pecuniary interest in the transaction, and the carelessness which then existed as to schooling and care and protection from overwork through want of proper inspection is, to my mind, exceedingly wrong. I think, though I cannot be quite sure, that the public conscience in America has been aroused at last to a sense of duty to these children.

Medical attendance free for all such children is paid for by the department in South Australia. Children

travel with their attendants to their foster homes, or when returned to the receiving depot in town if some change is needed, on the Government railways on a fixed charge to the department. This is only a bookkeeping arrangement, as the Railway Department is credited with the money. No considerations of cost or convenience prevent the removal of a child from a home where there is any well-grounded cause of complaint.

This leads to a second fundamental principle, that every child in an institution, whether directly governed by the State Children's Department, or subsidised by it, and every child in a family home under the various conditions of adoption, subsidy, or service, must be visited and reported on thoroughly and regularly.

This was what Miss Clark hoped to secure by the aid of volunteers, mostly ladies associated with the Boarding-Out Society, from 1872 to 1887. She saw that children needed the supervision of kindly and sensible people in the neighborhood of the homes in which they were placed; and the Society did the work so well that they not only protected the children from unkindness or hardship, but they transformed public opinion on the subject of boarding-out.

It was by no means a popular demand at first. The old distrust of human nature had been strengthened by such books as "Oliver Twist" and "The Factory Boy," in which parish apprentices had been represented as half-starved, beaten, and over-worked. Why should people take the waifs of society into their homes except for profit? Five shillings a week could never win kindness for such a troublesome ward as a destitute child.

If the inspection had been from the first merely official public opinion would have been suspicious and sceptical, but when ladies saw the children in these homes, and watched how the dull faces brightened, and the languid limbs grew alert after a few weeks of ordinary life; when they saw the cheeks grow rosy and the eyes with new light in them; when they saw that the foster parents took pride in their progress at school, and made them handy about the house, as they could

never be in an institution, where everything was done to the sound of a bell, or the stroke of a clock, they testified to what they knew, and the public believed in them.

It was many years before any official inspection was provided, and by that time the victory was won. Some service children were placed quite beyond the reach of the most willing voluntary visitors, though subsidy children must be within reach of the ladies committees, or the visitor where there are no committees, as well as within reach of school. The inspection of service children is quite as important as that of children boarded out. Mr. Gray had been a year inspecting for the Destitute Board before he was transferred to the newly-created department. He acted in this capacity for many years, before the demands of the Children's Courts, the next important development of the Council's work, claimed his services as what is called in Boston the State Agent. He also undertook the collection of maintenance fees for the wards of the State, if their parents are able to pay them. But there are now two travelling inspectors always at work—one a gentleman, but since 1899 we have had one lady to share the work.

When a good home or a good service place has been found for any of the children of the State, it is of the greatest consequence that the child should remain in it. As homes, and the mother in the home, are visited by the volunteer or the official visitor before any child is placed out for subsidy or adoption, there is *primâ facie* a strong case made for permanency; and the little ones, generally speaking, stay in the home until the lapse of years changes the conditions, and at the age of thirteen the boy or girl becomes fit for a service home. In cases where the child is under-sized or delicate, or where, owing to his being neglected as to school education before he comes under control of the State, he is backward, the Council has the power to extend the period of subsidy until the child has had a fair chance to be fit for self-support.

Part of the duty of the visitors is to smooth over

little difficulties between the wards of the State and their foster mothers, especially in the earliest and the latest phase of their mutual relationship. Some of the neglected children, taken from bad homes by the police, have most objectionable habits, and have no idea of the discipline and obedience needed in a respectable and orderly home; and at the first encounter with dirt, slatternliness, pilfering, and lying, the worthy women want to return the child forthwith. The visitor recommends patience to the guardian, and exhorts the child to try to be good, so that he or she should not be sent back in disgrace for being naughty. In some few instances the child might be benefited by the discipline of the Industrial School; but as a general rule the scattering of the little ones over the country, mixing with other well-behaved children at school and at play, rids them of their bad habits more effectually than where the naughty children are kept together and watched.

Common sense dictates and experience confirms that to mass together in large schools children of low physique, low morale, and generally inferior intelligence gives to them an environment most unfavorable to their best development.

Orphans and children of thoroughly respectable but unfortunate parents, who have no evil strain of heredity of their own, suffer when they are brought up amongst the children of drunkards, criminals, and loafers in the best-conducted industrial school, and on the other hand the children of the worst heredity have grown up quite respectable if they are placed where young in a decent kindly home.

"The worst part of bad heredity is that it tends to perpetuate an evil environment." Even members of the notorious Jukes family turned out fairly well if they were caught young and brought up by other people. I myself have watched the career of a family or six children thrown on the State, whose parents were as bad as they could be. I do not think there was a moral failure in any of them.

An employer—a Northern farmer—who has had several of our children, some from the Industrial side and

some from the Reformatory side, told me that when he first got them he could not trust them. "When I had A.B. first I could not believe anything he said; and C.D., she was just as bad; but in a year or so they began to see that it was far better for them to speak the truth. And I never thought of doubting them any more than my own children. I have one now—E.F.—and he has never told me a lie from the first; but that is more than you have a right to expect from children that don't know you, and brought up as they have been.

Although permanence in a home is a most desirable thing, there are cases where removal is most advisable. Even the most experienced visitor makes mistakes in her first inspection of the home and talk with the would-be foster mother; and it may be that the cleanest and tidiest woman in the neighborhood has not the sweet temper nor the motherly instincts, that are of more value to the child than the skilful use of the scrubbing brush and soap and water. My friend, Mrs. H. G. Turner, of Melbourne, has told me that the happiest home she visited was one where there was not much tidiness, and a good deal of what might be called dirt; but the three little boys were so happy, did so well at school, and their foster parents were so proud of them, that she overlooked the defects. The foster parents were young and ignorant, and it was touching to see how the father learned with the eldest boy, and improved himself. Three little girls would have suffered more from an untidy home than the boys did.

Children are not kept in a home where they continue to be unhappy after repeated efforts on the part of the visitors to improve the relations between them and their guardians. A child may be a good enough child and the guardian a good enough woman; and yet they may not suit each other. Nothing surprises me more in reading of boarding-out or placing-out in other countries than the very few returns and changes that take place. Here there have always been a good many.

One of the great disadvantages and injustices of the old system of parish apprenticeship was that the em-

ployer could not get rid of him if he was dissatisfied; and the poor boy or girl, however unhappy, could not shake off the bondage of the indenture the parish had made for him.

As Miss Clark said from the very first, our boarding-out system was far more elastic than adoption, and the system on which we license out lads and girls to service is also elastic. I recollect one particular girl, who had been tried in four service homes, and returned for one cause or another, or sometimes for several causes, as unsatisfactory. But in the fifth she took root and remained for three years till she was out of her time; and so far as I know she has been peacefully absorbed, like thousands more, into the industrial population of the State.

We frequently hear that the boys are all right when they go to service from their foster homes, but that the girls do not receive the training for domestic service in the little houses in which they are boarded out. From time to time there are demands for a training school, in which girls from thirteen to fourteen might be fitted for service in well-to-do homes. Our inspectress has been so much impressed with this that she pleads for a training home for girls. Miss Clark has always held out against the multiplying of institutions, and the Government which holds the purse-strings is still more averse.

A training school would involve considerable expense; besides that, in no other institution I have ever seen is the training quite the same as for private domestic service, it is all too much regulated and uniform. But the Council, in consideration of letting the girls go to service at low wages, expects the community to take their part in training these young damsels; to co-operate with us in our work by giving to these children of the State kindness and care and instruction. The subsidised foster mothers have done in many instances more than their bond; but the cottage home can scarcely train for service in a well-to-do household, and there is not much time for training there, because as soon as the girl is released from school attendance she is expected to be able to earn her livelihood.

When ladies have patience and train the girls they are rewarded.

To show how they respond to this sensible treatment we can point to hundreds of girls who have been trained to be first-rate cooks, housemaids, laundresses, and, perhaps, still more, that fine product of Australian conditions, good "generals." Englishwomen have told me they never see such many-sided helps as the Australian "general," who can turn her hand to anything, and who never stands aghast at anything new that needs doing, or protests that it is not her place to do this or that.

Unfortunately, our girls generally are placed for service at a distance from the old foster home.

Employers of our children ought always to bear in mind that the girl has not a mother or any relative to go to on Sunday to pour out her heart to, and they should be more kindly on that account. A friend of mine, who had a girl from the State, said she always kissed her maid when she said good night, because, poor thing, she had never a caress. If the girl had been remiss in her duties, or done anything wrong, the kiss was omitted, and this was felt more keenly than a scolding.

In the case of the Edinburgh foster mothers mentioned by Miss Clark, the changes were very, very few, and they generally managed to find places for their charges. But these children were placed in the near vicinity of Edinburgh, because the parochial Board had no jurisdiction elsewhere. And they were employed either in the city or the suburbs, so that they looked on the foster home as their own home, and brought their earnings, for some time at least, as real sons and daughters of the house would do, either as board, or where board was provided, for advice as to how to spend it. But we shall see later that Edinburgh does not board out half of its parish children.

In Australia the children of the State are scattered over the length and breadth of the settled districts of our island continent, the only restriction being that they must be within reach of a school.

The Chief Justice, in his report of the Destitute Commission, took some exception to there being too great a proportion in such districts as Mount Barker and Macclesfield, because he thought they might be looked on as a class by themselves when they were in such numbers. Be that as it may, the boarding-out of children in such districts where there are young people all around to take up work at thirteen makes it difficult for the foster mothers to find employment so near as to allow of the old home being the centre to which the boy and girl can go on Sundays or free afternoons or evenings.

The boys go further out; many of them to a great distance from the old home; but many are the letters that pass between them. The girls, too, go to country places, mostly at a distance. But however far, the Council keeps the supervision up till the age of eighteen is reached. With regard to girls, it is often extended year by year even to twenty-one if the girl has no home, or unworthy relatives, who might claim her affections on account of sentimental reasons, or for the sake of her money in the Savings Bank. Wherever there are worthless relatives in town the Council will not place girls at service in Adelaide or the suburbs.

Parents, who have never enquired about their children so long as the State has paid for their board and lodging, feel a revival of affection when they are old enough to earn money for them; and when they know that every year there is so much of the children's earnings put by for them in the Savings Bank, there is a strong hankering after "my dear boy" or "my dear girl," and their bit of money, that they may spend in drink sometimes.

Sometimes the compulsory savings go to people not so unworthy, but still not for the earner's benefit.

At the time when the term ended at sixteen a very nice girl was staying on with her employers, when an uncle, who lived in one of the suburbs—(she had no parents)—asked her to live with them as one of their own family, so much nicer than being a mere servant. Both master and mistress warned her that this uncle had taken no notice of her before, and might have pre-

vented her from going to the State, but A—— was sure she would be much happier with her relatives. Six months after she went and begged to be taken back. She had worked harder than she had done in her place, she had spent every penny of her savings, for she got no wages, because she was a relation.

She stayed in the same place afterwards for ten years, and appeared to be treated almost as one of the family. Years after she was out of her time she touched me on the shoulder at some fete on the Kensington Oval and said, "Don't you remember me, Miss Spence?" I said, "No." "Don't you remember Annie?" she asked, pathetically. "I have known so many Annies," I said. "Oh," she said, "here is Mrs. F. and the children." And then I recollected Annie quite distinctly, and all about her.

I was the first visitor appointed for the town and suburbs, and Mrs. Charles Myles, my cousin, of Morphett Vale, was the first visitor for any country district. She had a clerical friend, who objected to the boarding-out system, because Church children were placed with Dissenters. She thought by taking him with her on a round of visits she would disarm his prejudices, but he had something to say against each home. At last she took him to one little girl, who was supremely happy, and asked what he could say about that. He said "she was too well dressed, just like a doll, and would be brought up to be useless. Besides, what would happen to her if her foster mother died?" After that she gave up the case.

Later the visitor persuaded the Destitute Board to remit the payment of wages for a year. After twelve, at that time wages had to be paid or the child removed. The visitor, who had obtained the remission in two cases, wrote of the delight of parents and children. "M—— declares she will never leave Mrs. C——, that she is her own dear mother, and she kissed my hand when I told her she was to stay." Years afterwards M—— went with Mrs. C—— to Yorke's Peninsula, and Mrs. Myles heard that she was a most helpful girl to her mother, who was very much of an invalid, milking the

cows, making the butter, and keeping the house bright and tidy.

An even older reminiscence on my own part may be interesting. The very first visit I had to pay the guardians shut the door in my face. It was only on the third call that I was admitted to see the little girl, whom they had had from a baby. The guardians submitted to an occasional visit from the Destitute Board, but resented a strange woman coming to ask questions. Of all the children I visited during twenty years this girl was the dearest to me. She was adopted without subsidy, and taken from her subsidised home, and I lost sight of her for years. She was supposed to be getting schooling, but she was set to teach the little ones, and taught nothing but catechism. It was a Lutheran school. I was the means of getting her taught after thirteen, and she was assistant teacher at the Magill School until, in accordance with the recommendation of the Commission, the school was all but emptied. She was then over eighteen years, and out of our jurisdiction. After several years in situations she in due time married, and is as good a wife and mother as there is in South Australia. But I never forget how her friends shut the door in my face, nor when I see her helping her children with their lessons, and taking an interest in their school-fellows, can I cease to rejoice that she had the two years' extra schooling in a good public school.



CHAPTER VI.

Children's Courts of Justice.

As South Australia was the pioneer in the substitution of home life for institutional life through the cheerful voluntary aid of visitors and an organising committee, it kept in the forefront when additional powers and opportunities were given, for these things involved greater responsibilities.

Miss Clark had handed in to the Destitute Commission a letter to the Howard Association from Mr. Joseph Sturge, who, in a recent visit to New England, had visited the Courts in Boston, and had watched how the probation system was administered there. He noted that the Court was cleared after the adult cases were dealt with, and reopened for the trial of juvenile offences. "If the case is trivial the child is at once discharged, with a caution to its parents, the State Agent exercising some supervision for a time. If it seems better to remove it from parental control, or if it is under unsatisfactory guardianship, it is committed to the care of the State, and an institution or a home or situation found for it, where it is under proper influence, and where strict supervision can be kept up. The City of Boston employs a probation officer to watch these cases, and even some adult cases of first offenders as well, with the assistance of a good many volunteers, ladies preferred for the girls. And this has had the most beneficial effect morally and economically."

This was published in the Commission report, and recommended for imitation. It took strong hold of Mr. Charles H. Goode, a member of the Commission, as well as of Miss Clark and the Boarding-Out Society,

and the Council agitated for legislation for many years before it was obtained. But, as in the case of many other reforms, its advocates started work on permissive lines. In April, 1890, a room on the premises was given over as a Children's Court; another room made over as a place of detention. As a matter of favor the Police Magistrate or two Justices of the Peace came to try the cases; so that we went further than Boston, and had our juvenile cases tried two streets from the Police Court, and they were closed to all but the parents and the witnesses.

For many years this was permissive only, but in 1896 we had it put on the Statute-book that all young persons under eighteen of both sexes must be tried at the State Children's Central Office, and kept away from all the evil surroundings of an ordinary Police Court. We in South Australia have been wondering when this will be imitated by all our sister States. It stands to reason and to common sense that if we can keep our young offenders out of the Police Court, as well as out of the police cell and Gaol, we may check in the bud an enormous amount of adult crime. Our police annual report tells of a good deal of larrikinism, but the body of adult criminals diminishes. To try the larrikin, and even more notably the larrikiness, in our quiet little room, with no old "pals" to look on and sympathise and admire, with only the parents and the witnesses present, takes away the spirit of bravado that lends glamour to the beginning of a criminal career. The press is not excluded; it is not a secret Star Chamber Court.

The young delinquent, if found to be guilty, has the sentence which an experienced Magistrate thinks fitting. The department has an officer always present to watch the case in the best interests of the child. The last year's report shows that 141 cases of misdemeanor have been tried at the departmental Court. All committals are made there, but we have not yet attained to a provision in the New South Wales Bill, that all affiliation cases should be heard there, a most valuable safeguard in the interests of justice and decency.



DELINQUENT.

Sent to Boys' Reformatory	14
Sent to Boys' Roman Catholic Reformatory ...	6
Sent to Girls' Reformatory	1
Whipped	35
Fined	49
Withdrawn	3
Dismissed	7
Convicted and discharged under First Offenders' Act	9
Sent to Gaol	3
Committed for trial	3
Convicted, cautioned, and discharged	11
	<hr/>
	141

UNCONTROLLABLE.

R.C. Boys' Reformatory	1
Salvation Army Probation Home	1
Dismissed	6
	<hr/>
	8

The bulk of uncontrollable children are committed to the department by the parents or guardians, and do not appear in the Court at all.

NEGLECTED.

To Industrial School	50
Dismissed	12
To Salvation Army Probation Home	1
	<hr/>
	63

DESTITUTE.

To Industrial School	26
Boys' Reformatory	1
Methodist Children's Home	2
Dismissed	7
	<hr/>
	36

Only three of these young offenders will have a criminal trial, and three others have been sent to Gaol, but they will be carefully separated from the older prisoners.

Our new Sheriff, Mr. Schomburgk, has begun a system of classification greatly needed in all penal establishments.

If I was surprised at the other Australian States being so slow to imitate us, I was more surprised to observe that the example which stimulated us, that of Boston, was not followed in other States of the Union. It was not till 1900 that Chicago established a Juvenile Court of Justice on our lines—not only a separate time, but a separate Court, and after that the movement proceeded by leaps and bounds. I am afraid to say how many States have established such Courts. I know of twenty-two six months ago, and my latest news is that almost every State in the United States is moving in that direction. The "Juvenile Court Record" is a monthly paper, dealing with this subject, with character building, and with character re-building under just and wise conditions, and the results that may be expected from this movement are really incalculable.

Each State seems to try to outvie the other in wise handling of the boy tramp, the city waif, the young thief. Colorado seems to go one better than Illinois, Judge Ben. Lindsay, of Denver, is, I think, the king among many princes. In America, as well as in Australia, boys take to criminal courses early. Judge Wilkins, of New York, says half the criminals are under twenty years old. To show something of the spirit in which the culprits are treated, take this of Judge Lindsay:—

"The last case called was a boy of 15, charged with robbing a saloon; physically well developed, but morally of no value in the eyes of a large number of complaining witnesses. He had inveigled four younger boys in the robbery. A past record of many offences stood against him, and after frankly talking to him about the seriousness of his wrong conduct, and of the importance of placing him under good influence and protection, the lad was sentenced to the State Industrial School. (I think this is really a Reform School.)

"The Superintendent of the Detention School was instructed to take charge of him for the night, and to

secure the commitment papers the following morning, and start him to the Industrial School. The boy dropped his head on the table and sobbed. 'My boy,' said the judge, as he rose and laid a friendly hand on his shoulder, 'you may not get away from the Industrial School for years. It might be better if you were able to live as a citizen here at home, but you have shown that you are too weak to do this; therefore I feel that I am doing you the very best kindness in my power by sending you where you will be well cared for and trained. It is not necessary for me to send an officer with you, even though I am told you will never go alone; I know you will. Good-bye.'

"And he went. He arrived promptly, and delivered his own commitment, and this lad, held by the police as a 'tough,' of the hardest quality, completed a two years' record of unviolated trust on the part of the boys committed by Judge Lindsay."

We in South Australia have not as yet arrived at this counsel of perfection, but we are aiming in that direction. The law has always been solicitous as to a child's property, but in the past the person of the child was not taken cognisance of unless there was an estate. Hundreds of volumes of legal lore have been written on the property rights of the child, but now people are writing and thinking of the personal rights of all children.

We of the State Children's Council feel that the practice of fines differentiates between the poor and the rich, and Miss Clark has a scheme by which the fines should be held over, and the offender redeem them, sixpence by sixpence, by every week of good conduct while on probation, which would make parents co-operate with children to secure regular school attendance. Nor do we altogether like the summary punishment of whipping for misdemeanor—thirty-five such cases in the year. We should wish that to be remitted by subsequent good conduct. In America there is more use of the probation officer, a lady, generally speaking, a volunteer to watch the child in the home, and a smaller proportion sent to institutions. We have now,

after repeated applications to the Government, a paid probation officer, a lady who has had experience in the department, and who has in her few months of office shown great insight and tact as well as courage. Our experience also has shown us that to remove a child out of a bad environment is half the battle for reformation. But we hope to diminish truancy, a fruitful source of juvenile offences, by increasing the number of school attendances from the present thirty-five days in the quarter to at least forty-eight. Personally, I should make attendance compulsory every school day, or have a sufficient excuse presented.

A large proportion of the 141 misdemeanors were stone-throwing, breaking windows, obstructing or endangering the streets by playing games in thoroughfares, and other offences against city by-laws, which have to be repressed, but which need never make the beginning of a criminal record. The departmental Court leaves no criminal taint, and this is a great point made in America.

I am the more surprised that the Victorian Government has not established the Juvenile Court, because it was the report of our methods, written by a Victorian journalist, Miss Alice Henry, published in the "Argus," that was quoted with approbation in the London "Times," that led to the establishment of such Courts in Dublin, Belfast, and Cork, and later in a suburb in Manchester, and in the City of Birmingham. Strong efforts are being made for establishing such Courts in London, and the objections made by Police Magistrates would be amusing if they were not so mischievous. "They are quite unnecessary, for children are most admirably dealt with at present. They would be enormously expensive, for they would involve a new department." Wherever these Courts have been tried in the mother country their success has been remarkable in the lessening of cost and amount of delinquency. But in all cities where they are established paid probation officers are absolutely needed.

Nothing in the world could be more economical in its administration than our Children's Court. It fits in

with the State Children's Department. The Magistrate has to walk across Victoria-square to the State Children's Offices, where there is a small court and a lock-up, at a fixed hour (3 p.m.), when he has been telephoned that there is a case, or more than one.

I know that all the organizations of women in Victoria, stimulated by Miss Henry's report, have again and again approached the Government on behalf of Children's Courts, and as yet there has been no result. I know that the head of the Industrial and Reformatory Schools is strongly in favor of this rational and humane way of dealing with young delinquents, but no attention is paid to his recommendations. It is more than three years since I went to Sydney in order to help Mr. Wise's two Bills—one on Juvenile Courts and one on the Protection of Infant Life. The latter Bill, which was not quite so stringent as ours, was carried. But Victoria, which used to boast of being in the van of progress, has lagged behind her sister States, and is only now discussing it in Parliament.*

Our experience shows that these things need not cost much money, and even if they cost ten times as much as they do, it would be wise national economy to carry them out. There is nothing so costly to the State as a ruined life. To save a boy or a girl from drifting into crime or vice is a distinct gain to the community. The principle of the Kindergarten, which we in Adelaide began last year, is not to repress or to punish the activities and curiosities of the young citizen, but to direct them wisely and kindly into right channels.

Richard Dugdale, the well-known author of "The Jukes," says every criminal has been potentially a good citizen with his activities misdirected and his ambitions turned towards anti-social ends. He says also that it was not till England was forced to abandon transportation, and had to keep her criminals at home, that there was any movement to stop the supply by establishing Reformatory Schools for the young, or any idea of "ticket-of-leave" to give a chance to the old.

* While this little book was going through the press the Victorian Bill was passed.

Of course, indeterminate sentences are what is wanted for the adult offenders, but the Commonwealth could immensely lessen the population of the gaols if they everywhere adopted the practice in South Australia, and improved on it wherever they could.

The great movement in the United States since the establishment of Juvenile Courts in Chicago is less based on general public opinion than on the zeal of a great many enthusiasts, and on the extraordinary interest taken in child-study as a fundamental part of psychology and physiology all over the United States. Where there is a judge of such advanced humanitarian ideas that he feels for the child offender, and such insight and wisdom that he knows how to deal with him, and to put him under favorable influences, the success is so great that people fancy there is magic in Children's Courts. But when we have the ordinary Police Magistrate, guided by traditional rules, the results are different. Miss Henry, who has seen these Courts in operation in America, and the more recent ones in England, says that nowhere is the Court so quiet as in Adelaide. In Philadelphia she saw three or four hundred present; in New York it was crowded, and in such noise that it was next to impossible to hear anything.

The Courts could not be cleared of people concerned in cases past or to come. There has been too great a reliance on volunteer probation officers, which, of course, makes the administration cheaper; but she believes that an efficient paid officer is of infinitely more value, and carries more weight than ten amateurs. Our last acquisition in Adelaide is a paid probation officer, whose first report will appear later. In the United States there has been often no detention-room to keep the children in till trial comes on. Some cities have the trials once a week, some twice a week, and there are changes of Judges or Magistrates for political or other reasons.

But private subscriptions sometimes provide a proper lock-up, and there is all through a determination to improve as well as to extend the scope of the Juvenile Courts. The law of the various States is interesting

reading to those who feel the importance of the movement. That framed by Judge Lindsay for Colorado and its chief city, Denver, is the most thorough-going, making contributory negligence on the part of parents, relatives, saloon, and marine storekeepers punishable. I think there is only one Judge Lindsay in relation to dealing with boys. He has recently awakened to the necessity of dealing with girls, which we all feel to be a great deal more difficult. Their number is smaller, but their reclamation and their reinstatement is rarer. Boys go wrong from a spirit of daring and adventure among the stronger, and from bad companionship and fear of losing caste among their bad companions among the weaker boys. They often go wrong from truancy in the first place. Girls are very rarely truants. In the Courts of Chicago and of Denver truancy is dealt with. All American writers on social matters say that the two months' summer holiday given in cities is the opportunity given for boys and girls to earn money, and when the vacation is at an end neither the poor children nor their parents want the schooling much. Many Australians would like two months' holiday for grape and olive picking, and think it would develop our natural industries if we had cheap child labor; but enlightened Americans (and I agree with them) are of opinion that if industries will not pay living wages to adults they are not really profitable to the nation.

Truancy in its elementary stages does not come before the Children's Court of South Australia. It is dealt with by the Education Department, and the parent is fined, even though the whole fault may be the child's. But in a great number of the cases that came before the Court truancy has led to delinquency more or less serious.

The recent regulation in this State that a child must attend school eight times a week—four mornings and four afternoons—instead of thirty-five days a quarter, has improved the school attendance and diminished truancy.

The Juvenile Courts in the United States generally

take cognisance of truancy as well as of delinquency, because there does not appear to be other machinery to deal with that offence. It so frequently leads to delinquency it needs grave consideration, but for truancy pure and simple, unless under aggravated circumstances, a child is not committed to the Council.

I sat for many years on the East Torrens, and subsequently on the St. Peter's Board of Advice, when parents were brought up to account for their child or children not attending the prescribed thirty-five days in the quarter at school, and the reasons given and the excuses made were various; also the methods used to make boys go to school. Thrashing was the heroic cure, and, according to some men, it was administered freely. Girls might give trouble in other ways, but truancy with them was not voluntary. They were kept at home to be useful. Boys stayed away for their own pleasure.

The thirty-five days' limit was often a sort of trap both for boys and parents. Because they could miss so many days without prosecution they were very apt to miss more; and the evil of truancy in towns and cities is that boys consort with bad companions. I recollect a little fellow of nine or ten brought up because he was uncontrollable and would not go to school. The police found him alone in the house chained to a grate. The Council took him in hand, of course, charging his father with his maintenance. He was released on petition in a month, and went to school for a week, and then played truant worse than before. The Council got him again, and sent him to a country home where one or two other boys were. There was nothing to be done there but to go to school. He missed one half day in the quarter because he was not very well, but he attended so regularly that he got his compulsory certificate at twelve. But he continued to go to school and to be paid for till he was thirteen. Parents may set their children to work after this fourth standard is passed, but the Council never does so. I recollect another case, in which I persuaded the mother of an inveterate truant to hand him over to us. She was a deserted wife, and

earned her livelihood by cleaning offices. When the boys should have been at breakfast and be sent to school she was at work. She was also at work after 5, and the boy slipped in and out for food, and she feared he was made a tool of by bigger boys for theft. Reluctantly she gave him to the State. He never played truant more, and he turned out the cleverest of the family.

I do not wonder at Edwards, the naturalist, and Dick, the geologist, playing truant from the dry and formal teaching of the rural parish schools of Scotland, and roaming the country for the education they liked. But truancy in a city is a far more dangerous thing. Modern schools are more attractive and interesting; so that there is less excuse. There is a large suburban school near Adelaide, where no corporal punishment whatever is allowed by the master, and he proudly asserts that he has no truants. The personality of the head master and his assistant teachers keeps them loyal to the school.

In a subsequent chapter I shall treat of the work of the probation officer with Children's Court cases, which are often connected with truancy.



CHAPTER VII.

Protection of Infant Life.

I have spoken of the debt which South Australia owes to the Destitute Board both for its positive services for the relief of the poor, the sick, and the aged, and for the hearty co-operation which it gave to the Boarding-Out Society when it saw that its theories led to excellent results. I have left to this chapter some special obligations which that Society and the State Children's Council, which grew out of it, owe to the suggestions and the practice of the Destitute Board.

The Destitute Asylum, the only one in South Australia for the aged and infirm, is not an almshouse endowed by private charity, or even a benevolent asylum, as in the sister States, partly founded by charitable persons, but very largely subsidised by the general revenue as well as frequently by city rates. The Adelaide Asylum, in which there are old people from all parts of the State from Oodnadatta to Mount Gambier, is entirely maintained out of the general revenue. It gets nothing from the city rates and nothing from private charity. It is not a refuge only for the deserving poor, but for all the aged and incapacitated, who are in destitute circumstances, who have no home or relatives to look after them, and are not able to look after themselves. There are 400 men and women in the Asylum, and these are the only grown-up people who are entirely supported by public charity. More than a thousand old men and women are enabled by outdoor relief and help of friends and children to keep outside of the walls.

But in the Union workhouses of England there is always room found for friendless and penniless women to come there for confinement, who leave as soon as they are physically strong enough to take their burden—

their little baby—in their arms and face the world again.

The Destitute Asylum had been from the earliest days such a refuge, but soon after the appointment of the Board of 1867 provision was made for the separation of these women into two classes. There was a corner dedicated as a home for girls who had made their first slip, girls weak, but very rarely wicked, so as to separate them from women who came for a second or third time. It also separated these from women known to be of immoral character, who occupied a ward with their infants in the ordinary asylum.

It was due to the earnest and persistent efforts of the late Mr. James Smith, long a member of the Board, that in 1881 legislation was obtained which empowered the Destitute Board to make every woman who entered the institution for the purpose of confinement sign an agreement to remain there with her infant, giving it the natural nourishment for six months. This provision has in the last twenty-five years saved many infant lives. Especially in the case of the mothers of a first infant, affection grows strong during these six months.

It is pitiful to see a woman turned out of a Maternity Home with a fourteen days' baby in her arms, trying to make an honest livelihood for both. When a woman leaves this Asylum great efforts are made to find employment for her, where she can take the baby with her; but that is not so easy now as in the earlier times. If the baby dies the mother can go out at once, but the deaths of infants are exceedingly few, and of the mothers far below the average.

If the parents of the mother or any respectable persons petition for the release of the girl earlier they can do so on giving a solemn engagement that the mother shall have full opportunity to suckle the infant, with penalties for breach of contract. In the Home at the Asylum there is a skilled midwife, with an assistant, who are both expected to take a kindly interest in the young mothers, and to teach them domestic, laundry, and needlework if they are deficient. This branch of the Destitute Board's work reflects great credit on the ad-

ministration, and continues to be in their hands; but another allied branch has passed into the custody of the State Children's Council, though it arose in the same kind hearts and wise heads that imposed six months' residence on all the mothers under the Asylum roof.

It is only when absolutely penniless and friendless that women appeal to the Board for shelter, medical attendance, and care. If by hook or by crook a girl can pay for the services, she goes to one of the maternity homes till her trouble is over, and then generally boards out her infant with some woman, who makes a sort of business of it, and goes forth into the world to earn her living, unless her parents or relatives will receive her. We hear a good deal about baby-farming in all parts of the world, which results in the deaths of great numbers of illegitimate infants, because these babies are unwanted, and their death would relieve those responsible for them, but in South Australia it is an obsolete profession.

The Destitute Board were careful as to who should be allowed to take charge of these babies. In some States the issuing of licences is entrusted to the police, who also are supposed to visit the infants; but here the Destitute Board issued the licences, and employed an educated woman—Mrs. Kelly, in the beginning of 1883—to visit the infants once a fortnight or three weeks, and oftener if the child was ailing, or if there was anything doubtful about the home or the foster-mother.

The Destitute Board did well, but the Council has improved on the system, sending out printed instructions as to feeding and care, which the inspectress enforces, so as to reduce the death-rate of children (often handicapped before birth) to something lower than the average among the children of that age in the State.

Miss Alice Henry, the Melbourne journalist, who spent two days going about with Miss Moule, the inspectress for the State Children's Council, says she could not have believed that supervision could be so strict and at the same time so kindly; and she was amazed at the love of the paid foster-

mothers for the little ones. As a rule, only one infant is allowed in one home. The baby must have a separate bed, if it is only in a deal box. Its milk must be kept separate, so that whoever goes short it must not be the baby. The room in which it sleeps must be light and well ventilated. The drains must all be kept sweet and clean. There must be two bottles of approved brands, and one kept in cold water, with a certain amount of soda in it, when not actually in use.

If any epidemic is about, or if the weather is very hot, as it is in our Adelaide summers, and that is very trying to bottle-fed babies, you see the inspectress moving from place to place with anxious looks, full of suggestions, of advice, of encouragement. The foster-mothers hail her as a friend and helper. As she knows that the mothers are often very hard pressed to pay out of wages for the clothes as well as the keep of the babies, she employs most of her leisure and a good deal of her cash in helping with clothes, and enlists her friends in the good work.

It might be thought that a trained nurse was indispensable, but Miss Moule, our inspectress, had no hospital training. Her value was tested by years of work in the State Children's Department, and she has surpassed our expectations.

In Victoria policemen certify and visit the homes, and go to see the babies. In South Australia a good, wise, and kind woman safeguards the children, and no man in obnoxious blue has anything to do with the homes or the women that poor mothers commit their babies to. And the character of the licensed foster mothers has risen, so that strangers wonder where we can find such women. All the inferior people have been weeded out, and the best remain. Our law is very strict. It does not allow a woman to take a single child for fee or reward without a licence, which costs one shilling a year. Miss Moule visits the home and the woman who makes application for a certificate, for one child generally, sometimes for two. When there is a sister or a grown-up daughter competent to help there may be permission for three, or even four. There are 105 homes with one

child, 23 homes with two, 6 homes with three. The Salvation Army Maternity Home is licensed for five. "Last year there were 139 children under two years old supervised, of whom 10 were adopted and 10 died. The percentage of deaths was 7.2. Owing to much unofficial and unpaid effort on the part of the inspectress in procuring from kind friends clothing of all kinds for the children, only three have become State children during the year. Miss Moule saves the country many pounds by these philanthropic efforts, and deserves the gratitude of the children's near relatives as well as that of the foster parents." (Report of State Children's Council for 1904-5.)

How true it is that character is the greatest lever in lifting up. The character of our inspectress acts on the foster-mothers, and the character of the foster-mothers influences powerfully the real mothers. These mothers ought never to be spoken of as fallen women. They may become fallen women if society and churches taboo them. The harshness of women sheltered from temptation to their sisters who have yielded to it, is most un-Christlike and inhuman. These girls have been weak, easily led—probably deceived by false promises. Most of the mothers come from the country, where illegitimate births are far more frequent than in the city. One cause of this is that there is no prostitution in the rural districts, a thing infinitely worse. But another cause has been strongly borne into my mind by studying Mr. Coghlan's statistics as to births occurring before the proper period after marriage. I am convinced that in two cases out of three, if not in three cases out of four, the man does the woman the tardy justice of marrying her, and that there are many cases where circumstances stand in the way, and he regrets it as much as she does. Men are not mostly heartless and callous, and in many of these 139 cases the father helps with the payments. If she has to make them all herself it is a hard struggle to be as well dressed as to keep her place, and to clothe the child as well as pay the foster-mother. It is wonderful the love that grows up in the house where there is only one child placed. "Did you notice

that the poor girl had on broken boots this weather?" said the husband. "Yes, it's a pity; but we can't help it; we're poor people ourselves," said the foster-mother.

"Let her off the 6/ for a fortnight, so as she can get a pair of sound boots to her feet. We'll worry through without it." And they did. And the girl got the boots.

And as the baby grows and thrives the foster-mother shows to the real mother all its pretty ways, encourages it to crow and laugh, takes pains with its clothes, so as to show it at its best, puts up with all the restrictions as to food and management enforced by the department; when it is ill watches over it night and day, and sometimes is the means of reconciling the mother to her relatives.

I am convinced that the extreme solicitude of the State Children's Department, as carried out by its zealous officer, for the life and well-being of these babies raises them all in the family estimation. And they are often so very pretty and engaging that they win love all round. A grown-up son in the house was very proud of little Lily. "Mother," said he, "will you get Lily a cream coat, such as I see other babies wearing, and I will pay for it?"

A more pathetic story I heard from the lips of Miss Moule. A girl respectably connected in the country had been quite cast off as a disgrace, and came to town to take a place, committing her boy to the care of a good foster-mother. When he was old enough to run about, and was trying to talk, the mother took seriously ill, and was lying dangerously sick in the hospital. The foster-mother thought that her own father should be sent for, and wrote to him, giving her own address, but not disclosing her connection with the patient. He came, and was told that he had better take her with him to prepare the daughter for the interview. The little fellow was running about, and the old man took him on his knee while the woman got ready to go out. "You must come with us, Sonny," said she; "I can't leave you alone in the house."

"A fine little chap; your youngest, I fancy. I can see he is a great pet."

"No," said the woman, slowly; "he is not my son; he is your grandson."

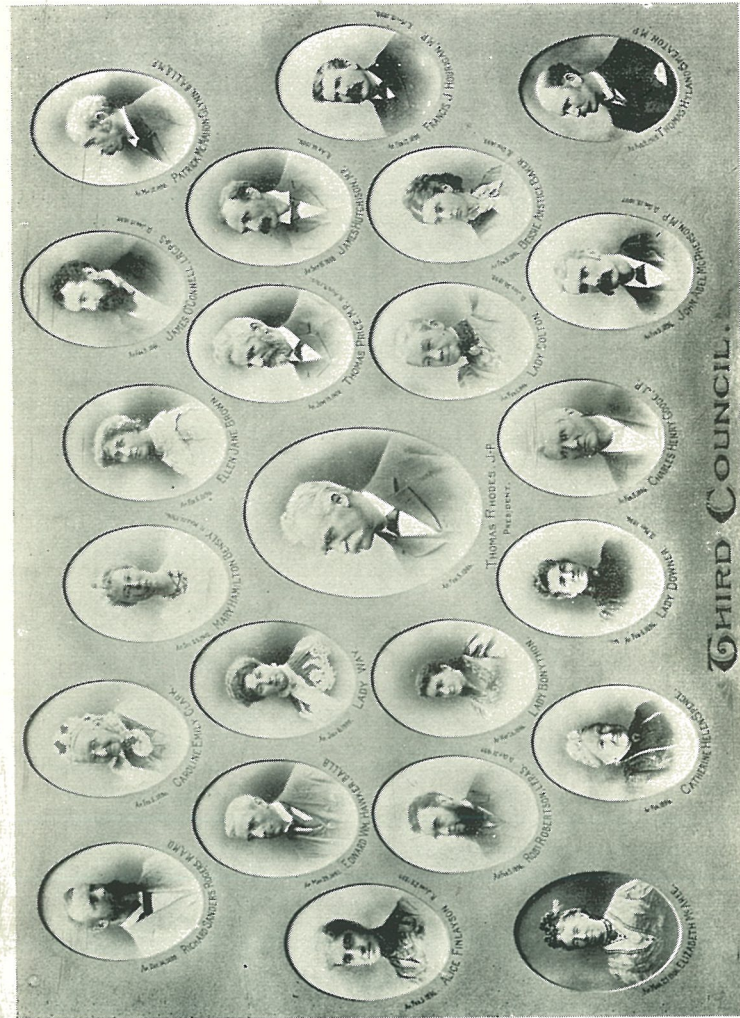
"Good God! My grandson!" Then, clasping the boy to his heart, he said, "I'll never part with him."

The mother recovered, and was taken home and forgiven.

It is by keeping up the tie of love between mother and child that often the mother comes out a better woman than before what people lightly call "her fall."

Thus the inspectress and the foster-mother manages to reconcile the erring daughter to her parents. The foster-mothers sometime have difficulties with their patrons, for when the baby clings to the woman to whom it owes everything, and sometimes shrinks from the occasional visitor who wants love at sight, the foster-mother tries to make the little one show all its pretty ways, boasts of every tooth that is cut, brushes up the little curls, that they may look bright, and coaxes the baby to make friends with the pretty, pretty lady, and does all that is possible to foster love between them.

Sometimes the money is paid, but there are no visits paid at all; nothing but letters with remittances and receipts, sometimes with requests for clothing or money to buy it, very inadequately responded to. One such instance I know of. A little girl was brought to the licensed foster-mother when five days old by a woman, a near relative of the father of the child, who intermittently and grudgingly sent the money. For clothes and boots the foster-mother and her friends had often to provide, and almost every letter containing any remittance was accompanied by a request that she should try to get the child adopted, as it was so hard to pay the money. The poor woman loved the child dearly, and wrote that if the relations could get Kitty adopted they might do so; but that they could not expect her to try to get rid of her darling. When Kitty was eight years old the same woman came to recall her, for they really could not afford to pay for her.



In the eight years the foster-mother's health was much broken, and she was quite dependent on the earnings of two daughters at service, who were as fond of Kitty as she was. "Don't give her up, mother. We will work for Kitty as well as for you. We cannot let her go where she will have no love. She has always had so much love." So the father was relieved from his obligations by the voluntary charity of that family, and Kitty is a very happy little girl.

Whatever may be said of the falling birth-rate and race suicide, those children who are born ought to be preserved in life and health, and not handicapped by false ideas as to the heritage of shame. It is the law of inheritance, working for centuries through public opinion, that has made illegitimacy so much of a disgrace.

By the English law no illegitimate child could inherit either from father or mother unless a will had been made in his or her favor. An illegitimate person had no natural heirs unless he had legitimate children. In a case of intestacy his estate could be es-chéated to the Crown. By an Act of the South Australian Parliament, passed in 1891, illegitimates can inherit through the mother and the mother's relatives, and the mother can inherit from her natural children.

A recent case came under my own notice of an old woman, who had only one illegitimate son, who died before her without making a will, but she inherited a cottage and £77 in the Savings Bank under our South Australian law. If the mother had died first her nearest relative would have inherited the money and cottage.

This just law is having some influence on public opinion, and the controversies about the declining birth-rate and race suicide is doing something for the babies unwanted by the parents, but really wanted by the State.

My friend, Mr. W. A. Holman, said in the New South Wales Assembly that the best Australian immigrant is the Australian baby. Having come into the Commonwealth, we should make the best of it. The author of

that exceedingly valuable book on heredity and environment, "The Jukes," says, "The worst thing about illegitimacy is that it generally means a neglected childhood." So far as our centralised departments go we deal fairly with illegitimates. The Destitute Board gives rations to the children of widows and deserted wives if there is more than one young child. It does the same for illegitimate children whose fathers are not providing for them. A healthy woman is supposed to be able to maintain herself and one child. If she has two under the age of thirteen she has one ration; if she has three, one and a half; if four, two; and so on, increasing by half a ration for each. And a woman may have two, or even three, illegitimate children and still be a good mother—at least we have seen such cases.

The value of the department's work is seen by the fact that during the six or seven years of Miss Moule's work on many hundreds of cases the number of second babies by the same mother is so small they may be counted on the fingers of two hands. After Miss Alice Henry spent two days visiting with Miss Moule she gave her experience to a Sydney newspaper, which was effective in helping the Infant Protection Bill through the New South Wales Parliament. I earnestly hope that when Victoria comes to follow the example she will be able to obtain officials as devoted and as conscientious as we have been so happy as to secure.

The South Australian Act only provides for this close and continuous inspection for two years, as after that time the critical period of infant life is past. The New South Wales Act provides for inspection till the age of seven, but the visits become less frequent after the child is two.

The only place that I am acquainted with which safeguards the life and the well-being of illegitimate infants in the same thorough manner as South Australia, is the City of Leipsig. In Miss Julie Sutter's admirable book on the Elberfeld system of charity as practised in most of the large cities of Germany, entitled "Britain's Next Campaign," she devotes a chapter to this subject, "How the City of Leipsig Keeps its Baby Brother."

Not knowing Adelaide, she writes: "Leipsig is the only city anywhere on earth which has advanced to this level of humanity. The city in the person of Town Councillor Hentschel is guardian to every illegitimate child born in the city. One has heard of babies of great wealth being made wards of chancery, but here is a city making the poorest of the poor, even the illegitimate offspring, wards of her civic responsibility. The mothers of those babes—servant girls, factory girls, barmaids—do as such girls do in England; they put out the children to nurse. Here the city steps in. If a child is given to its own grandmother that suffices; but if it is placed with any stranger whatever, that woman is bound the very next Friday to produce the child in the Council Chamber, weather permitting, or, at any rate, to present herself, that it may be entered in the list of foster-babes, and be henceforward under the care of Dr. Taube, the medical officer under the official head of the Poor Board of the city." The city does not pay for the maintenance of the babes any more than the State Children's Council of South Australia does, but it pays for the inspection. "Leipsig, on behalf of these babies, is divided into eight districts, and Dr. Taube has a staff of eight ladies, one in charge of each district, nominated by the town, and paid the small salary of £25 a year and tram tickets. She is bound to visit the babies at least once a month. About 130 children are under her care." About the same number as our inspectress visits, but the eighth part of a populous city covers a smaller space than Adelaide and its wide-stretching suburbs. The ladies are generally widows, sisters, or daughters of medical men, who know something of children's ailments and can give advice.

The same regulations as to cradles, food, and hygiene are enforced in Leipsig as in Adelaide. After ten years' experience Dr. Taube says the foster-mothers have been educated and improved, and there is never any difficulty in finding good homes for foundlings, though the payment averages only 4/ a-week. Up to the age of six the inspection is kept up, though the visits become less frequent. After the child goes to school the school master's report is considered sufficient protection.

Leipsig and other German cities also board out their orphans and children of unworthy parents in family homes with excellent results, but in care for illegitimates Leipsig surpasses them all. In fact, Elberfeld has its own orphans in an institution with the neglected children (about 240 of them), who cost the city 12/6 a week each, while Leipsig puts them in country homes for £6 a year.

There are not many foster-mothers licensed in the country districts of South Australia, but there are a few, and the police or the clerks of the District Councils look after them in a less strict way than is done in the metropolitan area, but there is less danger there. The State Children's Council gives the licences, and not any local body. It also issues licences for all maternity homes in the province, but its authority is limited. Our inspectress must see and approve of the premises before such licence is given, and every birth must be intimated to the department, as well as to the Registrar of Births. The keeper of the maternity home must also notify when the child leaves the place and where it goes, or is supposed to go to. And we generally find it again under the care of our inspectress, for no one can take a child under two for payment unless she is licensed without incurring a penalty of £20.

Probably in time we may obtain more authority over these homes, but even what we have is of great value in the protection of infant life.

We began with only twelve lying-in homes, but we have no less than sixty-one now, who are forced to take licenses and subject themselves to inspection. I do not think that there are any who can shield themselves from the State Children's Council.

One provision in the New South Wales Act is worthy of imitation in South Australia, and is recommended for an amended Bill by the Council, that all affiliation cases should be heard in the Children's Court. It is by no means public business, and nothing but prurient curiosity leads people to go to the Police Court to listen to such cases.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Institution and the Home.

In the little book of modernised and Americanised fables, written for "The New York World" by Washington Æsop, we find the following. The liberal use of capital letters is similar to that in old books of fables.—

"A kind-hearted She-Elephant, while walking through the Jungle, where the Spicy breezes blow soft o'er Ceylon's Isle, heedlessly set foot upon a Partridge, which she crushed to death within a few inches of the Nest containing its Callow Brood. 'Poor little things,' said the generous Mammoth, 'I have been a Mother myself, and my affection shall atone for the Fatal Consequences of my Neglect.' So saying, she sat down on the Orphaned Birds.

"Moral.—The above Teaches us What Home is Without a Mother; also that it is not every person who should be entrusted with the Care of an Orphan Asylum."

This humorous extravaganza has a serious side. From the depths of human compassion have issued the innumerable charitable institutions for orphaned and worse than orphaned children, and with the best intentions for their growth and development, rules have been made and officials set over them to enforce these rules, always without variation. The children who are docile, quiet, submissive, obedient, those who give the least trouble are the favorites with the Superintendent and nurses and teachers, and consequently to the subscribing public. All originality and initiative are checked or sat upon by elephantine authority. There is no opportunity for enterprise; there is almost no chance for an institution child to do a generous thing. The virtues which are virtues in ordinary life—of punctuality, obedience, diligence—are matters of

routine, and seem never to require the choice between right and wrong, which the child in the world has so often to make in the face of temptation.

The more child nature is studied from kindergarten and school up to University, or to farm, or to workshop, the more do all thoughtful men and women appreciate the value of individualising the young human being, and even the patrons of orphanages begin to see that where children are massed and drilled, not only for class teaching, but for the whole of life, they are incompletely developed, and fail in the powers of persistence in good and resistance to evil that are needed for the economic and the moral battle of life.

One of the oldest societies in the United States, in its ninety-ninth annual report (1905) of the Orphan Asylum Society, has recently reconstructed the buildings and reorganised the administration. Instead of one large asylum the children are separated into family groups of about twenty to twenty-five in each cottage. The members of each family include all ages, from the oldest to the youngest, each under the care of an experienced matron. Each cottage contains a kitchen, dining-room, sleeping-room, playroom, and a sitting-room and library, where the children may read or prepare their school work. A refined, industrious home life is the ideal which the trustees hope to realise.

"The buildings are well spaced, with ample room for flower and vegetable gardens about them. Besides these there is a large general garden and a poultry yard. Well-wooded hill slopes, several springs of cool sweet water from a rippling brook, which flows into the Hudson." Here comes in the modern psychological note:—

"Only life, rich, full, free, natural, and individual, prepares for life. The repression by system and authority that necessarily accompany well-grooved institutionalism can only become oppression to the natural exuberance of the child. The child is by nature an observer, a doer, a maker, a producer. Not to provide for the spontaneous exercise of these activities is simply to shrivel the body and to stupefy the soul. To provide for their expression by means of a narrow, strait-laced

factory or military system is to take the high-bred colt from the open pasture and harness him to a treadmill.

"Nowhere is the benefit of this free outdoor industrial and play life more clearly demonstrated than in the health and immunity from disease that have come with this new environment. Not a single case of measles, scarlet fever, or whooping cough has occurred since we moved to the new home almost three years ago."

In the school teaching industrial training goes along with the regular course, with no loss to the three R's or what can be made of them. Out of 200 children of all ages thirty-five boys cultivate garden plots of their own. Many have poultry of their own. Girls are trained in all sorts of domestic work for their own cottage, and the cottages are so large and so completely furnished that they should be prepared for the better class of domestic service on leaving this home; while the needlework and laundry work prepares them for learning dressmaking or becoming skilled and well-paid laundresses. The boys learn to handle tools, and are fit for apprenticeship to be skilled artisans.

It reads most delightfully, but what does all this cost? Nothing at all to the State of New York. It is a benevolent institution now a century old, and owing to bequests and gifts, sometimes of land in or near New York, its yearly revenue from interest on money is 36,842 dollars, and from rentals collected 32,476 dollars, while donations and subscriptions give 140 dollars, or a total of 69,458 dollars, equal to £13,891 12/.

The buildings put up on new ground fifteen miles north of the old one in the Riverside Drive must have been built by the accumulated fund, and equipped handsomely as well.

The actual cost of 200 orphans—maintenance and schooling and care, exclusive of the buildings—comes to £41 12/ per head; and probably it is an excellent way of spending money left by the dead hand, much better than is common. But such an expenditure in Australia, drawn from the taxes which all the people contribute to, would keep three children in a family home at 5/ a week, and no cost for buildings, with enough

over for the expenses of management and the expenses of the receiving house as well.

For the 200 children there are paid as salaries and wages one-third of the whole cost, as much as the food and clothing costs. Education and training costs as much as fuel and light, nearly £1,000 a year for each. The care of the grounds, &c., costs in money nearly £300 a year.

It is a splendid, and, I should say, a costly experiment if it were not that the money has not to be raised from the benevolent public. It is invaluable as an object-lesson for all endowed charities, but it is not practical politics for Australia. When I was in New York I was amazed at the enormous number of orphanages and asylums for children, generally denominational, that were established in the State, and at the annual reports that gave the rosiest descriptions of their successes, in order to stimulate subscriptions. And yet there were ragged boys and girls in New York and Chicago, as in London, in dire need of good homes and good training.

When Miss Clark initiated the boarding-out system on the principle of dispersing instead of massing the children of the State she and her friends had great hopes that by beginning early we might cut off at the root the evil, parasitic growth of pauperism and crime. Workhouse children drift to the workhouse in later life. It was the experience of the Governor of Edinburgh Gaol that children from the poorhouse were getting into prison out of all proportion to their numbers that made him gather friends to back him in applying to the Town Council for permission to board out the little orphans and waifs with respectable people as a permanent arrangement, and not merely as the temporary expedient mentioned by Miss Clark.

In Scotland, however, in country parishes where there was no poorhouse, the authorities boarded out the children. Readers of Norman McLeod's beautiful book, "The Starling," will recollect the orphan girl, placed out at 2/ a week with a most unamiable woman, who made her a drudge, and who had and exercised a

right of physical correction not allowed by the authorities in Australia, and the difficulty the old sergeant and his wife had to have her transferred to their loving care. I myself recollect an old woman in my native town, Melrose, who had a little boy from the parish, whom she received the liberal payment of 1/6 a week. How he was treated I do not know.

The Edinburgh rate of pay is 3/ a week for board, and, I think, clothing and shoes supplied besides. But, as we shall see later, it varies according to age and circumstances. In Leipsig, Germany, Miss Julie Sutter tells us the city boards out all orphans and children thrown on it through desertion by parents or through bad character of parents at a cost of £6 a year for everything, which is a considerably cheaper rate than Edinburgh pays. In Edinburgh and other Scottish cities the inspection is only official, but it is thorough. In Leipsig the inspection is generally done by the pastors of the villages where the children are placed, who receives a small gratuity per head.

In Scotland, however, it is a voluntary thing for the cities or the parishes to place out or to keep in institutions, but the comparative cheapness of the subsidised home has led to its very general adoption.

In Ireland it is as usual to put the children into family homes, both as cheaper and as better for the health and development of the children. Epidemics which break out in institutions are far more serious and fatal than in country homes.

If the English Unions had not built those costly district schools, economy and common sense, as well as kindness, would have dispersed the children of the State by thousands instead of by hundreds, greatly to the national advantage. Miss Sutter calls special attention to the landlessness of the English working classes in the country in contrast to the small proprietorship of the same class in Germany. People with a bit of ground, a garden, a cow, and a pig can afford to take a child for £6 a year, whereas the rural homes are rented, often rack-rented, in England; and perhaps the most suitable foster-mother has too little space in

her house to satisfy the lady visitor or the local government inspector.

When Miss Clark began operations as head of the Boarding-Out Committee there were similar difficulties in the selection of homes, and especially when at headquarters there was a strong prejudice in favor of having the children adopted, so as to save the taxpayers. With the progress of the colony homes suitable became more numerous, and with the careful and continuous inspection the people were educated up to the requirements of the Council, so that now we have two applications for one child instead of two or three children for one obtainable home in the early days of boarding out. Unless in placing out brothers and sisters together, the Council does not board out boys and girls in the same home. There are more homes with one child than with two. A larger number is rarely given.

In New South Wales the State Children's Relief Board has a number of cottage homes for children too delicate or needing too much supervision to be put into family homes. They are not so palatial as the New York homes of the wealthy society. There are eight of them, with twenty children each, under the care of a matron. They are much more expensive than boarding out. Neither in South Australia nor in Victoria is there any similar provision for exceptional children not fit for family homes; but by means of a larger subsidy we place out delicate and deficient children.

In both Victoria and South Australia, we have for children of service age an intermediate probationary home with the Salvation Army officers for milder discipline than they would receive at the reformatories. This, of course, can only be done with Protestant children. But the Roman Catholic reformatories for boys and girls make rules for themselves, and can discriminate between different grades of character.

It is so difficult to judge of the effects of any system of dealing with children apart from other contributory influences that we can only guess at how far our hopes of cutting off the pauper spirit at its root have been realised. That great expert in heredity and environ-

ment, Mr. Richard Dugdale, says that pauperism is more hereditary than crime, for crime connotes activities which are misdirected, but which can be turned in right directions by motives strong enough to counteract habits, and that in youth this transformation is comparatively easy, because habits have not been fixed. Pauperism, on the other hand, is characterised by low vitality, low intelligence, and feeble activities. It is not so accessible to motive as the criminal heredity. But our experience leads me to believe that even this heredity, when a child is placed young with an industrious, respectable family, where there is any ambition, imbibes the atmosphere of the household where he or she lives, and of the school where other children are trying to get on, in hopes of advancing themselves in the world.

Accurate statistics are not available, but during ten years on which I have sat on the Destitute Board I have not found many of our boarded-out children applying for relief unless in case of widowhood with young children, or sickness, in which assistance is a legal right.

When we consider how many thousands of our children have been absorbed into the body of the people during the thirty-four years we may be perfectly certain that the percentage of applicants would have been very much larger if the children of the State had been kept in barrack-like institutions all the time.



CHAPTER IX.

Advantages for Reform Work in Australia.

It is somewhat noteworthy that Boston, from which South Australia derived the earliest idea of separate Courts for juvenile offenders, seems never to have taken a step in advance till the year 1906. The last issue of the "Juvenile Court Record" tells us that Boston has at last been stirred up by the example in twenty-three other States to start a real Juvenile Court, with two paid probation officers, as well as any number of volunteers, to give continuous attention to children, either when allowed to go home to their own parents and their old environment or placed with other people outside of institutions.

All through the United States there is such diversity in dealing with neglected and delinquent children that there is no American system to anything like the extent that there is an Australian system. When it was put on the Statute-book that children were not to be kept in institutions, but to be boarded out at the cost of the general revenue, first in South Australia, and afterwards one after another in the other States of Australia, no consideration of local charges or for the buildings erected, or the staff engaged in institutions came in the way. The children must be dispersed.

When it was put on the Statute-book in South Australia that no delinquent boy or girl under eighteen years old should be brought before the Police Court for any offence short of manslaughter, the thing had to be done, and New South Wales has enacted a similar law.

The Australian States, and especially South Australia, has a machinery that is lacking elsewhere, in a department not dependent on local rating, elastic in its methods of procedure, which Law Courts are not. The extraordinary number of boys and girls put on proba-

tion in their own homes in Chicago and New York and Indianapolis, largely dependent on volunteer officers, strikes me as dangerous. Here we have far more good boarding-out homes offered than we can supply; and although it is well to give some of the neglected and delinquent children a chance in their own homes, with a skilled and experienced probation officer to call frequently and keep the parents up to the mark, we have seen that in such cases of truancy as I have mentioned in Chapter VI., and in many cases of petty larceny, the salvation of the boy can only be gained by removal to a country home, away from the temptations of a great city, and from the bad companionship which has led him astray. This is why Children's Courts should do better work in Australia than in America, because we have more resources for different contingencies.

The Council has four alternatives for a delinquent boy. The Reformatory at Magill, if he is very bad; the Probation School at Mount Barker; boarding out with respectable people in the country; and leaving him at home on probation.

There are the same four alternatives for a delinquent or uncontrollable girl, and in the case of girls the home, if it is a bad or indifferent one, and the environment there, is much more dangerous than for a boy. The same number of the "Juvenile Court Record," already quoted as to the new legislation in Boston, contains a sensible paper by a lady as to girls. She says that it is very rarely right to leave a girl whose conduct has been so bad that she is brought up before the Court in her own home. Our experience here confirms this. My dear friend, Mrs. Hood, who was recording clerk to the department for ten years, and died in the service, said she would like to live to write a little book on the mistakes of the Council; and these mistakes she held to be that the Council yielded to the solicitations of parents too readily, and allowed children to go back to very indifferent homes. Especially did she remind me of the bad effects of letting the girls from the reformatory go back to their old habitat, saying that if the parents could not control them at fourteen they

would be less able to do so at sixteen or seventeen. In the girl's own interests the Council should keep the surveillance and control of such girls as long as the law would allow them to do so, that is till the age of twenty-one, when all our authority ceases.

Watching the reports of operations in the monthly "Juvenile Courts Record," I notice that boys are undoubtedly the predominant sex in the interest they arouse in the public. That is not only on account of their numbers, but on account of the greater hopefulness of dealing with them. It is comparatively easy to turn a boy's activities into a right direction, and to encourage the spirit of emulation and daring for good things instead of evil, but the temptations of a girl are different. Vanity, love of fine clothes, and of personal ornament, rivalry with other girls for the good opinion of men, and dislike of household monotonous drudgery, with a desire for an idle life, are responsible for the beginnings of a vicious life. How difficult in a girl's reformatory to work upon the girls we hope to rescue. It is only by genuine love for the girls on the part of the matron and her helpers, and by sincere religious principles, brought into action every day and all day long, that we may hope to inspire worthier objects of ambition in these our young sisters, and lead them higher and higher towards perfection.

It is not at all hopeless work, though it is difficult; and I agree with the American writer that it is work for women—for the best of women. We have many of our girls married and respectable, good wives and mothers, who are grateful for the care and training given in the reformatory.

But many girls as well as boys whom the Court commit to the reformatory do not remain long there, because when the Superintendent finds them well behaved, or when we know more of the case than first appeared, they are transferred to the Industrial School, which is not a place of punishment, but only a receiving depot, and they are then transferred to a subsidy or a service home.

All children are committed till eighteen, but they

can be released on petition to the Governor, who is guided by the recommendation of the Council, or ought to be so guided, as they have the means of learning about the parents and the homes. Mrs. Hood, in her experience as recording clerk, thought the Council was too soft-hearted for the petitioning parents. Her first thought was the welfare of the children.

That South Australia improved on the practice of Boston, and was ten years ahead of Chicago and New York in regard to Children's Courts, is probably due to the fact that a picked body of experts, with a competent staff, were on the watch for improving their methods and extending their scope, as no ordinary official department, whether city or parochial, was likely to do.

The reader will note that it was the example of Edinburgh in boarding out that first stirred up Miss Clark to petition for its being tried here, instead of building a big Industrial School at Magill, and people say that Scotland boards out all her *pauper* children. This is the phrase that offends the eye and the soul in the Local Government Reports of England and of Scotland. But such is not always the case.

In my diary for 1894, April 24, when I was staying in Edinburgh, I went to see Mr. Greig, the father of boarding out there, who told me he had only 220 children boarded out, all doing well, visited by inspectors paid and appointed by the parochial board; payment, 3/ a week; on an average less for little children, as much as 4/ for bigger, and clothes provided by the parochial board. But he said these were not half of the children who ought to be boarded out; the others he had not a chance of. In the Report of the Local Government Board for Scotland, 1905, I see questions to be put, but not any answer. How many children are boarded out? How many in the poorhouse? What reason given for not boarding out such children?

In Leipsig and in South Australia such questions need not be put.

Another extract from my 1894 diary. "Dumfries, May 29. Miss Maxwell and I went to see the Industrial

School, which is only for destitute and neglected boys. The Government grant is 5/ for big and 3/ a week for small boys. The County of Dumfries gives £30 a year, and the County of Galloway less. There are private benefactions and the boys' earnings, for it is really an Industrial School. They have three hours' schooling daily—only the elements of education. People seem always afraid such children might learn too much. Three hours a day they work at making fishing nets, wood-cutting, and turning, tailoring, and shoemaking.

The only school holidays they have is when farmers want them, and hire the big ones at 1/ a day and food, and the little ones for food only. That is the four weeks which in Scotland is always given in harvest time, and probably an extra time in the spring for the industrial boys. The wages are paid into the institution funds. A friend gave a small engine, and another a wood-splitting machine. A kind lady provides the kilts, &c., for the band, who play on the bagpipes and drum. The band boys generally go into the army, and do well. At sixteen the boys go out into the world, and are generally apprenticed to some one in the town. There are two at Mr. Maxwell's, learning bookbinding. The wages are paid to the institution which feeds and clothes them, and allows them a little pocket money. They raise a good deal by an annual entertainment for the Industrial School. The food is plain, but abundant. Three school teachers take the boys in relays, but they must have three hours' play every day, except the vacation, when they have none.

Mr. Primrose, a director of the school, says their greatest trouble is with worthless parents—tramps—who watch for the day of release, and come to claim them. Boys are requested to report themselves once a year for three years, as the Board of Directors wants to hear of their after career, but it is only optional."

I said that in South Australia the little boys would be boarded out and the bigger ones at service on our distant farms, well out of reach of the tramps, till they were eighteen years old, and they would not cost the country anything for buildings or the charitable public



MISS C. H. SPENCE.

anything at all. They were none of them called criminal boys.

Another extract from my diary when in a London suburb: "Had a lovely drive, past the great district school of Sutton. It looked like a village, except that the buildings were so large. There are 1,800 children in it, and with the staff it makes up more than a village population. My friend, Mr. C——, told me that girls out of the school were so ignorant and careless nobody would have them that paid decent wages. He supposed they were fed and clothed and looked after, but every Derby Day the whole band of them went to the roadside and begged, and silver was showered on them enough to give them a fine picnic, and he rather thought prizes for good conduct as well. This, I thought, associated the only treats of their lives with gambling and horseracing. It also was the one day of great excitement in a most monotonous life."

I contrasted the life of these 1,800 children with that of the children of the State in Australia, and I thought of Miss Clark's success, while her cousin, Miss Florence Hill, has been working ever since she wrote her appeal to commonsense and humanity, "The Children of the State" has been working harder than any one in Australia has ever done to obtain only permission here and there over England to place children in country homes on subsidy.

Reformers in the mother country have to apply to Unions or Parish Councils, already hampered by having spent large sums on institutions, and by the claims of officials employed in them, and there is none of the thorough-going spirit which animates an Australian Legislature to do the very best for the children of the State that is possible. A Government could utilise buildings for some other purpose, or even sacrifice them altogether if it was for the common good. And in the case of this reform it began in South Australia thirty-four years ago, and was followed by the other colonies in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand in the course of a few years after; so there were not many buildings to transfer or sacrifice. District schools and orphan-

ages are the white elephants for which far better things must be foregone.

Miss Clark has often said that we do not deserve much credit for our work, for we were helped by favorable opportunity and encouraged by public sympathy.

Still, it is by experiments made in easier conditions and proved to be successful that workers harder pressed are encouraged to go on. Our Australian pioneers have probably builded better than they knew.

In America, in a young and prosperous and wealthy community, where the newest and best ideas are working in so many minds, there are greater difficulties than we have in Australia, for not only is there the local government in a more pronounced form, but political influence affects the *personnel* not only of Judges and Magistrates, but of the heads of charitable and State institutions. The result of an election in Chicago when I was there in 1893 displaced the Director of a great school for the deaf and dumb, which he had inaugurated and conducted successfully for sixteen years, in favor of a man of the victorious political party.

Last year a correspondent in Denver wrote to me that Judge Ben Lindsay had been re-elected as County and Juvenile Court Judge by receiving the votes of three parties, but that unless his merit had been so universally acknowledged he might have been displaced because his own political party was the minority party in the State of Colorado. Colorado being one of the four States which have woman suffrage, his majority at the polls was swelled by the votes of the women, who are grateful for what he has done for boys.

This tribute to the ability and honesty of the man was given in spite of his unpopularity with the wealthy trusts, whom he had opposed in his capacity of County Judge.

But if public feeling had not been stronger than political partisanship, an inferior man would have been elected. It is difficult to make Australians keep in mind that all Judges except the nine Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States are elected for

terms of offices, and that the number of ex-Judges practising at the Bar is legion.

There naturally results from this an uncertainty as to the tenure of office of the best and most experienced Magistrates for Children's Courts, and they are open to criticism also, because the Judges are not appointed and dedicated to the work, but often take the work in turns with others. In some cities the juvenile cases are taken one day in the week, in others twice a week, and apparently there are very few which have a separate court-room. If South Australia were governed now under the American system of exaggerated local government, and recurrent popular elections, not only the Chief Secretary, the official head of the department, would be liable to removal, but such experienced and enthusiastic heads of departments as our late Secretary, Mr. J. B. Whiting, and as our present Secretary, Mr. James Grey, would be in danger of dismissal if a political election put in power a party different from the party which appointed them, and which had a friend or supporter for whom a billet would be advantageous.

The retention of our public servants during good behaviour is a protection of public interests as well as of political morality.

Through the change in the city administration of New York, 1904, under the present Civil Service system—insuring a permanent tenure only in the subordinate offices—an abrupt change was made not only in the Mayoralty, but in the heads of the departments which more directly affect the lives of the poor, viz., the Department of Public Charities, the Tenement House Department, the Health Department, the Department of Correction, and the Police Department.

The consequence is that everything is hung up in the way of progress till the new heads learn something about the new departments. This was especially seen in the Department of Public Charity, where most important measures may be reversed by new management.

CHAPTER X.

Children in Orphanages and Benevolent Institutions.

In the introductory chapter I said that when South Australia separated Church from State it did so completely, and neither subsidised churches nor charities which were denominational from public funds.

Wherever these charities are endowed by the State they spring up in abundance. Where they are not so endowed it needs large sums for buildings and constant liberal subscriptions for maintenance from private charity. South Australia had only a small orphanage for Church of England girls and a larger one for Roman Catholic boys and girls in existence when Miss Clark began her work. But in the other colonies there were many charitable institutions for children which were kept going by grants of pound for pound in aid of subscriptions, often two or even three pounds for one, and yet the Government could not order their dispersion.

The great Industrial School at Randwick (Sydney) took many years to empty, because it was not a purely Government establishment, but had some subscriptions. In Melbourne there were many orphanages; but for many years past the managers have boarded out a large proportion with their own mothers, for orphans are not merely children with no parent, but the greater half of them are only fatherless, or the children of deserted wives. Dr. Barnardo boards out a large number of his city waifs in country homes, and I recently met a lady who had acted as a volunteer visitor to his children on pretty much the same lines as our Ladies' Committees in Australia. All experts in children nowadays see the advantages the natural home, or the best possible substitute that can be found for it, has over the in-

stitution; but among ordinary people the orphanage still appears most attractive, and much more charitable.

In July, 1893, I was dining in Toronto with some leading people at the house of an eminent Canadian politician, or, rather, I may call him statesman, and I happened to speak of our methods with the children of the State in South Australia. A lady present said they could not be better done for than in the Protestant Orphanage of Toronto—the children were so well behaved and so happy. She offered to drive me to see it on the following day, and called with another friend in a comfortable carriage to take me there. On the way she talked of the economical management, and said that it cost only a dollar a year each to keep the children in shoes. I thought Toronto shoes must be very good, but when we reached the orphanage I found all the children barefoot.

This, however, was accounted for by the fact that July and August in Toronto, as in the United States, are always vacation time; and when the children did not go to school they did not need to wear such expensive things.

Well, in Scotland these are not always essential in summer even during schooltime, so I did not mind shoes and stockings.

"Was the school not in the building?" I asked.

"No; in a large building close by under the Education Department."

I afterwards heard that the education given in the orphanage by teachers engaged by the managers had been so poor that the Education Department had taken it in hand.

"What do the 200 children do all the two months?"

"Oh, the bigger boys do some work, and the girls can sew and knit. The little ones play about."

I had not then seen the Dumfries Industrial School. That was visited the following year, or I might have asked if they hired out the boys to farmers for harvest work.

I thought they looked a very listless set of children,

with very little energy put into their play or their work. It was a large and well-appointed building, and exceedingly clean and tidy. That is what every one can see—what the committee can contrast with the ordinary working woman's home, into which I recommended such children to be sent. I asked for the last annual report. There did not seem to be a copy available. I said I never was satisfied to visit any institution without seeing the report, and after a long search one was produced.

From it I gathered that even with two months' vacation the shoes needed cost twice as much as had been told me. I also discovered that, though the lady who praised the orphanage collected money for the charity, she did not herself contribute. Possibly she was a life member.

At that time there was no boarding out in Toronto, but I spoke of it at several meetings, and soon after Mr. Kelso wrote to Adelaide for our Acts and our regulations, and followed us so closely that in the "Juvenile Court Record" Toronto has the credit of establishing the first Children's Court in the world. He learned from us also the necessity of keeping hold of children in free homes and in adoptive homes, and sounded a needed note of warning at a Conference in Chicago recently. In one matter Mr. Kelso has gone beyond South Australia, and that is the Curfew Bell to call children from the streets who are unaccompanied by some responsible elder person. I have not quite made up my mind about this, but it may be a safeguard.

But to return to orphanages, and to the manner in which many philanthropic people who manage them are returning children to the fatherless homes by paying the mothers for their keep. This has never been done in South Australia, because if a widow without means has young children she has a right to relief from the Destitute Board in the shape of rations. I have always considered the scale too low, and have recommended the addition of potatoes and fuel to the allowance, but thousands of widows and deserted wives have managed to bring up families with this steady help from Government.

I have sat for nearly ten years on the Destitute Board, and I consider this outdoor relief has saved the State from the necessity of entirely supporting a very large proportion of the children of widows. In the United States and in England there is a great prejudice against outdoor relief—the cheapest and the least pauperising of public charity when well administered. When I asked how a woman could maintain five or six young children by her own industry I was told she could put two or three of them in a district school. I think it better to help a respectable woman to keep them all at home.

In the other States of Australia there is no such organised outdoor relief, although there is a large amount of private charity dispersed by Ladies' Benevolent Societies and by Government subsidies; and in New South Wales the hardships of the widows, of deserted wives, of the women with husbands in gaol or in the Lunatic Asylum were pressed so on the State Children's Relief Board that in 1896 they began to give subsidy generally at a lower rate; but, guided by the circumstances of the case, from 1/6 to 5/ a week for each child. The thing grew and multiplied, and, by the latest report, 1,179 such women are receiving allowance towards the support of 3,146 children under twelve years of age. As education is compulsory till the age of fourteen it seems cruel to stop the subsidy at twelve. In the early days of boarding out in this State there was a disparity between twelve and thirteen, which troubled our committee. The total cost in New South Wales for these 3,146 children last year was £20,118. There are 2,368 supported entirely by Government either in boarded-out homes or in the eight cottage homes for invalids, and 1,268 supporting themselves, except for the cost of official supervision and transfers, and 254 adopted without subsidy. The subsidy for children with strangers amounts to £28,809, so *per capita* the payment to mothers is less, and, as a rule, the homes are poorer.

In New South Wales the nominal rate for healthy children is 5/ a week, as in Victoria and South Australia. Children under two years old are paid for in all the

States at a higher rate, as they need more care; but children with their own mothers are paid for according to circumstances, from 1/ the lowest to 5/, equal to what is paid to strangers.

In Victoria some years after this departure in New South Wales deserving widows were subsidised, but the example set was not fully followed, or the applications were more checked, for out of 3,044 children paid for by the department there are only 819 left with their own mothers.

Under Part VIII. of the Neglected Children's Act of Victoria no less than ten societies and three individuals are registered as supervised by the Department of Industrial and Reformatory Schools, accounting for 2,401 children. None of these, however, are Roman Catholic societies.

The work of these societies lightens largely both the labors of the staff and the cost of the department. There is no such jurisdiction in New South Wales, or in South Australia, over voluntary bodies for child rescue. But the number of denominational orphanages that still exist in the two more populous States is still considerable. During twenty-four years New South Wales has registered 254 cases of genuine adoption. These are generally of orphans or of illegitimate children.

In South Australia the earliest care of the Immigration Department and of the Destitute Board that took its place was for the young children whose fathers were dead or who had left the province seeking work or abandoning responsibility for their families. There were not in these old days old people past work to provide for. These came in the course of time, and had to be provided for either in the Destitute Asylum or by outdoor relief in their homes—400 inside and 1,343 outside. By the last report there were 2,144 children relieved by rations, which arrangement has enabled the State Children's Department to decline to give subsidy to widows and deserted wives. This, too, accounts for children not being placed with near relatives, such as grandmothers and uncles and aunts in such numbers as we see in

Scotland, because these relatives can obtain rations if they take the children to their homes.

I think the ration scale could be increased with advantage, but it has been of very great service to widows and deserted wives. It also gives help in the sickness of the breadwinners of the family, and prevents many children being thrown on the State for entire support. So many people are prejudiced against outdoor relief in any shape that I am glad to bear my testimony to its beneficent effects as I have seen it applied. And as the money in South Australia does not come from local rating, but from the general revenue, every one who lives in the State must contribute directly or indirectly to the support of the old and the young in these two charitable departments — the Destitute Board and the State Children's Council.



CHAPTER XI.

Institutions under the Control of the State Children's Council.

In the course of years many changes have been made in the *personnel* of the State Children's Council, as well as in the scope of the work. Mr. H. W. Thompson resigned the Presidency in 1895, and the Council elected as his successor Mr. Thomas Rhodes, our present zealous head. In all matters connected with our children and with all children he has always taken the keenest interest, and the subject of truancy especially has claimed his attention. The number of photos surrounding that of Mr. Rhodes in our illustration shows how many changes from death and departure from the State have been made in eleven years. And during this time important branches have been undertaken.

One of the recommendations of the Destitute Commission was that the Roman Catholic reformatory girls should be put in charge of a Roman Catholic sisterhood, as they were in Victoria. Although the State Children's Council was undenominational, the importance of religious influences to delinquent girls was felt to be very great, and that influence could not be exercised by a Protestant matron (however good she might be) over Roman Catholic children. It is the only difference we make in placing in family homes, that Roman Catholics must be placed with those of their own faith, while Protestants of all denominations who are of good character are available for Protestant children of any denomination.

The frequently recurrent demand for Church homes for Church children arises from the paucity of such homes, which, from the first, have been offered for the great number who are committed as belonging to that

denomination. As Miss Clark writes, it was nearly wrecking our Infant Committee, and was only overcome by the moderate attitude of the Bishop of Adelaide. As far as possible the department puts Anglican children in church homes.

But the question between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism is a much larger one. In the Receiving House for Industrial Children, where the matron is a Protestant, there is always a Roman Catholic nurse to teach the children their catechism and take them to church. But this is a temporary place of residence, and the foster or service home to which the children are sent is always differentiated as to the creed between Roman Catholic and Protestant.

In the reformatory the young delinquents stay for years, sometimes for the whole of the term of sentence, if conduct does not show that they are fit to be sent into the world, and the religious teaching must be that of the Church into which they have been baptised. But it was not till June 3, 1897, that the Sisters of St. Joseph at St. John's, near Kapunda, undertook to care for, train, and teach the girls of their own faith who had been committed to the Reformatory, on consideration of the subsidy of 10/ a week.

Six months after Father Healy's home was opened for Roman Catholic reformatory boys, and ever since they were placed there they have been cared for and taught by lay brothers, under Father Healy's superintendence. This good parish priest had done splendid temperance work in Hindmarsh and Bowden, and he settled down with the boys on a block of land not so good as what the Protestant boys have at Magill, but nearer Adelaide, at Brooklyn Park, west from the city.

The subsidy is lower than for the girls, as the work of the boys is of some value. The same sort of work prepares the Roman Catholic boys for the country life, for which they are intended, as the boys under Mr. Button, farming and gardening, and the management of cows, pigs, and poultry. The teacher in the Protestant Reformatory is appointed by the Education Department; the teachers in the Roman Catholic establishment are

lay brothers. They get a great deal more religious instruction, and learn a great deal more sacred music than their compeers at Magill. I always like to hear them sing.

The Council is satisfied that Father Healy and his assistants do all in their power for the boys. We do not interfere in the management, though we do not shake off our responsibility.

The Girls' Reformatory at St. John's is under the care of devout women, who seem to love the work, but the indoor life of the girls both there and at Redruth has not the cheery characteristics of outdoor work in the field and garden. Both at Brooklyn Park and at St. John's there is a beautiful chapel for the wards of the State. Their first ideas of beauty are connected with the pictures and figures of Our Lord, Our Lady and the saints, and of the vestments of the officiating priest, and the sounds of sacred music.

The subsidy given to these two organizations is not the only link between them and the Council; a certain amount of surveillance is always maintained, and the Council pays occasional visits officially. The Council places out the children when the Mother Superior or Father Healy informs us they are fit for service, and is always grateful if either the one or the other can recommend a suitable home.

The relations of the State Children's Council with the Roman Catholic Church, whether with individuals or with the official heads, have always been of the most friendly character, and we are profoundly grateful to them for taking in hand the reformatory boys and girls.

The Council's Inspector and Inspectress visit the subsidy and service homes alternately, and these children are visited by the committees or the unattached single visitors where we have no committees. We have always had two Roman Catholics on the Council, and when committees are formed there is, I think, always a Catholic member. Not that this member is to visit the Catholic children exclusively, for that would give rise to some reflections as to fairness, but as a safeguard

against any possible injustice or misunderstanding of the needs of such children.

In the course of thirty-four years things crop up that were not apparent at first. I have written of a service girl who was tried in four places before she took root and stayed. Among the hundreds of inexperienced boys and girls who go out at thirteen there are many who are troublesome, incompetent, saucy, or naughty to such an extent that they get returned time after time to the receiving depot. This, with its shifting population and with many calls on the nurses for making new outfits for all children sent out, was not the place where girls or boys could get the training they needed. Nor were the children returned as naughty, at all a good element in the receiving depot.

The example of Victoria, which had got good help from the Salvation Army for wayward girls and boys, was considered by the Council.

These troublesome children were by no means bad enough to be sent to the Reformatories. As a rule, they are not the boarded-out children, who have been placed in family homes young, who give so much trouble after the age of thirteen. Children are committed as neglected at all ages, and as uncontrollable often far too young to go to a reformatory. Children, too, who are dull in intellect, backward in school attainments, and weak in will power, fall into our hands too late to have the real benefits of a respectable home and regular schooling, and for this reason there are many children who need continuous care and individual instruction.

The Salvation Army offered a home at Woodville for the girls, which was opened on November 8, 1900, and one for the boys at Mount Barker on December 20, 1900.

A great many of our troublesome children have benefited by these outside institutions, for they are made more useful and more docile after a year or two under the Army. The girls go to the nearest public school unattended, and never play truant. They were recently moved from Woodville to Beaumont, where the Army

have bought a property with suitable buildings. The place is as clean and tidy as any industrial school can be, and the girls are not massed, but individualised.

We people of the world, with its excitements and its trials, its hopes and its disappointments, are sometimes startled to see the calm sweetness of expression of dedicated women, like the Catholic Sisters and the Salvation Army female officers, their orderly ways, their unruffled patience. Religion is the moving force, and it often prevails when worldly wisdom fails.

People who are experienced say that the ordinary visitor to institutions is captivated by the cleanliness and the order which prevail everywhere, but that these are the easiest things to attain. The inner and better things, the right developing of the character of the young, the kindness and consideration for the old and the feeble cannot be seen at a glance through charitable institutions either for the young or for the aged. But sometimes we see a good deal if we know what to look for.

The Probation Home at Mount Barker for boys has a Salvation Army teacher, a young lady who is approved by the Education Department, but not paid by it, with a schoolhouse on the premises. There is plenty of land, and the boys are taught to work.

These homes are both subsidised. The Council holds supreme authority over the placing out of boys and girls, and still considers itself *in loco parentis* to them all.

There is no intermediate home for Roman Catholic boys and girls, between children fit to be placed out and the reformatories. Of course, the number is smaller, and probably there is more classification possible both at Father Healy's and at St. John's than in our Protestant reformatories, which are directly under the Council. As our probation work develops we may have less need of intermediate homes.

The Council has not imitated the example of the Victorian Department of Industrial and Reformatory Schools in handing over all the Protestant reformatory boys and girls to the Salvation Army in the same way as we have given all Roman Catholics to religious orders.

We are too well satisfied with the character of our Superintendents and with the results to give up the more direct control.

Mr. Button, who had to work under the greatest disadvantages on the hulk Fitzjames, has developed wonderful capabilities for the management of the boys on land and the utilization of the land by means of the boys. A large proportion of the cost of the reformatory is met by the value of what the land produces, only the money is always paid into the Treasury, and does not appear as a *per contra* as against the expenditure.

There is also a Methodist Home at the seaside certified as fit for a few such children as the Salvation Army takes. But we have not the number of organizations which the Victorian Department has taken under its wing under Part VIII. of the Neglected Children's Act.

The results of the work done in some of these institutions has just been gathered in a tabulated form, and is very gratifying to all who desire the improvement of the young. It is set out below so far as the establishments named are concerned.

The Boys' Reformatory for Protestants at Magill shows a record of twenty-one years, *i.e.*, 1884 to 1905 inclusive. During those years there have been, without counting the short-sentence boys (that is, boys sent to the school for less than six months for non-payment of a fine), 1,082 discharges, or, with the short-sentenced boys, 1,103. Of these 836 have done well.

The Catholic Boys' Reformatory at Brooklyn Park has discharged in nine years 116 boys (including 24 short-sentenced), and of these 83 are known to be doing well.

The Protestant Girls' Reformatory at Redruth has discharged 95 girls in eighteen years, and of these 35 are known to be doing well; 23 are married. The Catholic Girls' Reformatory at St. John's, Kapunda, has in nine years discharged 44 girls, and 30 are believed to be doing well; 12 are married.

The Boys' Probationary School at Wistow has in five

years discharged 138 boys, and of these 83 are satisfactory.

The Girls' Probationary School at Beaumont has in six years discharged 46 girls, and of these 14 are doing well and 10 are doubtful. It is only fair to add that the girls sent here were, many of them, of a low order of intelligence.

The Council's report for July, 1906, shows that there were on that date 1,269 children under control, and the gross cost for the year was £19,141 15/4. If £1,351 13/4 of revenue is deducted the net cost is £17,790 2/.

The cost per head per week is as follows:—The Industrial School, where the sick, mentally or physically weak, and ailing children are treated, 10/1½.

The Protestant Girls' Reformatory (the Government entirely supports this institution), 20/3½.

The Catholic Girls' Reformatory.—The Government subsidise this institution at a cost of 11/7 per head per week.

The Protestant Boys' Reformatory, a Government institution, costs 12/3½ per head.

The Catholic Boys' Reformatory cost per head last year for subsidy, &c., 7/3.

The Boys' Probationary School cost per head per week for subsidy, &c., in 1905-6, 7/3¾.

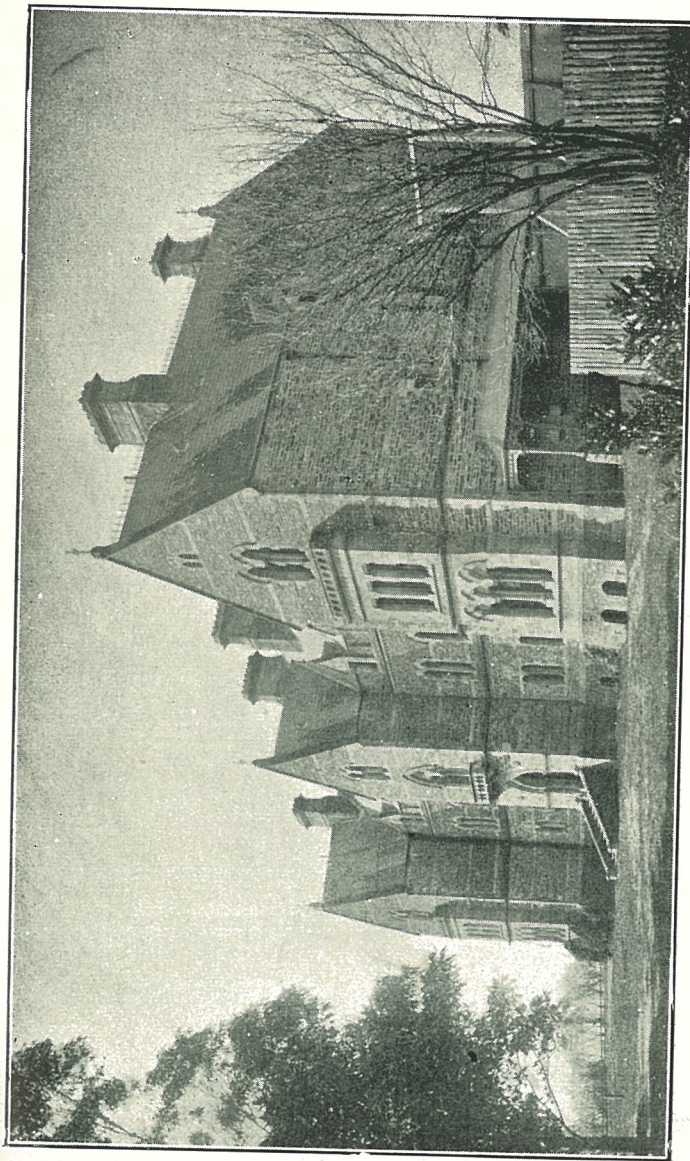
The Girls' Probation School showed 7/7¾ as the weekly cost.

The subsistence of the children boarded out cost 5/3½ per head per week, or a cost of £8,282 for 603 children for the year.

The total cost of all children placed out was £12,672 12/7 for 1,040 children, which shows a cost per head per week of 4/3½. This includes medical attendance, cost of inspection, transit, and all working expenses.

It will be seen that not only is the placing out of children in houses better for the children, but that it is also cheaper.

The children in institutions equalled 211 last year, and cost (net) £5,876, or 10/8½ per head per week. This is, of course, an average cost of all the institutions, and includes all expenses, less any revenue from the institutions.



BOYS' REFORMATORY. MAGILL.

CHAPTER XII.

Boarding-Out in the United Kingdom.

It was from Miss Florence Davenport Hill's book, "The Children of the State," that our Council derived its title and our wards their new distinctive name. Miss Cobbe's "Philosophy of the Poor Laws" stirred up benevolent people in England, as well as in Australia. Tentative efforts had been made with permission of the guardians to board out a few children in country homes. The rate of subsidy of 4/ a week and clothes was fixed in 1870, and in 1872 the rate was fixed in South Australia of 5/ a week for a healthy baby above two years old, the normal child, the payment to continue till the age of thirteen was attained.

During the first year of the existence of the Boarding-Out Society Miss Rose and Miss Florence Davenport Hill paid a visit to their relatives, Mrs. Francis Clark and her family, at Hazelwood, near Burnside, and they both took a deep interest in the proceedings. I think, indeed, Miss Florence had a little hand in the production of the first annual report, brought out in August, 1873. The English visitors, accompanied by their cousin, Miss C. E. Clark, went to Sydney, and visited the charitable institutions there, and were all examined before a Royal Commission on Charities in 1873. At that time they met Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Fysh, of Tasmania, who recommended our plans so strongly that boarding out was initiated there.

In 1875 the Misses Davenport Hill saw the beginnings of boarding out in Victoria, and advocated it in New South Wales, and from afar they watched sympathetically all the developments for the children of the State under the Southern Cross.

When I was in England in 1894 Miss Florence Hill asked me to accompany her and a large body of friends

on a deputation to the Local Government Board for the extension of boarding out from London workhouses and destitute schools. Although she now lives in Oxford she goes to the periodical meetings of the State Children's Association in London regularly.

Miss Mason, chief inspectress of boarded-out children in England under the Local Government Board, says that 4/ a week, with an allowance for clothes varying from 6d. to 1/ a week, is not sufficient now to get really good homes for children. She says the cost of living or the style of living has advanced; but I do not think that has nearly so much to do with it as the greater strictness of inspection by a Government official than by the Ladies' Committees. A still more powerful deterrent is that the compulsory clauses of the Education Act will not allow children to be kept at home to work for their foster parents' profit or for their convenience. In 1870 there was no obligation to keep children regularly at school in England, nor in 1872 was there such a law in South Australia.

It was noted as a grave defect by the Destitute Commission of 1883-5 that between thirty and forty children were placed out of reach of any school, and that many guardians wriggled out of their obligations on the subterfuge of home teaching, which was most inadequate.

As the school requirements became stricter in South Australia the number of children taken without subsidy diminished.

In England the formation of Ladies' Committees was a necessary preliminary before city children could be moved right away into country homes. Especially with regard to London parish children there were no homes in the neighborhood in which to place them, and the ladies were so delighted to have the city orphans and deserted children moved into the fresh country air, that they were tolerant of many things which Miss Mason and her colleagues will not allow. So far it seems that only these classes have been permitted to be taken from the great district schools; but enthusiasts, encouraged by the example of Australia, are moving in the direction of sending out the neglected children who

are far more numerous, and the delinquent and the uncontrollable, after some preparatory discipline, also into boarded-out homes in the country.

Applications may be many, but suitable foster-mothers may be few, and good guardians may have inadequate accommodation, for this is another point on which we in South Australia have, in the course of thirty-four years, become much more particular. And so has English public opinion also advanced.

Miss Mason also asserts that, though 4/ a week may pay for all the food the child eats, the guardian expects, and ought to have, something for the care she gives. And I quite agree with Miss Mason when she goes on to say: "It has been said that it is a slur on the working classes to suggest that they are not willing to receive boarded-out parish children. I fail to understand why this kind of philanthropic action should be required of the working classes more than of any other class. Nor, so far as I am aware, have any of those who have published this view of the duties of working people carried it out in their own case, by taking charge of orphans of their own class, of whom there is always an abundant supply." As I remarked with regard to the opinion of a wealthy New York lady, there is too much desire on the part of the rich to have the children of the State provided for, either for nothing in free homes, or for inadequate remuneration in subsidised homes, by the class just above the poor, instead of by reasonable and just claims on their own purses through taxation.

Miss Mason goes on to say: "At a poor law conference this view of the duties of the working classes was taken up by the speaker, who dwelt upon their virtues in a manner which was evidently intended to be flattering; when a working woman rose and observed that she did not like to hear the working classes spoken of as if they were a distinct species, and not human beings and fellow-creatures with virtues and faults like those of other classes. I see no reason," continues Miss Mason, "if working people are so well off as not to require the payments, why they should be troubled with boarded-out children more than others. I repeat what

I have often said before, that boarding out is either the best or the worst of systems of dealing with parish children."

Under present circumstances Miss Mason says the strictest surveillance is necessary, for though most of the foster-mothers are honest and kindly, there are many exceptions. The expenditure of money on clothes wants especial watching; probably the Scotch system of providing the clothes secures that it is sound and suitable, and in reasonable quantity. Inspectresses like to see the children at school, because they see them in their everyday clothes.

In South Australia, as Miss Clark and the Boarding-Out Society said in their last report in 1876, the greatest—incomparably the greatest—thanks were due to the foster-parents who had done so much to make the system a success. We have a class of women not too poor, and not too ignorant, and we have from the first seen the necessity of efficient yet kindly supervision.

When Miss Henry wrote to me from England last year (1905) she said that though a great many people warmly advocate boarding out children from workhouse schools, they do not like such rigid and searching inspection as Miss Mason and her colleagues give "Why, she will take off shoes and stockings, not only to discover if the feet are clean, but to see that there are no toenails growing in or neglected chilblains or corns. Many foster-mothers do not like it.

It makes it difficult to get the children out if people are subject to such vexatious investigations." No doubt the boarding-out system could be greatly extended in England by placing children with unsatisfactory persons in unsatisfactory homes.

In England, and, to a less extent, in Scotland and Ireland, there is far more difficulty about foster-mothers taking in lodgers than we have in Australia. Not only is it against the regulations, but it almost always over-crowds the home. Some Ladies' Committees in England, finding unsatisfactory sleeping accommodation, have met the difficulty by providing beds at their own cost to prevent children from sleeping with adults. Miss

Julie Sutter, in "Britain's Next Campaign," attributes the housing problem, which so prejudicially affects boarding out, to the English land system, and shows that satisfactory homes can be got for the children of the city of Leipsig for £6 a year, because there are so many small peasant proprietors willing to take the children for that very moderate subsidy.

This is the average cost of the children put out in Ireland, who are all orphans or deserted children. There are 1,123 boys and 1,061 girls accounted for in this way by the first report of the Local Government Board of Ireland. This is a small number, but it does not include the neglected, uncontrollable, and mildly delinquent children who form the bulk of the children of the State in South Australia, who are not bad enough to be sent to a reformatory or even to an industrial school.

Industrial school is in South Australia and in Victoria a misnomer, for it only means the receiving house or depot in both States. In England and in the United States it is really a reform school for delinquent uncontrollable children, from which they do not seem to be removed to family homes till some part of the sentence has been served.

In Ireland the children go by the endearing name of "The Orphans," and they are generally affectionately treated for the £6 a year, which is less than half of the Australian normal rate of 5/ a week (£13 a year).

These Irish orphans are not likely to be claimed or disturbed by relatives in their foster-homes, as in the case of the English children. As a rule, the boarding-out homes are found within the bounds of the Parish Council which sends them out, and unworthy parents or relatives may be inconveniently near the foster-homes.

After the first year of official inspection Mrs. Dickie says: "Thoroughness should be the keynote. The welfare of the child should be the supreme motive of the guardians of the poor and of the foster-parents. It should not be an excuse for putting a child in a home that the paid board would help poor people. The

income of the foster-parents should be sufficient to support the family without assistance from the board. Mrs. Dickie noticed great improvement in the sleeping accommodation during the year in which she inspected.

In Scotland, where the children are now placed out by Parish Councils, there has been a great improvement. In 1894, when I saw Mr. Greig, he said that the Parochial Board only allowed him to board out 220 children, who were all doing well; but he could not get any more with all his efforts. They were in the poorhouses or in industrial schools or in some institutions which had influence enough to retain them.

By the report of the Local Government Board for Scotland, 1904-5, I see that the number of children boarded out with relatives—not fathers or mothers—was 1,844 and with strangers 4,687, a much larger proportion than in Australia. This left only 849 in poorhouses chargeable to parish authorities; and they asked why these 849 should not be boarded out?

Of the children 2,919 were orphans, 1,931 deserted, and 3,170 separated from their parents for sufficient reasons. There is far more differentiation of rates paid in Scotland than I ever saw anywhere. Each case seems to be taken on its merits, and probably grandmothers or aunts get rather lower pay. Out of reports amounting to hundreds which I looked through, I select a few to show this differentiation, and also to show that children are placed in inferior homes to that we have in Australia for 5/ a week which provides clothes.

The average payment is 3/ and clothes.

Case 1. Three children; ages 9, 7, and 5. Aliment, 2/6 a week each and clothing; with grandmother. Children looked clean and well fed. They are far behind with their education. The grandmother has a one-roomed house, with two beds in it; not very tidy. A miner, no connection of the family, lives with grandmother. The boy sleeps with him and the two girls with grandmother.

Perhaps this will not sound so bad if you know that the poorer classes in rural Scotland sleep in box beds, two of which, placed longitudinally, form a partition

in the bare one-roomed four walls which the agricultural laborer had given to him for a dwelling house. The houses may be better now, but these are what I recollect in the old days when the box bed was not looked on as unwholesome. There is a doorless passage from the outer to the inner room; but our inspector would not think this accommodation good enough in South Australia, and they would taboo the box bed.

Case 2. Child age 3. Aliment, 3/6 and clothing. Guardian is receiving parish relief, but is respectable and very fond of the child, who is bright and healthy.

Case 3. Child age 9. Aliment, 2/ and 20/ a year for clothes. Guardian shoemaker, wife aunt of the child.

Case 4. Ages 16, 14, 12. Aliment 1/ and £2 12/ for clothes for the eldest, 4/ for the second, 4/6 for the third. Age 16 is weakly, but has commenced work.

Case 5. Two children, 11 and 9. Aliment, 3/ each and boots and stockings. Guardian a laborer of good character, uncle of the children. Elder is weakly. House consists of a room and kitchen, which was dirty. Eight persons, three of them adults, sleep in these two rooms.

The only detailed reports I could find were from Scotland. It appears to me that there is not such close inspection of children at service as we exercise in Australia, and that is as necessary as when they are paid for. Mrs. Dickie says that the "hiring out" should be carefully watched in Ireland, for people willing to pay full wages do not apply for them.

CHAPTER XIII.

Advice Gratis and Practical Help Given.

When General Booth, in "Darkest England," showed not only the depth of the poverty in the slums of cities, but suggested some directions in which a way out could be found, he devoted one chapter to the helpfulness to the poor and the ignorant of an advice shop gratis. People who are oppressed or wronged do not know how to set about obtaining redress, and a good man who understands not only justice, but law, can often prevent the ignorant victims from doing the thing that occurs to them first.

Our State Children's Department always seeks to make parents who can pay contribute the whole or part of the cost of the maintenance of their children by the State, whether they have voluntarily given them up as uncontrollable, or have had them taken away as neglected. Of course, there are many from whom it is impossible to squeeze anything.

They have also done as much as the law allows to make the fathers of illegitimate children pay for their maintenance, and the office has been the place where the mother, actual or expectant, goes to get advice as to the wisest step to take. This has led to deserted wives going for guidance in their difficulties, and as the obtaining of maintenance often prevents children from being thrown entirely on the State, our office has willingly become the intermediary through which maintenance orders are collected both for illegitimate and legitimate children.

The Magistrates make the orders payable to the State Children's Department, and if the father falls in arrears that department can summon him before the Police Court to be dealt with there. The duty which used to fall on the police is far more fitly discharged by our

officials; and, seeing that we are in the habit of collecting maintenance for the young, the Magistrates have gradually fallen into the habit of ordering payments for the old from their grown-up sons and unmarried daughters to be paid in to the same department.

As the Destitute used to be the name of the organization that gave relief, so the State, long before we had federation and had the title of a State of the Commonwealth, has been the advice shop to which the unmarried mother, the deserted wife, and the neglected old father and mother go to put forward their claims. There is no system of old-age pensions in South Australia, and there are too many who could help, or even maintain their old parents who shirk this duty.

This collection of maintenance fees is done without any charge whatever. It is a considerable addition to the work of the clerical staff and to the responsibility of our chief inspector.

In my dual capacity of member of the State Children's Council and member of the Destitute Board I hear a great deal of these maintenance cases, both as relating to absent husbands and fathers and with regard to old people's claims on their children. Mr. Gray or Mr. Houlgrave has the case in hand with more or less success. Federation has not as yet made us able to make defaulters in the other States pay. Either the man himself must be brought over to appear before the Police Court or the witness or witnesses must be taken to his present residence to prove his identity and the claims upon him. It is only in a very flagrant case that the Council sends a warrant for the defaulter's arrest, or when he has sufficient means to pay the heavy cost incurred. Probably the greatest part of the cost is railway fare, and that really costs the country nothing—it is a mere bookkeeping charge. I hope to see some more effectual way of dealing with men who shirk their responsibilities. But the office is well known as giving advice gratis, and it is expert advice from people who know the law.

The Ladies' Committees and the visitors where there are no committees, have always been the kindly advisers

of the foster-mothers and employers as well as the friends of the children, and the official inspector and inspectress seek not only to consider as paramount the interests of the children, but at the same time to support the just authority of those who are for the time their guardians.

The recently appointed probation officer is also a person who is qualified to give advice to parents of wayward children. The American Juvenile Courts in great cities seem to have to deal with so many delinquent boys that they are satisfied when the boy reports himself at the office once a week or once a fortnight. But when a boy is returned to his own home and his own environment on probation, it seems to the Council that the home should be visited, the mother seen, advised, if necessary warned, so that the home should be improved as well as the boy.

Where girls are left in the home and the environment this home visiting, this judicious advice, is doubly necessary. When the probation officer makes a friend and a coadjutor of the mother there will be no deception practised, and the child will be removed if improvement does not take place.

Miss Cocks writes: "Six months' experience of probation work has convinced me that simply to punish children for an offence and let them go back to their old environment without an effort to improve it is only a momentary check. The law is broken, and the law punishes, but with no helping influence; in a short time the punishment is forgotten, and the child drifts again into evil. For instance, a boy convicted of larceny was whipped and then discharged. Two or three months after he was again brought before the Court for disturbing the peace. He was fined and released, only to reappear in two months' time, when he was again fined and released.

"On the first charge I visited the home and learned from his mother that she was unable to keep the boy from the streets, the father being in the country. As I looked through the dirty, untidy home, it was easy to understand why the boy preferred the street. What

was more pitiful, the mother did not enquire too closely where the various articles came from that the lad brought home. There are two younger brothers, one a bright-faced little boy of five and the other two or three years older. And if they are brought up in their present surroundings I fear they will follow the elder boy's example. Had the boy been committed to the care of the department on his first conviction, and put on probation, we should have had authority to see that the home was improved."

Even when they are not State children, if the Magistrate gives the department authority to supervise them in their homes, a noticeable improvement has been shown. I will mention a case. A girl was committed to the Industrial School, her parents being considered unfit guardians. The Magistrate desired the home should be watched, as there were three younger children in the family, and I have made several visits.

It would hardly be possible for a home or children to be in a worse state. One of the little girls had not had her clothes washed for a month, while the younger had few clothes to wash.

They had no other clothes than what they stood up in, and their only covering at night was a few dirty bags. Benevolent people had often assisted them, as the father only earns 14/ or 15/ a week; but they were disheartened, because the mother never made any attempt to use these clothes given, but pawned them and spent the few pence foolishly. The father, though not of sober habits, evidently likes cleanliness, and there were many quarrels and hard blows over the lack of it in his wife and children. The one redeeming feature in the case was that the children were well nourished.

At first I thought nothing could be done with this home but take the children away from it. Two things I did give to the mother—a bar of soap and a broom. A neighbor lent her a scrubbing brush and a kerosine tin, which did duty for a washing copper and a tub. Last week I visited the home, and, though a long list might be made of the things still lacking, it presents a very different appearance. The mother knew that if

things did not improve, the children would be taken from her, and the father knew too. He has given up visiting the publichouse; so there is more money to buy boots and clothes. They have now two sets, and are always clean and tidy, though the dresses are poor; and they have a comfortable bed and sheets and blankets. Every night the children are bathed, so that they may be clean when the inspectress comes. The woman has discovered that she can sew and scrub, and showed me a dress that had been neatly renovated, saying with pride it would not need to be pinned—there were buttons and buttonholes.

The children who have been placed on probation by the Council as soon as committed are either at school or in situations, and behaving well, although previous to their committal they were beyond the control of their parents or guardians. One of these boys I found in bed at 9.45 the day I first visited the home. He had ordered his mother to bring him the newspaper and to keep his breakfast hot for him. In less than five minutes he was dressed, and an hour later out seeking employment, which he was not long in getting. His mother recently called at the State Children's Office to tell me that the house was like another place, as H— was now so good, and that he asked every day when he came from work if I had been to visit them. He wanted a word of praise. Needless to say he got it the next time I saw him.

Another boy of eleven, who had been playing truant, so that his mother had to take him to school herself if she wanted to be sure he went, now goes by himself. So anxious is he to attend that even a severe cold and a pouring rain did not keep him at home. His school teacher gives him an excellent character.

One boy of fifteen, who had for years been in the habit of sleeping out at night, and preferred to be without food rather than exert himself to earn it, has settled down to steady employment. When the inspectress appears thoughts of the Reformatory come into the boy's mind. He tells me that now he knows he has to work he is beginning to like it, and gives enthusiastic details of his occupation.

But we need more than mere injunctions and warnings and threats to build character. We need tact and much patience; we need to discover the good that is in the child, and try to develop it so as to redeem the evil past.

A guardian said of a boy in her charge that he was everything that was bad. It was impossible for any one to care for him or do anything with him. He was such a heartless, hardened boy.

As the woman was relating the boy's misdoings in a high-pitched, complaining tone, I noticed that the house dog crept near him, and seemed to give him a friendly rub of sympathy. When leaving I invited the boy to come to my house for an hour one evening, telling him to bring the dog, as I was fond of dogs and horses. The boy came, and we talked of little else but dogs and horses; but as he was going away he looked up into my face and said, with tears in his eyes, "I'll try and be as good as I can. I thought the dog was the only one who cared for me."

This will give some idea of the value of probation work when we have the right person to do it. I feel convinced that to release a young delinquent under the First Offenders' Act, without providing that the boy or girl shall be visited pretty closely, warned, advised, or encouraged, as the circumstances may demand, is a very serious mistake, and tends to bring that humane and sensible measure into disrepute.



CHAPTER XIV.

Present-Day Conditions of State Children.

To show how the results of thirty-four years' administration impresses a fresh and intelligent mind, I may quote from Miss Penny's report of her first year's work, 1905-6. Our first inspectress could not stand the continuous travelling, and resigned after a year's service. Our second, after four years' service, left to be married. Miss Penny is, therefore, our third lady travelling inspectress. It needs bodily strength, nerve, tact, firmness, and kindness to do so much travelling by rail and trap of some kind to take her out to the scattered homes in the country, and to be fit to see, mark, advise, and control the children and their guardians.

An experience may be given of Miss Penny's first visit to Port Lincoln, 187 miles west by sea. This place is interesting in the chronicles of South Australia, for it was in strong favor as the site of the future capital till Colonel Light for good reasons gave the preference to Adelaide.

She visited several children boarded out and at service near the township, but there was one service girl twenty-five miles out who must be seen, and both herself and her mistress interviewed.

The driver had a pair of poor little horses for the journey, and they had not gone far before Miss Penny's heart was grieved by the way he whipped them up.

"I have been driven for four months all over the country, and I have not seen so much thrashing in all the time.

"Why do you call the little mare 'John Wesley?'"

"Oh, miss, because John Wesley was a Methodist, and the Methodists are always going on their knees, and it's all I can do to keep her from doing the same."

"The country farm was reached at last, but the ser-

vice girl was not to be found. Perhaps she had been threatened with the inspectress when she did anything wrong or failed to do something right, but she had concealed herself. But *coute qui coute* she must be produced, and she was found, and after a little kindly talk convinced that the dreaded stranger was a friend. The road was to be taken again back to Port L——, and John Wesley and his mate were in worse case than before. At last the lady told the driver to give the poor beasts the nosebag and a rest. She would walk on before. That would be some relief to them. And she walked on till she came to a fork in the road, and instead of stopping she took the wrong one. She had gone a little way when she heard the trap, but could not by running and shouting make her Jehu stop. She walked miles and miles. It got dark and began to rain, the road was bad, no right road at all. At last she saw a light a little off the road; gate locked, but she climbed the fence, knocked at the door, got some directions, but no offer of hospitality. Again she took her way, met the carriage with Jehu, but not John Wesley. He had gone all the way to Port L——, thirteen miles, got a fresh pair of horses, and, when remonstrated with for not turning to meet her, he said he had used two whole boxes of matches looking for her tracks."

She reached the hotel at Port L—— before midnight, and never while she lives will she go beyond a fork in the road when she wants to be picked up.

But Miss Penny's general experience with drivers is pleasanter. She writes:

"I find that my drivers are great champions of the State children, and they are quick to resent any slighting reference to them. It amuses and pleases me to see the interest they take in their welfare. Often while I am engaged with the employer they will enter into conversation with the service boy for the express purpose of ascertaining if he is happy and properly treated. A most amusing encounter took place not long ago between one of my drivers and a police constable about the children.

A new constable in plain clothes came to him one evening in one of the townships and said, "You're visiting neglected children, aren't you?"

My driver replied shortly, "No, I'm not; and who are you, anyway?"

"Oh, I'm the constable stationed here."

"Oh, you are, are you? Well, if you want to know, I'm driving the inspectress of State children. We haven't any neglected children in our department."

Whereupon the constable meekly answered, "I beg your pardon; I mean State children;" and my driver was left master of the situation with the final words, "Yes, that's better; but mind you don't forget again."

I have often wondered why the Victorian department retains the phrase "neglected children;" and though New South Wales has done better the addition of the word "Relief" connects it with charity instead of justice, and uses the word too familiar in the mouths of the Bumbles of parochial fame.

A child can neither be a criminal nor a pauper; and it is well to take all associations with the gaol and with the workhouse out of all the phraseology of Australia as well as out of its administration. I must make some extracts from the report which Miss Penny gives. I should like to quote the whole, but I must not make my book too long.

SUBSIDY HOMES.

"My work for the first two months brought me into touch chiefly with the subsidy children, and it was a revelation to me in many ways. I feel I cannot speak too enthusiastically of the great majority of the subsidy homes, and even now it fills me with wonder to see the bond of affection which exists between the foster-parents and the children under their care. The work is in many cases a labor of love. No money can adequately repay them for the care and attention they bestow on these children, and, indeed, the quarterly sum paid for their maintenance must often be quite insufficient to pay the cost of such food and clothes as they give them. In homes such as these the foster-mothers take a pride in the children, and their ambition is to

make them look as little like State children as possible. We find that the boys and girls are provided with white summer suits and frocks for Sunday, and a great variety of school clothes in addition to the ordinary outfit, while the babies are provided with dainty frocks, pinafores, and outdoor coats and caps of the very best quality, while they are frequently the proud possessors of a new perambulator or go-cart. The babies and younger children seem to call forth special affection. They point out with pride the improvement which has taken place in the little one's looks and health since it came into their care.

"The menfolk of the family seem to vie with the women in their kindness and affection for the younger children. Perhaps I can best convey how completely some of them take their places in the hearts and homes of the foster-parents by a few instances. I remember visiting a little boy about three years of age soon after my appointment. He had been placed with a family consisting of a father and mother and a very sweet-looking girl of sixteen in a small but comfortable home. I found him looking very rosy and happy, with an abundance of good clothes. He had had a birthday party a few days before, and was in the midst of showing me some of his toys when a man's step was heard on the verandah. The child's face lighted up with pleasure, and he instantly threw down his toys, and ran into the passage. I can still hear his joyful cry, 'Daddy, Daddy,' as he was caught up in the man's arms.

"On another occasion I went to see a baby just walking. There were no other children in the house, all the family having grown up. I arrived at the dinner hour, and the man opened the door. The child was holding his hand, and when it saw a stranger it began to cry and to cling to the man's legs. He at once took it in his arms and comforted it till it was quite happy again. When the foster-mother came she said I hope you haven't come to take baby away, Miss; I don't know what my husband would do; he makes more fuss over this one than he did over any of his own.

"In another home I found an adopted girl and a subsidy boy. Both had been placed on subsidy, but they had got so fond of the girl that they decided to adopt her, but put the matter off, till one day they had a letter, saying that one of the girl's relatives had applied for her. Although this had taken place some months ago the mother's voice trembled as she told of the anxiety they had gone through, and their fears that they had been too late. Why, they could not sleep for thinking of it. And now they have got to love the boy so much that they think of adopting him, too."

"Some months ago the Chief Inspector of State Children in New South Wales accompanied me on my ordinary morning round in one of the suburbs of Adelaide. It was a good suburb, as I told him, but otherwise a good test, as most of the homes were new to me. At the end of the morning he said to me, 'Are all your homes like these, because if so there is no necessity for you to go around and inspect them.' I replied, 'Not all, but the greater number are as good, and some are better.' He remarked, 'I consider all the homes we have seen this morning are too good to classify. We have nothing to beat them.'

"Of course, there are some homes that might be greatly improved, where one instinctively feels that the children are regarded as a business transaction, where the clothes are kept at the barest limit, and the children, though apparently well fed and not ill-treated, do not get much affection. But I can safely say these homes are in the minority, and tend to decrease."

SERVICE HOMES.

It is here I have most felt the need of a wise and understanding heart. The service boys and girls appeal to me in a very special way, and this branch of my work presents many problems which are difficult of solution.

The first thing that struck me is the need for some sort of domestic training for the service girls. Whenever I go complaints of their ignorance and incompetency in the simplest household matters are poured

into my ears, and the girls themselves have to be so constantly corrected and scolded that many of them abandon all attempts to improve. The girls as a rule complain very little; the reticence of the employee contrasts with the eloquence of the employer, and when the girl is dumb one cannot help her as one would.

I shall never forget a visit I paid one afternoon to a service girl of sixteen. She chanced to be alone in the house, which was an exceptional opportunity. Everything in the house was in the greatest confusion. The girl's room was untidy, the bed unmade, and she was in a much worn and rather ragged working dress. I asked her why she was so behind with her work, and by degrees she told me all her troubles and difficulties and her own shortcomings too.

There were five children in the house, and she had been there three years, and had never had a good report, and she was almost in despair. She said to me, "I have never had a fair chance. I knew nothing when I came, and there was always so much to do I never knew what to do first, and every day my work rose before me like a mountain; and it never seemed to get any less; and it's no use trying any more." She told me many details of her work, which made me feel that her life was nothing more than a life of ceaseless toil, and she was so honest about her own faults that I felt her story was true, and that she was handicapped by her inexperience. I am glad to say that she was recalled on my report, and placed in a home where the work was much lighter and the mistress considerate, and her grateful letter of thanks to me, saying how happy she was in her new place, was one of the pleasantest experiences of my year's work.

The service girls on farms have very long hours, especially at harvest time. No doubt the mistresses work themselves even longer, but too long hours almost necessitate a slovenly, slow way of getting through the day's work.

I am impressed with the excellence of the sleeping accommodation for the service girls. The most of them have nicely furnished, airy rooms, as good as those of the

daughters of the house. On the farms both boys and girls are generally, though not always, treated as members of the family, have their meals at the same table, and accompany the family to church and to amusements; but the latter are few and far between, and work, meals, and bed seem to make up the average service boy and girls' existence, with little or no time for recreation.

The sleeping accommodation for service boys leaves much to be desired. In most cases the boys sleep in a room outside the house, which is sometimes part of a barn, curtained or palinged off, often unfloored, containing benches, cobwebs, cases, bags of wheat, harness, &c., both dirty and untidy. Sometimes the boys sleep in the men's quarters, which to me seems most undesirable."

Miss Penny thinks there should be some way by which naughty and rebellious children should be punished because they know there are regulations against whipping, and are sometimes defiant; but on the whole she was very much satisfied with the general course of the administration, and found the work most interesting. The 327 boys and the 259 girls on subsidy, the 138 boys and the 148 girls at service, and the smaller number of children adopted who are exempt from local visitation, scattered over the country from beyond Hawker in the North to Port Lincoln in the West and Mount Gambier, near the Victorian border, in the South-East, but not forgotten or neglected, present to the thoughtful a shifting panorama of character, but a unified body under one organization for protection; but with school life like other children and home life as near that of a good home as careful selection and supervision can secure. I must give here the testimony of Miss Penny from her own observation and from the records of the office as to the gratitude of the children to good foster-parents.

"I have given instances of the affection which is felt by many of the foster-parents to the young children entrusted to their care, and the grief that is felt when the time comes for them to part; and it is pleasant to know

that this affection is often warmly returned by the children, and does not die out when they go to service in distant parts of the country.

"In many cases letters pass regularly between them, and gifts and photographs are exchanged. 'Send me your photograph, that the people here may know that we've got friends,' was an early request from Yorke's Peninsula to their Mount Barker home from two brothers. Then gifts are frequently exchanged on birthdays and at Christmas time, and I know of some girls who receive valuable presents of clothing from their foster-mothers or from foster-brothers and sisters who are in other States.

"As the years draw on and the time comes for them to be released many of the boys and girls receive invitations from the foster-parents to visit them and make their home with them, while they arrange their plans for the future. Sometimes situations are secured for them in the neighborhood, so that they can come home as often as possible.

"One boy who was out of his time obtained permission for a younger brother to accompany him on a visit to their foster-mother, for which he had been saving up his money for many months.

"A foster-mother in one of the suburbs treasures the first shoes worn by her dear boy. He is a young man now, working in the country, but he always spends his holiday with his 'mother.' Three girls in good situations meet regularly at their foster-mother's home, and she says they are girls of whom any mother might be proud.

"One boy who was released at sixteen turned his face homewards, and was received with open arms by his foster-parents. They apprenticed him as a fitter in Martin's large workshops, and for some time boarded him practically for nothing while serving his first years. He is now a very smart-looking young man, making his way in the world.

"In one house I visited recently there is a half-caste cripple boy long since out of his time who lives there permanently, and is treated like a child of the house.

He is a clerk in some works near by, and his foster-mother told me with pride of his success, and said no mother could wish for a better son than he had proved himself to be.

"I could easily multiply instances of the kind, but enough has been said to show that the great aim of the boarding-out system is indeed achieved as far as a large proportion of the children is concerned, for many a boy and girl can and do feel that they have a home to turn to when they have passed from the guardianship of the State, where they are sure of a warm welcome, and friends who take a deep and lasting interest in their welfare."

Has not the seed planted by Miss Clark and her friends grown to a goodly tree, with broad branches and abundant fruit?



CHAPTER XV.

In Other Australian States.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

The last report of the New South Wales State Children's Relief Board is especially interesting, for it includes two new departments, for which it is virtually responsible, which have been incorporated in our Council for many years. I mean the Children's Courts of Justice and the Protection of Infant Life. The President (Dr. McKellar) shows that so much work has fallen on the department that a considerable addition to the number of inspectors is necessary, that the ordinary inspection of children placed out on subsidy or at service has fallen sadly behind.

During the year 728 cases had been brought before the Metropolitan Children's Court at Paddington, of which Mr. A. N. Barnett is the Special Magistrate. Of these 149 cases were withdrawn, dismissed, or discharged. In 324 cases fines were inflicted for the committal of minor offences, the amount imposed being merely nominal except in two or three instances—one boy was sent to gaol, but released under the First Offenders' Act, 140 persons were released on probation or committed to the care of private persons (other than the parents), 50 were recommended for action under the provisions of the State Children's Relief Act, 64 children were committed to institutions for more serious offences. Of these 7 girls were sent to the Industrial School, Paramatta, 11 boys to Carpentarian Reformatory, 38 boys, to the reformatory ship *Sobraon*, 7 girls to various rescue homes. These all seem to be outside of the jurisdiction of the New South Wales Children's Board. So far the children on probation are doing well; only two of the 134 have reappeared before the Court.

The need of an intermediate place of detention between the Industrial School for boys and actual boarding out has been met by the establishment of a Farm Home for boys.

Dr. McKellar's report emphasises the need of probation work, which occupies part of his staff; and as truancy and street trading also comes within the scope of the department infractions of these laws are brought before the Children's Court. The figures in Sydney do not come up to those in American cities of the same size. Seven hundred and twenty-eight boys and girls compare fairly with 242 in Adelaide.

After studying this report I had the opportunity of seeing for myself the working of the Children's Court in Paddington, and I never spent two hours more profitably. I was especially pleased with the quietness of the Courtroom and the kindly manner in which the presiding Magistrate dealt with the young delinquents. The policemen who made charges were in plain clothes, and the real good of the children was the main thing studied by Mr. Barnett. I could see that offences against city by-laws were dealt with by summons, which cost 4/6, and the fine imposed was small—1/ or 1/6.

For more serious offences the children were committed to the State Children's Relief Board. Ormond House, where the Court was held, was the place of detention and remand. The only thing I did not like was the presence of solicitors, who also now and then appear at our Adelaide Children's Court. These are out of place in any Juvenile Court, which does not adjudicate on technical legal points, but seeks the best thing for the child. A prosecuting lawyer desires to convict the child; a defending lawyer seeks to get him off; while the very best thing for the boy or girl may be to suffer the penalty. The poorest people will engage a solicitor in hopes of getting the offender free to stay at home, which may be the very worst thing for him or her. They seem to want more than justice. Judge Lindsay says that all legal technicalities are misleading when applied in Juvenile Courts.

This Court at Paddington takes cognizance of truancy,

and now that they have a farm at Mittagong to send them to, the Secretary, Mr. Green, tells me that there is no difficulty with them. They go to the nearest public school as a matter of course, and after a longer or shorter stay there are eligible to go to the country to work for farmers. The Children's Court also enforces the Act regulating street trading, which has been recently enacted.

All these things are dealt with on four days of the week; the fifth is occupied by the hearing of affiliation cases and trying offences against children. The quiet, simple dignity of this Court impressed me much. It is one thing to have a good law on the Statute-book, but the effective administration of this law is a question of as much importance, and I was glad to feel that no shifting of the political kaleidoscope could oust Mr. Barnett from his position or change the relations between the Children's Court and the State Children's Relief Board.

The New South Wales Infant Protection Act does not demand inspection of homes where only one child is placed, but the President thinks Adelaide is right in inspecting all. But it continues the inspection up to the age of seven. Fifty-four homes, averaging two children in each, were licensed during the first year of the operation of the Act. Many single babies probably are out of the count, and there are 246 in orphanages or homes varying from 4 to 92, the last including babies with their mothers at the Foundling Home at Waitara.

On the whole there is great cause to congratulate the New South Wales Department on the earnestness with which the new Act is administered.

The reformatory for immoral girls was under the control of the board, but has been closed. The number of inmates was very small, and the board considered that the girls could be treated best with individual guardians, and they have been apprenticed and are said to be doing well.

This is so different from the experience of South Australia and Victoria that I am disposed to think the class

of girls whom we put in reformatories are in New South Wales put into the Industrial school under the Education Department. Formerly these used to be under the Prison Department. It is because our reformatory girls are not fit for service or apprenticeship that we detain them for a third of their sentence, or at least till they show such improvement as raises them to the first class.

The State Children's Relief Board is in no way responsible for the reformatory or industrial boys and girls in New South Wales; these are under the Department of Public Instruction, and chargeable to the educational vote. In the annual report for 1905 before the Children's Courts were at work, at the nautical school ship *Sobraon* the daily average of boys was 409, and the total expenses for the year £8,890 8/11. Payments to the Treasury amounted to only £279 10/ from relatives, and is complained of as extremely paltry. The cost per head for so large a number as 409 is always much less than for a small number, and the boys on the adjacent island grow a considerable amount of produce as a per contra, though not nearly as much as our boys do at Magill. I think that the operation of the Children's Courts will greatly lessen the number sent to the *Sobraon* for trifling offences. Indeed, the State Children's Report a year later shows that from these Courts only 38 were sent to the *Sobraon* and 11 to the Carpentarian Reformatory, whereas from the Police Courts 171 had been sent to the *Sobraon*, and to the land institution 86.

The *Sobraon* kept an average of 409 at 8/ a week; the Carpentarian an average of 130 at a cost of 7/3 a year; South Australia 53, at a cost of 11/8 a year. We do not want to increase our numbers to decrease the average cost. Our institutions in South Australia are expensive because the numbers are so small. What is called the Industrial School is merely a depot. Any child committed to it is not there for detention or for punishment, for it can be placed out as soon as its outfit can be made.

I have always said that there is a very small percen-

tage of real orphans among the children of the State; that is, of children both of whose parents are dead. Of 654 children committed in New South Wales at the Juvenile Court during the year April, 1905, to April, 1906, only one is returned as a real orphan, though of five whose fathers are registered as unknown perhaps some are dead. In Queensland in 1904 out of 239 children admitted 8 are returned as having both parents dead. Half-orphans are numerous, and unpleasant experiences with step-mothers and step-fathers often lead to committal. Illegitimate children are also a percentage, but not a large one, for really the bulk of the cases have both parents living.

Of the year's admissions, 171 boys, to the *Sobraon* 49 were Roman Catholic; of the year's admissions, 86 boys, to the Carpentarian 37 were Roman Catholic.

My report of the Industrial School for Girls at *Paromatta*, which corresponds with our Reformatory as to the character of the inmates, but which, like the institutions for boys, makes no distinction between Protestants and Roman Catholics, brings its operations down to February, 1906. Probably the action of the Children's Courts accounts for there being fourteen fewer committals than the previous year.

The expenditure for the year was for maintenance, £1,248 2/1; salaries, &c., £1,272/; total, £2,520 2/1. These three establishments cost the Government of New South Wales, in addition to the expenditure of the State Children's Relief Board, nearly sixteen thousand pounds, making a total of over £83,000 for the year.

VICTORIA.

The net cost of the department, which includes Industrial and Reformatory Schools, and all children placed out, is £60,274 by last report. This expenditure in Victoria is considerably smaller than that of New South Wales, because there are so many private reformatories who undertake reformatory work; but there is only one small place at *Pakenham* for six Roman Catholic Reformatory boys. The Sisters at *Oakleigh* set the example to us in their care of the girls. Against the

expenditure of nearly fourteen thousand for reformatories in New South Wales, a little over five thousand in Victoria, is unaccountable; but in one case there is an average of 634 in three institutions, and in the other 174 in twelve. In small establishments the delinquent children can be individualised to their great advantage, and I believe that it is on account of this that there is the resort to boarding out and sending to service in Victoria and South Australia, which reduces the number in reform schools proper.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the Victorian administration is the strength of the Ladies' Committees and the amount of work they do for the department. The payment of subsidy is entrusted to them, which makes their authority much greater than that of the committees in South Australia or New South Wales. Their visits are as a rule more frequent, and those of the official inspector few in comparison. And these committees are more successful in finding service places for children near the foster home, and in making removals where a change is advisable from one home to another, without sending children to headquarters at all. Where there is a good head in the correspondent of the committee the work is thoroughly organised and satisfactory.

This relieves the Secretary of the Department of responsibility; and there is no doubt that the scattering of the delinquent children is also a lightening of his load. There is no Board or Council in Victoria to hold the controlling authority, but the Secretary alone is responsible to the official head, the Chief Secretary of the State. But there is a wonderful similarity between the operations in all the States—the conditions and the rate of payment—and each State boasts of the excellent family homes and the good results of the administration.

QUEENSLAND.

The origin of the Queensland Department is apparent from its name. The departmental head is Inspector of Orphanages, but the Roman Catholic orphanages do not

allow any boarding out at all, nor is it done from the Townsville Orphanage. The department inspects the children in these institutions, and all service children sent out from these, as well as the service children from the boarded-out homes. Consequent on this the service children in Queensland are much more numerous than the subsidised children.

In Queensland there are eight institutions in which children are retained. This may seem contradictory of my assertions that in Australia the law is that children should be dispersed. I ought to have confined the application of this remark to the three States best known to me, to South Australia, Victoria, and New South Wales. For the three others there are too many orphanages endowed partly by private subscription, subsidised by Government, and these children cannot be described as State children. When there is a subsidy given to denominational charities they spring up in abundance. In Queensland there are eight, three of which are by their titles recognizable as Roman Catholics. One thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight children are placed permanently in the eight institutions. Only 426 were boarded out and paid for entirely by Government. But the Inspector of Orphanages, for such is his title, not only supervises the children when in the institutions, but inspects those who are sent out to service from them, in the same way as he inspects those who are placed out from foster homes. Only fourteen ladies assist the inspector as volunteer visitors to boarded-out or service children. The service children from the orphanages were 324 boys and 236 girls. Only sixty children were boarded out from the Rockhampton Orphanage, and none from the seven others.

Recent legislation, however, is most progressive. "The Infant Life Protection Act" became law on January 1, 1906. Its chief points are the inspection and control of baby farms and maternity homes, the special registration of illegitimate children, and pre-maternity affiliation.

This work is not under the department of State children, but under the police, as in Victoria, which South

Australian sentiment objects to. However, the police have the sense to appoint a lady inspector to act under the Commissioner of Police, whose officers have located the homes, and thus they have improved the condition of what they call "farmed infants." There is every reason to believe that during the current session of Parliament laws will be passed enlarging the definition of neglected child, so as to include destitute children and children under seventeen years of age found living immoral lives or with immoral guardians, and also to provide for the establishment of Children's Courts. The Queensland Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals is equally active for the protection of children, and no fewer than 218 children had been removed from the custody of their parents during the year by this society to orphanages, or directly to the State, for boarding out or service conditions.

TASMANIA.

In Tasmania from the very beginning of boarding out there has not been the dispersion in country homes that was the main object in other States. The suburbs of Hobart and of Launceston have been exclusively chosen as homes, the excuse being that there they could get the best schooling. The Education Department of Tasmania has recently waked up, and I am sure there are plenty of country homes where schools are within reach. I thought thirty years ago that the suburbs of such a city as Hobart were not likely to give the ideal homes for the children committed as neglected and delinquent. They are too near their unworthy relatives. I wrote to that effect in the Adelaide "Register," but the practice still continues.

There are fewer children for the population committed during the year than in any of the other States, only 45; to South Australia's 171 in the same year, and of these only 22 were committed to the Neglected Children's Department and 23 to various institutions, six of them maintained or subsidised by Government. The total number for the year was only 243, which is surprisingly few. Either the population is more virtuous

or there are far less clear ideas as to what constitutes a "neglected child."

WEST AUSTRALIA.

In West Australia the administration of poor relief both for adults and children is carried on by one department, as was the case in South Australia until the appointment of the State Children's Council. Boarding out can scarcely be said to exist, for it is difficult to find good family homes, and, as in the case of Tasmania, the neglected children are placed in industrial schools and orphanages subsidised by the State. Of these there are eight—three Roman Catholic and five Protestant. The subsidy granted in the case of destitute and neglected children is 1/1½ a day till they reach the age of fourteen. For delinquent children the subsidy is 1/6 a day up to the age of fifteen. The children are detained in institutions up to that age. There does not appear to be Government inspection of children sent out to service after their term is out.

Mr. Longmore, Superintendent of Public Charities and Inspector of Industrial and Reformatory Schools, recommends the consolidation of the various Acts, so as to put the children under conditions more like those in other Australian States. He recommends supervision and responsibility till the children reach the age of eighteen instead of sixteen, amendment of the definition of a "neglected child," suggests the term Senior Industrial School instead of Reformatory, which implies a certain stigma, the immediate establishment of a special Children's Court, and also to deal with truants, and a child's lock-up as a necessary adjunct. The registration of child street traders and newsboys; and last, and perhaps most important, that the department should licence to situations children who have not completed their term of detention without requiring the sanction of the Governor-in-Council, but keeping these under the control of the department. I should be disposed to add that West Australia needs an Infant Protection Bill to check baby-farming.

I am sure that good family homes could be found in

West Australia now for a great many, if not for all, of the children committed at a less cost than the subsidy paid to institutions. But, as in the case of the great Industrial and District Schools in England, these eight denominational institutions block the way. Tasmania and Queensland stand betwixt West Australia and the other States which have made boarding out the normal mode of dealing with the children of the State.

In the matter of widows and deserted wives with young children a monetary allowance is given to help to keep the home together and save the children from being committed to orphanages. The sums vary according to needs from 20/ a week the highest to 4/6 the lowest. Rations are given besides in some cases, so that the treatment is much more liberal than in South Australia.

It may be seen from these presentments of the position of the children of the State in the Australian Commonwealth that all are reaching out to better things, and that the example of South Australia with regard to boarding out and Children's Courts has been of infinite value.

CANADA.

When we come to treat of Canada, or, rather, of the great Canadian province of Ontario, we come to the fundamental difference between child-saving in Australia and elsewhere.

It is the exception in Australia to have free homes. The carefulness on the part of the departments with regard of allowing adoption is a great contrast to the solicitations, the pathetic appeals made in the United States and Canada to become the friends of the friendless, the parents of the orphaned, and worse than orphaned children.

In Australia, unless the child is very young, or unless it has been boarded out for many years in the home, it cannot be adopted. The State prefers to pay subsidy to risking any inferior conditions for the child. One of our members of the Council, Mr. C. H. Goode, was so much impressed by what he heard of the excellent free homes in Canada when he was on a visit to

Ontario that he wrote to the Chief Secretary on the subject. As a good Australian Mr. Goode thought our people were able to absorb as many children at no cost to the State as Ontario. Mr. Kelso, who is at the head of the department in Toronto, was written to by the Secretary of the State Children's Council for particulars, and his reply is most enlightening. I quote the greater part of his letter.

Government Buildings, Toronto,

November 1, 1906.

"It is rather difficult and is apt to be unfair to compare two systems without taking into consideration all the varying circumstances, and especially the conditions under which the work has been inaugurated. . . . We decided not to pay board at the outset, but to enlist the sympathetic co-operation of Christian and benevolent persons. My work has, therefore, been a missionary and educational one. I spend almost all my time writing newspaper articles, leaflets, and pamphlets, addressing meetings, and organising societies and committees. We have at the present time fifty-six Children's Aid Societies, and many auxiliary committees, all working for the betterment of social conditions so far as they concern children.

"They apply for the guardianship of neglected and homeless children, and enquire and advertise for foster-homes. Through these agencies and the widespread interest that has been created we have been able to secure about 8,000 free homes for children from six months to eighteen years of age during the thirteen years from 1893. We make the conditions very simple, agreeing to take back the child on two or three days' notice. . . . As far as possible we try to arrange that children, when they get over fifteen, shall receive some wages, or that a sum of money shall be paid to them at eighteen.

"All these various societies help with the supervision of the children in their foster-homes, but we do not depend on them entirely, as I have four inspectors constantly on the road, visiting and reporting to us on the

actual conditions in the foster-homes; and I have also two additional assistants as emergency visitors.

The various societies maintain local shelters of their own, to which the children specially belonging to them may be returned; but in addition I maintain a semi-private shelter of my own, in which I receive and replace children at the rate of about one per day. I take back children afflicted with serious illness or physical defect, and have them cared for in the Children's Hospital, replacing them in foster-homes when recovered. We are surprisingly successful in placing out the most undesirable children—Indian, colored, one-eyed, and naughty.

"As to the expense, the statement that the entire cost of providing for 3,000 children in free homes at the cost of \$10,000, or £2,000 is a little misleading, as that does not take into account the expense of those fifty-six Children's Aid Societies that are supported by private contributions. The figures mentioned was the cost to the Government some years ago, but the cost to-day is \$15,000, as we have increased the staff of inspectors, and have been more generous to various clergymen in the outlying districts, who give valuable assistance. . . . Taking the cost of the societies and the government together, I should say that the entire cost would be \$40,000, or £8,000. But this cost is small when we consider the preventive work that is done through Children's Courts.

"Then I should perhaps mention that we have quite a number of orphanages that were in existence before the Children's Protection Act was passed, and they have always resented any interference, and carry on their work quite independently of the State system I have outlined. There are probably 3,000 children in these institutions, and no attempt has been made to abolish or molest them. I may say, however, as evidence of the Government's determination to support the home-finding policy, that the State Reformatory for boys and that for girls were both placed in my hands, and all the inmates from 12 to 20 years of age were placed in approved situations and country homes. We now rely

upon some of the benevolent industrial schools to handle all our delinquent young people under sixteen."

This is indeed admirable work. Canada may well be proud of finding so many free homes and volunteer workers. On the other hand, Australia may also be proud that she pays honestly for the care and the training.

You may note that no wages are insisted on till the age of fifteen, that the education requirements are not so stringent as in the Commonwealth, and that there are two solid months of vacation in the busy time of the year, the short working summer, when no child can attend school.

In the "Juvenile Court Record" for November, 1906, the report of the State Agent for visitation of children placed out in free homes in Illinois complains chiefly that she finds great indifference to education on the part of many foster-parents. For trivial reasons the children are kept from school. A pleasant girl, very useful in the house, is absent one-third of her time on the excuse that she is sick, which is not the case. "This is especially noticeable in the country districts. Last spring I spent several days driving through the country visiting boys on farms. With scarcely an exception I found the boys at work. Of a dozen boys I visited a few weeks ago I found but one in school. It is now mid-October; the schools are all open, but the boys are in the fields. The foster-parents do not seem to have any clear sense of obligation in regard to sending these boys to school up to fourteen (which is the school age in the United States).

"In some cases I was told they were not required to send them longer than four months in the year; that is in mid-winter, when bad roads, heavy snows, and extreme cold are likely to prevent their regular attendance. More lies were told about school-going than on any other matter, but could be corrected by a sight of the school records."

It was Mr. Kelso who said at Chicago two years ago that the free homes needed inspection at least once a year; and in some of the States the warning has been

attended to. Mr. Kelso says nothing about Dr. Barnardo's boys, who have been sent by thousands to Canada; but I think they are generally old enough to earn their living.

I am informed that when they are not old enough for service they are paid for at the rate of 5/6 a week in Canada.

As I have said, Dr. Barnardo made great use of country homes on subsidy in England when the children were young. But we cannot imagine Mr. Gray spending most of his time in writing newspaper articles and leaflets and addressing meetings all over the State. Nor does the Treasurer give us money to take likenesses of the neglected children when committed, and of their appearance after some time in a good home; but the Children's Aid Societies do this for the good of the cause. For this reason the work for the children in Australia, though the most thorough perhaps in the world, is unknown to fame.

Miss Henry, under date August 9, 1906, writes of the Children's Court at Toronto, Canada, that it is really quiet, more like our Adelaide Court than anything she has seen across the Atlantic. But there seems to be no probation, which is a very serious omission. She also visited two immigration receiving depots under inspection. Their idea of inspection is not ours, but there is more and better oversight over the English children sent to Canada than Miss Henry had hoped for. But the official reports show that outside of local visitors the department is satisfied with one annual official visit; and the lady who discharges the duty thinks that in many cases it may be dispensed with altogether.

The local visitor is generally a clergyman, who, for the small honorarium of \$25 (£5) annually is supposed to see that all is right with the children in free homes. But Mr. Kelso, of Toronto, exercises more supervision than is practised in the United States. As Miss Henry says, their idea of inspection is even farther from ours than that of Canada.

CHAPTER XVI., AND LAST.

And a Little Child Shall Lead Them.

It has long been recognised that the civilization of any country is shown by the position of the women in it, and the advance of the status and of the opportunities afforded to them has been a distinguishing characteristic of the nineteenth century. But coincident with this, or following upon it, is a sense of the responsibilities of the community to the children who are born in it. This is pre-eminently the concern of the century we have entered upon. Here and there were men and women before their time, like Robert Owen, Pestalozzi, and Froebel, but the policy of *laissez faire* was so general that it was not till well into the latter half of the nineteenth century that free elementary education was obtained for the children of the United Kingdom, and of Australia, at the public cost.

In the year 1800, when Robert Owen was partner and sole manager of the mills of New Lanark, which had been established fifteen years before, he found a village built round the works, and the houses were let at a low rent to get a sufficient supply of adult workers. Besides these were about 500 children, chiefly obtained from the poorhouses of Edinburgh and other large towns, who were apprentices for seven years, from the age of six to eight, and these were lodged and boarded in a large building erected for the purpose by the late owner, Mr. Dale, and was on the whole well managed. But these poor children had to work from 6 in the morning till 7 in the evening (with 1½ hours off for meals), and it was only when the task was over that any instruction began. The poor children hated their slavery; many absconded; some were stunted and even dwarfed in stature; and when their apprenticeship expired they commonly went off to Glasgow or Edin-

burgh, with no natural guardians, and trained for swelling the mass of vice and misery in the towns.

This was not only done in New Lanark. The parish children were the first recruits in the way of cheap labor that the cotton factories of Lancashire swept into the mills, and there was not one millowner who did for these children what Robert Owen did. Most of them did nothing at all but pay wages. After Owen got the entire ownership of the business he allowed no child to enter as workers till they were ten years old. He built infant schools for the little ones and schools for the older ones till they were ten years old; he obtained the best teachers; he superintended the schools himself. The essential principles of Pestalozzi and Froebel were carried out. The schools were so bright and the children so happy that a wealthy lady visiting them said with tears in her eyes, "Mr. Owen, I would give any money if my children were like these."

The next class consisted of boys and girls between ten and seventeen years of age. They were all employed in the mill, and in the evenings between 7 and 8.30 they pursued their education. Robert Owen's mills were airy and healthy, and every care was taken that the moral atmosphere should be as wholesome as the physical. Of course, the hours of labor then were what would not be permitted now, but the mill workers at New Lanark were, comparatively speaking, in Paradise.

But this was the exception that proved the rule, for we hear nothing about similar care for the poor parish apprentices bound for seven years in Glasgow mills or in English factories. On the contrary, the example of the parish authorities was followed by parents in the manufacturing towns, and from the distant country around; parents learned from the guardians how to make children a profit instead of a burden; and two or three generations of child slaves, untaught and untrained in the elements of right and happy living succeeded each other in the building up of the manufacturing supremacy of the United Kingdom.

The first attempt made to cope with the unemployment of men by the labor of little children dates as early

as 1715, when Thomas Firmin appealed to persons of quality to aid him in establishing a babies' workshop in Little Britain, London. It was a spinning school. They began to learn at the age of four, at five or six they could earn 2d. and later 3d. a day. But alas for the industrial habits sought to be inculcated. When they grew up the children had the same difficulties their parents had before them. It is not enough to train a child in the way he should go, if, when he is old, the way is blocked before him. But it was not difficult to teach poor, ignorant parents that at the earliest possible period children should earn money, and the criminal indifference of the well-to-do allowed a system of child slavery to take root in Great Britain.

"It is surprising how little the men with the traditions of the classics, whether in China or in Great Britain, care for the wants or the sufferings of children. Old literature, the Bible included, dwells strongly and repeatedly on the duties of children to parents, and of subjects to rulers, but says very little about the still greater responsibilities of parents towards children, and of rulers towards their subjects. In the 'Quarterly Review' for last July there is a heart-stirring article entitled 'The Cry of the Children,' which shows that it took a hundred years of hard work and incessant vigilance to make the improvements in the condition of the child workers than we see to-day. Mrs. Barrett Browning's poem of the same name as 'The Quarterly' article, all the works of Dickens, and many others, contributed to the wave of public opinion in favor of children and helped it along. In Randolph Bedford's 'Snare of Strength' he speaks of the sweating of children by their own fathers in the dairying districts of Australia, which does not deprive them of schooling, but which prevents them from learning much, and which Mr. Coghlan says stunts their growth; but in the old bad days of English factories the children got no schooling at all. The basic error was that parental rights were held sacred, and that until a few years ago children had no rights at all. In 1837 not a single Act had been passed for their benefit. During the reign of Queen Victoria she signed

over a hundred. They were slaves in factories, in mines, in brickfields, and in agricultural gangs. They were untaught in a country where vast educational endowments were appropriated for the children of the well-to-do. Child criminals were transported and even hanged. A boy ten years of age was hanged for stealing a silk handkerchief. The old poor law authorised guardians to supply children for factory work as apprentices at the age of six or seven. Parents followed suit, and rushed their children into the mills, drawing their wages, and sometimes living upon them. So absolute was this parental power that in a bankrupt's estate his young children were reckoned as a part of the assets. One London parish contracted with a Lancashire mill to take all its children, and one idiot to every twenty sound apprentices. It was a wonderfully cheap way of providing for the orphan, deserted, and deficient children thrown on public charity. Long hours (the first legislative limit was twelve hours) and alternate night work, for the machinery ran night and day. The death rate was enormous, and those who survived the age of twenty-one were stunted and enfeebled.

"After thirty years of effort Lord Shaftesbury secured effective legislation to protect children in mills and in mines, where the work was harder and more degrading, but not undertaken so early. Chimney sweeps suffered from 1760 to 1860. No idea that machinery could cope with the narrow chimney of the time, or that there were better means of extinguishing a fire than by driving a trembling urchin to fight with it, seemed to have entered the minds of our grandfathers. Parents sold their children to the master sweep, who took the money, but made the children do the work. Gangs of little agricultural laborers were hired out by the parish or by parents as late as 1867. It was not, in fact, till the United Kingdom had so far extended the suffrage that it was necessary to 'educate our masters' that the rights of the child, not only to education, but to time to go to school, and to decent treatment, began to be recognised. Dr. Barnardo's great work among neglected

city children aroused public interest and benevolence, but, even more, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty threw the light of day upon the homes which were not homes, not at all necessarily the poorest, but where the drunken, dissolute, and cruel parents neglected, over-worked, starved, and beat their children. Baby-farming, which we have extinguished in South Australia by a vigorous application of the law to protect every single child, is still rampant in the mother country, where no one needs to be registered as a foster-mother unless she has two or more children, and where the law seems to be evaded successfully. 'The Quarterly Review' says that the United Kingdom should have a State Department for children such as there are in Australia and in some of the American States. 'The Quarterly Review' recommends a great deal more boarding out than is practised. That is in its most complete form in South Australia. The want of classification in the mother country, no right distinction being made between children tainted with vice and those merely orphaned or destitute, in the large district and industrial schools has resulted in much deterioration of the better class of children. In the old country boarding-out is permissive, and affects only a small number of the parish children. In all the Australian States but Western Australia it is imperative that the children of the State shall be dispersed, in cottage homes, with the ordinary duties, pleasures, and responsibilities of children in respectable families, unless from character they need some discipline to prepare them for this natural life.

In South Australia the State Children's Council is a Government department, with authority over boarded-out children, over reformatories and probation homes, with power to transfer from one to another, with a Children's Court, the first organised separate Court in the world, in which children are tried, and, if necessary, committed to the department, or, if advisable, have sentence suspended on probation—with full jurisdiction over all licensed foster-mothers and babies under their care, and with surveillance of lying-in homes. It seems to meet the requirements of 'The Quarterly Review.'"

When Balzac, in "The Country Doctor," tells of the divine charity of the poor old woman who took the children of the commune to her heart for an allowance of three francs a month (2/6) and an allowance of soap, he makes us indignant at the meanness of the proprietors, who threw their burdens on the poor. This was written in 1831. Now France, faced with a continuously decreasing birth-rate, prizes babies—all babies, legitimate or not—at a pretty high rate. Balzac was called a realist, but perhaps he stretched a little here for effect, and the commune gave more than three francs monthly. But there is no question that through the miserable pay given thousands of the children of the State must have died in those days, and no man took it to heart.

It seems as if we were in another world as well as in another century when we see how public opinion has changed. The whole attitude of society and of legislation towards the protection of the little ones who are born into the world is transformed. Laws were made against cruelty to animals long before they were made against cruelty to children. The right of the parents to ill-use and to exploit their children is no longer held sacred. Public good is the supreme law, and we are gradually rising in our estimation of what public good is and may be.

But will this increasing reverence for the child decrease the reverence for the parents which is embodied in the fourth of the Ten Commandments, and has been from time immemorial held as the foundation of society. I think not. Children who are treated justly and kindly will rarely fail in duty to their parents. And many men and women in South Australia to-day acknowledge with gratitude that they owe a deep debt to the good foster-parents who brought them up, and to the State which entrusted them to such guidance.

We are not by any means perfect yet; there are further reforms for us to work for. Miss Clark's last efforts as a member of the Council were for a paid probation officer to visit children before they had been committed, as well as after they had served a time and

were released on probation, and that she saw accomplished and working satisfactorily as I have described. But one point on which her heart was set was the question of fines. I agree strongly with her that the system of fining offenders, young and adult, is radically wrong. It makes a distinction between the rich, to whom a fine is nothing, and the poor, to whom it is so often impossible to pay it he spends many weeks or months in gaol, when the family is often to be kept by public charity, as well as the offender himself. The money collected by those who pay is probably expended for those who do not.

Fining, like transportation, is adopted because it is easier than anything else for the Magistrate and the Judge. It is an acknowledgment of either ignorance of better methods of adjusting punishment to offence, or unwillingness to take trouble. As long as people were shovelled out of the country, out of sight and hearing, the English nation took no preventive or reformatory steps with regard to crime. As long as we send people to gaol because they cannot pay fines we will never rightly deal with habitual drunkards and other habitues of our Police Courts.

With regard to fining children for a very large number of the offences for which they are brought before the Juvenile Court—stone-throwing, playing games in thoroughfares, small trifles—Miss Clark over and over again brought forward sensible suggestions. First, that the fine should never be large; second, that the offender should redeem the fine by 6d. a week for weeks of good conduct. The parent who has to pay the fine would encourage the boy to keep steady at school or at work, and to keep out of mischief.

When the fine cannot be paid the boys are detained at the Reformatory for as many weeks as the Magistrate fixes in lieu of the fine. This is not good for the boy, and it is not good for the reformatory boys to see that in these cases the parents can redeem a delinquent for money, while their sentence is till eighteen, and they are sure they are as good as these short-sentenced chaps.

But we will peg at this question till we get it settled rightly, and no one will be better pleased than Mr. Button when the short-sentenced boys no longer are sent to him.

Another thing is needed. Some home for weak-minded girls, who ought not to go into the world, but who have to drift into the Destitute Asylum when their time under the State Children's Department has expired.

The Cottage Homes in Sydney are available for these. At present the receiving house at Edwardstown has a good many, whom we cannot place out in service homes in South Australia. They can do work under careful superintendence. I have already spoken of the desire of the Council to have all affiliation cases heard in camera at our Court.

Other things no doubt will come up needing careful consideration. Everything human is capable of improvement.

"That which we have done but earnest of the things which we do," seemed to me when I read it about sixty years ago the motto for all who not only looked for, but worked for that new heaven and new earth wherein righteousness should dwell.

But the movement which my dear friend, Miss Clark, initiated and worked for so long has its foundation in righteousness, and it must lead upward and onward.

We may hope that in a better social order the number of children thrown on the State will diminish, and the natural home, the social unit, will be increasingly the best home for children.

Even so, let that good time come; but it will be hastened and not hindered by the care which has been secured for the children of the State, and by the kindness and the justice which I am proud to say characterise the administration dealing with children in all the States of the Commonwealth.

Extracts from Regulations of the State Children's Department.

The Secretary shall take legal proceedings for the recovery of maintenance fees or wages due to children.

All communications from officers of the department to the Council must be sent through the Secretary.

The Secretary shall have the general supervision of the department, under the direction of the Council.

The Inspector shall visit all State children, whether placed out or apprenticed; shall see that the regulations are fully complied with; that the homes are satisfactory as regards cleanliness, accommodation, and moral surroundings, and that children are kindly treated and well clothed.

The Council shall meet at least once each month.

At all meetings of the Council all questions shall be determined by open voting, and each member shall have one vote, but in case of equality of votes the chairman shall have a second or casting vote in addition to a deliberative vote.

Fees for maintenance of children under the care of the Council shall be paid to the Secretary.

Officers in charge shall at once report to the Secretary, and, in the case of a private institution, to the governing authority, the absconding, serious illness, or death of a child, and any other special event which may occur.

On presentation of an order from the Secretary, parents and friends may visit inmates of institutions who are entitled to receive visitors on the days set apart by the Council. Visits must be made in presence of an attendant. Persons of known bad character will not be allowed to visit children, nor will male visitors be permitted to visit inmates of the Girls' Reformatory.

Any person desiring to take a State child under any of the prescribed conditions shall make application in the proper form to the Secretary, or to the governing authority of the institution, or to the visiting committee of the district. Every application shall be accompanied by the certificate of a clergyman, magistrate, or other responsible person as to the moral character and fitness of the appli-

cant to be intrusted with the care and training of a State child.

No child shall be boarded out or adopted until the home has been visited and satisfactorily reported upon by an officer of the Council, or some person deputed by the Council.

No child shall be apprenticed to or placed out with any person in receipt of Government relief, or to or with any person holding a publican's or wine licence.

Relatives shall not have access to children apprenticed or placed out, except in the case of a child becoming seriously ill, or under special circumstances, with the sanction of the Council or of the governing authority of the institution; but, on application to the Secretary or governing authority, they may be informed as to the health and general well-being of their children. All letters to and from children apprenticed or placed out must be forwarded through the Secretary or Superintendent, who will peruse them, and, if he considers it undesirable to forward any letter, he may return it to the writer and report to the Council or governing authority.

All children apprenticed or placed out shall be fed and lodged to the satisfaction of the Council and the Visiting Committee, and shall as far as is possible be sent regularly to a place of worship, and to a Sunday school, unless specially exempted by the Council.

Every child over the age of seven years placed out shall be sent regularly to school until thirteen years old, unless before that age he has passed the compulsory standard required by the Education Act, 1875, or any Act in lieu thereof for the time being in force, or has been specially exempted by the Council. Public school teachers are required to furnish a report every three months, on a form supplied by the Council, as to each child's attendance, progress, appearance, &c.

Every child boarded out shall, if possible, be visited by a member of the committee within two weeks after being placed in a home. Reports shall be sent to the Council every three months, on forms to be supplied.

The Council may exempt an adopted or any other child from such visits if considered advisable.

Foster-parents, whenever required by the visitor or an officer of the Council, shall produce the clothing of the child or children under their charge, in order that it may be compared with the inventory and its condition examined;

and shall also give the visitor all information asked for, and allow every facility for a thorough inspection of the home and the child or children.

Should any child apprenticed or placed out meet with an accident or become ill, medical aid shall be obtained without delay.

In the event of any child absconding, the foster-parent shall immediately give notice thereof to the nearest police station; and, if necessary, shall take all proper steps for the issue of a warrant, in order that the child may be arrested and returned to his charge.

When a placed out or apprenticed child absconds from his home, or is returned for misconduct, in addition to any other punishment which may be inflicted the Council may deduct from the child's savings the amount of any expenses incurred in arresting and returning such child; and when a placed out or apprenticed child misconducts himself, the Council may order a specific sum to be deducted from such child's savings as a punishment for such misconduct.

The outfits supplied with children when placed out or apprenticed shall be kept in a state of efficiency by the foster-parents.

Children who are to be boarded out must be under thirteen years of age, excepting children who are diseased, ailing, or mentally or morally defective.

The subsidy to be paid by the Council for the maintenance of a child boarded out shall not exceed 5/ per week, except in special cases.

Payments for maintenance of children boarded out will be made quarterly by the Secretary, at the offices of the department, or through the Visiting Committees.

Foster-parents shall sign the proper acquittances on receiving the sums due to them.

Not more than four State children shall be placed out in one home, excepting under special circumstances approved by the Council.

No boarders or lodgers other than the State children shall be received by foster-parents.

Separate sleeping accommodation shall be provided by foster-parents for boys and girls over seven years of age.

Children boarded out must, by their foster-parents, be trained up to be God-fearing, honest, and truthful, respectful to their teachers and others, and obedient to their foster-parents, and shall attend the same church as their foster-parents.

The following is the outfit prescribed for every child boarded out, namely:—

OUTFIT (in a box).

For each Boy.

2 pairs boots
2 caps or hats
2 suits of clothes
3 shirts
2 nightshirts
3 pairs socks
3 handkerchiefs
1 pair braces
Hairbrush, small and large
comb
1 Bible or prayer book
1 overcoat
1 toothbrush

For each Girl.

2 pairs boots
2 hats
2 dresses
2 chemises
2 petticoats
2 flannel petticoats
2 pairs drawers
2 flannel vests
2 nightdresses
2 pinafores
3 handkerchiefs
1 jacket or ulster
3 pairs stockings
Hairbrush, small and large
comb
1 Bible or prayer book
1 toothbrush

Licences for service and indentures of apprenticeship of a State child may, with the consent of the Council, be cancelled at any time during their currency and the child returned to the school from which he was placed out, or otherwise dealt with.

The wages to be paid to children placed out or apprenticed shall be as follows, unless under special circumstances the Council shall otherwise determine, namely:—

When 13 years old, 1/ per week (clothes to be provided by employer).

When 14 years old, 1/6 per week (clothes to be provided by employer)

When 15 years old, 2/ per week (clothes to be provided by employer)

When 16 years old, 5/ per week (child to provide clothes).

When 17 years old, 6/ per week (child to provide clothes).

Until the child is 16 years old three-fourths of the wages, and afterwards not less than 1/ per week, shall be remitted quarterly to the Secretary for deposit in the Savings Bank; the balance shall be paid monthly to the child, a receipt being taken in the book supplied by the Council.

Corporal punishment shall be administered as seldom as possible, and shall be only resorted to when absolutely

necessary for discipline and not for first offences, unless of a grave nature. But should any boy be guilty of an offence of an exceptionally grave character, he shall be liable to receive a whipping for such offence on the bare breech with a birch rod to the extent of twelve strokes. No corporal punishment shall be inflicted except by direction and in the presence of the officer in charge.



Regulations Relating to Lying-in Homes and Foster Mothers.

Every application for a licence in respect of a lying-in home, or foster-mother, must be in writing, signed by or on behalf of the applicant, and, unless the Council shall dispense with the same, must be accompanied by a certificate of the fitness and respectability of the applicant, signed by a justice of the peace or a minister of religion.

The licence fee for a lying-in home shall be 5/ per annum. The licence-fee in respect of a foster-mother shall be 1/ per annum.

Every licensee of a lying-in home shall forward to the Secretary before the third day of each month a return giving the names, usual residences, and dates of confinement of all women confined in such home, and particulars of all children born there during the preceding month, and in default shall be liable to a penalty of not exceeding £20.



SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

STATE CHILDREN'S DEPARTMENT.

REPORT of INSPECTOR or VISITOR on

Boarded with of

Child's age and religion

Folio

Date of visit

Was the child clean?

“ “ healthy?

“ “ well clothed?

“ “ well behaved?

Is the child kindly treated?*

What sleeping accommoda-
tion had the child, and did
the Visitor think it suffi-
cient?

Were any, and what, com-
plaints made to the Visitor
by or against the child? ..

Does the child regularly at-
tend church?

Sunday School?

Day School?

Did the Visitor examine the
child's outfit, and was it
complete (see list on back)
and in good condition? ..

Is there anything in this house
which might be improved? ..

Is the child receiving training
likely to fit him for useful
work?

Remarks

.....
Signature of Visitor.

To the Secretary of the
State Children's Council.

*Please make this inquiry of the child apart from the
foster-parent.

Foster-parents and employers, whenever required by
the visitor or an officer of the Council, must produce the
clothing of the child or children under their charge, in
order that it may be compared with the inventory and its
condition examined; and must also give the visitor all in-
formation asked for, and allow every facility for a thorough
inspection of the home and the child or children.



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