

The History, Development and Present Status
of the Care of Dependent Children in
in Milwaukee County

By

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"The progress of a state may be measured by the extent to which it safeguards the rights of its children."

--Grace Abbott
The Child and the State
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PREFACE

The purpose of this paper has been to write in an orderly and logical manner the history, development and present status of the care of dependent children in Milwaukee county, to make comparisons with other urban areas in the United States, and to offer an interpretation of present and future needs.

The history and development of the subject covered all data obtainable on the beginnings of dependent child care and the progress that has been made in the matters of public aid, public and private agencies, and legislation. The term "present status" was interpreted to include the work that is being done at the present time by the various agencies and the legislation now in effect. The problem has been confined, for the most part, to Milwaukee county, but where evidences of state or federal influence, especially in the matters of legislation, were shown, it was felt necessary to include such material. Any such deviations are justified at their places of exposition.

It has been assumed that the paper be confined to the term "dependent child" as defined in the laws of the State of Wisconsin:

"The words 'dependent child' shall mean any child under the age of 18 years who is homeless or destitute or without proper support through no fault of his parent, guardian or custodian." (1)

(1) Wisconsin, Statutes, 1939, Section 48.01

However, since this is a somewhat arbitrary statement, it has been thought necessary to make a more detailed explanation of the concept of dependency in the introductory pages with a more explicit statement as to what has been included in the use of the term.

There is no advantage in tracing the history or development of a problem, or in outlining its present status unless some yardstick for measuring its worth is available. For that reason there has been included here a comparison of Milwaukee county with other urban areas of the United States. Care has been taken that as nearly as possible areas with similar backgrounds and problems be used for comparison.

Once the analysis of a problem has been made and its strength and weaknesses pointed out, there must be an interpretation of present and future needs. These interpretations were noted at the points where they seemed best to fit into the discussion. Legislation, public and private agencies were all measured and compared.

In order to present the data gathered in as logical a manner as possible, and, at the same time, isolate certain phases of the discussion which might prove valuable in that isolation, it was considered advisable to sketch briefly the national picture of child-care development. This has been followed by a more detailed account of the historical background of the state with Milwaukee county interspersed as it began to make its own history in the care of dependent children. The various agencies and legislation then follow in

separate discussions as to their history, development and present status. Summarizing statements were then made for the county as a whole as to present aids and needs and demands for the future.

Statistical information has been avoided as much as possible, as it was believed that for the most part it was not necessary, and it was felt that it would offer little to an interpretation of the facts presented. It has been used, however, where it was felt that it proved a point which could be proved in no other way. Emphasis has been put instead on the development of the social ideal for the care of dependent children.

Grateful acknowledgement for guidance and assistance is made here to the following people:

J. K. Phillips, Milwaukee County Council of
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The History, Development and Present Status of the Care of
Dependent Children in Milwaukee County

THE CONCEPT OF DEPENDENCY

As was stated in the preface to this paper the term "dependent child" used herein is the legal definition used in the statute books:

"The words 'dependent child' shall mean any child under the age of 18 years who is homeless or destitute or without proper support through no fault of his parent, guardian or custodian." (1)

(1) Wisconsin, Statutes, 1939, Section 48.01, b

However, a clearer and even more precise discrimination in the use of the concept of dependency seems necessary for the purposes of this discussion. In its largest interpretation the word "dependent" can be used in regard to every child from the moment it is conceived. This is especially true in cases of illegitimacy, at least in Wisconsin, for the child to be born or already born out of wedlock is considered under the custody of the State and steps are taken for its protection. Children born in marriage are dependent on their parents, and it is only when this parental support fails for one reason or another that an outside agency, public or private, supplies the necessary care.

"In the broadest sense all children are dependent. Most children are dependent on their parents and guardians. When their parents or guardians cannot support them, they become dependent on public or private charity. They are then dependent within the meaning

of the law. The difficulty is lack of parental support.....Dependency occurs when parents otherwise reasonably satisfactory, are unable to provide adequate support for their children." (2)

(2) Wisconsin Conference for Social Work, The Report of the Children's Code Committee of Wisconsin, 1929, 71

This group would include most specifically: whole orphans, half orphans, children from homes broken by illness, divorce, desertion, mental illness of a parent, or delinquency of a parent which has resulted in a penal sentence. There is also that group of children dependent on their parents, for which the parents do not have the facilities nor the training to give care; namely, the blind, the deaf, the crippled, the mentally defective, the neglected, and the delinquent. These children, consequently must be cared for through public or private agencies, and are, in every sense, dependent upon such care. However, in order to keep this paper within the limits which will make it definite and thorough by eliminating problems considered non-essential to the task at hand, it will be necessary to leave out certain of these phases of dependency and deal only with the concept of dependency as defined in the statutes, with the exception of the illegitimate child, which it is believed more often than not comes within the legal definition of dependent child.

It should also be noted at this point that legislators as well as writers on the problems of child dependency often group neglected and dependent children for similar treatment or care, and, in the early history of this social work, even

delinquents, crippled, and mentally defective were treated together with dependent children. Where this situation has occurred they will have to be cited together, but the main purpose of this paper will be to confine the discussion to the definition as stated above.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF CHILD CARE

Before going into the specific history and development of the care of dependent children in Milwaukee county, it has seemed important to build a general background on a more or less national scope for three reasons. First, the state of Wisconsin, and consequently Milwaukee county, did not come into being as such until well into the nineteenth century and a general knowledge of what had been done up to that point should prove valuable in determining the place of this county in the general picture of child care work. Second, there is little documentary evidence of the early care of children in this county until almost the beginning of the twentieth century, so that again the national picture is important. Third, an investigation of the work in child care done in Milwaukee county would mean very little unless it were placed, so to speak, against the background of what has been done elsewhere. As a consequence, it seems necessary at this point to outline briefly the general history of child care.

Gillin summarizes the early care of dependent children as follows:

"The four methods of caring for children which we have seen in use in England--orphanages and foundling asylums, the almshouse and workhouse, outdoor relief and binding out,--were reproduced in early America. As almshouses were built, children were placed in them. For a long time in many parts of the country these were the only institutions for the care of destitute children. From these institutions they were sometimes bound out as apprentices. When outdoor relief developed, some destitute

children with their families were cared for in this fashion. Gradually there grew up special private and public institutions for the care of children." (1)

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- (1) John Lewis Gillin, Poverty and Dependency: Their Relief and Prevention, 377
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The first institution for child care of which there is any record was established in connection with the Ursuline Convent, New Orleans, for children orphaned by an Indian massacre, and in 1740 the Rev. George Whitefield opened Bethesda Orphan House at Savannah, Georgia for needy boys. (2)

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- (2) Children's Bureau, Publication No. 170, Handbook for the Use of Boards of Directors, Superintendents, and Staffs of Institutions for Dependent Children, 1
-

The institutions founded before 1850 could be classified as (1) those founded by orphan asylum societies from philanthropic motives; (2) those organized as distinctly religious institutions under the control of church authorities; (3) those endowed by bequest and managed by a board of directors as a trust; and (4) those founded for special classes of children. (3)

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- (3) Homer Folks, The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Delinquent Children, 55, 60
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Only a very few of the many dependent children in the country were taken care of by these institutions. As Gillin says,

"Before 1875, with the exception of children cared for in the private institutions just cited, the almshouse and outdoor relief were practically the only recourse." (4)

(4) John Lewis Gillin, op. cit., 341

How slowly separate institutions for the care of children developed is indicated by the account of Dorothea Dix who reported adversely on the care of children in almshouses in New York State in 1844. It was not until twelve years later, 1856, that a select committee of the New York State Senate condemned the harmful effect of almshouse life upon children, and it was twenty years later before a law was passed in that state excluding children from almshouses. (5)

(5) Homer Folks, op. cit. 38-39

However, the idea of removing children from the almshouses where the destitute, aged, insane, mentally defective, blind, crippled, and deaf, adults and children alike, were herded was followed by a system only slightly less demoralizing. Children were separated from adults, but all children who were public charges whether dependent or delinquent were often grouped together in institutions of a reform nature. Wines reports as follows:

"The earliest of the reformatory institutions in the United States was the House of Refuge in the city of New York.....

"For a quarter of a century few similar establishments were opened in America. Boston followed in 1826 and Philadelphia in 1828. In 1835 a farm-school

was opened for orphans and poor children on Thompson's Island in the harbor of Boston.....

"A strong impulse was given to the work of child-saving in the United States by two conventions of the managers and superintendents of reformatory institutions, held in the city of New York in 1857 and 1859.

"Institutions of a more strictly preventive character--industrial schools and homes for neglected children--have greatly multiplied within the last quarter of a century in all the great centres of population in the northern, eastern, and western States. Of associations, directing their labors to this particular department of child-saving work, the two largest, most active, and most successful are the Children's Aid Society and Female Guardian Society, both in the city of New York, and having under their care between thirty and forty industrial schools, besides divers other branches of the same general work. Reform schools, also, have largely increased in the last twenty years, those of more recent origin having been generally organized on some modification of the family idea."(6)

(6) E. C. Wines, The State of Prisons and of Child-Saving Institutions in the Civilized World, 81

The development and increase in the number of child-caring institutions is summarized briefly in a publication of the Children's Bureau:

"In the last half of the nineteenth century many other agencies concerned with social welfare developed and their interests gradually became linked with those of child caring institutions. The placement of dependent children in family homes on an extensive scale was begun by the New York Children's Aid Society in 1853, and the organization of similar societies throughout the country. Thirty years later a special impetus was given to this movement by the Children's Home

Society, the forerunner of 35 home-finding societies. There was no organized work for child protection until the establishment in 1875 of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. The charity organization movement with its important results in the field of family relief and welfare began at about the same time.

"Since 1875 there has been rapid increase in children's aid activities and in the development of the placing-out system for the care of dependent children. The work of family welfare societies has multiplied. The so-called mothers' pension system--the maintenance of children in their own homes by means of public funds--began in 1911. This movement which began almost simultaneously in Missouri and Illinois has extended until at the beginning of 1926 there were laws authorizing such aid in forty-two states.

"In the early years the institution method was almost the only means provided for the care of dependent children. With the development of social work for the prevention of dependency, the relief of destitute families, and the protection and care of dependent and neglected children, institutional care has become one of several forms of child welfare work. The institutions themselves have steadily changed in character, as they have adjusted their organization to meet the different needs that have developed. The prevention of child dependency through family relief work and public aid for dependent children in their own homes and changes in the social and economic life of the country have definitely lessened the need for institutional care. Institutions thus relieved of some of the stress of caring for large numbers of children should become able to devote themselves to specialized activities." (7)

(7) Children's Bureau, Publication No. 170, op. cit., 1-2

Closely allied with the early development of institutions for dependent children was the indenture system,

a legalized apprenticeship which bordered on child slavery. The system was imported from England to the United States, and prevailed extensively in the early days of this country.

"The indenture system in its original form has almost entirely disappeared in the United States. Under the old system the child was placed under a contract which provided that he should remain in the family so long as the conditions of the contract were observed. Under the modern apprentice system, the right is usually reserved to remove the child at the discretion of the placing agency for the reason that it may often be manifest that the home is a misfit or that the child is unhappy or retarded in his development, even when no violation of the agreement can be shown." (8)

(8) Children's Bureau, Publication No. 136, Foster Home Care for Dependent Children, 2-3

However, inhuman as the indenture system may seem now, it was the fore-runner of the greatest and most worthwhile of all social work for the care of dependent children--the present system of foster home care. The pioneer in this more humane method of child placing was Charles Loring Brace who organized the New York Children's Aid Society to send dependent children to country homes in different states. It is admitted that in the beginning of this work children were distributed without much formality and without supervision, but that in later years more caution was exercised in the selection of homes and closer supervision established. (9)

(9) Ibid., 3

This early method of child placing will be mentioned again in the history of Wisconsin where the wholesale "dumping" of eastern children into western states was considered one of the problems in child dependency. Other pioneers in the field of child placing were the Henry Watson Children's Aid Society, established in Baltimore in 1860; the Boston Children's Aid Society, 1864; the Brooklyn Children's Aid Society, 1866; the New York State Charities Aid Association, 1872; the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, 1882; and the Connecticut Children's Aid Society, 1892. (10)

(10) Ibid., 4

In the light of present day knowledge all of these organizations were characterized by the limitations of insufficient investigation, limited knowledge of homes, the problem of illegitimacy, inadequate supervision after placement, the necessity of using volunteer visitors who were unreliable and paid workers who had no training or experience. (11)

(11) Ibid., 4

In 1867 Dr. Samuel J. Howe and Frank W. Sanborn began the systematic placement of state minor wards in Massachusetts, and the work of that state has since been a model for many child-placing agencies. (12)

(12) Ibid., 5

In fact, Massachusetts was the first state to authorize payments to selected families for the care of children. This was started in 1861. (13)

(13) Recommendations and Report of the Citizens Committee on Public Welfare, 137

The American Educational Aid Association was established in 1883 in Chicago by the Rev. M. V. N. Van Arsdale, to assist deserving children in obtaining an education, an organization which the next year changed its name to the Children's Home Society and became a child-placing agency throughout the state of Illinois and spread into other states. (14)

(14) Children's Bureau, Publication No. 136, op. cit., 5

"The Children's Home Society movement began in the Middle West. It differed essentially from the Children's Aid Society because it extended its work into rural communities from the start....."

"As the movement extended some strong organizations grew up while others grew very slowly and failed to develop strength or to accept modern progressive methods. They have suffered from the fact that no one of them has a pension system and they have been reluctant to discard workers who have become worn out in the service.

"For many years the prosperity and success of a state children's home society was apt to be measured by the number of children received and placed in homes; but in recent years, less stress has been put upon numbers and more upon the quality of the work done and upon constructive work to preserve the child's own home." (15)

(15) Ibid., 5

In 1898 the St. Vincent De Paul Society of New York established a child placing-out agency known as the Catholic Home Bureau for Dependent Children, organized and developed by William J. Doherty, its executive secretary. The Catholic Children's Aid Society was organized in 1903 in New Jersey by Rev. Francis Foy and in 1907 San Francisco saw the establishment of the Catholic Humane Bureau. (16)

(16) Ibid., 6-7

Catholic child-placing organizations may now be found in most of the larger cities, some under the auspices of the St. Vincent De Paul Society and others as departments of diocesan Catholic charities bureaus. (17)

(17) Ibid., 7

In Wisconsin the Lutheran Kinderfreund was established in 1902 for placing children in family homes. Further discussion of this organization will be made in the section on private agencies of Milwaukee county.

The early years of the twentieth century saw a growing emphasis on the proper care for dependent children and the necessity for preserving the home wherever possible. Instrumental in the increased interest was the White House Conference of 1909.

"The conference on the Care of Dependent Children,--commonly referred to as the White House Conference--called by President Roosevelt in 1909, was responsible in large

measure for focusing attention on the desirability of conserving the child's own home." (18)

(18) Children's Bureau Publication No. 162, Public Aid to Mothers with Dependent Children, 1

A detailed account of this conference will be found under the discussion of federal assistance to dependent children, but it is significant here to mention that the conference was a fore-runner of public assistance in the child's own home served as an impetus to more proper care of these children, and was instrumental in the establishment of the Federal Children's Bureau.

Aid to dependent children in their own homes, or mother's pension developed rapidly after the White House Conference of 1909. As early as 1906 California's juvenile courts were granting county aid and the establishment of juvenile courts in other states was followed by the establishment of public aid of some kind. In Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1912, the county board granted aid to mothers for the care of children in their own homes, aid to be given by jurisdiction of the juvenile court. (19)

(19) Ibid., 2

The Children's Bureau reported,

"So far as legislation was concerned, the principle of home care of dependent children has met with more ready response than any other child welfare measure that has ever been proposed. Administration however,

has not kept pace with the enactment laws, largely because public interest in many states became dormant once a law was passed, and because appropriations were inadequate in all but a very few localities." (20)

(20) Ibid., 1

The establishment of the Children's Bureau in 1912 was a further impetus to child care in all its phases, and agencies gradually established standards of work, were able to get workers with training and experience, and recognized the importance of casework and the keeping of records. Schools for social workers were developed. Public interest was aroused so that budgets of agencies could be increased, and public assistance was given. (21)

(21) Children's Bureau Publication No. 136, op. cit., 4

The growth until 1929 was gradual when the Depression brought added difficulties and changes which might be summarized as follows:

"The decade 1929-38 was one of momentous changes in the realm of dependency and relief. Outlays for public and private aid rose rapidly to unprecedented levels, and a poor relief system that had undergone only superficial change over many decades was within a few years radically altered to meet the challenge of mass insecurity presented by our modern industrial society.....

"The story is essentially one of transition and evolutionary change under the pressure of the most severe and prolonged depression in the history of the United States. The acuteness of the unemployment crisis in its early stages necessitated action on a national scale and prepared

the way for the entrance of the Federal Government into emergency relief activities and for other drastic departures from traditional concepts and methods of extending aid. The long duration of the depression brought a greater awareness of the basic elements of insecurity in our social and economic life, and prompted the adoption of more stable and more nearly adequate measures to combat the hazards of dependency and provide some security against future want." (22)

(22) Social Security Board, Public and Private Aid in 116 Urban Areas, 1929-38, 1

"The term aid to dependent children came into general use with the enactment of the Federal Social Security Act. Prior to that time, aid to dependent children was commonly known as mother's aid, mother's pension, or aid to widows. Beginning in 1936, federal grants-in-aid became available on a matching basis to States administering approved plans under the Social Security Act. By the close of 1938 all but eight states containing fourteen of the 116 urban areas were receiving such grants." (23)

(23) Ibid., 6

"At the end of 1941 only three states containing three of the 116 urban areas, were not administering approved plans." (24)

(24) Ibid., 6n

The last twenty-five years of child-care on a national scale have been covered briefly as this is the period when Wisconsin, and chiefly Milwaukee county, developed their own history in this field and, as has been noted made their contributions to the national picture.

EARLY HISTORY IN WISCONSIN

All evidence points to the theory that the state of Wisconsin in its early years cared for its dependent children in the same manner as did other sections of the United States at that time,--in almshouses and private orphan asylums.

"From 1848 to 1885 little distinction was made in Wisconsin between children who were neglected and dependent and those who were actually delinquent. Both types found their way to the some institution whenever the local community became unable to care for them. In 1885 the difference in delinquency and dependency was recognized by law in the provision for the State Public School at Sparta to which dependent children might be committed until working or adoption homes could be found for them. (1)

(1) Esther H. de Weerd, Five Years of Child Welfare Under the Children's Code in Wisconsin, 89-90

In 1871 the State Board of Charities and Reform studied the care of dependent and neglected children and reported 229 in almshouses, 51 "bound" into service from poorhouses and by town officials. (2)

(2) Recommendations and Report of the Citizens Committee on Public Welfare, 136

The state reports at the National Conference of Charities are the main sources of information for these early years. In 1876 it was reported;

"..... the county poor houses had been cleared of all children over five years of age and a law forbidding the rearing of children in such places had been passed at the late session of the legislature." (3)

(3) Proceedings of the Conference of Charities, 1876, 22

There was a Soldiers' Orphan Home in which over 600 children participated in benefits from 1866 to 1876. In 1876 the legislature gave the orphanage to the state university and the next year made a small appropriation for those still needing assistance. (4) This home was probably established

(4) Proceedings of the Conference of Charities, 1877, xiv

for the care of orphans of the Civil War.

As in the national picture, Wisconsin took its children from the poorhouses and placed them in institutions, making no differentiation between delinquent and dependent children. In 1875 the legislature passed an

"Act authorizing Industrial schools,.....
The classes of children that may be sent by magistrates is defined and includes all those usually embraced in the lists of dependent and delinquent as well as destitute." (5)

(5) Proceedings of the Conference of Charities, 1879, 166

A group of women in Milwaukee organized such a school under the provisions of the act with a board of men councilors. After four years of its existence it reported having had nearly 200 children of various conditions and characters.

"Some also, who have not come under police supervision are received as charity pupils at the solicitation of parents and guardians. Indeed, so little is the school considered a penal institution or an odium attached to it, that the magistrates are more troubled to keep refractory and undisciplined children out than to bring them in." (6)

(6) Ibid., 178

When the state law was passed forbidding the sending to the poorhouses of any child fitted for family life, the children of the Milwaukee county poorhouse were committed to the school. Suit was brought against the County Board of Supervisors which refused to pay the board of these children, and the county board lost the case, a decision upheld by the Supreme court on appeal. (7) In 1878 the city of Milwaukee donated eight

(7) Ibid., 178-179

acres of land located near the lake for a building for the Industrial School and the legislature granted an appropriation of \$15,000 for the building. By January of the next year the building had been completed. These premises housed the Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls until it was moved to Oregon Wisconsin in June, 1941. Illuminating commentary on the types of children accepted by the School at that time is found in the conclusion of that report.

".....Boys under ten are admitted because there is no other refuge offered those who are under this age, and if not provided with homes before they reach that age, are transferred or recommitted to the

State Industrial School for Boys. Whole families, in several instances, have been committed by the courts, one or both parents having been sent to some penal institution; and but for this school the magistrates would have been puzzled to make provisions for the destitute waifs that human laws and social needs have deprived of their natural protectors." (8)

(8) Ibid., 179

In a report in a book published in 1880 it was stated that there were 527 boys treated at the Wisconsin Industrial School for Boys at Waukesha in the preceding year, and fifty girls at the Industrial School for Girls in Milwaukee. "The family system is employed and works satisfactorily." (9) The family

(9) E. C. Wines, op. cit., 175

system was similar to the cottage plan.

This report also stated:

"There is no State, city or county orphan asylum in Wisconsin. There are, however, in the city of Milwaukee five orphan asylums --four under Catholic and one under Protestant control. These are private corporations, organized under special charters. They are supported mainly by voluntary contributions with occasional grants of money from the State or the county in which they are situated. They contain an aggregate average number of about 300 inmates." (10)

(10) Ibid., 175

Progress in the removal of children from county poorhouses and plans for more adequate provision for dependent children were reported at the National Conference in 1881. Here mention was made of the placing of children in homes.

"Since the State Board was organized we have succeeded in removing all the children from the poorhouses. It has not been done by the exercise of any executive authority on our part but by creating a healthy public sentiment in the State. Ten years ago we had in the poorhouses of Wisconsin about 300 children and it has lately occurred to me that we made a mistake. Instead of going to the state and asking for passage of a law making it unlawful to retain children in these houses, I think it would have been wiser if we had asked for a State Public School..... Such a bill failed last year in the Senate. We found more than 300 children between the ages of 5 and 15 in the poorhouses of the State. They have gradually decreased in number until last fall there were perhaps 15 or 20 children in the county poorhouses. They were there but temporarily until homes could be found for them." (11)

(11) Proceedings of the Conference of Charities, 1881, 228

The State Public School at Sparta

The bill for a state public school which failed of passage in 1881 was passed in 1885 with the legislature establishing such a school for dependent children and appropriating \$30,000 to purchase a site and begin erection of buildings. (12) Children from every county in the state

(12) Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1885, 91

were allowed commitment on a pro rata basis. Definite statement was made at this time of the practice of placing children in private families.

"The new main building to complete the School for Dependent Children at Sparta has been finished and furnished and the school buildings are now as large and commodious as children can probably be placed in families so fast as to prevent over-crowding. The increased capacity of the buildings will enable the management to hold children until all proper care has been taken to inquire into the character of the homes in which they are to be placed." (13)

(13) Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1888, 372

The State Public School was to serve as a temporary home for dependent children until homes could be procured for them in good families. Children were received only on commitment of a county or a juvenile court (after its inception in 1901). Children over three years of age and under 14 were admitted. Preference was given to dependent and indigent orphans and half-orphans of deceased soldiers and sailors of the state. Children could not be admitted except with the sworn statement of a physician as to a sound mental state, no chronic disease, and no recent exposure to a contagious disease. (14)

(14) Children's Bureau Publication No. 150, Children Indentured by the Wisconsin State Public School, 4

The three functions of the School were as follows:

1. To provide temporary care for dependent and neglected children pending placement in family homes.
2. To act as a placing agency, finding homes for children and superintend care.
3. To provide for longer or shorter periods, custodial care for child who could not be placed successfully including children for whose care there was no existing institution in the state and children who should be cared for in the institution for feeble-minded but who could not be received because of lack of accommodations. (15)

(15) Ibid., 4

The State Board was authorized to place children in families on written contracts during minority or until 16 years of age. This was known as the "Indenture System". The State Board reserved the right to cancel the contract which included the following provisions:

- (a) Keep the child as a member of the family
- (b) Have him taught a specified occupation
- (c) Have him attend a public school a specified number of months each year until 16
- (d) At expiration of indenture period to pay to the State Board of Control or Superintendent of the school for the benefit of the child \$50 or pro rata of that amount for the time the child remains in the family from his tenth birthday
- (e) In case contract is cancelled return child to school at own expense
- (f) Whenever requested by agent or superintendent report in writing facts as may be required about the child and furnish the child with materials and opportunity to correspond with school authorities (16)

(16) Ibid., 8

The contract also prohibited the removal of the child from the place or original indenture without the consent of the superintendent. The fifty dollars was paid to the superintendent of the school and given to the child on his majority. (17) An agent was appointed to visit all children

(17) Ibid., 9

placed outside of the school, report to the Wisconsin State Board of Supervision, investigate applications for children for adoption, and enter into written contracts with persons taking children from the school. The Board was the legal guardian of all children who became inmates of the school. (18)

(18) Ibid., 4

Difficulties of the system were the inability to find satisfactory homes for the children and to adequately supervise them. Sometimes families taking the children took it for granted that they must get fifty dollars worth of work out of the children to make it worthwhile. Where circumstances of injustice or unhappiness were apparent to the supervising agent, children were removed from homes. The first superintendent of the home said:

"Some of the children have never been placed out and some have been placed out three or four times. The reasons, real and imaginary, on account of which the children are returned are many. When we consider the former surroundings of most of the children, the short time many of them have remained in the school

and that there is but one man to investigate the homes, to place children in homes, and to visit them, it is not perhaps to be wondered at that about one-third of the children are returned." (19)

(19) Ibid., 9

Wisconsin and Michigan were the first states in the Union to provide state institutions for dependent children, and it was felt that there were distinct advantages in placing children in private families in comparison with the system of complete institutional life as followed in other states.

"This system in comparison with the system of county or district homes, does not require large expenditures of buildings. There being only one institution for the entire state it can be constructed in the most approved plan and the equipments can be of the best without great expense to the public. Sufficiently high salaries can be paid to secure teachers and matrons of ability.

"The tendency in private institutions supported by the State wholly or partly is to retain the children for a longer period than is necessary or beneficial....Under such conditions, institutions are multiplied and their support becomes a heavy burden. The law governing the State institutions where an exclusive State system has been adopted as in Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin, requires that due diligence be exercised in finding family homes for the children; and the results of which work in those States show that the law is complied with." (20)

(20) Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1894, 147

Mention should be made here of the problem created in Wisconsin and other mid-western states concerning the placement of children in these states by the Children's Aid Society of New York during its early years. These facts have already been noted in the preceding paragraphs on the General History, but further comment should now be made. Due to the inexperience and little investigation on the part of this agency, children were placed in homes where their placement was often followed by actual destitution and the children became public charges. This problem is mentioned in the report submitted at the National Conference:

"The state public school for dependent children had during the year above named (1888) a total of 276, an average of 116 and 186 at the close of the year; it now has about 250. A large number are already placed in families.....We have several orphan asylums and homes for children, mostly Catholic. I think the Catholics have about a thousand in orphan asylums and in their individual schools. Probably all the Protestant denominations have 500 including those in the Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls. We have successfully combatted the Children's Aid Society of New York and other organizations which dump children by the carload into a county and then run away and leave them to shift for themselves. No such organization exists in Wisconsin, either to send out children or to receive them. Children are placed out by the State Public School and the various Industrial schools at little or no cost. None are boarded out." (21)

(21) Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1889, 176-177

The year 1898 saw many improvements in the State School for Dependent Children, an institution which was looked upon as a place of temporary detention of the children until they were fitted to go into selected homes. In 1895, eighty per cent of the children placed out remained out. (22) Another agent--a woman--was placed in the field

(22) Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1895, 392

and such effective work of placement had been done that one of the cottages had been closed. (23)

(23) Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1898, 102

Little further mention need be made of the State Public School at Sparta, for although it is still in existence, Milwaukee county had little use for it after 1898 when it established its own county home for dependent children. However, mention should be made that the indenture system has been out of use for a long time and more modern methods of family placement are in use. Occasionally a difficult case from the present County Home may be sent to Sparta when adjustment at the local home seems impossible. (24)

(24) James Brandsmark, Superintendent, Milwaukee County Home for Dependent Children, Personal Interview

THE MILWAUKEE COUNTY HOME FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

On July 7, 1897 the Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors adopted plans and specifications for the building of a County Home for Dependent Children. The building was completed February 25, 1898 in Wauwatosa. The institution was built to take care of county charges who had been kept in the church orphanages and similar institutions to which the county had been paying \$2.50 per week per child. All classes of children, defective or otherwise, were received into the new home and free homes were found for as many as possible. It was discovered, however, that the church orphanages would not give up the children in their care, preferring to keep them without pay. (1)

(1) Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1898, 102-103

Commitments to the home were made through the county court until the establishment of the juvenile court in 1901 when the latter was given this duty, which it has continued to exercise. Neglected and dependent children whose parents had legal residence in the county were placed in the home for a period of three months or until some other desirable plan could be made for the child's care. (2)

(2) WPA Project No. 4418, Manual of Duties of All Elected and Appointed County Officials and Commissions, 116

After the establishment of the juvenile court, probation officers of that court were responsible for

investigation of cases and recommendation for the commitment of children was made to the court. Responsibility for returning the children to their homes or for finding relatives who would take them also rested on the probation officers. All cases had to be returned to the court before the children could be discharged, a practice still in use. Children under permanent commitment were placed in free or adoptive homes throughout the state, since no funds were available for paying board. Children were placed in families for a six months' trial at the end of which they could be retained as a member of the family, adopted, or returned to the home. (3)

(3) Report of Study Made by the Council of Social Agencies of Milwaukee County, Resources for Dependent and Neglected Children in Milwaukee County, 93

Since its inception the County Home has changed its policy to include not only dependent but neglected children as differentiated in the Wisconsin Statutes. Children from birth to 18 years of age are admitted at the present time, but none with physical or mental defects, or none under 12 years of age with behavior problems. Without funds to place children in boarding homes and with difficulties in obtaining free homes, many of the children stayed in the home from the time of commitment until their release. This meant that many children never knew anything but institutional care. In 1936 there were 656 children under the care of the Home, 508 of whom were in the institution. The Home, which by its location is isolated from normal city contacts maintains its own school in the institution.

The last four or five years have seen some changes in the management of the Home. The County Board of Supervisors has set up a fund for a boarding home program which has made a decided change in the situation. Gradually the children who have known nothing but institutional care are being placed out so that at the present time there is no child in the eighth grade who was in the institution in infancy and as the years pass it is expected that this will hold true for a lower grade each year. (4)

(4) James Brandsmark, op. cit.

The number of field workers for the Home has been increased to six and the greatest possible care is exerted in the investigation of free and boarding homes for the children. Casework is done on the child in the institution and after placement to assure a good adjustment. There is no hesitancy about removing a child from a home if such an adjustment cannot be made. (5)

(5) Ibid., Brandsmark

There is no question but that the progress in the care of children at the Home in the last four or five years has been great. The recognition on the part of the management that long-time institutional care for children is undesirable and the steps that are being taken to remedy that situation are commendable. The evidences of improved case

work planning and investigation is heartening. Placement in free and work homes is satisfactory only when it is handled with great care by persons with special preparation and experience who can give adequate supervision. Good free homes are difficult to find. (6) This type of placement involves

(6) Ibid., Brandsmark

the same dangers as the indenture system which was discarded years ago, for the free home feels less obligation to cooperate with supervision than does the boarding home, and the work home often takes advantage of a child. It would be a great step forward if the Home could abandon the use of free homes and use only the boarding home. The answer to this, of course, is a substantially increased budget from the County Board of Supervisors. At the same time, the average cost per child per week in the institution is between ten and twelve collars. The price paid in boarding homes at the present time is between five and six dollars. (7) It is a general

(7) Ibid., Brandsmark

fact among social workers that boarding home care is not only better for the child, but also less expensive in operation. (8)

(8) Resources for Dependent and Neglected Children in Milwaukee County, op. cit., 98

At the same time the county is spending money for the temporary commitment of children, who, if adequate investigations were made, might not have to go to the Home. In other

cases, temporary commitments often become permanent through lack of further investigation or efforts to return them to their homes. (9)

(9) Brandsmark, op. cit.

The present procedure as followed by the juvenile court and the Home for Dependent Children operates in the following manner. An appeal is made to the court by a parent, relative or neighbor that a child is dependent. Investigation is made by a probation officer of the juvenile court, an investigation which should exhaust every possible means of support for the child other than making him a public charge. A report is made to the court and the child may be placed in the Home on a temporary commitment. Temporary commitments may run all the way from three to four months to three to four years. The Home takes the child and may at intervals attempt to interest the court in further investigating the case or re-opening it, but it has no resources of its own for returning the child to its family. Workers at the Home may contact parents or relatives when they visit the children at the institution, but they have no planned program for such contacts. (10)

(10) Ibid., Brandsmark

No individual or group of individuals is actually responsible for this situation. It resolves itself, rather,

into the inability of a human being to do any more than a certain amount of work. A group of over-burdened, over-worked probation officers of the juvenile court, who carry the investigations of delinquents, dependents, and neglected children, find commitment to the Home a solution for dependency. Cases which find their way into the home often include children whose mother is temporarily ill, or whose father is temporarily ill or out of work, or whose father is serving a term in the House of Correction. Often these children are never returned to their homes.(11)

(11) Ibid., Brandsmark

"It is harder for a family, once broken, to resume the care of its children than for a family, never broken, to continue care for the children. Common experience among institutions reveals that some families never resume their responsibilities toward their children, once they have been relieved of them." (12)

(12) The Report of the Children's Code Committee of Wisconsin,
64

The sudden rise in the number of evictions brought about in the last year because of the war situation has increased the load of children at the Home. Here, again, inadequate investigations and lack of effort to return children to their homes have resulted. (13)

(13) J. K. Phillips, Milwaukee County Council of Social Agencies, Personal Interview

A comparison of 1942 and 1943 figures for the same month shows that in spite of evident willingness on the part of the management to place children in boarding homes, too many remain in the institution and the load is increasing.

TABLE I Milwaukee County Home for Dependent Children (14)
(Number of Children and Types of Care)

	Feb. 1942	Feb. 1943
Total cared for during month	837	949
Under direct supervision	800	849
In parents' homes	25	31
In relatives' homes	53	58
In foster homes	222	224
Free homes	37	30
Boarding homes	139	140
Work or wage homes	46	54
In the Institution	443	536

(14) Statistical Research Division, Milwaukee County Council of Social Agencies

These figures show that the population of the institution has increased in the period of a year, but there is no evidence that the number of children placed in foster homes has increased, or that efforts have been made to return children to their own homes.

Comment on the situation at the home is offered by the Council of Social Agencies of Milwaukee County:

"The importance of adequate intake service and also service for effecting the return of children to their own homes cannot be over-emphasized. The Juvenile Court, responsible under the present arrangement for these two functions, is not equipped for rendering these services effectively.

4. No child under 15 years of age may receive

public care away from his own home in Milwaukee County without a court proceeding. The determination of need for care (where there is no question of custody, discipline or coercion) is not a matter which needs adjudication but is one which can be decided by administrative rather than judicial procedure.

5. The necessity of a child's being sent to the home might be averted in some cases if adequate services were available for making it possible for the child to remain at home during the temporary absence of the mother. Children might be more speedily returned to their own families in some cases if services were available for rendering rehabilitative work in those homes in which there are such problems and from which it has been necessary to remove a child temporarily." (15)

(15) Resources for Dependent and Neglected Children,
op. cit., 98

The responsibility for these circumstances rests, of course with the juvenile court, but as has been pointed out the load carried by these officers is too great and too varied to admit of success in any of the fields. Before determining what might better be done in the handling of the cases of dependent children, it will be necessary to review the history of the juvenile court and its present duties.

THE JUVENILE COURT

The idea of a juvenile court, providing separate hearings of children's cases, was started in South Australia in 1890 and in 1895 was legalized by State action. About the same time Massachusetts and New York passed laws providing for separate hearings on children's cases, and in 1899 Illinois and Colorado established juvenile courts. Wisconsin followed suit in 1901. (1)

(1) The Children's Code of Wisconsin, op. cit., 64

"Nationally, the juvenile court movement came as a protest against criminal procedure in the treatment of the young offender. Only incidentally have juvenile courts come to practice jurisdiction over dependent and neglected children." (2)

(2) Resources for Dependent and Neglected Children, op.cit., 72

The juvenile court is a court of chancery, working as a social agency in the rehabilitation of children, rather than as a court of law in which a child would be tried and found innocent or guilty. All hearings are private and informality is emphasized. The juvenile court judge is designated from and by the nine circuit court judges in Milwaukee county for a period of two years. Only part of his time is spent on juvenile court cases, the balance being spent on regular court cases. The court is supported by funds from the county treasury.

In connection with the juvenile court, Milwaukee county operates a detention home under the direction of a superintendent. Detention care is given to dependent, neglected, delinquent, and transient children until disposition is made of their cases. The chief probation officer of the juvenile court authorizes all releases. Two teachers and eight supervisors (four men and four women) are provided to care for the children, together with a small general staff including a graduate nurse. (3)

(3) Ibid., 72

As was stated above, designed primarily for work with the delinquent child, the court has been given certain administrative duties with neglected and dependent children, among them; direct care to children in their own homes or with relatives as provided by state aid to dependent children, and temporary or permanent commitment to the Milwaukee County Home or to a private child-care institution or agency. All work relative to cases of dependency other than state aid cases is handled by the probation department of the juvenile court. The County Home for Dependent Children has no responsibility for contact with children's families or relatives, or for making plans for return of children to their homes. These responsibilities rest with the juvenile court, and no child can be discharged from the Home without a hearing before the court. The court does no rehabilitative

work with the child's family and offers no casework services to families whose children are at the Home. (4)

(4) Ibid., 72

As has already been stated, the juvenile court was originally established to work with delinquent children. With no other agency available to take over the administrative functions relating to dependent children, the responsibility has been placed on the juvenile court. The staff consists of a Chief Probation Officer who acts as assistant to the judge and handles the general administration of the court, fourteen probation officers and one social worker for colored people. It is quite evident that the department is understaffed even if it handled only cases of delinquency. Add to these duties the responsibilities in the matter of dependent children committed to the County Home for Dependent Children and it is plain to see that the court is not equipped to do a thorough job. Besides, casework with delinquents and casework with dependent children require altogether different approaches and types of training. The local Council of Social Agencies makes the following pertinent remarks:

"If an administrative authority is properly and adequately equipped with personnel, satisfactory adjustments are possible in most cases for whom aid is refused. While it is desirable that there be provision for appeal to a higher authority, this need not necessarily be through a court system. The present Wisconsin law provides for appeal to a state administrative authority in the matter of blind and

old age pensions and also aid to dependent children, although they be administered locally by a judicial authority. The new public welfare law of New York state provides for appeal to a state administrative authority from a local administrative authority.....

"In regard to the present place of the juvenile court in the program of public care for children in Milwaukee county, it might be pointed out that it is apparent that the juvenile court is not adequately equipped to render the desirable quality of intake service at the county home; also it is not equipped and is not rendering service in work with families while the child is in care at the county home. In any program for children the importance of careful intake service and service for returning the child as speedily as possible to his own family cannot be over-emphasized. Not only does the adequacy of these two particular phases of a program affect the efficiency and social value of that program, but also the actual cost in dollars and cents. (5)

(5) Ibid., 72-73

The Wisconsin Statutes gives the County Board of Supervisors the authority to establish if it so wishes, a county department of public welfare for the administration of old age pensions, blind pensions, and aid to dependent children (6), but such a board has not been organized.

(6) Wisconsin Statutes, 1935, Section 49.51, 2a

The statute as it now stands is more-or-less a makeshift, and discussion of the possibilities of developing a county department of public welfare has been left for further discussion in another section of this paper.

The juvenile court has set up a separate department to handle applications for State aid to dependent children. This department functions under the jurisdiction of the juvenile court and all appeals for such aid must be granted through the court, but the department has its own case workers and makes its own investigations. Applications for aid are made to this department, data concerning the case is obtained, investigation is made by a caseworker, a budget is worked out for the family and then the appeal is made to the court, an informal hearing at which only the judge, the head of the department and the applicant are present. Following granting of aid, the worker makes periodic visits to ascertain that the funds granted are being properly used, and in some cases rehabilitative work is done to enable a non-working member of the family to earn money so that the amount of state aid can be reduced. For instance, an invalid father may be taught to make things that can be sold. (7)

(7) Amy Allen, Department of State Aid, Juvenile Court,
Personal Interview

During the early part of 1943 an attempt was made to persuade the County Board of Supervisors to establish a county board of public welfare which would take over among its duties that of granting aid to dependent children. The Department of State Aid of the Juvenile Court was among the objectors to such a plan on the grounds that a judge is less

approachable than a board and less subject to outside persuasion, and that since the juvenile court, which is more of a social agency than a court of law, was willing to assume the added duties of granting State aid, it should be allowed to continue doing so. (8)

(8) Ibid., Allen

The trend at the present time is, of course, toward the establishment of public boards for dealing with the granting of public aid. The federal government has its Social Security Board, and the state has had to conform with establishment of a State Department of Public Welfare. However, it must be admitted as far as Milwaukee county is concerned, that although the juvenile court is doing a mediocre piece of work in handling of commitments to the County Home for Dependent Children, it is doing a much better one in the matter of aid to dependent children in their own homes through its Department of State Aid. Although all such cases must pass through the court for final approval, the real work is done by a department which actually differs very little from the proposed board. If a department similar to the one which handles cases for State aid could be established for dependent children requiring institutional or boarding home care, the problems of the County Home as stated above would very probably be greatly reduced. It must be remembered, however, that in the cases of children requiring such care, there is a greater need for the presence of a court to use its power

and the majesty of the law for insisting on parents' assuming the obligation of supporting their children whenever possible. For this reason, the suggestion of a department of the juvenile court such as the one now operating for State aid, seems feasible for the handling of dependent children requiring institutional or boarding home care. The great lack in the present system seems to be adequate facilities for casework on the children who are committed temporarily to the home, and a separate department with its own caseworkers seems to be a very obvious answer to the problem. At least, it would be a temporary answer, until such time as the present administration of the juvenile court and its departments would bow to the inevitable--the establishment of a county department of public welfare.

The discussion of the Department of State Aid as it now operates has been included here because of its association with the juvenile court. Now it will be necessary to develop the history of State aid from its inception to the present time.

STATE AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN

The idea of giving a mother a weekly or monthly sum of money from public funds to care for her children in her own home started at various points in the United States about the same time. It gained impetus from the emphasis placed upon it at the White House Conference of 1909. In June, 1911 Missouri provided care for dependent children in their own homes out of public funds, an allowance for mothers "whose husbands are dead or prisoners, when such mothers are poor and have a child or children under the age of 14 years". By population limitation the allowance was made applicable only to Jackson county in which Kansas City is situated. A "Funds to Parents" act was passed in Illinois June 5, 1911 and a "Mother's Compensation Act" in Colorado, Novemeber, 1912. (1)

(1) Children's Bureau Publication No. 7, Laws Relating to Mothers' Pensions in the United States, Denmark and New Zealand, 8

The beginning of such aid in Milwaukee county was as dramatic as it was elsewhere in the United States. A mother who had struggled to keep her family together after the death of her husband was finally compelled to appeal to the juvenile court for aid. Her overwhelming grief at the idea of being separated from her children so moved the judge that he offered her weekly aid out of his own pocket and continued to follow this procedure in several cases. When word of this practice reached the County Board of

Supervisors, it was agreed that a sum of \$5,000 be set aside for this purpose and the following year, 1913, the State passed its first law for a Mothers' Pension, authorizing such aid in all counties of the state. (2)

(2) Amy Allen, op. cit.

"In Wisconsin, also without definite state enactment the practice of granting public aid to poor mothers for the care of children in their own homes had been started in Milwaukee County under a resolution of the county board of March 26, 1912, which set aside a special fund of \$5,000 to be used under the supervision of the juvenile court of Milwaukee in giving financial assistance to the families of dependent and neglected children, instead of committing the children to the Milwaukee County Home for Dependent Children. The law passed in 1913 authorizes such aid in all counties of the state and made a state appropriation to meet half of the expense." (3)

(3) Children's Bureau Publication No. 7, op. cit., 8

Out of the five thousand dollars set aside by the County Board in 1912 amounts paid to mothers varied from \$1.50 to eight dollars per week. In October, 1912 forty-three women with 209 children received aid at the cost of \$490. By December, 31, 1913 fifteen counties, including Milwaukee, were operating under the new State law, spending a total of \$37,150, of which Milwaukee county appropriated \$25,000. Milwaukee county was caring for 162 families in which there were 590 children. (4)

(4) Ibid., 72

Assemblyman Charles D. Rosa, former judge of Beloit, was author of the three bills for the establishment of state-wide aid or mothers' pension which passed the 1913 legislature and became Chapter 669 of the laws of Wisconsin. The law provided that application be made to the judge of the juvenile or county court to determine the status of the dependent child. Judges could still commit children to the Public School at Sparta or the Milwaukee County Home for Dependent Children, but they were encouraged to grant aid to parents or guardians. Payment of the aid was made on presentation of a judicial order to the county treasurer. (5)

(5) State Board of Control of Wisconsin, Aid to Dependent Children in Wisconsin, 1913-1933, 4-5

"The whole tendency of subsequent legislation concerning this aid has been toward liberalization of the provisions of the law." (6)

(6) Ibid., 5

Twenty years of application of this aid to children saw many changes in the law. The original title of Mothers' Pension as used in Chapter 669 of the Laws of 1913 was changed in Chapter 374 of the Laws of 1927 to Aid to Dependent Children. The law of 1913 provided that the county board of supervisors might annually appropriate a sum sufficient to provide aid and an amendment two years later directed that the county board should make such an appropriation. (7)

(7) Wisconsin Statutes, 1915, Chapter 637

An opinion of the attorney general on this provision held that the law was mandatory and compelled all counties to pay aid for dependent children. (8)

(8) Aid to Dependent Children in Wisconsin, op. cit., 7

Originally aid was payable to children under the age of 14 years, but Chapter 589 of the Laws of 1917 provided for payment for children between the ages of 14 and 16 who were unable to secure permits to work. In 1929 Chapter 439 raised the age limit to 16 to allow payment of aid to minor children over 15 incapacitated for work because of mental or physical disability. (9)

(9) Ibid., 8

Eligibility requirements for those permitted aid to care for dependent children have been changed often to permit a larger interpretation of the law. The original law provided that parents or persons occupying position of parent who for any reason were unable without aid to properly bring up or educate the child, were eligible for state aid. (10)

(10) Wisconsin Statutes, 1913, Chapter 669

The law was amended in 1915 to make the requirements more specific. Children under the age of 14 years had to be in the care of a mother or grandparents. The mother had to be a widow, or the wife of a husband incapacitated for gainful work by permanent mental or physical disability, or of a

husband sentenced to a penal institution, or of a husband deserting her continuously for one year or more during which all legal remedies to compel him to support his family had been exhausted. (11)

(11) Wisconsin Statutes, 1915, Chapter 637

One of the most important changes in the law was made in 1919 when the provision that the mother "without a husband" was substituted for that requiring her to be a widow. (12) With this change in the law aid could be paid

(12) Wisconsin Statutes, 1919, Chapter 251

to children of unmarried mothers.

In 1923, Chapter 83 of the statutes permitted payment of aid to a mother whose husband was sentenced to a penitentiary for three months or more or whose husband had deserted for three months or more, but in 1929 the law restored the one year requirement for a penal sentence or abandonment. (13)

(13) Wisconsin Statutes, 1929, Chapter 429, Section 9

Another class of cases was created by allowing the granting of aid to a mother for a period from six months prior to six months after the birth of a child. The maximum amount of aid that could be paid was waived to enable

the giving of supplies, nursing, medical or other assistance as aid in lieu of money. (14)

(14) Wisconsin Statutes, 1925, Chapter 426

The law was further liberalized in 1929 in allowing payment of aid in cases where a husband was incapacitated mentally or physically, if in the opinion of a competent physician the incapacitation were likely to continue for at least one year. The same year the law was extended to allow the grant of aid to a step-mother or other woman caring for a child and to a father incapacitated physically for gainful employment but capable of caring for his children in his home. (15)

(15) Aid to Dependent Children in Wisconsin, op. cit. 5-9

Persons eligible to receive aid to care for dependent children was increased in 1931 to include specifically father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, stepfather, stepmother, stepbrother, stepsister, uncle or aunt. (16) In each case, of course, the individual making application for aid must not be adequately able to support the child.

(16) Wisconsin Statutes, 1935, Section 48.33

Residence requirements were changed over a period of years from the original law which provided aid to a child

upon order of the proper court of the county in which the child had residence to the law of 1915 which required that the mother, grandmother, or other person having care and custody of the child be a legal resident of the county at the time of notifying the judge of the need for aid. Eligibility was increased in 1929 to include cases of children who had no legal residence in a county, the aid to be granted with the approval of the State Board of Control and paid out of the fund established by the legislature for such aid, the cases to be treated as state-at-large cases until legal residence was established in some county. (17)

(17) Aid to Dependent Children in Wisconsin, loc. cit.

Since living expenses change over a period of years, the state legislature has from time to time changed the maximum amount allowable as aid. The original law provided twelve dollars per month for one child and four dollars for each additional child. The amount was increased in 1915 to fifteen dollars for the first child and ten dollars for each additional child with a maximum of forty dollars per family. Chapter 589 of the Laws of 1917 left the amount of aid for the first child to the discretion of the judge in emergency cases and increased the family maximum from forty to fifty dollars for Milwaukee county. In 1929, Chapter 305 authorized Milwaukee county to provide fuel and food in addition to monetary aid, but it was stipulated that the amount thus expended should not be taken into consideration in determining the county's share of the state aid. The revised law

removed the fifty dollar maximum to enable the grant of aid in sufficient amount to enable caring properly for the child, the amount to be determined by the judge on the basis of a prepared budget. (18)

(18) Ibid., 5-9

The original law provided that no child was eligible for this type of aid who was receiving any other aid from public funds. This provision was modified in Chapter 86 of the Laws of 1921 allowing medical aid and in 1931 was further liberalized in Chapter 76 to allow payment up to one hundred dollars for burial expenses for a minor child. (19)

(19) Ibid., 9

A survey of the preceding pages will show that many of the changes in the legislature concerning aid to dependent children occurred in 1929. This was due to the fact that all laws regarding child welfare were reviewed, rewritten and presented to that session of the state legislature for passage. This revision has come to be known as The Children's Code, ranking "in its main features among the most advanced measures for the protection of children ever presented to an American legislature." (20)

(20) Esther H. de Weerd, op. cit., 27

"Most of the child welfare laws
on the statute books in Wisconsin in 1926

were those that were enacted at the time of the adoption of the State Constitution in 1848. The principal exceptions were the Mothers' Pension Act, passed in 1913 and a fairly satisfactory provision for juvenile courts passed in 1901. Wisconsin was the second state in the Union to provide for a juvenile court....By 1926 however, the juvenile court law had been confused by numerous amendments not always consistent, and dictated through the years by changing social conditions and spasmodic attempts to meet the needs of more children more adequately." (21)

(21) Ibid., 25-26

Recognizing the inadequacies of the laws regarding child welfare, the Wisconsin Conference of Social Work appointed a Children's Code Committee in 1926 for "the purpose of bringing the statutes concerning child welfare into conformity with acceptable modern practice." (22)

(22) Ibid., 26

One-hundred sixty citizens from all parts of the state were appointed to the committee and work started with a survey of ten representative counties: Brown, Dane, Douglas, Kenosha, La Crosse, Lafayette, Marathon, Milwaukee, Polk, and Winnebago. A detailed study of Kenosha county was made by the Child Welfare League of America and field workers from the Children's Bureau studied four counties. Analysis was made of records in the juvenile courts, the Juvenile Department of the State Board of Control, private agencies, offices of the poor commissioners, maternity homes and child-caring

institutions, and all laws in the statutes affecting child welfare were gathered together. These laws were rewritten and additions were made, the whole criticized, analyzed and again rewritten, the final legal phrasing being done by a committee of the State Bar Association. (23)

(23) Ibid., 27

The bill was then subjected to an exhaustive analysis by the Assembly judiciary committee and five public hearings were held regarding it. Some minor changes were made and the bill passed by a vote of 81 to 7 in the assembly, 23 to 3 in the senate, was signed by Governor Walter J. Kohler, and published August 30, 1929. (24)

(24) Ibid., 28

The Children's Code as it now exists covers regulations for every phase of child welfare including the juvenile court, juvenile probation service, child placement, adoption, illegitimacy, aid to dependent children, county children's boards, public and private agencies for child welfare, and the Juvenile Department of the State Board of Control, which since has been renamed the Child Welfare Division of the State Department of Public Welfare. In printing the entire Code together with explanatory notes, the committee came to the following conclusions:

"1. Legal theory is entering a new stage of development, the era of "sociological"

or "social jurisprudence" in which it will consider more than ever before the realization of human interests.

2. There is a growing pressure from the cities for the organization of justice and improvement of legal procedure to meet the exigencies of urban development.

3. The jurisdictions of the courts overlap and different judges pass upon different angles of what is really one problem of family life.

4. A new judicial technique is developing in which the courts rely in large upon such nonlegal sciences as medicine and psychology.

5. The last quarter century has witnessed the establishment of a number of special and in many respects novel tribunals, including particularly juvenile courts and courts of domestic relations." (25)

(25) Children's Code Committee, Wisconsin Conference of Social Work, The Children's Code of Wisconsin, 63

As early as 1929 persons interested in social work saw the repetition of services and the need for one administrative body for all branches of the work, but the passage of fourteen years has not seen the formation of such a body. The establishment of federal aid to dependent children in 1935 through the Social Security Act demanded the formation of a State Public Welfare Department, but the state legislature did not see fit to make the establishment of such a department mandatory in each county.

"The administration of aid to dependent children is one of the commitments made by the Legislature in 1935 to the 'State Pension Department' created by the same act. By such act local county administration was continued in the jurisdiction of the juvenile court or of the county judge of the county of legal settlement, subject to the right of the

county board to relieve the judge from further jurisdiction and to establish a county pension department to administer all pension aids.....

"If and when the state shall adopt a comprehensive plan for the administration of all public welfare functions, it will then face the need for determining whether future administration of aid to dependent children, state and local, may best be combined with the other pension aids or be administered by that department to which may be assigned the general and special services to children." (26)

(26) Esther de Weerd, op. cit., 103

The State Aid Department of the Juvenile Court in its report for 1941 outlined the powers of the State Pension Department which included supervisory administration of the county offices, power to adopt rules and regulations to promote efficient administration, and the duty to conduct hearings and make decisions on formal appeal from applicants. With the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935 the state legislature re-wrote the existing law to conform with the federal law and the state was then obligated for one-third of the full amount where it had previously paid one-half. The county share, in the same event, was reduced to one-third. A State Department of Public Welfare now takes over supervisory administration of all problems of welfare. (27)

(27) Aid to Dependent Children, Milwaukee County Juvenile Court, Social Security for Children and for the Blind in Milwaukee County, 1941, 2

In 1941 the largest number of applicants in the history of the department, 949, was received and just slightly over one-half were granted aid. (28) A larger number of

(28) Ibid., 3

cases, 686, could be closed during the year than ever before and fewer needed full grants because a large number of older children in the pensioned families were able to find work and to contribute their earnings to the family income. The proportion of forty per cent needed full support in comparison to forty-eight per cent the previous year. (29)

(29) Ibid., 4

Due to the upward trend in wages and war jobs, a downward trend in cases began in 1942 after an all-time high of 2,144 families in April, 1941. By the beginning of 1942 there were only 2,000 cases which by December of that year had dropped to 1,400, the lowest number in nearly ten years. (30)

(30) Aid to Dependent Children, Milwaukee County Juvenile Court, Milwaukee County Social Security for Children and for the Blind, 1942, 4

The Department is also beginning to feel the influence of payments of survivors' insurance accumulations as provided in the Social Security Act. A survey made at the end of 1942 showed that thirty-two families were receiving Social Security payments with approximately fifty per cent

of the funds needed by the family coming directly from this fund and the other fifty per cent furnished through state aid. It has also been ascertained that payments through Social Security has been more effective in reducing the amount of money necessary to maintain aid to dependent children but not the number of cases, since the funds payable through Social Security are not as yet sufficient to wholly maintain a family. (31) For example, the number of cases

(31) Amy Allen, op. cit.

in December, 1941 was 1,946 including 4,373 children, while the amount expended for the entire year was \$1,282,703.80. (32)

(32) Social Security for Children and for the Blind, 1941, op. cit., 4

In December, 1942 the number of cases served was 1,387 with 3,273 children, and the amount expended was \$1,101,027.54. (33)

(33) Milwaukee County Social Security for Children and for the Blind, op. cit., 13

The reduction in case load was attributed to the increased demand for workers and the ability of teen-age children to obtain employment whereby their families could be independent of state aid, while the decrease in amount of money expended was attributed to the increase in the number of families receiving Social Security insurance benefits. (34)

(34) Amy Allen, op. cit.

It was concluded that:

"This proportion will change materially if and when a proposed revision of the Social Security law will increase the benefits payments to individuals. It also remains to be seen whether survivors' insurance payments eventually will supersede or entirely replace Aid to Dependent Children grants." (35)

(35) Milwaukee County Social Security for Children and for the Blind, op. cit., 4

At the same time, there is no way of measuring how many families have not found it necessary to appeal for any aid because of the assistance of survivors' insurance benefits.

In connection with state legislation for aid to dependent children, some mention should be made of the Wisconsin Workmen's Compensation Act, which although not a direct aid, appreciably assists in the prevention of application for regular state aid and the prevention of dependency. The act provides for death benefits according to the number and age of surviving children of a father who dies as a result of an industrial accident, and also provides income for the family in the case of incapacitation of the father for the same reason. The largest amount payable is to a child under one year for whom a sum equal to annual earnings of the deceased employee is allowed, and for older children the amount is gradually decreased, according to age at the time of the father's death. (36)

(36) White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, 1933, 1b3n

Milwaukee county has no set maximum for the amount of aid granted families, but the 1941 report makes the following statements:

"The decreasing size of families is to be noted here as everywhere in the country although there were two families of 9 children receiving \$100 and \$140 per month respectively, ten 8 child families and 19 seven child families also were aided through the year, although older brothers and sisters working and helping lessened the amount needed from the state....

"Aid in the one child cases ranged from \$7 to \$64, although the larger number received from \$35 to \$49 per month. Of the two children families, the needs seem to amount to about \$60 per month with a minimum of \$12 and a maximum of \$85. The small family is the expensive relief problem today because the cost of rent and utilities is almost as great for it as for a much larger group. (37)

(37) Social Security for Children and for the Blind, 1941.
op. cit., 7

Field work done by the Department is described in the following manner:

"Not only is a check issued to the two thousand or more mothers each month, but each one has a visitor in the office and field whose responsibility she is. To this worker, she may come with all her troubles, to him or her she comes for her check, for advice, for direction in handling her limited funds or her home problems, and she receives home visits from her visitor as often as possible, so that the children also may be seen and their health, conduct and school records be checked up. 4480 special calls in behalf of their women were made in 1941, to schools, courts in eviction threats or other legal entanglement, to relatives, places of employment, other social agencies in their or a

neighbor's interests, and besides 1108 calls were made in investigating the 900 applications during the year." (38)

(38) Ibid., 7

The duties of the State Aid Department can be summarized as follows:

1. To receive all applications for State Aid.
 2. To make a full home and social investigation of the family situation of all applicants.
 3. To present all facts and a tentative minimum budget to the court if the case comes before the law, so that a grant of aid sufficient to keep up a home for the children may be made.
 4. To see that the aid is being used for the best welfare of the children.
 5. To send all pension records to the State Pension Department at Madison, Wisconsin, which acts as a board of appeal from the action of local boards and makes contact with the Social Security Board. (39)
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(39) WPA Project No. 4418, op. cit., 68

The State Aid Department of the Juvenile Court operates under the laws contained in the Children's Code as revised in accordance with the Social Security Act. In a publication of that Act the following statement was made:

"If aid to dependent children had been provided as extensively throughout the country as in Wisconsin, approximately 295,000 would have been receiving aid in 1931 or nearly three times the estimated number actually receiving aid." (40)

(40) Social Security Board, Social Security in America, 239

However, a study of the Children's Code after it had been in operation for five years brought forth some comments which hold true in 1943:

"The chief weakness in the development of the child welfare program since August 30, 1929, under the Children's Code rests in the failure to have promoted a sufficiently strong and widespread educational program relative to the legislative changes and the constructive provisions for the care of the neglected, dependent, delinquent, the physically and the mentally handicapped children of the state. A planned educational program has of necessity been consistently developed during these years by the Juvenile Department of the State Board of Control. The results of this effort to bring information to every section of Wisconsin have demonstrated both the actual and the possible value of public education. The task, however, clearly requires more than the state, involved as it is in a variety of other duties imposed by legislation, has been or is likely to be able to provide in the near future." (41)

(41) Esther H. de Weerd, op. cit., 11

In order to understand what part the Child Welfare Division of the State Department of Public Welfare (formerly the Juvenile Department of the State Board of Control) has played in the care of dependent children in Milwaukee county, something should be said about its historical development and its present duties.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

The Wisconsin State Board of Control was the first of its kind in the United States. Before 1880 institutions of the state were managed by separate boards of trustees, membership varying from five to twelve. There was a State Board of Charities and Reform with duties which were purely supervisory but which exerted considerable authority over county institutions. Members of the board were unpaid; they gave little time to the work; and there were no uniform accounting or purchasing systems for the state institutions. In 1880 a legislative commission was appointed to investigate the situation and a State Board of Supervisors was created with paid members. The two boards operated side by side for a period of ten years with no friction. (1)

(1) Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1911, 27

In 1890, for political reasons but under the guise of economy, both boards were abolished for a board of six members with the powers and duties of both boards. This organization was followed four years later by the establishment of the State Board of Control, made up of five members. In 1905 the legislature ruled that at least one member of the board must be a woman. Various re-organization and personnel changes were made during the legislative sessions of 1905, 1909, and 1911 but the duties of the board were not changed. (2)

(2) Ibid., 28

The duties in 1911 were listed as follows:

"Management of eleven state institutions
 Election of superintendents
 Purchase of supplies
 Investigate charges of wrong-doing
 Determine policy within the law
 Board of Parole
 Commission in lunacy
 Inspect state institutions
 Authorize construction of county institutions
 Inspect county institutions
 Supervise county poorhouses
 Inspect county jails, city and village
 Make settlement of aid to counties for institutions
 Inspect private charitable institutions
 Organize and manage state-wide probation
 service for first offenders " (3)

(3) Ibid., 29

The Juvenile Department of the State Board of Control was created by the legislature of 1922 for the purpose of exercising such powers as were delegated by law to the State Board of Control for the care, education, protection, or reformation of dependent, neglected, mentally defective, or delinquent children. The department had no direct care of any children, except a few Indian children supported out of funds appropriated by the legislature and an amount equal to the pay of one worker paid by the federal government. (4)

(4) Resources for Dependent and Neglected Children, op. cit., 74

The staff is appointed from state civil service lists and consists of eight professional workers, four clerical workers, and workers which have been added under the Social Security program. Three field representatives work in Milwaukee county. In 1936 the Director stated that the time of one and one-half

workers was spent in Milwaukee county, one who certified maternity hospitals and supervised illegitimacy cases, one who had charge of licensing child welfare agencies and issuing permits to foster homes not under a local agency, and one who took care of adoptions and so-called miscellaneous cases. All had the same or similar duties in other counties. (5)

(5) Ibid., 76

With the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935 the State Board of Control and the Juvenile Department underwent a complete re-organization and were re-named. The State Department of Public Welfare now consists of a State Board of Public Welfare comprised of seven members appointed by the governor and confirmed by the senate, and a director of the department together with his staff. The Board is an advisory policy-forming part-time body, and the director, who is appointed by the board for an indefinite term, is the administrator of the Department. (6)

(6) Wisconsin Blue Book, 1942, 333

All of the powers, functions, and duties formerly exercised by the Board of Control, the Pension Department, and the Public Welfare Department are vested in the director, subject to the policies adopted by the State Board of Public Welfare. One of the divisions of the new Department is the Child

Welfare Division which has the functions and duties of the former Juvenile Department. (7)

(7) Ibid., 334

The duties of the Child Welfare Division are as follows:

1. Certification of maternity hospitals to the State Board of Health regarding compliance with provisions of the statutes concerning women who are illegitimately pregnant or who give birth to illegitimate children. Report birth to State Department of Public Welfare. No offer to dispose of any child. Hospitals used--Salvation Army, Martha Washington Home, and Misericordia.
2. Licensing of child welfare agencies
3. Provision for service to unmarried mothers and their children
4. May investigate adoption petitions when appointed by Milwaukee county court, give consent where parents' rights have been terminated or child is illegitimate.
5. Licensing of foster homes not under supervision of a child welfare agency." (8)

(8) Resources for Dependent and Neglected Children, op. cit., 74-75

Although the Child Welfare Division is the only public agency which has any contact with all cases of illegitimacy, it usually goes not any further than to report the birth to the State Department of Public Welfare, unless appointed by the court to investigate or give permission for an adoption. All casework is usually handled by a private agency.

"Responsibility for action in any case in Milwaukee county is almost never accepted by the Juvenile Department (Child Welfare Division) until refused by all local agencies.....Frequently a case coming to the attention of the Department is considerably delayed in receiving attention because there is no agency on which the department may count to accept all cases. The Department first clears a case with the Social Service Exchange in Milwaukee, then refers it to a private agency, perhaps to a second or even a third local agency which may refuse the case, and finally the Department may have to assume responsibility." (9)

(9) Ibid., 75

The laws of the State of Wisconsin recognize public responsibility for unmarried mothers and their children, but they fail to state specifically how the State Department of Public Welfare shall fulfill its obligation of providing service in these cases. The law states:

"When notified of the birth or expected birth of an illegitimate child, the board shall, through advice and assistance of the mother, or, if necessary, independently of the mother, see that the interests of such child are safeguarded, that appropriate steps are taken to attempt to establish the paternity, and that there is secured for him the nearest approximation to the care, support and education that he would be entitled to if born of lawful wedlock." (10)

(10) Wisconsin Statutes, 1935, Section 46.03, 11

This is the only provision in the law regarding the placement of responsibility for the care of illegitimate children,

and it is obvious that it does not state in specific ways how the Department shall go about establishing this protection in the various localities of the state. In Milwaukee county the Department endeavors to meet its obligation through the use of private agencies, but it is considered a recognized fact in social work that this responsibility should rest upon a public agency. Children's Boards are organized throughout the state under the guidance of the Child Welfare Division through legislative authorization, but Milwaukee is not included because of a population limitation of 250,000 as stated in the law. While local agencies have given their cooperation, as will be shown in later portions of this paper, the fact remains that there is no one agency in the community upon which the Division can depend. (11)

(11) Resources for Dependent and Neglected Children,
op. cit., 78

It has been stated that "the fundamental policy of the Division may be said to have been one of watchful endeavor to stimulate the growth of local and individual responsibility." (12)

(12) WPA Project No. 4418, op. cit., 139

It is true, of course, that in a county the size of Milwaukee and with no other comparable to it in the state, the Division

might feel that it could leave any move toward establishment of a public agency to support the state organization to public initiative. However, included in the purposes of the Division have been found the following two statements:

"The promotion of adult education relative to child welfare therefor has become the especial obligation of the Juvenile Department. (Child Welfare Division)..... The bringing of the spirit of the Code to local leadership has been the chief objective of the Juvenile Department during the past five years." (13)

(13) Ibid., 139

But there is no evidence available to show that the Division has attempted to develop an adult education program relative to child welfare, nor has any attempt been successful in bringing about legislative action that would solve the problem.

In a report of a Citizens Committee on Public Welfare it was stated that one of the duties of the Child Welfare Division was:

"To promote enforcement of laws for the protection of children and to take the initiative where provisions are not made." (14)

(14) Recommendations and Report of the Citizens Committee on Public Welfare, 141

In the matter of certification of maternity hospitals, licensing child welfare agencies and issuing permits to foster homes, the Child Welfare Division does a satisfactory job, as has been shown, but there is no question but that public facilities for unmarried mothers and adoption are inadequate.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE, CHILDREN'S DIVISION

Until May of 1942 there was one public agency in Milwaukee county which worked with unmarried mothers, but in such a limited number of cases that it could hardly be called an adequate public program. This was the Children's Division of the Department of Public Assistance. With the reduction in relief loads due to the War, curtailment of the Department led to the release of workers in the Children's division because of seniority rights. It is regrettable that this Division was discontinued since it represented a splendid nucleus for the establishment of a public agency to handle cases of unmarried mothers and their children. Many of the cases were dropped while others were given to other agencies. The handling of funds for illegitimate children was returned to the Department of Public Assistance.

Since the Children's Division could so easily have become a worthwhile agency for the purposes stated above and its discontinuance so recent, it was thought advisable to include here a brief discussion of its development and work.

This administration was organized in March of 1935 by authority of the Board of Trustees of the Milwaukee County Institutions primarily to handle funds for the support of illegitimate children. The Superintendent of the Department of Public Assistance is trustee of funds paid by order of the court for support of illegitimate children and the Children's Division handled the trusteeship. In cases where paternity had been established and funds were forthcoming for the support of an illegitimate child, the Division

encouraged the defendants in such cases to make regular payments and investigated their ability to pay when they became delinquent. Help was also given to the mothers in the disbursement of the money in the interests of the children involved. (1)

(1) Committee on Interpretation of Social Work of the Milwaukee County Community Fund and Council of Social Agencies, Social Work in Milwaukee County, 38

As the Division developed new duties were given to it. Responsibility of relief administration to children in foster homes under the supervision of private child-placing agencies was transferred by the Department of Public Assistance to the Children's Division in November of 1935. In May of the same year contacts of the Department of Public Assistance with the juvenile court were undertaken by the Division. In October casework with unmarried mothers and their children was taken over by the Division. These were a limited number of cases usually deeply involved in public relief, long-time problems of support, or cases not likely to respond to the specialized services of the private agencies. They were usually accepted on referral of the Children's Service Association, or from the case load of the trustees, or relief cases. Relief to unmarried mothers and their children was not handled by the Children's Division, but through the regular channels of the Department of Public Assistance, and the recipients were usually housed in boarding houses or apartment houses. (2)

(2) Resources for Dependent and Neglected Children, op. cit., 84-9

The administration of relief to children over sixteen in foster homes under the supervision of private child-placing agencies was transferred to the Children's Division, but the case work responsibility remained with the private agency. (3) The funds were not paid in a lump

(3) Ibid., 85

sum to the agency, but were paid directly to the foster home. This group of cases involved those children over sixteen years of age who were eligible for public relief but were unable to be provided for at the Milwaukee County Home for Dependent Children because of the age limitation. (4)

(4) Ibid., 90

The Wisconsin law on age limitation for admittance to a county home for dependent children was raised from sixteen to eighteen years. (5)

(5) Wisconsin Statutes, 1939, Section 48.24, 1

This change in the law did away with one of the duties of the Children's Division and at the same time brought about the discontinuance of the practice of public subsidy of a private agency, by which the Children's Division had paid the expense of foster home care and a private agency did the casework.

At the request of the State Department of Public Welfare, the investigation and supervision of unlicensed

foster homes in the case load of the Department of Public Assistance was transferred to the Children's Division in November, 1935. (6) This responsibility, by law, belongs to

(6) Resources for Dependent and Neglected Children,
op. cit., 85

the State Department of Public Welfare, but there is no provision in the law for the establishment of such service in the individual community. It should be handled by a public agency, and since the Children's Division was the only one in Milwaukee county, it was asked to assume this added responsibility. (7)

(7) Ibid., 91

It is obvious that from the time of its inception the Children's Division assumed a variety of duties for which there was no other agency available in the county. Some of these duties were assumed before the Division was adequately equipped to undertake them.

Early in 1937 the Division was beginning to accept some adoption investigations from the county court.

"Again this is an effort to meet a need in the community. There has been pressure from other public and private agencies for the Children's Division to attempt to fill these gaps in the Community program." (8)

(8) Ibid., 91

However, limited as it was, the Children's Division offered a basis for the future establishment of a larger, better-equipped agency for public child welfare in Milwaukee county. It was building the foundation for a larger organization and could have, out of itself, become the public welfare agency which the county needs. It is indeed regrettable that it was discontinued.

THE FAMILY COURT--DEPARTMENT OF DOMESTIC CONCILIATION

Some mention should be made of the Family Court and its Department of Domestic Conciliation, which although not an agency for the care of dependent children, is the only public agency which does any work in the prevention of family break-ups which often lead to dependency of children.

The Family Court was established in July, 1934, with the powers and jurisdiction of the family court exercised by the circuit court. The judge serves for two years and is designated from and by the group of nine circuit court judges elected for six year terms. (1)

(1) Wisconsin Statutes, 1935, Chapter 252, Section 252.07

The Department of Conciliation was established in January, 1935, by authority given by the state legislature and administrative costs are met through the county treasury. The judge is authorized to devote time

"primarily to divorce litigation and to such other work as is incidental thereto and which is generally described as the work of a family or domestic relations court. He has jurisdiction over matters relating to marriage, divorce, determination of custody of children under eighteen upon writs of habeas corpus and all family and parental affairs not specifically vested exclusively in some other court or branch." (2)

(2) Resources for Dependent and Neglected Children, op. cit., 295

The services of the department, in accordance with the state

statutes include: receiving all domestic complaints and making proper disposition of them, making investigations of the facts upon which to base warrants in the matters referred to the department, exercising supervision in connection with these matters as the judge may order. (3)

(3) Ibid., 295

The court refers cases to the Department of Domestic Conciliation only when a special need for service in a situation is seen. Frequently application for service is made before court action, during, or several years later. Cases may be referred by the judge of the Family Court, by attorneys interested in the cases, or by a social agency. The department provides no direct care for children involved in custody cases, but may ask a child welfare agency to provide care away from the home when it is necessary. (4)

(4) Ibid., 295

The services of the Department are also available to private agencies. Many children under the care of children's agencies are from families which are involved in domestic difficulties, separation, and divorce, and the Department of Domestic Conciliation is an important part of a community program in providing protective care. (5)

(5) Ibid., 296

FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN

It is thought that many people believe that the federal government did not interest itself in child welfare until the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935, but although this was the first direct aid offered to dependent children, interest in child welfare was evidenced much earlier. Mention has been made before of the direct influence of the White House Conference called by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1909 which gave impetus to the establishment of direct aid to children in their own homes. It was stated at this conference;

"Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. It is the great moulding force of mind and character..... Except in unusual circumstances, the home should not be broken up for reasons of poverty." (1)

(1) White House Conference on Child Health and Protection,
op. cit., 3

The recommendations of the conference were as follows;

1. That greater provision be made for the assistance of needy children in their homes.
2. That greater use be made of family care for children who must be removed from their homes.
3. That child caring agencies be responsibly organized and be inspected by the state.
4. That dependent children receive better medical care.
5. That a Federal Children's Bureau be established.
6. That an unofficial national organization for the promotion of methods of child care be established.
7. That prevention of child dependency be recognized as better than cure.

8. That the causes of child dependency be ascertained and, if possible, controlled.

9. That tuberculosis and other diseases be checked.

10. That family income be protected against sickness, accident, invalidism, or death of breadwinner by systems of compensation or insurance.

11. And, general that the conditions surrounding child life be improved." (2)

(2) Ibid., 3-4

The influence as manifested by this first conference for child welfare ever called by a President of the United States was felt throughout the country. As reported at a similar conference held in 1932:

"Today the principle of the preservation of the home is fully established as public policy in the statutes of nearly every state in the Union and some 253,000 needy children are living in their own homes, cared for by their own mothers, through the operation of mothers' aid laws. This indicates a greater change in volume and in method in the past twenty years than any that had occurred in the preceding century." (3)

(3) Ibid., 5

Another effect of this first conference was the establishment of the Federal Children's Bureau in 1912 as a result of one of the recommendations. The organization of the Child Welfare League of America was the answer to the suggested need for a type of unofficial agency for the promotion of better care of dependent children.

Other Presidents followed in the path of Theodore Roosevelt and the White House has seen many conferences on

one aspect or another of child welfare. The 1932 Conference concerned itself, among other things, with the prominent factors in child dependency:

"It is evident that child dependency and neglect is not an isolated social factor, but is bound up with and the product of the personal shortcomings, deficiencies, and misfortunes of individuals and is also a by-product of the entire state of social, economic and political relations between individuals which have slowly developed through long periods of time.

"A glance at the major causes and factors of child dependency already enumerated indicates that they are by no means static, that most of them pass from one phase or stage to another, that to consciously modify any one of them requires careful planning, ample resources, and great wisdom, and that they differ in the extent to which present knowledge promises early favorable results from efforts to control them." (4)

(4) Ibid., 44-45

The general trend toward the establishment of federal aid and insurance benefits as now affected by the Social Security Act, was voiced at the 1932 Conference:

"The prevention of irregular employment and unemployment is a problem of statesmanship of the highest order in the fields of industry and government. The hope that large results may be achieved in this direction shall not be given up. Meantime, it is certainly within the range of social statesmanship to distribute larger numbers and over longer periods of time by some application of the insurance principle, the present losses in the family income due to these causes, now falling with devastating effect on individuals and families. The volume of

child dependency would and should be tremendously reduced thereby." (5)

(5) Ibid., 47

The White House Conferences, by and large, have contributed greatly to the progress of child welfare throughout the United States and their importance has been that their influence has been felt where it could do the most good--in the legislative bodies of the nation and its various states.

The Children's Bureau

As has already been noted the Children's Bureau became established as a result of the White House Conference of 1909. It was created by an Act of Congress April 9, 1912 as a branch of the Department of Commerce and Labor to promote the general welfare of the child in the United States and the several territories, especially with reference to "infant mortality, birth rate, orphanages, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases, employment and legislation effecting children." (6)

(6) James A. Tobey, The Children's Bureau, Its History, Activities and Organization, 1

In 1913 it became a branch of the newly-created Department of Labor under which it continues to operate. Until 1917 the Bureau was limited to investigating and reporting on matters of mortality, health, care, child labor, and

illegitimacy with special reference to dependency. One of its first reports was issued in 1914 on mothers' pension laws of the various states and of Denmark and New Zealand.(7)

(7) Ibid., 2

A conference of social workers was called by the Children's Bureau, at which discussions were held on the wider field of child welfare, child labor and education, public protection of the health of mothers and children, children in need of special care (including dependent children), mental hygiene, juvenile courts, children born out of wedlock, rural social work, and scientific literature on child care. The conference laid additional stress on adequate income as a fundamental necessity for the preservation of home life, and suggested that each state, at reasonable intervals, reconsider its entire body of child welfare legislation through a child welfare committee created for that purpose. (8)

(8) White House Conference, op. cit., 5

Another conference was held in 1922 on Mothers' pension with special reports on dependency and foster home care. (9)

(9) James A. Tobey, op. cit., 2

In a report on the Children's Bureau at the White House Conference in 1932 the following statement was made:

"The Children's Bureau has been an agency to which every person dealing with dependent children who has wished to do wiser and better work, can turn for reliable data as to the laws and practices of other localities and have dependable, expert interpretation of facts." (10)

(10) White House Conference, op. cit., 4-5

One of the most important pieces of work of the Children's Bureau has been the attempt to decrease infant mortality and to promote the idea of pre-natal care for pregnant mothers, as it was felt that many cases of dependency were due to the loss of the mother through child-birth. The Bureau has made several studies in this matter and has done a great deal toward popularizing the idea of pre-natal care and promoting community facilities for such care.

"The Registration of Social Statistics, a cooperative project for the reporting of statistics by health and welfare agencies in urban areas, was first operated under private auspices and was transferred to the Children's Bureau in 1930. Under the plan monthly service reports are received from both public and private agencies in the fields of relief, child welfare, health, recreation or leisure-time activities, and a number of related fields." (11)

(11) Children's Bureau, The Community Welfare Picture in 34 Urban Areas, 1940, Foreword, v

Workers in the Bureau are generously loaned to local agencies for child welfare to assist in making studies and surveys of situations which demand attention. (12)

(12) Esther H. de Weerd, op. cit., 7

The Bureau has also done a great deal to establish standards and sound methods of social work. (13)

(13) White House Conference, op. cit., 26

The Social Security Act

The year 1935 brought a new word into national prominence with the passage of the Social Security Act. As has been noted in several instances in this paper conferences of social workers have emphasized the need for some type of pension or insurance benefits to alleviate the growing problem of child dependency. On June 29, 1935 the President of the United States issued Executive Order No. 6757 which created a temporary agency to be known as the Committee on Economic Security. The committee consisted of the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Emergency Relief Administrator. Its function was to study problems relating to economic security, make recommendations for a long-time and an immediate program of legislation which would promote economic security for the individual. The report of this committee was transmitted to Congress by the President on January 17, 1935 with recommendation for passage. Legislation to carry out the committee's suggestions was evolved and on the date of August 14, 1935 the Social Security Act became law. (14)

(14) Social Security Board, Social Security in America, Preface

"The chief aim of social security is the protection of the family life of wage earners, and the prime factor in family life is the protection and development of the child. Security for families.....involves economic, health and social measures which pertain to the entire economic and social structure of our civilization. Among them are adequate wage level and a reasonable workday and workweek with provision of regular and full employment necessary to yield a stable and sufficient family income; unemployment insurance or compensation when full employment fails; provision of adequate medical care and promotion of physical and mental health; prevention of accidents; provision for the old, the sick, the widowed, the orphaned; adequate opportunities for education and vocational guidance and placement; crime prevention and correction; and social services for persons whose welfare is threatened by the inadequacy or instability of those naturally responsible for their care and support, by their own instability, or by the breakdown of the primary measures of economic and social security. All social security measures may be described, in fact, as affecting child welfare--even old age security, which lifts the burden of support of the aged from those of middle age whose resources are needed for the care of children." (15)

(15) Ibid., 229

Although aid on a national scale was designed to assist all states, it was particularly aimed at those states which had inadequate facilities for the care of dependent children. Whereas Wisconsin was not one of these, there was cause for little change in the Wisconsin law, yet the

financial aid to the state made an appreciable change in the state and county financial load. (16)

(16) Ibid., 239

"Federal grants-in-aid can be extended to this tax-supported and publicly administered form of child care without unusual administrative difficulties. Through Federal participation laws for aid to dependent children can be made effective in the States and in local areas which have no provision or have markedly inadequate provision for this method of preserving family life for dependent children. Like the state fund in relation to the counties, a Federal fund would be an instrument for improving standards in backward states and would tend to equalize costs." (17)

(17) Ibid., 247-248

The Social Security Act appropriated \$24,750,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1936 and a sufficient sum each year thereafter as grants to states for aid to dependent children, the money to be paid to states which have submitted and had approved by the Social Security Board plans for such aid. (18)

(18) Social Security Act, Title IV, Section 401

The states in order to qualify for federal grants-in-aid must observe certain provisions as stated in the Act:

1. It must be in effect in all political divisions of the state and mandatory upon them.
2. The State must financially

participate in the aid. 3. The State must establish or designate a single State Agency to administer the aid. 4. The State must provide an opportunity for a fair hearing before the designated agency to an individual whose claim for state aid was denied in his own locality. 5. The State must provide methods of administration as found necessary by the national board for the efficient operation of the plan. 6. The state agency must make whatever reports as the national board may require and in such form as the board may ask for it. (19)

(19) Ibid., Title IV, Section 402, a

The power of approval of state plans for aid to dependent children rests with the Social Security Board, and such approval may be granted if the above-mentioned conditions have been fulfilled, except that no plan can impose as a condition of eligibility for aid a resident requirement, which denies aid to any child residing in the state who has resided in the state one year immediately preceding application for such aid or who was born within the state within one year immediately preceding the application, if its mother resided in the state for one year immediately preceding its birth. (20)

(20) Ibid., Title IV, Section 402, b

The Act provides that the federal government will pay one-third of the amount expended during the quarter. (21)

(21) Social Security in America, op. cit., 539

"During 1942, \$1,101,027.54 was granted by Milwaukee County as Aid to Dependent Children. The county was reimbursed for \$624,519.01 by the Federal and State governments.

"Each month, through this participation of the Federal Government in the financing and administration of these aids, a reimbursement check was received by the County Treasurer, averaging \$52,043.25 per month, which represents a 50 per cent return from Washington on each grant of \$18.00 for the first child, and \$12.00 for each other one, and a one-third return from the State Treasury for the grants for the support of dependent children." (22)

(22) Milwaukee County Social Security for Children and the Blind, 1942, op. cit., 2

The Social Security Act defines dependent child as follows:

"The term 'dependent child' means a child under the age of 16 who has been deprived of parental support or care by reason of the death, continued absence from home, or physical or mental disability of a parent and who is living with his father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, stepfather, stepmother, stepbrother, step-sister, uncle or aunt in a place of residence maintained by one or more such relatives as his or their home.

"The term 'aid to dependent children' means money payments with respect to a dependent child or dependent children." (23)

(23) Social Security Act, Title IV, Section 406, a, b

Besides the contribution of the federal government to direct aid to dependent children, the Social Security Act provides for children through insurance benefits, thereby decreasing the amount of direct aid required, and, in some cases, making direct aid unnecessary, as was mentioned in the discussion of state aid. Such benefits are paid to a child whose parent has reached the age of sixty-five and is himself receiving the primary insurance benefits to which he is entitled, or to a child whose parent died a fully or currently insured individual. The child must further qualify by filing an application for children's insurance benefit, must be unmarried and under eighteen years of age, and must be dependent upon the individual through whom he wishes to obtain the benefits or was dependent upon him at the time of his death. Such a child is entitled to receive a child's insurance benefit each month from the time he becomes eligible until the time he dies, marries, is adopted, or attains the age of eighteen years. (24)

(24) Ibid., Title 42, Section 402, c, 1

In the case of the father having reached the age of sixty-five, and receiving his primary insurance benefit, the child is entitled to an amount equal to one-half the father's benefit. If the father has died, the child is entitled to one-half of whichever insurance benefit is greatest. (25)

(25) Ibid., Title 42, Section 402, c, 2

The word "father" has been used here because it applies in most cases, but the individual from whom a child may receive insurance benefits may also be a mother or a step-parent. The law reads:

"(3) A child shall be deemed dependent upon a father or adopting father or to have been dependent upon such individual unless at the time of such death, or, if such individual was living at the time of such child's application for child's insurance benefit was filed such individual was now living with or contributed to the support of such child and--

(A) such child is neither the legal or adopted child of such individual, or
(B) such child had been adopted by some other individual

(C) or such child at the time of such individual's death was living with and supported by such child's stepfather.

(4) A child shall be deemed dependent upon a mother, adopting mother or step parent or to have been dependent upon such individual at the time of the death of such individual only if, at the time of such death, or if such individual was still living, at the time of such child's application for child's insurance benefit was filed, no parent other than such individual was contributing to the support of such child, and such child was not living with its father or adopting father." (26)

(26) Ibid., Title 42, Section 402, 3 A, B, C, 4

As benefits under this law have been in effect only since Dec. 31, 1939, it is impossible as yet to determine how much it has and will influence the problem of child dependency. However, it has been shown in the discussion of state aid that it is already beginning to decrease the amount of aid needed in some cases.

The description here of federal assistance to dependent children concludes the discussion of public aid, and it will be necessary now to turn to the private agencies in Milwaukee County which aid in the problem.

PRIVATE WELFARE AGENCIES

Private child welfare agencies in Milwaukee county and in the state of Wisconsin developed along with public child welfare, and, as will be shown, often led the way in the progress of social work in this field and in the initiative to institute new practices. Each agency differs somewhat in the kind of work it does and in the classes of cases which it handles, as would be expected, but all are interested in the various aspects of child welfare.

Although many of the agencies deal with special religious groups, their services are available to all groups, regardless of religious affiliations. At the same time, in the majority of cases, individuals are referred to the agency which particularly serves their religious groups.

Many of the agencies were originally organized for the main purpose of providing care for dependent and neglected children, but as public welfare in this field has developed, much of the work of the private agencies has developed into specialized casework service and service for which there is no public agency or for which a public agency is handicapped by limited staff or funds.

As was previously pointed out, casework with unmarried mothers is left almost entirely to the private agencies in Milwaukee county and in some agencies this is the major portion of their work. Each agency has been handled separately in the chronological order of their development, and the history of the organization is given together with the type of work done.

The Milwaukee Orphans' Asylum

The Milwaukee Orphans' Asylum is almost as old as the state of Wisconsin and is the oldest private agency still in existence. Established in 1850, the institution was incorporated in 1852 as an agency to provide care for dependent and neglected children in Milwaukee county. It was organized at a time when recognition was being given to the need for care of dependent children away from almshouses and reform schools. At the time of its inception, children were being cared for in almshouses with the aged, the sick, the insane and other indigent adults. At that time institutional care was regarded generally as the best means of providing for children who had no parental care. (1)

(1) Resources for Dependent and Neglected Children in Milwaukee County, op. cit., 54

Shortly after the turn of the century it became generally recognized that foster home care was a more acceptable means of providing for children away from their own homes. "Authorities generally recognize that institutional care over a long period of time tends to unfit most children for later living in a family group." (2)

(2) Ibid., 55

Though primarily an agency offering institutional care to children, the Milwaukee Orphans' Asylum has been using boarding homes on a limited scale since February, 1933. Children

are not directly accepted for boarding home care unless they are young children of a family in which the older ones have been admitted to the institution. At the same time, recognition of the bad effect of long-time institutional care, is shown in that the Asylum provides boarding home care for children after they have been in the institution for three years and there seems little chance of returning them to their families within a short period of time. Usually children are accepted only for temporary commitment or for concentrated care, or where the child can benefit from group living. As a result, much work is done by the agency to maintain relationships between children and their families and to return children to their homes as soon as possible. House-keeping service is often furnished to re-establish a family group. (3)

(3) Ibid., 55-56

The institution has between eight-five and ninety-five children under its supervision, with between thirty-five and forty-five in the institution and the balance supervised in their own homes, boarding homes, work homes, or relatives' homes. (4)

(4) Statistical Research Division, Milwaukee County Council of Social Agencies

The staff of the institution consists of a full-time case-worker with one more to be added in June, 1943, a part-time physician, a part-time dentist, a student from the Milwaukee

State Teachers College who directs recreational activity, an office secretary, a janitor, four house mothers, two housekeepers, two cooks, and a cleaning woman. (5)

(5) Staff checked by telephone

The children in the institution attend a nearby public school

The Milwaukee Orphan Asylum offers temporary institutional care for Protestant children who may benefit from group living. Very often children suffer greatly from the shock of breaking up the family home or from the death or illness of a parent, one of which makes him temporarily dependent on a welfare agency. He may not be able to adapt himself to a foster home, or the remaining parent may be reluctant to put him into a foster home. In these cases, the institution satisfies a definite need.

"Temporary care of children away from their own homes can, in some ways, be given with less emotional wear and tear in the institution than in subsidized boarding homes. The child who is secure in the love relationships of his own home does not need the family life of the foster home. Many foster parents are demanding in their need for a demonstrative response from the child to whom they are giving care. He may become confused by the necessity for making new close relationships. To some parents the giving over of their child to the care of others, even temporarily, is a blow to their self-esteem. It is often easier to do this with the impersonal institution than to see another family home absorb him. Jealousy and unconscious blocking of plans may be avoided in this way." (6)

(6) Sybil Foster, Co-ordination of Institution Care for Children with Other Services in the Community, 88

Although at the time of its establishment, the Milwaukee Orphans' Asylum was designed to care for dependent and neglected children, the development of public aids such as the County Home for Dependent Children which provides institutional care, and Aid to Dependent Children, which provides care in their own homes, have greatly diminished the need for such an institution. The Asylum has modified its original purpose to a large extent and now offers a program of specialized service which would not perhaps qualify its inclusion in a discussion of present aids to dependent children except that such was its purpose at its inception. At the same time, the agency does, even now, take cases which would be considered dependency cases.

The Jewish Social Service Association

The Jewish Social Service Association is an outgrowth of the Hebrew Relief Association established in 1867 and incorporated in 1889. Work with children is done by a separate department but is closely affiliated with the family service program and is an integral part of the Association's complete program. The Association instituted a foster home program for children about 1923.

The Association works only with Jewish children, accepted for temporary or permanent care by commitment from the juvenile court or through informal arrangement with parents or relatives. Children are accepted from birth to eighteen if they are residents of Milwaukee county. The Association also does casework with Jewish unmarried mothers.

One worker is assigned to the children's work under the supervision of the executive of the Association. (7)

(7) Resources for Dependent and Neglected Children in Milwaukee County, op. cit., 51

The following table shows the number of children cared for by the Jewish Social Service Association and the types of care offered.

TABLE II The Jewish Social Service Association (8)
(Number of Children and Types of Care)

	Feb. 1942	Feb. 1943
Total cared for during the month	52	45
Total under direct supervision	42	36
In parents' homes	17	14
In relatives' homes	0	1
In foster homes	25	21
Free homes	5	4
Boarding Homes	20	17
Work homes	0	0
Unmarried mothers	1	0

(8) Statistical Research Division, Milwaukee County Council of Social Agencies

Mention should be made of the Milwaukee Jewish Children's Home which offers institutional care for dependent children, although there is no affiliation between it and the Jewish Social Service Association. The Home cares for a very small number of children. In 1936 there were only eighteen in the Home; in January, 1942 there were twenty; and in January, 1943 there were only eight. (9)

(9) Ibid.

The institution has no boarding home program. (10)

(10) Resources for Dependent and Neglected Children in Milwaukee County, loc. cit.

It is evident that dependency among Jewish children is negligible in comparison with other groups and that the Association is stressing the use of foster homes and care in their own homes. Casework with unmarried mother is practically non-existent, due to the fact that it is a rare situation among Jewish women.

"An agency for service to Jewish children is an asset to any community program for child care and protection. It is generally thought that more adequate and comprehensive service to special groups in a community can be expected if there is co-ordination of effort and resources in the community for the special group." (11)

(11) Ibid., 51

The Lutheran Children's Friend Society

The Evangelical Lutheran Kinderfreund Society was organized in Milwaukee, June 18, 1896 by a group of leaders in the Lutheran churches to provide foster home care for orphaned, dependent and neglected children.

"The founders were conscious of the injustice and inadequacy of the care given to children in the orphanages of the day and were resolved to create an agency to care for children in foster homes rather than to have them live in an institution until they became of age. Within three years after the founding of the Society, The Martin Luther Orphanage of Wittenberg, Wisconsin, gave up its charter, sold its property, and transferred all its children

to the Kinderfreund Society for foster home placement. The Kinderfreund Society is the parent foster home, or home finding agency of the Lutheran church in this country." (12)

(12) Social Work in Milwaukee County, op. cit., 36

The Society is supported by Lutheran churches belonging to the Synodical Conference of which the Missouri, Norwegian, Slovak, and Wisconsin Synods are members, and funds are made available from Lutheran Churches and Sunday Schools, one dollar memberships in the Society, individual donations, legacies, and bequests. It receives no support from the Milwaukee County Community Fund. (13)

(13) Resources for Dependent and Neglected Children in Milwaukee County, op. cit., 46

In the face of the original purpose of the Society, foster home placement of dependent and neglected children, an institution was erected in 1936 in Wauwatosa, Wisconsin. It is called the Lutheran Children's Home. Some children are accepted directly for foster home care without entering the institution, but no funds for boarding home care are available. Only free or work home placements are used except for children for whom parents, guardians, relatives or counties are responsible for maintenance and care. Because of its affiliation with church groups, the agency has a greater resource for free or work homes than many other agencies, but

the erection of an institution at a time when long-time institutional care for a large group of dependent children was no longer regarded as a most desirable method of care, would seem to indicate that there are apparently not enough free homes to provide care for all the children. (14)

(14) Ibid., 47-48

Almost fifty per cent of the children under the care of the Society are children who must be provided for permanently from away from their own families, whose parents are very definitely out of the picture. Permanent long-time care of children has been established as a problem for a public agency. (15)

(15) Ibid., 48

With the inception of World War II the name of the Society was changed to the Lutheran Children's Friend Society. It is a licensed child welfare agency providing protective and remedial care to children in their own and relatives' homes and institutional and foster home care to dependent and neglected children who must be cared for outside of their homes. It also arranges for placement of children for adoption. Its work is on a state-wide basis.

The casework department of the Society directs the entire work of caring for the children. It makes all intake investigations, decides whether care and supervision is to be

given the child in its own or a relative's home, in the institution, or in a foster home. Continual observation and study of the child is made and direction for treatment is given. The department investigates foster homes for placement of children and trains the foster parents. Work is done to try to save the child's own home and return him to it whenever possible.

Children from the age of three months to sixteen years are accepted by the Society, except those who are delinquent or mentally or physically defective. They are taken under the following circumstances:

- "1. For temporary care of children awaiting their return to their own homes or placement in foster homes.
2. For the study and treatment of children who present certain personality or health problems.
3. For temporary care of children in emergencies awaiting the completion of the intake investigation to determine the type of care indicated."(16)

(16) Social Work in Milwaukee County, op. cit., 37

The sources available for foster home care are:

- "1. Adoptive foster homes, where children are placed with the prospect of legal adoption.
2. Free foster homes, in which children are taken into the family and treated as their own by foster parents, although they cannot be adopted.
3. Boarding foster homes, in which foster parents receive remuneration for care of the children.
4. Wage foster homes, where children are taken in as members of the family and receive a wage for the services they render.

5. School foster homes, where the child attends high school, assists with the work in the home and receives a small wage." (17)

(17) Ibid., 37

The Society also offers service to unmarried mothers who are Lutheran.

Being a state-wide organization, the Lutheran Children's Friend Society cares for children outside of Milwaukee county as well as those within the county. During February, 1942 there were fifty-nine children cared for in its institution, thirty-nine of whom were from Milwaukee county. In the same month of the following year sixty children were in the institution, forty-one of whom were from Milwaukee county. More representative of the amount of care given is the number of days' care, since it shows more definitely the time spent there. For February, 1942 the figures are 1688 days' care, 1101 of which were for Milwaukee county alone, and for February, 1943, 1688 days' care, 1156 of which were for Milwaukee county. (18)

(18) Statistical Research Division, Milwaukee County Council of Social Agencies

These figures would indicate that the majority of the children spent the full time in the institution. In February, 1943 the Society was carrying two full-time physicians and dentists and three full-time and one part-time case workers, an increase of one caseworker over the same month of the previous year. (19)

(19) Ibid.

In its program of protective and foster home care, the following figures were available.

TABLE III The Lutheran Children's Friend Society (20)
(Number of Children and Types of Care)

	February 1942		February 1943	
	Total--Milw. Co.	Total--Milw. Co.	Total--Milw. Co.	Total--Milw. Co.
Total under care during month	248	121	229	97
Under direct supervision	248	102	196	85
In parents' homes	46	18	30	7
In relatives' homes	10	5	6	3
Foster Homes	91	40	100	34
Free	49	24	52	21
Boarding	28	6	35	3
Work	14	10	13	10

(20) Ibid.

The most significant evidence here is that the Society cares for a greater number of children outside its institution than it does within it, but that in Milwaukee county its boarding home program is negligible. As has been mentioned before, greater reliance is placed on free homes through church affiliations.

As in the case of the Milwaukee Orphan Asylum, it would seem that there are now in Milwaukee county resources for the long-time care of dependent children which make the care offered by the Lutheran Children's Friend Society considerably inadequate. Limited as it is in the type of foster home care which it can offer, the Society must resort to institutional care at the Lutheran Home.

Some mention should be made here of the Lutheran Welfare Society of Wisconsin, since that organization does a

small amount of work with children in Milwaukee county, although the majority of its work is state-wide. Figures showing the numbers of children cared for during one month, also show the type of work done.

TABLE IV Lutheran Welfare Society of Wisconsin (21)
(Number of Children and Types of Care)

	February 1943	
	Total	Milw. Co.
Total cared for during month	315	29
Under direct supervision	287	28
In parents' homes	164	19
In relatives' homes	38	7
In foster homes	113	12
Free	61	3
Boarding	34	6
Work	18	3
Under another agency	110	8

(21) Ibid.

The Children's Aid Society of Wisconsin

The Children's Aid Society of Wisconsin was organized in 1889 by the Rev. J. P. Dysart in Hudson, Wisconsin under the name of the Children's Home Society. The first board of directors was composed mainly of ministers and there were no women on the staff. The Society arranged for the adoption of babies, and where no other provision could be made, temporary homes were found for them. The Society incorporated and moved to Milwaukee in 1892. As work with unmarried mothers increased, women field workers were accepted. The former home of Justice E. P. Fairchild at 2835 W. Kilbourn Avenue was purchased and at one time served as a receiving home for children and later as a maternity and

convalescent home. It is now used exclusively as an office building and is the state headquarters for the Society. In 1927 the name was changed to the Children's Home and Aid Society and in 1939 it became the Children's Aid Society of Wisconsin, which title it now bears. (22)

(22) Social Work in Milwaukee County, op. cit., 31

"The Children's Aid Society is a licensed, private non-sectarian child caring agency which is equipped to investigate and secure the cooperation and assistance of relatives and friends wherever they may be found in the state. The purpose of the Society is to care for homeless, dependent, neglected and problem children, and to aid unmarried mothers." (23)

(23) Ibid., 30

In addition to applications from clients, children may be referred to the Society by courts, schools, relatives, friends, neighbors, state agencies, or public and private agencies. Children may be cared for in carefully selected families while plans are being made for them. Classes of children cared for are as follows:

1. Dependent children who come from broken homes. The parents may be dead, divorced, ill, or imprisoned.
2. Neglected children, whose parents, although they may be financially able to care for them, do not provide the proper environment.
3. Problem children, who are seriously mal-adjusted and often require psychiatric examination, which is obtained by the society in recognized clinics or from its own psychiatrist.

4. Single pregnant girls who require confinement care. If they desire to place their children for adoption, arrangements are made for them elsewhere in the state so they can return to their homes unhandicapped by public disgrace. Family history is thoroughly investigated to prevent the placement of any child who is likely to develop an inheritable disease or defect or mental problem. The child too is studied before placement is made." (24)

(24) Ibid., 31

Whenever possible the child is left in his own home and casework is done with him there. If this is not advisable, the following resources are available:

- "1. Boarding homes, which take from one to four children, and are paid a nominal sum from the Society's funds with reimbursements from parents or relatives whenever possible.
2. Work or wage homes where an older child may help in the household for his board and a small allowance.
3. Free homes in which foster parents wish to give some child a start in life where he has the benefit of good surroundings.
4. Adoptive homes, are thoroughly studied as to family relationships, background, community standing, religion, education, financial habits, et cetera, so that the child will be suited to the home which can be found for him. (25)

(25) Margaret Winchell, Children's Aid Society of Wisconsin, Personal Interview

Besides serving social agencies in Milwaukee county by making investigations for them throughout the state, the Society renders a great service in handling the problem of

the non-resident unmarried mother. As the largest urban community in Wisconsin, Milwaukee attracts large numbers of unmarried mothers who seek anonymity in a large metropolis. The Society has workers throughout the state who can make use of local resources in effecting plans for such cases. The Society has also developed a state-wide program in localities throughout the state so that it has no doubt lessened the problem of the unmarried mother in Milwaukee. (26)

(26) Resources for Neglected and Dependent Children in Milwaukee County, op. cit., 36

Although the legal responsibility for service to unmarried mothers rests with the State Department of Public Welfare, that department depends upon other agencies to handle much of this work, because of its limited casework facilities. All of the adoptive placements are delegated to the private agencies. (27)

(27) Margaret Winchell, op. cit.

The Society receives money from the Community Funds of Milwaukee County, Madison, Waukesha, Green Bay, Eau Claire, Wausau, Racine, Elkhorn, West Bend, Barton, Lake Geneva, Manitowoc, and many private contributions as well as appropriations from county boards. (28)

(28) Ibid.

Although only a portion of its work is done with legal residents of Milwaukee county, the Society does a large volume of work in Milwaukee county with dependent children and unmarried mothers who are not legal residents, and it handles legal residents of Milwaukee county who are living elsewhere. The totals for Milwaukee County in the following table do not show residents cared for outside Milwaukee county, but does include non-residents cared for in Milwaukee county.

TABLE V Children's Aid Society (29)
(Number of Children and Types of Care)

	February 1942		February 1945	
	Total--Milw. Co.	Total--Milw. Co.	Total--Milw. Co.	Total--Milw. Co.
Total under care during month	663	204	661	233
Under direct supervision	565	147	545	183
In parents' homes	250	44	195	68
In relatives' homes	38	10	45	9
In foster homes	277	93	305	106
Free	79	22	100	24
Boarding	188	69	194	81
Work	10	2	11	1

(29) Statistical Research Division, Milwaukee County Council of Social Agencies

Most significant in these figures are the facts that the number of cases in Milwaukee county has increased although the state load has not increased to any extent, and that the use of free and boarding homes has increased over the number of children cared for in their own homes throughout the state.

During February, 1942 the Society cared for 191 unmarried mothers, ninety-one of whom were in Milwaukee county. (30)

(30) Ibid.

Since its original purpose to provide foster home care for dependent and neglected children in Wisconsin has been to some extent assumed by public agencies, the Society has adapted itself to the changing picture of child welfare work, and has taken over supplementary and specialized phases of the work such as adoptions, work with unmarried mothers who wish to leave their home communities, or problem children who should be elsewhere in the state, all of which are recognized as functions of the state-wide private agency. (31)

(31) Margaret Winchell, op. cit.

The Catholic Social Welfare Bureau

In 1910 at the National Conference of Catholic Charities recommendations were made for the establishment of Central Diocesan Bureaus of Catholic Charities with one or more priests as directors. The Catholic Social Welfare Bureau of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee was established in 1920 and incorporated in 1924. It comprises seventeen Wisconsin counties with activities centralized in Milwaukee county.

The Bureau is, for the most part, confined to the field of children's work, but it has a Family Department which gives temporary service to a limited number of families not served by the Society of St. Vincent De Paul. It acts as an

aid to St. Charles Home, the House of Good Shephard, and maintains employment service for adolescent boys and girls. All care of the Bureau is available for Catholic children. (32)

(32) Resources for Neglected and Dependent Children in Milwaukee County, op. cit., 30

The purposes of the Bureau are stated as follows:

"....to centralize and standardize Catholic welfare work in the Archdiocese of Milwaukee; to establish and maintain a clearing house for the exchange of views and information regarding relief and social welfare work; to establish and maintain a system of records for the compilation of data connected with the work; to establish and maintain corps of trained workers to assist in carrying out the purposes of the Bureau; to act as the official point of contact between Catholic relief and social welfare agencies and all other agencies of similar character; to render such services as are of general nature and can be performed more efficiently and economically by a central body than by single institutions acting independently; to serve as a collecting agency through which funds may be gathered for the carrying on of Catholic social welfare work; to distribute relief in emergencies or when it is impossible to reach the ordinary agent of distribution; to collect and publish information concerning Catholic social welfare work;..... to seek out and receive neglected, dependent or delinquent children and to procure homes in families for them and to receive into its charge and under its control any such child duly committed or assigned to its care and custody and to act as the legal guardian for such child and to consent to its adoption in accordance with the laws of the State of Wisconsin." (33)

(33) Social Work in Milwaukee County, op. cit., 27

The Bureau acts as receiving and placement agent for eight Catholic institutions whose work is centralized through affiliation with the Bureau. They are: The Guardian Angel Orphanage, St. Aemilian's of St. Theresa, St. Joseph's Home of St. Raphael, St. Joseph's Home of St. Theresa, St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, St. Margaret's Guild, St. Rose's Orphan Asylum, and St. Vincent's Infant Asylum. The Bureau has the responsibility for a large group of children in need of long-time care. Many of these children are cared for in institutions and some through a program of foster home care under the direction of the Bureau. Special service is also offered to children in their own homes. (34)

(34) Resources for Dependent and Neglected Children in Milwaukee County, op. cit., 30

Catholic children are committed by the courts to the Bureau and then are placed by the Bureau, and only through the Bureau. Cases are accepted from the juvenile court for permanent or temporary care. (35)

(35) Ibid., 30

A large proportion of the cases handled by the Catholic Social Welfare Bureau deals with dependency and neglect as associated with the problem of illegitimacy. Casework service with unmarried mothers is offered by the Bureau with the Department of Public Assistance paying the rent in rooming houses. In connection with this work the Bureau acts as a receiving agent for Misericordia Hospital, Catholic girls

from Milwaukee County hospital and other local hospitals. Services include pre-natal care, family adjustment, religious adjustment, financial arrangements, permanent program for the child, and fitting the girl to a normal position in life. (36)

(36) Social Work in Milwaukee County, op. cit., 28

The Bureau classifies its work with unmarried mothers as those under and over twenty-one years of age. Figures showing the number of cases cared for in the same month for two years are as follows:

February 1942				February 1943				
Total		Milw. Co.		Total		Milw. Co.		
Under	Over	Under	Over	Under	Over	Under	Over	
<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>	
91	223	60	155	99	220	62	140	(37)

(37) Statistical Research Division, Milwaukee County Council of Social Agencies

The Catholic Social Welfare Bureau supervises the care of a larger number of children than any other agency, public or private, in Milwaukee county, many of them problems for long-time care and almost half of them in institutions. In the following table which shows the number of children and types of care offered through the facilities of the Bureau, it would appear that the number of children in institutions has increased in a year's time, although the total number of children under supervision has decreased. The table makes a comparison of the same month for two years and shows the number of children being cared for in Catholic institutions.

TABLE VI The Catholic Social Welfare Bureau (38)
(Number of Children and Types of Care)

	February 1942		February 1943	
	Total	Milw. Co.	Total	Milw. Co.
Total under care during month	1460	1155	1403	1091
Under direct supervision	1421	1120	1343	1053
In parents' homes	120	112	94	89
In relatives' homes	66	58	55	49
In foster homes	490	344	444	307
Free	99	59	97	62
Boarding	275	189	274	181
Work	116	96	73	64
In institutions	528	445	548	494

(38) Statistical Research Division, Milwaukee County Council of Social Agencies

The Catholic Social Welfare Bureau, in keeping with similar Catholic organizations throughout the country, provides for all Catholic dependent and neglected children, centralized under one organization, a distinct advantage to the community. It also attempts to meet the needs not otherwise met in its service to Catholic unmarried mothers.

The Children's Service Association

In 1930 the Child Welfare League of America made a study of child welfare agencies in Milwaukee and recommended the consolidation of the Juvenile Protective Association of Milwaukee and the Big Brothers and Big Sisters. The two organizations merged in April, 1931 to become the Children's Service Association.

The Big Brothers and Big Sisters had been incorporated in 1909 as an aid department of the Wisconsin Children's Home Society. The Juvenile Protective Association was

the outgrowth of a Committee on Delinquency of the Council of Social Agencies and efforts of the Woman's Club of Wisconsin which was interested in a more adequate program for child care and contributed \$1,500 to start the work of the association, which became incorporated in 1914. It received its first state license as a home-finding society in 1928. (39)

(39) Social Work in Milwaukee County, op. cit., 34

The newly organized Association provides foster home care and service in their own homes to children, and receives about seventy-five per cent of its income from the Milwaukee County Community Fund. (40)

(40) Resources for Dependent and Neglected Children in Milwaukee County, op. cit., 37

The purposes of the Association are stated as follows:

"To promote in every respect the welfare of children, by social service casework, by cooperation with the Juvenile Court and public and private agencies and authorities concerned with the care, education or protection of children, and otherwise, and to prevent and correct conditions tending to cause juvenile neglect, dependency or delinquency.

To provide foster home care, medical and psychiatric service and to supply clothing and material relief to children in need thereof.

To investigate, issue permits to, and supervise foster homes for children, as provided by law.

Subject to the conditions provided by law, to assume the care, custody, and guardianship of children, and to consent to the adoption of its wards.

To carry on all of the activities of a child welfare agency as defined in the statutes.

To acquire real and personal property to be used for the purpose of the organization, by purchase, gift, bequest, or otherwise, and to establish and maintain homes, schools or other institutions for the purposes aforesaid--which said business is to be carried on within the State of Wisconsin and especially within the County of Milwaukee in said State." (41)

(41) Social Work in Milwaukee County, op. cit., 33

The Association does very little work with dependent children in the large sense of the word. In fact, only three of the cases listed at the present time are considered as dependents. (42)

(42) Nelle Lane Gardner, Children's Service Association,
Personal Interview

The reason for this is that, although many of the children may be dependent, they are classified as behavior problems, health problems, or illegitimate children. The Association is extremely selective in its intake, since a large share of its case load is with illegitimacy. It is the only child welfare agency specifically providing foster home care for Protestant children in Milwaukee county, yet more than half the case load of the association is concerned with children in their own homes. The majority of the cases accepted are children with emotional or behavior problems, and the association tried to limit its service to children who can derive the greatest benefit from its program. Since it was specifically stated in the preface to this paper that no

consideration would be given to the dependent child who had other problems such as poor health, behavior, et cetera, there is little reason to describe this portion of the program of the Children's Service Association. However, it would be interesting to note what proportion of the cases handled by the Association are from Milwaukee county and what program it follows. The following table reveals these facts in the number of children cared for and types of care.

TABLE VII THE CHILDREN'S SERVICE ASSOCIATION (43)
(Number of Children and Types of Care)

	February 1942		February 1943	
	Total	Milw. Co.	Total	Milw. Co.
Total under care during month	313	302	296	275
Under direct supervision	256	244	256	241
In parents' homes	107	102	107	98
In relatives' homes	14	13	13	13
In foster homes	134	129	136	130
Free	28	23	24	20
Boarding	97	97	108	106
Work	9	9	4	4

(43) Statistical Research Division, Milwaukee County Council of Social Agencies

It is evident that the majority of cases is in Milwaukee County and that although the case load has dropped in a year's time, the use of foster homes where board is paid shows an increase.

Since almost forty per cent of the Association's work is with illegitimate children, which have been given a place in this paper, some attention should be paid to this

work. Through an agreement with the Child Welfare Division of the State Department of Public Welfare, the Association is giving casework service to Protestant, resident unmarried mothers. The Association has almost no selection in its intake but takes all cases referred to it. In many of these cases, as has already been mentioned in the discussions of the Catholic Social Welfare Bureau and the Children's Aid Society, the Children's Service Association does the casework with unmarried mothers who are being supported through the Department of Public Assistance. Casework with an unmarried mother consists of assisting the mother in making an adjustment to the situation, establishing paternity if possible, assisting the mother in determining whether she will keep her child or not, finding work for the mother, placing the child in a foster home or preparing it for adoption if the mother is to give it up. No child is given for adoption until it is old enough so that the Association has some assurance that it is not abnormal in any way. Mothers are encouraged to keep their babies with them if they intend to keep them, rather than to put them in a foster home where the children become bewildered as to whom they belong. (44)

(44) Nelle Lane Gardner, Ibid.

During the month of February, 1942 the Association handled ninety-one unmarried mothers cases, eighty-eight of which were from Milwaukee county, and in the same month of

the following year eighty cases were handled of which sixty-six were from Milwaukee county. (45)

(45) Statistical Research Division, Milwaukee County Council of Social Agencies

The Children's Service Association is cooperating with the State Department of Public Welfare by doing case-work service with unmarried mothers, a task which should be delegated to a public agency. At the same time it is offering services to specialized cases, which is the generally accepted concept of work for a private agency.

Council of Social Agencies

Before concluding the discussion of agencies involved in the care of dependent children, some mention should be made of the Council of Social Agencies of Milwaukee County, which tried to correlate social planning for the public and private social agencies and provides financial support for some of the voluntarily maintained welfare organizations. The local council was the first in the United States and was organized in 1909. In 1916 the Community Fund was organized to raise funds and in 1934 the two groups merged to form a corporation which controls executive and administrative authority. (46)

(46) Social Work in Milwaukee County, op. cit., 38

The Council emphasizes agency cooperation, community planning, and improvement of social work standards. It has

developed a Social Service Exchange, a central index to records of social and health agencies in Milwaukee county, some state-wide agencies, federal, state, and county departments, which are affiliated with the exchange. (47)

(47) Ibid., 38

By means of this Exchange, agencies can determine whether any casework has been done previously with an individual, the extent of the work, its success, and whether any other agency is involved in the case at the time.

The Council also maintains a Central Volunteer Bureau which is a recruiting, registration and placement center for volunteer workers. This Bureau offers information courses for volunteers. In 1936 the Council established district councils in Cudahy and South Milwaukee to co-ordinate welfare services of the public and private social agencies and local organizations. A similar council has since been established in West Allis. (48)

(48) Ibid., 39

The Cudahy district council was discontinued in the summer of 1942. (49)

(49) J. K. Phillips, Milwaukee County Council of Social Agencies

Statistical research has been developed by the Council with an active file of agency reports used in planning and budgeting, and reports are compiled which indicate

trends in types of work and unmet needs of the community. The council also has a program of publicity and promotion for the annual Community Fund Drive. (50)

(50) Ibid., 39

COMPARISON OF MILWAUKEE WITH OTHER URBAN AREAS

There are two ways of making a comparison of Milwaukee with other urban areas. First, statistical analysis will show how Milwaukee compares with other areas in the amount of money spent and the types of services offered for the care of dependent children. Second, certain standards have been established in social work as to the types of services which should be offered by public and private agencies and place responsibility for such services. It will be determined how close Milwaukee comes to these standards. Both methods of comparison will be used.

For the statistical analysis the 1940 report of the Children's Bureau, the latest available, is used. This report covers thirty-four urban areas in the United States. For closer analysis five urban areas of the thirty-four have been chosen as approximating the population of Milwaukee county. They are Baltimore, Buffalo, Cincinnati, San Francisco, and Washington, D. C. Of these five, Buffalo is the closest in population and the other four vary within 100,000 in either direction. However, in the data used, it is the counties of Milwaukee, Buffalo, Baltimore, and Cincinnati which are considered, while only the cities of Washington and San Francisco are used. It might also assist in interpreting the facts presented to include a ranking of these six areas by level of living as determined by the study used.

"The rank of each of the 34 cities by level of living depends on a

composite index, based on four economic factors: (1) The number of individual Federal income-tax returns per thousand population (1939); (2) the volume of retail sales per capita, in dollars (1939); (3) the number of passenger automobiles registered per 1,000 population (July 1, 1940); and (4) the number of residence telephones per 1,000 population (Jan. 1, 1940). A separate index was first made up for each of these factors by expressing the ratio of each city as a percentage of the average for all cities. The four resulting indexes for each city were then combined by means of a simple average to secure a single figure. The areas were ranked according to these figures and then grouped into four broad classes." (1)

(1) Children's Bureau, The Community Welfare Picture, xiv

The ranking of the six areas to be studied is as follows:

Baltimore-----	Lowest Fourth
Buffalo-----	Third Fourth
Cincinnati-----	Second Fourth
Milwaukee-----	Second Fourth
San Francisco-----	Highest Fourth
Washington-----	Highest Fourth (2)

(2) Ibid., xlv

Notice should be taken of the fact that the statistics used here regarding child welfare do not include aid to dependent children which is treated under relief and family welfare. If it had been included in the child welfare field it would have increased total expenditures about seventy-five per cent. (3)

(3) Ibid., 32

The percentage distribution of net expenditures in child welfare services by type of program for the thirty-four areas shows that protective and foster home care of dependent children accounts for 35.4 per cent of the money expended, while institutions for dependent children accounts for 30.8 per cent. Other programs in this distribution include sixteen per cent for institutions for delinquent children, twelve per cent for children with conduct problems, 2.9 per cent for maternity homes and 2.9 per cent for day nurseries. (4)

(4) Ibid., 32, Figure 18

The conclusion here would be that in the thirty-four urban areas studied protective and foster home care of dependent children receives the largest grants of money with institutions a close second.

In an analysis of per capita net expenditures for child welfare services under public and private auspices, Milwaukee ranks thirteenth highest among the thirty-four urban areas with \$1.52, two-thirds of its expenditures coming from public agencies. Four of the cities which have already been mentioned rank above Milwaukee in per capita expenditures with Baltimore ranking the same. However, only one-sixth of Baltimore's expenditures are from public funds, the remainder coming from private auspices. Buffalo and Washington approximate an equal amount of Milwaukee from public funds, but have larger amounts from private sources.

Cincinnati and San Francisco approximate Baltimore's expenditure of public funds but have larger amounts spent under private auspices. (5)

(5) Ibid., 33, Figure 19

It is evident, then, that Milwaukee ranks slightly above the half-way mark in the per capita net expenditures for child welfare, and in cities comparable to it in size has an equal or greater amount of money to spend from public than from private sources.

In using the monthly census of dependent and neglected children receiving protective and foster home care, only the figures for the five urban areas considered comparable to Milwaukee have been used.

TABLE VIII Census of Dependent and Neglected Children
(Number of Children and Types of Care in
Six Urban Areas) (6)

AREA	TOTAL	IN HOMES OF RELATIVES OR PARENTS	IN FOSTER HOMES	IN INSTI- TUTIONS
Baltimore	2539	477	1222	840
Buffalo	4711	1789	1817	1105
Washington	2641	540	1266	835
Cincinnati	6367	4541	898	928
San Francisco	3342	908	1482	952
Milwaukee	2476	651	776	1049

(6) Ibid., 34, Table 16

Conclusions here show that of the six areas studied Milwaukee has the smallest number of children under protective and foster home care and the largest number, by comparison, being

cared for in institutions. A graph of the average monthly census of dependent and neglected children receiving protective and foster home care through public and private auspices in thirty urban areas reveals the following facts:

1. Under 5,000 are cared for in homes of parents or relatives by public means while almost 20,000 are cared for in this manner through private means.
2. Over 10,000 are cared for in boarding homes through public auspices and nearly an equal number through private auspices.
3. Less than 5,000 are cared for in institutions through public funds while almost 15,000 are thus cared for through private agencies.
4. About 1,000 are cared for in free homes and slightly less than that in work homes by public agencies and about 1,500 are cared for in free homes and about 500 in work and wage homes through private auspices. (7)

(7) Ibid., 34, Figure 20

It is evident, then, that care in homes of parents or relatives is used to a much greater extent by private than by public agencies, that boarding homes are used slightly more often by public than by private agencies, that many more children are cared for in institutions by private agencies than through public auspices, and that free and work homes are used negligibly by both but free homes slightly more by private agencies than by public ones.

Expenditures for dependent children in institutions and protective and foster home care together with their sources for the five comparable cities and Milwaukee will be found in the table on the next page. Washington, of course, receives no state aid but a small amount of federal aid.

WASHINGTON, D.C. (12)		MILWAUKEE (13)	
Institutions	Foster Home	Institutions	Foster Home
.....	\$ 2,538	.....	.....
.....	.....	\$ 4,160	\$ 2,695
\$ 77,906	301,898	389,251	88,934
1114,125	59,908	69,019	122,425
69,977	1,746	92,694	21,328
79,739	1,125	25,850	5,196
4,396	.....	746	.....
.52	.55	.76	.31
.12	.46	.51	.12
.40	.09	.24	.19

(12) Ibid., xxxiv, Appendix Table I

(13) Ibid., xxii, Appendix Table I

CINCINNATI (10)

SAN FRANCISCO (11)

CINCINNATI (10)		SAN FRANCISCO (11)	
Institutions	Foster Home	Institutions	Foster Home
.....
\$ 36,209	.....	.....	\$152,727
86,525	\$165,585	\$ 49,446	189,421
132,003	122,263	138,431	167,885
22,550	21,080	43,165	22,891
20,867	29,849	71,437	5,851
52,676	12,894	737	18
.56	.57	.49	.85
.20	.27	.08	.54
.37	.30	.41	.31

(10) Ibid., viii, Appendix Table I

(11) Ibid., xxx, Appendix Table I

TABLE IX EXPENDITURES FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN
SIX URBAN AREAS
(Public, Private, and Per Capita
Expenditures for Institutional
and Foster Home Care)

	BALTIMORE (8)		BUFFALO (9)	
	Institutions	Foster Home	Institutions	Foster Home
PUBLIC				
Federal	.....	.....	.....	.....
State	\$32,456	\$40,988	\$28,576	\$60,616
Local	64,651	165,160	295,709	485,569
PRIVATE				
Community Chest	26,758	118,261	.....	90,327
Other	88,924	99,833	105,671	59,355
Income from Endowments	89,114	18,413	15,877	12,525
All Other	29,292	17,230	5,276	565
PER CAPITA				
Total	.39	.54	.57	.89
Public	.11	.24	.41	.68
Private	.27	.30	.16	.20

(8) Ibid., iv, Appendix Table I

(9) Ibid., vi, Appendix Table I

Cincinnati receives no state aid for protective and foster home care. Buffalo receives no Community Chest aid for dependent children in institutions but other private funds are available for this purpose. Local public funds in all instances are greater than state funds. In analyzing the per capita expenditures, public funds are a greater source than private funds for both institutional and foster home care in Buffalo, and public funds are less than private for both types of care in Baltimore and Cincinnati. In San Francisco public funds are less than private for institutional care but greater for protective and foster home care, as is true of Washington. Milwaukee spends more of public funds than private for institutional care and less for protective and foster home care. The obvious conclusion, then, is that no definite tendency is shown, one way or the other, as to which is the more common practice. Further analysis of the table reveals that Milwaukee county receives considerably larger amounts from local public funds than any of the other areas, except Buffalo, though Buffalo's is spent largely on a foster home program while Milwaukee's is spent on institutional care. It also shows that per capita expenditures from private funds are considerably lower in Milwaukee county than in any of the other areas except Buffalo.

Direct aid to dependent children in their own homes, as was stated previously was included in this study under family welfare and public assistance rather than under child welfare. The contributions to this type of aid for the six

cities under consideration were as follows:

Baltimore-----	\$1,787,586	
Buffalo-----	832,935	
Washington-----	481,415	
Cincinnati-----	511,197	
San Francisco-----	686,033	
Milwaukee-----	1,308,590	(14)

(14) Ibid., xxxviii, Appendix, Table IV

These figures show that Milwaukee is second highest in the amount of money spent for aid to dependent children, and that the sum spent by Milwaukee county is considerably higher than that spent in four of the other areas. In comparison with all thirty-four of the urban areas Milwaukee stands in the group expending the largest sums of money in this type of aid. (15)

(15) Ibid., xxxviii, Appendix, Table IV

The second means of comparing Milwaukee county with other parts of the United States is to list the standards set up for social work and discover where the county meets these standards and where it falls behind. These standards have been determined by consulting standards approved by the Children's Bureau, the National Conference of Social Work, and the Milwaukee County Council of Social Agencies.

"Home care for dependent children has become a recognized principle, with the emphasis on the prevention of child dependency through constructive aid in preserving the child's own home wherever possible." (16)

(16) Children's Bureau, Publication No. 107, County Organization for Child Care and Protection, 2

The Social Security Act, Wisconsin laws, and county administration provide funds to insure home care for dependent children in their own homes. In fact, in comparison with other areas Milwaukee county ranks high in the amount spent for such aid.

"It is significant to the importance of the county organization movement that so many of the state commissions appointed to study child welfare needs and recommend revision of existing laws have emphasized the desirability of some form of county board that would tie up the local work with the activities of the state board charged with the care and protection of children." (17)

(17) Ibid., 3

State aid to dependent children in Milwaukee county is administered by a department of the juvenile court, although the state law authorizes the county to establish a county board of welfare for this purpose. The establishment of such a board has been opposed although it is considered by social work standards to be the most efficient means of administering state aid. The casework with families whose children have been committed to the Milwaukee County Home for Dependent Children is handled by the probation department of the juvenile court, a department already carrying a heavy caseload with delinquents. A county board of public welfare should assume this casework service. The state authorizes the establishment of children's boards in all counties but Milwaukee. If the pressure against a county board of welfare is too great, the establishment of a

children's board to assume casework service with families of children committed to the Milwaukee County Home for Dependent Children and unmarried mothers could do much to relieve the situation. The statutes provide that cases of unmarried mothers be handled through the State Department of Public Welfare, Children's Division, but there is no local board to cooperate with these activities of the state board. Instead, the Children's Division delegates its cases of unmarried mothers to private agencies. Only when the Division can find no agency to take a case does it enter into it itself.

Public departments should devote themselves to such work

"as is based on principles that are well-established, require the more permanent care, are more general in application, or contain an element of compulsion or control, while private organizations should seek development in directions that are more experimental, require more temporary care, are more unusual in their application, or are carried on with the cooperation of the families benefitted." (18)

(18) G. C. Carstens, "A Community Plan in Children's Work", Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1915, 95

Besides its program for aid to children in their own homes, Milwaukee county provides institutional and foster home care for children who may be in need of permanent care through the Milwaukee County Home for Dependent Children. However, the care of unmarried mothers, which the state recognizes by law as a public responsibility, and which is often a case for long-time or permanent care and contains

an element of compulsion or control, is not, for the most part, delegated to a public agency, as has been mentioned above. There are also several private agencies in Milwaukee county which control a large number of long-time care dependent children and are providing for them through institutional and some foster home care. These agencies are controlled through religious affiliations. The Children's Aid Society and the Children's Service Association, except for their work with unmarried mothers, have developed programs of specialized care, cases for temporary care, and experimental work which set them up as adhering to the standards expected of a private agency. Their work with unmarried mothers, as was explained previously, has been essayed by these agencies because of the lack of public facilities for their care.

"To prevent the worst type of individual or agency from exploiting the child, it is necessary to give the State power over all agencies, the best included, for law to be constitutional must be uniform in its application. The real nub of the argument, probably, lies in the manner in which the licensing power of the State is exercised, the contention of some private agencies being that such power may result in restriction and unwarranted regulation and eventual control. This danger must be admitted in theory, though experience seems to show that private philanthropy on the whole shapes its own destiny and that public opinion can be relied upon to protect it from undue State interference." (19)

The Wisconsin Statutes provide for the licensing of child welfare agencies and issuing of permits to foster homes through the Child Welfare Division of the State Department of Public Welfare. No evidence was available which would show that these provisions are inadequate.

The services of a public department of welfare are summarized by the Council of Social Agencies of Milwaukee county:

- "1. Administration of aid to children in their own homes under the Aid to Dependent Children act.
2. Provision of public foster care for dependent and neglected children
 - 1.) for long time care cases there should be emphasis on a foster boarding home program.
 - 2.) for some cases needing diagnosis, study and short time care, an institution may well be part of the program.
3. Responsibility to children of unmarried parents.
4. Responsibility for investigation, issuing of permits and supervision of unlicensed boarding homes. Service to the child, his family, and to the foster parents.
5. Responsibilities for investigation and recommendation to the court of adoption cases.
6. Responsibility for children for whom large expenditures of money are needed and which could be met only with great difficulty by the private agencies." (20)

(20) Resources for Dependent and Neglected Children in Milwaukee County, op. cit., 127

The provisions for aid to dependent children in their own homes and foster home and institutional care in Milwaukee county have already been discussed, as have the

responsibility to children of unmarried mothers and investigation, issuing of permits and supervision of welfare agencies and foster homes. Since the State Department of Public Welfare has no local unit, the responsibility for investigation and recommendation to the court of adoption cases rests with the Milwaukee County Home for Dependent Children, the Adoptions Division of the County Court, and the various private agencies. In a limited number of cases, the State Department investigator will do the work.

"The impracticability of a state agency attempting to render adequate casework service in a community without a local, public unit is apparent. It is generally recognized that casework service can be efficiently administered only by agencies which are close at hand." (21)

(21) Ibid., 78

In the field of child welfare it is generally assumed that the services of a state supervisory authority are of value in setting standards of work, below which no agency may fall and be allowed to continue; by stimulating higher standards of work by rendering consultation service; by conferences with executives and board members, and by sponsoring group conferences and interchange of experiences between agencies; by co-ordinating facilities for children; by giving protective care not provided locally; and by developing uniformity of records, reports, and statistics. (22)

(22) Ibid., 78

How far it can be said that the Child Welfare Division of the State Department of Public Welfare assumes these responsibilities is a question. If delegating the tasks to local agencies is assuming responsibility, there can be no accusation that the Division is not doing its work. By supervising and licensing child welfare agencies and issuing permits to foster homes it does set standards below which no agency may fall and be allowed to continue. However, the work of stimulating higher standards of work, organization conferences, and coordinating facilities is work done by the Milwaukee County Council of Social Agencies. The protective care not provided locally is delegated to various agencies. Uniformity of records, reports, and statistics has also been arranged through the Council of Social Agencies, the Children's Bureau and the State Pension Department. If it is the task of the Child Welfare Division to delegate its work to others, it has done its job well. But it would seem that according to the standards set for social work in the United States, the greatest weakness in the program for dependent children in Milwaukee county, lies in the inadequate public facilities for care, which has been assumed as a public responsibility by state law, through inadequate promotion on the part of the State Department of Public Welfare, Child Welfare Division.

The standards for private welfare agencies set by the Milwaukee County Council of Social Agencies are as follows:

- "1. Social case service to children in their own homes.
2. Foster care, including foster boarding care and institutional care
3. Temporary care cases emphasized, especially where no commitment is indicated.
4. Cooperative services emphasized, with the child's own parents or relatives, as cases where they meet cost of boarding care, in full or in part. This might include cases where cost of service is also met by parents or relatives.
5. Difficult, problem children emphasized as those requiring especially trained workers and low case loads.
6. Unmarried mothers and their children on a selective basis only." (23)

(23) Ibid., 129

The emphasis in private agency work is on short-time care and away from long-time care and the accompanying heavy expenses, which are believed to be public responsibilities. The private agencies in Milwaukee county are emphasizing cases which involve temporary care, specialized care, and work with children in their own homes, but they carry the additional burden of investigating adoption cases, issuing permits to foster homes, and casework service with unmarried mothers, not on a selective basis, which have already been emphasized as responsibilities of a public agency. However, there are private religious agencies which provide long-time institutional care for dependent children.

"Authorities generally recognize that institutional care over a long period of time tends to unfit most children for later living in a family group. No child can be expected to be institutionalized throughout life, and therefore he should have the opportunity to

grow and develop normally in a family group which is the right of every so-called normal child." (24)

(24) Ibid., 55

Besides the fact that long-time care is a public responsibility, agencies should not continue the use of institutions for such care. It is generally assumed that foster home care is much better than institutional care, and great efforts should be made to see that children do not stay in institutions for too long a period. The Milwaukee Orphan Asylum has a policy by which a child is not allowed to remain in the institution for longer than three years. If no adjustment can be made to return him to his home, he is placed in a boarding home. The last few years have seen the adoption of a boarding home program at the Milwaukee County Home for Dependent Children, but there also, too much reliance is placed on institutional care.

"As a part of a program for child welfare, it is desirable to have an agency providing protective care through the availability of social services for children in families in which there are domestic difficulties and separation and divorce of parents. Many children under the care of children's agencies are from such families." (25)

(25) Ibid., 296

The Department of Conciliation of the Family Court provides these facilities for Milwaukee county. Direct care for children served by the Department is provided by other agencies and the Department may be used by the agencies.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

A survey of the material gathered here on the present care of dependent children in Milwaukee county, leads to the general conclusion that although the public program for aid to these children in their own homes meets the national standards, the public program for the care of these children outside their own homes and care for unmarried mothers and their children are wholly inadequate.

The conclusions which can be made from the statistical evidence presented here are as follows:

1. Milwaukee ranks thirteenth among thirty-four urban areas for per capita net expenditures for child welfare services under public and private auspices.
2. Two-thirds of Milwaukee's expenditures came through public sources.
3. In cities comparable in size, Milwaukee has an equal or greater amount of money to spend from public than from private sources.
4. In comparison with cities near its own size, Milwaukee has the smallest number of children under protective or foster home care, and the largest number being cared for in institutions.
5. Generally speaking, in the thirty-four urban areas, care in homes of parents or relatives is used to a much greater extent by private than by public agencies, boarding homes are used slightly more often by public than by private agencies, more children are cared for in institutions by private agencies than by public agencies, and free and work homes are used negligibly by both.
6. Milwaukee county, to the contrary, spends more of public funds than private on institutional care, and less for foster home care.
7. Milwaukee county receives much larger amounts from local public funds than do any of the other five areas, except Buffalo, though Buffalo spends its on foster home care, while Milwaukee's is expended for institutional care.
8. Per capita expenditures from private funds are considerably lower in Milwaukee than in any of the other five areas.

9. Milwaukee county stands second highest among the six areas in the amount of money spent for direct aid to dependent children, and spends considerably more than is spent in four of the areas.
10. In comparison with thirty-four urban areas, Milwaukee is included in the group expending the largest sums of money for aid to dependent children.

The general needs of the program for dependent children in Milwaukee county are concluded to be as follows:

1. Need for casework service with families of children committed to the Milwaukee County Home for Dependent Children and greater use of boarding home care by that institution.
2. Need for casework service with children and families of children temporarily committed to the Milwaukee County Home for Dependent Children and greater effort to return these children to their homes.
3. Need for a public agency to handle state aid to dependent children, adoption investigations, casework service with unmarried mothers and their children, and temporary dependency cases.
4. Need for state legislation to provide a local unit to work with the Child Welfare Division of the State Department of Public Welfare.
5. Greater expenditure of public and private funds on foster home care rather than institutional care.
6. Insistence that children requiring long-time care be taken care of through a public rather than a private agency.
7. Need for the co-ordination of public services to dependent children.
8. Abolition of legal county residence status in dealing with dependent children and unmarried mothers, particularly by private agencies.
9. Need for the co-ordination of services of private agencies.
10. Need for a program to acquaint the public with child welfare needs, especially the necessity for more foster homes.

Although the listing of ten inadequacies in a county-wide program may appear to paint a gloomy picture of the

present status of care for dependent children in Milwaukee county, a glance over the period of the last one hundred years and the progress that has been made in the last twenty-five years makes the picture seem brighter. Consideration of the facts that such children have been removed from almshouses where they mingled with the dregs of society, that they were later removed from reformatories and separated from delinquents and feeble-minded, and that they are today considered a separate problem in themselves and attempts are made to place them in the best possible substitute for a real home--a foster home--it is easier to see the advance that has been made and will continue to be made. In considering a period of one hundred years, the foster home program and individual casework service are recent innovations and there is hope that they will be developed to a greater extent by public and private agencies. The development of aid to dependent children in their homes has made the greatest strides of any child welfare movement, and it has increased from the doling out of a few dollars weekly by private individuals and isolated counties to become a national program. It followed the pattern of growth of most child welfare movements from private initiative to public responsibility. It may be that the same course will be followed in the care of unmarried mothers and their children. Certainly the private agencies are taking the initiative in handling such cases, although the law recognizes public responsibility. At least, the law brings all such cases into the open where they may

be given social casework service, and in time there may be a public agency organized to handle them. It might even be expected that a plan for the future will bring national aid to unmarried mothers and their children and to a foster home program with federal insistence on state and local units to administer such aid. Whatever the future may hold in the way of such development, it remains that the above needs show the inadequacies of the present program and some effort should be made to handle them at the present time.

A PLAN FOR THE FUTURE

The first step in rectifying the weaknesses of Milwaukee county's program for dependent children and in organizing a plan for the future, would be passage of a law which would make mandatory the establishment of a county board of public welfare. The Children's Division of the Department of Public Assistance, which had taken over so many of the tasks which should be delegated to such a board, would have made an excellent nucleus for the organization of such a board, had it not been abolished in 1942. Two tasks which could be transferred to the new board would be casework service with families of children committed to the Milwaukee County Home for Dependent Children and the administration of aid to dependent children. Those administrators and case workers now engaged in the State Aid Department of the Juvenile Court could continue in their work except that grants of aid would be made by the board rather than by the juvenile court. By relieving the court of casework with families of children committed to the Home and of making decisions on state aid to dependent children, the court could more easily handle its casework with delinquent children, and a better standard of casework service could be expected on the children committed to the Home.

The new board would also have on its staff social workers who are especially trained to make adoption investigations, and these workers would handle all adoption cases for the Milwaukee County Home for Dependent Children and for

children of unmarried mothers. Casework service to all unmarried mothers and their children which are not handled on a selective basis by private agencies would come within the province of the new board. It would be expected that the field workers placed in Milwaukee county by the State Department of Public Welfare would work in close cooperation with the local unit.

It is easy to see that the establishment of a county public welfare board would do a great deal to co-ordinate the public services for dependent children. Until such a board can be established, there is little hope for such co-ordination.

In the case of the private agencies, the establishment of a county board would relieve the case load of unmarried mothers and allow them to exert greater effort on the specialized cases which they should carry. Greater efforts should be made to insist on foster home rather than institutional care for both private and public agencies. It has been shown that the Milwaukee County Home for Dependent Children has a boarding home program, but it should be expanded. There are too many children in private institutions for long periods of time and the expenditure of money for this is too great. There must be greater insistence on boarding home placement, pressure through the fund-raising agency, if necessary. At the same time cases requiring long-time care should not be handled by private agencies, but should be turned over to a public agency. Many private agencies do refer cases which develop into long-time care to the Milwaukee

County Home for Dependent Children, but those having their own institutions tend to keep such cases. If these agencies would develop boarding home programs there would be no reason to turn the cases over to the county, except that there is a growing concept that long-time care is a public responsibility.

Private agencies should co-ordinate their services so that they are not duplicating each other. It would seem that six Catholic orphanages is a large number to deal with one special group of dependent children, even though it represents a great proportion of this type of case. It is to be hoped that these agencies will in time discontinue the expenditures of large sums of money and effort on institutional care for long-time cases, and turn to the boarding home program which is gaining more and more emphasis. The Children's Service Association and the Children's Aid Society should be able to co-ordinate their services so that there would be no duplication of effort and a re-organization of the two into one would probably facilitate administration and casework service. Such a combination would do a great deal to remove the constant barrier of legal residence status in dealing with dependent children and unmarried mothers, since the Children's Aid Society is a state-wide organization and the Children's Service Association works principally in Milwaukee county.

The legal county residence status is a constant annoyance in handling child welfare problems. County agencies, of necessity, must observe such practice, and the problems

of non-residents must be left to the discretion of private agencies. It is obvious that county-operated public agencies must observe the statutes and handle resident cases, but the private agencies could take the initiative in removing the legal county resident status from their intake policy.

The growing use of boarding home care for dependent and neglected children brings the public and private agencies face to face with a problem which they alone can not solve, and that is the need for good foster homes. There seems to be a certain stigma attached to taking children into homes for pay, even though the amount is so small that it barely meets expenses. It would seem that a fund-raising organization such as the Milwaukee County Community Fund with its public relations set-up and staff for handling publicity in regard to its own program, could greatly assist the public and private child welfare agencies in promoting an organized program using all the campaign devices to acquaint the public with the need for more foster homes and by this program remove whatever stigma there is attached to the idea and place it on a status with any other patriotic or public-spirited effort being promoted at this time. The need for foster homes is increasing and growth in the number of foster homes available would do much to promote their use.

The tendencies of the past ten years in child welfare should indicate to some degree the trend of the future. The growth in aid to dependent children in their own homes through public funds, which has developed from a community

to a nation-wide basis indicates a growing interest on the part of the federal government in child welfare needs, an interest which may develop into national assistance in other fields of child welfare work. The growth in the use of foster home care for children requiring long-time care would seem to indicate that in time it will, for the most part, supercede institutional care. It is to be remembered, of course, that the institution will continue to function as an intake agency, a place where a child can be placed and studied before a definite program can be determined for him, and it has its uses for children who are in temporary care or who would not respond to a foster home, as well as for special types of dependency such as the feeble-minded, crippled, advanced behavior problems, blind, deaf et cetera. The passage of laws recognizing public responsibility for unmarried mothers and children born out of wedlock and the assumption of casework service in such cases should lead to a definite program in this field. In the past ten years this problem has been brought into the open and is being attacked as any other social problem, removing the stigma from the child and attempting rehabilitation of the mother to remove the possibilities of recidivism. Schools have been established to train social case workers in special fields of investigation in order that child welfare work will have the advantage of trained workers. Through the efforts of the Children's Bureau and other organizations, record keeping has developed along more or less systematic

and regular lines so that data can be gathered to show trends and certain phenomena. Standards of social work service have developed with every indication pointing toward increased efficiency. General attitudes among social workers and child welfare agencies show an interest in developing along progressive lines, but the machinery of change is cumbersome and people are reluctant to make the changes if it looks as if their positions will be jeopardized. The problem of making these change-overs would be partially solved if the people involved were made to feel that they would be included in the new situation. As far as Milwaukee county is concerned, a definite plan of action with definite purposes and personnel would probably meet with less opposition and greater success than an indefinite blanket proposal. This would be particularly true in the proposal for a county board of public welfare or the consolidation of private agencies, and whatever other changes are made or disregarded, the organization of such a board seems the most important step toward solving the present needs for the care of dependent children in Milwaukee county.

Examination of the records for the past two years would seem to indicate that there has been a gradual increase in the number of cases of dependent children and unmarried mothers, and social workers seem to believe that they will continue to increase as a result of the war, due to various reasons. The war has not been of long enough duration to indicate any decided trends as early as 1943, but the agencies are expecting an increase in cases.

Whatever the trend may develop, Milwaukee county should be ready with its public as well as private agencies to meet the situation with approved social work standards and the establishment of a county board of welfare would certainly facilitate any such work.

In spite of the weaknesses in Milwaukee county's program for dependent children, it has been clearly shown that Milwaukee does rank high in comparison with other similar areas of the United States, and as has been pointed out, in some instances, has led the way in advancing ideas for child welfare.

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