

THE BEGINNINGS OF FOSTER CARE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA:
1900-1930

by

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ABSTRACT

Although much has been written in the field of family history since Phillipe Aires' Centuries of Childhood (1962), the study of foster care in its various forms has received less attention. Themes concerning orphans and foster children do, however, appear quite often in literature and dramatic works.

Two academic articles from Iceland and Brazil respectively discuss historical material relating to foster children and orphans in the 19th century. Themes from these articles, about the role of kin and neighbours in foster care, and the use of orphans to meet labour shortages, are discussed as background to the B.C. study.

The constitutional-legal framework and social welfare policies adopted in British Columbia in the 1900-1930 period were under Anglo-American influence, with influences from Ontario being most direct. B.C. established some level of economic security for women and children with the establishment of women's pensions in 1920 and in 1927 the B.C. Survey of Child Welfare made recommendations for supervised foster care, that is, foster care subsidized by government and supervised by social workers.

Although the legislation mandated "approved foster homes" as early as 1901, and envisaged temporary placement with children's aid societies (CAS) until such homes could be found, the annual reports and discharge summaries of the CASSs, and the records of the Superintendent of Neglected Children show that this option was largely ignored. Not until overcrowding and medical crises forced the issue did CASSs turn to foster care as an option.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	iv
Acknowledgement	v
Chapter 1	1
Introduction	1
A Literary Overview	4
Comparative Research from Iceland and Brazil	7
Constitutional-Legal Background	12
Mothers' Pensions or Professional Casework	17
British Columbia's Experience with Foster Care 1900-1930	21
The 1927 <u>B.C. Child Welfare Study</u>	21
B.C. Superintendent of Neglected Children 1919-1930...	23
Children's Aid Societies (Vancouver, Victoria and Vancouver Catholic) 1901-1930	29
Data Analysis, 1922-1930	35
Conclusion	38
Notes	41
Bibliography	49
Appendix	54

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Discharge Sumaries Vancouver Children's Aid Society Reported Monthly 1922-1929	54
Table 2	Discharge Sumaries Vancouver Catholic Children's Aid Society Reported Monthly 1922-1929	57
Table 3a	Discharge Summaries Vancouver Children's Aid Society Cumulative by Year 1922-1929	58
Table 3a	Discharge Summaries Vancouver Catholic Children's Aid Society Cumulative by Year 1922-1929	58

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In recent years a considerable popular and academic interest in family history has developed, both in Canada and internationally, as a subset of social history. This interest has been further developed as insights derived from psychology and sociology about how families work -- and do not -- have combined with feminist perspectives about the contribution of women in devising and implementing economic survival strategies.¹

In the thirty-four years since Phillipe Aires published Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life², many good studies have been done in the field of family history, women's studies and studies of childhood. In Canada for instance, such works as those of Joy Parr³, Neil Sutherland⁴, and Bettina Bradbury⁵ provided a foundation for a number of more recent works dealing with child welfare concerns.⁶ Scholarship in the fields of social policy issues,⁷ and studies of gender and the welfare state⁸ and the organizational dynamics of bureaucracy,⁹ have also made contributions.

The perspective Aires developed in Centuries of Childhood was that one consequence of industrialization was the privatization of the family, the exclusion of public elements from the household. This thesis has been further refined and tested in such studies as Harevan's Industrial Time and Family Time.¹⁰ Harevan challenges the assumption that families and kin groups break down under the impact of migration to urban industrial centres. An insight flowing from that labour study is the importance of kinship ties and

extended family played in the family dynamics of a stable New England working-class community. In particular, Harevan was able to show that a large number of Quebec families, who migrated to work in a New England textile factory over several generations, maintained both their family ties with their place of origin, and links with each other over an extended period of time.¹¹

While considerable work has been done studying families, including working class families in Canada, much less has been written on "broken" families, including surrogate families and the foster care experience. The experience of children who lived in foster care arrangements, both formal and informal, especially in the period before the modern foster care system was firmly set in place, is largely unrecorded. A popular theme in Western literary and dramatic traditions is the situation of orphans and children in various settings of foster care. Although foster children and/or orphans are quite often featured in literary works, their experience is clearly outside the mainstream of Canadian historical writing.¹²

In this paper I will look at the beginnings of foster care in British Columbia in the period 1900-1930. The population base in B.C. in this period was relatively small in 1901, 178,657, but by 1931 it had grown to 694,263¹³. This rapid growth meant dislocation and break down of extended families. The climate of social welfare policy was greatly influenced by trends in Ontario, Britain and the U.S. However, B.C. also had its own history in this regard with features particular to it. I see the period 1900-1930 as a

transitional phase in the development of foster care in British Columbia - a transition from the traditional community-based and informal arrangements, to the beginnings of the modern social welfare state that emerged in the 1930's and beyond.

In discussing historical periods, scholars have identified an earliest stage of historical development as a "proto" stage - as in "proto-industrial" or "proto-nationalist".¹⁴ In that sense, the period I am looking at, 1900-1930, could be identified as a "proto-social welfare state" period of foster care. State intervention in organizing and supervising foster care took place mainly at the provincial level. The period opens with the provincial government's proclamation of the 1901 B.C. Child Protection Act [S.B.C. 1901 ch. 9] and the formation of children's aid societies (CASs), and concludes with a cluster of changes which mark the professionalization of social work, including changes to the legislation following on the 1927 B.C. Child Welfare Survey¹⁵, [hereafter the 1927 Survey], and the founding of a Department of Social Work at U.B.C. in 1930.

In this paper, after a brief overview of literary works dealing with foster care and orphans, I will discuss two recent articles, one from Iceland and one from Brazil, about foster children and orphans in a 19th century context. These two recent studies reflect two different scholarly traditions and provide excellent examples of the legal/juridical and demographic approaches. In the first, the role of kinfolk and neighbours in fostering children is demonstrated. In the second, the way in which

orphans were used to meet labour shortages is shown. I will consider the insights derived from these articles in the context of available material concerning foster care in British Columbia in the early years of the twentieth century.

After discussing the two articles from the point of view both of their method and their conclusions, I will offer some constitutional-legal background, consider the tension between the economic security and the professional casework approach to social welfare and examine records of the Superintendent of Neglected Children, Children's Aid Societies and the Alexander Non-Sectarian Orphanage for materials concerning foster care in the study period.

I will argue that foster care was not a new concept introduced by the 1927 Survey, rather the survey and developments surrounding it drastically changed the form of foster care. The new aspect promoted by the 1927 Survey, was "supervised foster care"; the professional casework approach to foster care, subsidized by government and supervised by professional social workers.

A Literary Overview

Both the Bible¹⁶ and the Koran¹⁷ have commentaries on the fate of children who lost their parents. The plaintiff cry of Motherless Child¹⁸ is one of the most evocative of the traditional spirituals derived from the U.S. slave experience.

A popular theme in Western literary and dramatic traditions are orphans and children in various settings of foster care, from

Charles Dickens' Oliver Twist to Little Orphan Annie. One of the most famous orphans, is Canada's Anne of Green Gables, created by Lucy Maude Montgomery and set in Prince Edward Island. The 1996 closing season of the CBC's Road to Avonlea, based on that series of novels, includes a depiction of the efforts of the good citizens of the community to build an orphanage in 1912. The 1993 Governor General's award winning Stone Diaries, by Carol Shields, traces the life of the protagonist from her earliest years. She was sent away by her father, after her mother died in childbirth. Although the father sent money from time to time to the foster mother who raised her, the child had no real parental links with her father and the sense of loss that gave the protagonist is vividly depicted. The kind of foster care arrangement described in Stone Diaries falls outside of the official recordkeeping of children's aid societies but that experience forms part of an overall profile of forms of foster care during the period.

Cartoon characters like Little Orphan Annie, taken in by the arms merchant Warbucks, and Superman, taken in by the Kent family, exemplify ways that U.S. popular culture has treated the foster/orphan theme. Recent musicals such as Les Misérables and Miss Saigon, have approached the same theme more seriously. The premise of Walt Disney's The Hunchback of Notre Dame relies for emotional effect on the childhood background of Quasimodo. All of these examples illustrate that experience of orphans and foster children is one which lends itself to dramatic expression. The sense of loss, the impetus to overcome adversity, and the claim for

sympathy all contribute to what makes the theme compelling.

Margaret Laurence's classic Canadian novel, The Diviners, set in Western Canada and made into a CBC movie in 1995, treats themes of cultural and personal identity forged through childhood experience - including the theme of loss. The mystery concerning the circumstances of Skinner Tonnerre's father's death and the intertwining of Scottish and Native heritage in Morag's daughter, Pique, are two of the subplots which are evocative of the tensions similar to those faced by foster children.

Two non-fiction literary writers, both from Canada, are also worth noting. In Des fleurs sur la neige and Un noeud dans le coeur, a Québécoise author Elisa T., describes the horrendous chronic abuse that she experienced as a child in Quebec in the 1950's. For her, apprehension at age sixteen and placement of herself and eventually her younger siblings in foster care, was a real liberation from systemic abuse. Elisa T.'s second book, which describes her life as a young adult, her marriage and difficulties raising her own children, provides very significant insight. It clearly outlines how the scars of childhood abuse, if not healed, create ongoing problems for generations. Both books also provide chilling insight into just how necessary it is for society to assume the responsibility to remove children from such a circumstance.

Denise Chong's popular The Concubine's Children, a non-fiction history of the author's mother's family of origin, includes descriptions of abuse and neglect, concerns which would have

justified a determination that the child was "in need of protection" according, at least, to current judicial standards (e.g. p. 83, p. 95, pp. 105-106, p. 109) The book also describes short-term and long-term foster care arrangements made by the family without recourse to any state agency, and without any state supervision. (p. 117, p. 141)

The Australian feminist Germaine Greer's non-fiction narrative Daddy We hardly Knew You!, is similarly instructive. It is the account of the author's search to uncover the truth about her father's background, which had been kept a mystery. It emerges that he was raised by foster parents in Australia in the early years of this century. In an attempt to obliterate that past, he created a false persona for himself which Greer uncovered only after extensive research. The book also provides an interesting account of Australian child protection system in the early years of this century. ¹⁹

Comparative Research from Iceland and Brazil

Two studies of the 19th century, one on foster care set in southern Iceland, or Arnessysla, and the other on orphans, set in the northeastern municipality of Campina Grande, Brazil, provide interesting insights from a methodological perspective and challenging conclusions for anyone studying attitudes towards foster children and orphans in Canadian provinces.

Gunnlaugsson's 1993 Icelandic study, "'Everyone's Been Good to Me, Especially the Dogs'"²⁰ combines demographic and anecdotal

material to construct a picture of the frequency of foster care arrangements and to investigate how often there were "kinship ties between the foster children and the families to which they belonged"²¹. Primarily demographic, this study relies on census statistics, parish records and catechetical registers, combined with comparative material from other European countries.

The author notes that little historical literature has been written to date about child abandonment and foster children, citing David I. Kertzer, that in "typical studies of household composition, no attention is given to children who are not related to the household head"²². Gunnlaugsson found that the incidents of foster placement were relatively common in nineteenth-century Southern Iceland, ranging from 2.5% to 18.3% of all children in one study of seven parishes in 1801 to 1816.²³ In Arnessysla, Gunnlaugsson concludes, "every fourth household included a foster-child in 1845, while almost every fifth did in 1870"²⁴.

The study analyses the available material to reconstruct the life-histories of 50 children from birth until they became foster children, and in some cases beyond that point. The results show both that a high proportion of foster children were illegitimate, 36% in 1845 and 56% in 1870, and that "the majority of foster-children were either fostered by kin or by families living in the immediate neighbourhood of the natal-parents"²⁵. These were more intimate settings than we might expect.

Fostering in nineteenth-century southern Iceland does not seem to have been as closely linked with child abandonment in the sense it has in many other European countries, where parents voluntarily or involuntarily

left their children in foundling homes.²⁶

He suggests that the two main reasons for foster placements of legitimate children were: "(1) the premature death of a parent, and (2) difficulties in providing for large number of offspring"²⁷. He illustrates each scenario with a detailed account of one child. In his sample, 60% of foster-children resided with grandparents or uncles/aunts. Another 20% resided with non-related persons living in the close vicinity. This leads him to conclude that the dominant form of foster care in nineteenth-century southern Iceland was "close relatives rearing the children of impoverished kin."

The demographic method employed in the Icelandic study provides an interesting and provocative approach to the historic reconstruction of who participated in foster care, and why. However, such an approach could not be applied directly to British Columbia in the same or slightly later period because of the differences in the quality and quantity of available data for B.C. For example, a review of the 1891 Census of Canada²⁸, shows that there was no category provided for foster children. But one of the questions asked of Canadians, which provides an indirect measure of the presence of foster children, was the number of families residing in a house of habitation. A family was defined a "one person alone, or any number of people under one roof having their food provided together, e.g. boarding house with several parents, children and servants would only constitute one census family provided they had no home elsewhere".²⁹ Examination of the original census documents themselves reveals that it should be

possible to determine the number and identity of children who were not related to the head of household, because the designation S (Son) and D (Daughter) were utilized for children who were so related. The problem with such indirect measuring, of course, is that no information other than the name and age of the child is provided.

Whether or not a comparable method of investigation can be applied directly to researching the beginnings of foster care in British Columbia, the Gunnlaugsson study provides important insights into factors that influence such foster care arrangements. More generally than that, the study highlights the reality that preceding any direct state involvement in the establishment of a formal foster care system, informal fostering arrangements were made by kin and neighbours to provide for the care of children in times of need.

Turning to the Brazilian study, "Orphans and the Transition from Slave to Free Labour in Northeast Brazil: The Case of Campina Grande, 1850-1888" by Joan Mezmar³⁰, we find a profile of the economic climate and labour crisis in the immediate post-slavery period, and an examination of notarial and judicial records in the author's attempt to discover the extent of the economic motivation for invoking guardianship arrangements.

Mezmar examines the economic role of orphans from a legal-historical perspective, through the records of the judicial process of guardianship appointments. Certain unique features of the Brazilian law of guardianship are discussed, in particular that the

prospective guardian was required to post a soldada or yearly stipend for each child, the funds to be provided to the child when he/she reached maturity. In the case of female children, the guardian had the option of posting a soldada or guaranteeing the arrangement of her marriage.³¹ Meznar explains that the state actively intervened to protect the property rights of children, and the guardianship, or tutoria, system played an important role in the transmission of property from one generation to the next. However, the system was not limited in its application to the propertied classes; it was utilized with respect to poor orphans as well, especially during periods of labour shortage. When labour was in short supply, "bidding wars" developed between prospective guardians, and as a part of this, accusations against the integrity of the natural mothers would increase.³² The vulnerability of single mothers arose from their lack of an honourable male protector. In Meznar's words:

The law stipulated that only widows who lived honestly should be entrusted with the responsibility of raising children without a father. Thus, accusations against the moral rectitude of single mothers might free their children to work for others. As the cotton boom accelerated after 1861, so too did such accusations against poor mothers.³³

She further argues that tutorias were used to ease the transition from slavery to free labour. The tutores bore many similarities to slave labour, and were utilized extensively in Campina Grande especially during the labour crisis of 1865-70.³⁴

The Brazilian study demonstrates convincingly that during the period of labour shortage in Northeast Brazil, orphans were used to

meet that shortage and the system of guardianship was the legal instrument for making those arrangements. The system of soldada stands in marked contrast to the modern foster care system where the state actually pays a stipend to the foster parents to care for children.

Constitutional-Legal Background

The circumstances of British Columbia at the turn of the century were quite different from that of southern Iceland or Northeastern Brazil. But B.C. too had to face the problem of caring for children whose parents were unable to do so. Besides the type of informal foster care arrangements recorded by Gunnlaugsson and described, for example, in the novel Stone Diaries, or in Denise Chong's account, a formal system of state intervention was crystallized in B.C. during the period.

For thousands of years, human beings have lived in organized human societies on the territory of what is now known as British Columbia. But not until the nineteenth century were European values, laws and institutions imposed. By the time of the 1891 census, twenty years after B.C. became a province of Canada, Native peoples represented just over one third of the recorded population in B.C.³⁵ At no time were Native people in B.C. conquered nor did they surrender jurisdiction to anyone. That did not prevent governments at various levels from assuming jurisdiction over Native peoples and making decisions for and about them. Federal authorities with the collaboration of religious

orders established a system of Indian Residential Schools in B.C. which by design went far beyond "education" to achieve full assimilation and cultural genocide.

According to the 1871 Terms of Union and the 1867 British North America Act which it modified, areas such as health, education, property and civil rights, and law enforcement were reserved to the provinces. Within provincial jurisdiction, municipalities were delegated to be concerned with "the relief of poverty". Jurisdiction over "Indians and lands reserved to Indians" was reserved to the federal government, although by the 1950's, the provinces' role in providing social welfare services to Native peoples was established.

The judicial system in B.C. was established in 1857 when the territorial unit of B.C. came into being and the first Chief Justice Begbie was appointed. In that same year the B.C. Police Force was formed.³⁶ The law affecting guardianship of children in British Columbia has much older roots in the British common law tradition. Wardship of children dated back to the Court of Wards and Liveries. In a 1986 decision, Re Eve,³⁷ the Supreme Court of Canada discusses this background. Justice La Forest, speaking for the Court notes that:

Wardship of children had a quite separate origin as a property right arising out of the feudal system of tenures. The original purpose of the wardship jurisdiction was to protect the rights of the guardian rather than of the ward.... When tenures and the Court of Wards were abolished, the concept of wardship should, in theory, have disappeared. It was kept alive, however, by the Court of Chancery, which justified it as an aspect of its parens patriae jurisdiction."³⁸

The parens patriae jurisdiction of the Court underlies and takes precedence over any specific legislative enactment. The Court sees itself as the protector of children and will, in appropriate circumstances, act to protect their interests. One troubling question arises -- how did the transition occur from the concept, developed in the 19th century and earlier, that the Court would authorize or sanction a child to be the ward of another, (like the Brazilian guardianship system) to the modern social welfare state model in which the Court determines that children requiring protection are to become "wards of the state". I suggest that it was state sanction for the creation of charitable children's aid societies (CASs) which facilitated this transition. One cannot help but note that Justice La Forest's description of the earlier guardianship system as protecting the rights of the guardian sounds similar to the Brazilian guardianship system as described by Meznar. One is left to wonder whose rights are protected when the state is the guardian of a child.

Although there were never poorhouses in British Columbia, British institutions established in B.C. were based on assumptions about social welfare dating back to the Elizabethan Poor Law (1601) -- that there existed a public responsibility to care for the poor. The statutory responsibility for the "relief of the poor" was set out in the Municipalities Act [S.B.C. 1871 ch. 35] of 1871 and in 1880 a "Destitute, Poor and Sick Fund" directly administered by M.L.A.'s was established to provide relief outside municipalities.

The Child Protection Act [S.B.C. 1901, ch. 9] was adopted in

1901 and children's aid societies in Vancouver and Victoria were formed that same year. The Child Protection Act envisioned the establishment of local charities, called children's aid societies, which under the Act would assume responsibility for abandoned, neglected and orphaned children. It provided for the legal transfer of guardianship of such children to children's aid societies. The 1901 Act provided for the Superintendent of Police to visit foster homes (Sec. 3(a)) and to see that the CASS kept records (Sec 3(b)). The legislation provided for "approved foster homes" (Sec. 5) and stated that it was the duty of the CASS to "use special diligence in providing suitable foster homes for such children". (Sec. 7(1))

The British Columbia Child Protection Act of 1901 was based on Ontario legislation adopted in the previous decade.³⁹ It, in turn, relied heavily on Australia's Child Protection Act of 1872, England's Protection Act of 1889 and the findings of the 1891 Ontario Prison Reform Commission.⁴⁰ In 1911, the Infants Act [S.B.C. 1911, ch. 107] consolidated legislation relating to minors, including guardianship and apprenticeship of minors, infant contracts, settlements, leases, etc. illegitimate children's support, protection of children and youthful offenders. From 1911 to 1920 the Children's Aid Societies were monitored by the Inspector of Municipalities.⁴¹ In 1918, the Infant's Act was amended to provide for a Superintendent of Neglected Children. The next year, the first Superintendent of Neglected Children was appointed. His duties were, amongst other things, to make annual reports to the Attorney General. In 1920, the first Adoption Act

[S.B.C. 1920, ch. 37] was proclaimed.⁴² Prior to that date as a practical matter the distinction between foster care and adoption was blurred.

Only three CASs were established in B.C. in the period under review, all in the Vancouver or Victoria area, viz. Children's Aid Societies of Victoria and Vancouver in 1901, and the Vancouver Catholic Children's Aid Society in 1905. The 1911 Infant's Act Section 68 stated that a Judge on finding that a child was in need of protection shall commit the child to a children's aid society "and such society may send such child to their temporary home or shelter, to be kept until placed in an approved foster home". In 1923 the Infant's Act was amended by adding that a Judge may by his order "direct delivery of the child to the Superintendent to be placed in a foster home approved by the Superintendent" in addition to the provision that a Judge may commit children to a children's aid society. [S.B.C. 1923 ch. 24 s. 2]. The 1924 consolidation of the Infants Act (1924) repeats the same language. [R.S.B.C. 1936 ch. 128 s. 57] Although the provision for "approved foster homes" existed in legislative form, it was not until the late 1920's and early 1930's that mechanisms were put in place to supervise them.

Despite the appearance of state protection for children, the state was a reluctant child protector. In the first report of the Superintendent of Neglected Children to the legislature on December 23, 1920, the Superintendent makes it clear that the Province was a protector of last resort:

One of the difficulties we had to contend with ... was that many had the mistaken idea that it was the duty of

this Department to follow up all complaints and reports of alleged neglected children and to apprehend same and bring them before the Judge for commitment, for they did not understand that this was the duty of the cities and municipalities and that our responsibility did not begin until after the child had been before the Court and had been proved to be neglected.⁴³

From the inception of the Superintendent's role as government functionary, the deflecting of responsibility away from the provincial government onto the shoulders of local communities, (municipalities) was a constant theme. Yet children's aid societies were not formed in local communities. As mentioned above, only three such societies, mandated by the legislation, existed in the period under review.

Mothers' Pensions or Professional Casework

State regulation and the development of institutions to deal with child protection took place within a broader context of social welfare policy. There has been an interesting interplay both in Canada and in the U.S. of the development of income security programmes for women and children, and the development of the modern casework approach to social work. Mimi Abramovitz's study Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present⁴⁴ discusses the background to the development of child welfare policy in the U.S. and its relationship to the "mothers' pension movement". This discussion is instructive for researching the Canadian situation. Mothers' pensions were first introduced in the U.S. in 1911. In the U.S. as a whole, institutional care of children peaked the year before, in 1910,

when more than 126,000 children, representing more than three per 1,000 of the child population, were placed in institutions. Another 17,999 lived in rudimentary foster-care arrangements. Her remarks about the U.S. apply to Canada:

(h)igh infant mortality rates, outbreaks of contagious diseases, the exploitation of child labour, and the overall poor care provided to the children who survived discredited the original child-saving methods as a way to socialize children and conserve them as an important national resource.⁴⁵

As of 1900, a majority of children in American institutions and foster care had at least one parent living and in 1913, nearly 1,000 New York State children ended up in orphanages due to the illness of widowed mothers; an additional 2,716 were committed because of family poverty.⁴⁶

She argues that the emergence of the social work profession, along with sophisticated family management techniques, (notably mothers' pensions), facilitated the move from institutions and placing-out to care for children at home. Both social casework and groupwork made it possible to organize the family and influence the training of the mother for the proper maintenance of children at home. ⁴⁷ Although no school of social work was established in B.C. until 1930, when a Department of Social work was founded at U.B.C., the influence of child-saving theory and social work technique from the U.S. and Ontario could be felt in the practice of social welfare in B.C.

Similarly, mothers' pensions were a concept developed in the U.S. Abramovitz argues that mothers' pensions were used to enforce patriarchal norms and to distinguish between the "deserving" and

"undeserving" poor and that the programme discriminated according to race. The mothers' pension also signalled a change in the nature of state intervention in family life.

Instead of disrupting family life to assure the proper reproduction of the labour force and the maintenance of the non-working poor, the state stepped in to protect some husbandless women from the insecurities of the market.⁴⁸

Tracing the development of the "mothers' pension movement" in the U.S. and Canada in the period following the White House Conference on Children in 1909, Dennis Guest notes in The Emergence of Social Security in Canada that the White House Conference's "first and justly famous, recommendation declared that a child should not be removed from his home for reasons of poverty alone".⁴⁹ Mothers' pensions were, thus, an early effort to address the problem of child poverty. Historian Diane Matters comments that the demand for mothers' pensions gained enormous ground in the late war years in British Columbia, "in part as a response to the problems of the orphanages, but primarily because of changing attitudes and an increased understanding of the true costs of social dislocations".⁵⁰

The first mothers' pensions, were first introduced in the U.S. in 1911⁵¹. Similar measures, called mothers' allowances were introduced in Manitoba in 1916, and in Ontario in 1920.⁵² In British Columbia, mothers' pensions were adopted in 1920 shortly before a provincial election in which women voted for the first time. It is likely the timing of the measure was influenced by the effort to win women's votes. The pension fund was initially

administered by the provincial Superintendent of Neglected Children, but after six months of operation, the Workmen's Compensation Board took over.⁵³ In the volatile boom and bust economy of B.C., mothers' pension provided some economic security to women and children.

A tension existed between the supporters of mothers' pensions, of providing direct economic security to mothers, and supporters of the professional casework approach to social work. Guest discusses at some length the attack on the mothers' pension concept, in particular that developed by the Canadian Council on Child (and Family) Welfare (C.C.C.W.), the same federally-supported agency responsible for the pivotal 1927 B.C. Survey on Child Welfare. The C.C.C.W. was asked by the B.C. Provincial Government to report on the operation of the Mothers' Pension Act, in 1931, at a time when the provincial budget was straining under the financial pressure of the Depression. Charlotte Whitton, a prominent Ontario social worker and Executive Director of C.C.C.W., concluded in her report that large numbers of mothers and families were receiving mothers' pensions when "the dictates of child protection and sound social work would require cancellation of allowance, and provision for the care of the children under other guardianship and custody".⁵⁴

The provincial government accepted Whitton's recommendations to tighten eligibility and require the municipalities to pay one half of the costs of allowances to their residents. Guest concludes that the government was "grateful to have a rationale for cutting back on services to mothers and their children from such an

impeccable source" as Charlotte Whitton.⁵⁵ Guest suggests that this opposition of the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare to a widening of social security protection in British Columbia in 1931 continues a tradition of social work opposition to income security measures. The Council had, from its outset, "demonstrated its willingness to ignore the relevance of income security measures to the field of child welfare and to impede their implementation".⁵⁶ It is interesting to note that the trend of opposition to income security by private charities and social workers is the same trend noted by Abramovitz for the U.S.⁵⁷

BRITISH COLUMBIA'S EXPERIENCE WITH FOSTER CARE 1900-1930

The 1927 Child Welfare Survey

Studies of social welfare in B.C. usually take the 1927 B.C. Child Welfare Survey⁵⁸, as the beginning point, but in my study of "beginnings" it marks the endpoint. The 1927 Survey, was a study carried out by the Canadian Council on Child Welfare (C.C.C.W.) for the Vancouver Children's Aid Society, in cooperation with other children's aid agencies, financed largely by local service clubs. Adamoski describes it as a "discursive instrument which functioned to tactically profess to various audiences the virtues of professional casework".⁵⁹ The three elements which made up this professional casework approach were: preventative casework, the need for administrative exactitude, and the advisability of a supervised foster care model.

The 1927 Survey was only the first of more than fifteen

surveys done by the C.C.C.W. whose surveys, according to Adamoski, "played a fundamental role in shaping the organizational structure of the Canadian child care/control network".⁶⁰ As the preface to the 1927 Survey states "the purpose of the survey has been not merely, nor even primarily, to write a report but rather to get results." ⁶¹ The survey proposed that the maintenance of wards should be financed entirely by the government, provincial or municipal on an actual per diem, per capita cost basis. The Province accepted this in 1930, and the City of Vancouver, in 1931.⁶² It is noteworthy that 1931 was the same year that the restrictions on mothers' pensions discussed above, were introduced. Although the Depression put a still greater strain on government coffers, the C.C.C.W. succeeded in persuading government that the transition to a professional casework approach was necessary, while cuts to mothers' pensions could also be supported. Through these manoeuvres, the Vancouver Children's Aid Society rose to prominence as the principal proponent in B.C. of the professional casework approach.

While children's aid societies had their statutory basis the Child Protection Act (1901) and subsequent legislation (Infant's Act (1911) and amendments), the children's aid societies were not fully government financed, and were only some of the several organizations operating in the child welfare field. The City of Vancouver operated a Creche, or "foundling home" from 1912-1919.⁶³ In the lower mainland, there were the Loyal Orange and True Blue Home and the Providence Orphanage in New Westminster, the Alexandra

Non-Sectarian Orphanage and the Salvation Army Home in Vancouver, and formal and informal institutional arrangements organized on an ethnic basis. If anything, the Vancouver CAS had been the subject of criticism over the state of its Children's Home and the standard of care provided. Prior to the 1927 Survey, therefore, the Vancouver CAS was really only one of many private charity institutions in the field.

An interesting "slip" in the 1929 Annual Report of the Vancouver CAS provides an insight as to the Society's own account of the timing of the policy shift to foster care. It states: "Some two and a half years ago the Children's Aid Society of Vancouver changed its policy from that of 'Institutional' to 'Foster Home' care and at the same time added a Family Work Department."⁶⁴

This provides some corroboration of Adamoski's thesis that the 1927 Survey was not as "external" a review as the proponents of the survey wished to suggest. Rather, the impetus for the reform came from within the Vancouver CAS itself, in part at least, as a diversion, and cover up of the Wall St. Children's Home scandal (1925-1927). The scandal culminated with charges being brought against the Superintendent of the Vancouver CAS by the Superintendent of Neglected Children. Adanoski suggests that the success of the survey was its ability to divert attention away from criticism of the Children's Home and its management, to the need for legislative, regulatory and budgetary restructuring. By setting "the agenda for public debate" the survey defined the child welfare problem in a way which served the organizational interests of the

CAS.⁶⁵

B.C. Superintendent of Neglected Children 1919-1930

The records of the Superintendent of Neglected Children, identify the B.C. Provincial Police (B.C.P.P.) as the principal instrument for putting onto effect the Superintendent's policies concerning children in the initial period. Requests from out of province social welfare agencies for home studies were routinely directed towards the B.C.P.P, as were requests that the police "look in on" and "keep an eye on" families thought to be of concern.

A review of the files of the B.C. Superintendent of Neglected Children for the period 1919 to 1930 reveals a process of bureaucratic collaboration employed to manage conflict concerning the care of neglected children.⁶⁶

The files cover a fascinating range of materials and subject matter, such as: 1) complaints from the general public and responses, including complaints about parents neglecting to pay child support; 2) reports of the committal of children to the Vancouver CAS⁶⁷ and the Vancouver Catholic CAS⁶⁸ including the actual Orders made and in several cases, transcripts of proceedings;⁶⁹ 3) correspondence between the Superintendent of Neglected Children and the equivalent functionary in other jurisdictions within Canada or in other countries;⁷⁰ 4) confirmation of travel arrangements including telegrams re arrival and vouchers for payment for travel costs. (This includes both transport of children to Vancouver following an Order for Delivery

and transport by train to other provinces in care of the train conductor or the Salvation Army.); and 5) correspondence between the Superintendent and the B.C. Provincial Police [hereinafter B.C.P.P.] concerning not only investigation of potential neglect, but also the conduct of what would now be called "home studies" of prospective foster and adoptive parents.⁷¹ In only the rarest of cases are we given a glimpse of the situation from the point of view of the parents concerned, and rarer still, from that of the child. From the materials a rather vivid picture does emerge of the various means employed by the Superintendent and his principal instrument, the B.C.P.P., in obtaining results mandated in the legislation.

In the period directly after the Superintendent was appointed (1919) there is a distinct theme in the correspondence concerning the delineation of the proper role of the various functionaries with regard to neglected children. Conflicts over responsibilities are apparent, as are the obvious ambiguities within the bureaucracy. For example, in some of the early files, the Superintendent states in rather blunt terms that it is not his function to bring complaints concerning whether or not a child has been neglected, but only to oversee the care of those so committed by the Courts. Despite this, later files show the Superintendent himself as the complainant. Obviously finding the children in need of protection could not be compartmentalized away from overseeing their care, and this would have become more obvious over time. In fact the tension between the investigative, adjudicative and

intervention functions of social workers remains a contemporary problem of child protection.

The centralizing nature of the Superintendent's participation emerges clearly from a viewing of the records he generated. Although the legislation provided for the establishment of Children's Aid Societies, as mentioned the only such societies which were incorporated under that Act were the Vancouver CAS, the Vancouver Catholic CAS and the Victoria CAS. This meant that any children who were apprehended pursuant to the provisions of that Act had to be placed in the care of these agencies. This in turn meant that children from throughout British Columbia were transported from their communities to the lower mainland or Victoria. The case records of the Superintendent contain many records of precisely such rail transport arrangements. (Exceptions were recorded. In one case in March 1922, the Vancouver Catholic C.A.S. approved the placement of a child from the Bulkley Valley with a religious order operating in Fraser Lake, without the necessity of sending her south. One of her brothers was already at the school and a third was being cared for by grandparents. The correspondence makes it clear that it was the policy of the CAS not to care for "half-breeds".⁷²) The policy of transporting children from all over the province to Vancouver and Victoria is an example of centralization in the extreme and of implementation of social policy through the police. Given this narrow scheme of the Act and the rather clumsy method of enforcement, one can only infer that in all other cases than those covered by the Act, informal

arrangements of a community nature were brought about.

Amongst aboriginal people⁷³ informal foster or adoptive arrangements were actually part of a formal kinship system which was recognized as a resource, but rarely taken advantage of.

During the period under review the dominant form of state intervention in Native families was the Indian Residential School system, operated by religious orders. It was not until the 1950's that the Provincial Government assumed responsibility for the social welfare needs of Native British Columbians. This, in turn, led to the massive placement of native children in foster homes, which has been labeled the "60's scoop", referring to the period of the 1960's when native children were placed in foster care in massive numbers.⁷⁴

Just as Carolyn Strange⁷⁵ argues for York (Toronto) in the 1890's, that the low conviction rate for rape can be explained in terms of the severity of the punishment on conviction for a capital offence, in a similar way, the brutal fact that committal meant removal from not only a family but a community, must have acted as a restraint on all parties involved in the process (police, Crown Prosecutors, Judges, etc.) I found one instance in the records where neighbours and other members of a local community took up a petition in support of a mother and her children, urging that the children not be removed from her care, expressing confidence in her potential as a mother and offering concrete support to keep the family together. The petition succeeded and the children remained at home. There is also one instance recorded where a Cowichan

Committee of the Children's Aid Society invited the Superintendent of the Vancouver CAS to come to their area to explain the system and to discuss a particular case where the children were being committed to the Vancouver CAS.⁷⁶

The Superintendent's records show how the day to day reality of managing jurisdictional issues and areas of responsibility required diplomacy and compromise. I will give three examples of how these matters were addressed.

A July 12, 1920 letter to the Superintendent from the Vancouver CAS accompanying a request from Ontario comments that "This kind of work I had done all these years, but it is part of the duties of your office." In another instance, the Loyal True Blue and Orange Orphanage wrote to the Superintendent in October 1922 asking for a stipend for a child who had been committed to their care by the Court. The reply pointed out that the institution was not one that was entitled to receive wards at all, describing the committal as "irregular". At the same time, the Government made a voluntary contribution of \$1,000 to the institution. The follow up letter from the Orphanage, thanking the Government for the contribution, conceded the jurisdictional point concerning the particular child, stating that the child will be funded by another branch of the organization. There was no indication that any step was taken to change the Court order.⁷⁷ In a third letter, dated July 16, 1920, the Superintendent comments that he only deals with "neglected children, i.e. children who have been committed as neglected by a magistrate", and suggests that the parties could go

to the Alexandra or the True Blue Orphanage.⁷⁸

There is no evidence in the Superintendent's files of criminal prosecution for any of the crimes against children which existed in the Criminal Code,⁷⁹ though relevant Code sections were quoted in correspondence from time to time⁸⁰, and the police exhorted to take action under the child protection provisions of the Infant's Act.

The involvement of the police in duties associated with the responsibilities of the Superintendent appear to cover a wide range. In one instance, after correspondence from the Ontario Superintendent Keslo to his B.C. counterpart, Superintendent Brankin, various police departments become involved in tracking down a tramp who appears to have been travelling the country with a 14 year old girl, who may or may not have been his daughter. Sexual assault is suggested, but the record makes no reference to charges.⁸¹ In other cases, the police are involved in making arrangements to transport children⁸², in doing "home studies" in response to out of province⁸³ or local⁸⁴ requests; in attending to arrangements for children on the death of a parent where there are no relatives.⁸⁵

Children's Aid Societies (Vancouver, Victoria and Vancouver Catholic) 1901-1930

Foster care was a familiar concept in the 1900's. Founded in 1901, the Vancouver CAS reported positively of the effect of foster homes in its founding documents, and used foster placements to a significant extent in its initial phase before it built its

"Children's Home" in 1904. But this changed once the "Children's Home" was built, and the principal preoccupation was to keep the home going.

An unsatisfactory method of record-keeping, used by the Vancouver Children's Aid Society, in its annual reports, was to provide a running tally of the number of children under the care of the Society since its inception in 1901. While unsatisfactory for analysis today, the approach is perhaps understandable because the purpose of the annual reports was to solicit charitable donations and government assistance. Since the numbers of children cared for were small, the running tally made the numbers seem larger. For example, the 1917 report, provides a tally of 653 children serviced by the Society since 1901. The tally is set forth as follows:

Adopted	188	returned to parents	141
married	47	transferred	28
ran away	10	dead	21
at service	61	to front	25
professions	8	Wards in the home	124

Since the figures are cumulative, it is possible to trace backward in each category. Apart from the high number listed as "dead", which can be explained to some degree by the problem of infant mortality of the period, it is worth noting that the categories of "at service" (paid wage work), married, "professions", and "to front" (i.e. soldiers in World War I), all obviously refer to children who to one extent or another had "grown up". One point with respect to the category "adopted" is that the Society made little distinction between fostering and adopting, and in fact kept poor track of children "put out" in what were called "free homes"

(unpaid care in private homes). For example, the 1917 Annual Report states "the percentage of children being returned to the Home after being sent out is so small as to be almost negligible".⁸⁶ Lack of systematic record keeping appears to have been a corollary of lack of systematic state funding or "supervision" of foster homes.

An indication of the financial pressures around the costs of institutional care emerges from the following comparison of data from annual reports. The 1916 report states that "the Home, according to the proper measurement allowed for each child will accommodate 132 children. This year...average per month, 193. Many of the children (also the Matron) sleep on the verandahs."⁸⁷ This passage was included under the heading "Fire-Proof Building", with an urging that such be built "at an early date".

Also instructive is a discussion of the costs of maintenance of the children within the Home. The 1910 Report cites the monthly cost of care per month as being \$10.00 in 1908, \$8.73 in 1909, and \$8.12 in 1910. The 1913 Report cites the cost at \$8.48, the 1915 report as \$7.17, 1916 at \$8.31, 1917 at \$9.59. There is no explanation in the Report of how these figures are arrived at nor of relevant comparative factors such as the general cost of living increases or inflation. One can not help but notice that the 1908 level of \$10.00 per month per child is never once reached again in the period under review. Comparing these figures to the cost of the per diem provided by government (\$6.00 per month from 1910 to 1922, and that only for Court ordered wards)⁸⁸ one can begin to form the picture of a developing "cash crunch".

The Adoption Act [1920 B.C.S. ch. 2], was passed by the Legislature in 1920 and prior to that, as indicated above, the children's aid societies seemed to take little care to distinguish between adoption and foster care. One scholar has suggested that "if a child was kept by the foster parents, he was considered by the Society to be 'adopted'."⁸⁹ Because the VCAS did not follow up on children placed in foster homes, the figures quoted above for the number of children "adopted" are certain to have included children who in earlier reports were listed as being in "foster care". Others were later admitted to have been "lost". For example the 1929 Annual Report of the Vancouver Children's Aid Society addresses the issue as follows:

It should be noted that on December 1, 1929 26 wards of the Society who were placed some years past in foster homes have been lost and 70 children, who had been returned to their parents without having the legal responsibility of the Society removed, for various reasons are not under supervision. Therefore the number of children actually under supervision is 383.⁹⁰

The inclusion of this material in the 1929 Annual Report reflects a consequence of one of the other important recommendations of the 1927 Survey: the necessity for accurate record-keeping and social field work.

The foster care administered by all the B.C. children's aid societies in the earlier period was not supervised, and the "free" homes were later the subject of much criticism for the exploitation of child labour and other forms of abuse.⁹¹ A measure of the understandable defensiveness of children's aid societies around these questions even in the earlier period can be gleaned from the

1905 Report of the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children in Ontario. "It is a pleasant thing to note also," writes the Superintendent, "that nearly one-half of the number thus placed during the year were under six years of age, showing conclusively that the children were not taken with any immediate prospect of their being of service."⁹²

Although the references to foster care are evident in the earliest reports of the societies, it is clear that once the organizational and financial commitments were made to construction of large institutional facilities, by 1904, foster care became an ancillary approach. This was reflected in the language utilized - that of "putting out" the children. It was not until the crisis brought on by inadequate financing, overcrowding, and grave health concerns, that these institutions turned to foster care as a way out of the crisis faced by their orphanages.

A review of materials from the Victoria CAS shows that there too, a formal rejection of "institutional care" in favour of "foster" care occurred, although the change in Victoria occurred later. The Victoria CAS operated a home at Fern St. which, like the Vancouver Children's Home, was the subject of criticism for overcrowding, fire hazard, and inadequate care. The 1929 Matron's Report states:

The Committee tried to adopt Children where feasible but in many cases this cannot be done. Nevertheless when we asked for foster parents for a little baby, we had twenty two applications and were able to place it very successfully.⁹³

The 1931 Medical Health Officer's Report comments that the "Home is

sadly overcrowded and requires more adequate washrooms and toilet facilities" and presents as a possible solution to the crisis the following: "The boarding out of a dozen selected cases in private homes which would involve an expenditure that the City might not care to make at the present time." ⁹⁴

In 1931, the C.C.C.W. produced a new Victoria Child Welfare Survey. It was one of a series of surveys which were offshoots of the 1927 Survey. The tone of the Victoria recommendations is more cautious than the 1927 Survey had been. One proposal in the 1931 survey, for example, is "that the Society swing over gradually to the use of Boarding Homes getting children out into the community as the Director is able to find suitable homes for specific children".⁹⁵ However, It is not until the late 1930's that the reports of the Victoria Society enthusiastically embrace "foster care" as the "modern method" of intervention. It is notable that the Victoria Survey of 1931 took a step backward from the recommendations concerning the Victoria Home contained in the 1927 Survey. That earlier survey had stated emphatically:

The building is very badly over-crowded, and in any case presents certain difficulties of arrangement for providing satisfactory care for such a varied group. It is more the type of building that would be a good receiving home or clearing house as part of a larger programme of care for children in family homes. ⁹⁶

In a similar vein, the Vancouver Catholic CAS, maintained a substantially commitment to institutional care well after the "conversion" of the Vancouver CAS. In 1924 the Catholic CAS raised substantial funds to establish a new orphanage, the centrepiece of its child welfare work. In Cote's study of the history of the

Vancouver Catholic CAS, he devotes a chapter to Institutional Care for the period 1920-1936. The Vancouver Catholic CAS accepted the orientations and approach of the 1927 Survey by the mid-1930's an acceptance which reflected in the proportion of children in institutional and foster care. By 1938, although the number of children in institutional care with the Vancouver Catholic CAS had not greatly declined, more than double that number were in foster care, adopted or supervised by the Society in their own home. As a percentage of children under their care, the latter represented 69.6% compared to 30.4% in institutional care. By comparison, in 1928 91.1% of children were cared for in institutions, compared with 8.9% in foster, adoption or own home arrangements.⁹⁷

Data Analysis

From this discussion of British Columbia's experience with foster care, several points clearly emerge. Despite reference to "approved foster homes" in the legislation since 1901, foster care was not the principal official response to the existence of abandoned, neglected or orphaned children in B.C. before the recommendations of the 1927 Survey or even for several years thereafter. Rather, congregate care - orphanages, were. Orphanages, sometimes called Children's Homes, faced chronic overcrowding, underfunding and persistently recurring health concerns. For these state-regulated institutions, foster care was occasionally resorted to as an auxiliary measure while facilities were being constructed, or as a "stop gap" measure to deal with outbreaks of disease or an urgent housing crisis. Until 1923, the B.C. legislative framework

provided for all children found by the Courts as being neglected to be committed to the care of children's aid societies, of which only three were formed. After that, although the legislation permitted the Superintendent to place children in foster care directly, placement with the children's aid societies continued. The Catholic CAS was the last to embrace the "modern" concept of foster care in the late 1930's, and as late as 1924 was involved in building a new orphanage.

The attached tables⁹⁸ are based the discharge summaries from the Vancouver CAS and the Vancouver Catholic CAS, for the period 1922-1930. These reports, submitted on a monthly basis to the Superintendent of Neglected Children, are summarized in Table 1 and Table 2. Yearly totals are contained in Table 3a and 3b. The records show amongst other things, the foster care placements made by the Vancouver CAS in the period from 1922 to 1930, and from the Vancouver Catholic CAS for the same period. In most cases, the discharge summaries provide full information concerning the name and address of the foster parents concerned. Although it is beyond the scope of this study to do so, it would be possible to plot the location of foster placements in the lower mainland on a map to determine if, and to what extent, patterns of geographic distribution of foster children can be observed. Similarly, with the aid of computers it would be possible to analyze the data concerning the foster parents to determine whether and to what extent the same foster parents took multiple placements.

From the discharge summaries, seasonal fluctuations can be

seen to some extent, affected by the school year. Tables 3a and 3b show marked increase in foster placements in 1926, the same year that the record-keepers began to make a distinction between "free" homes and boarding (i.e. subsidized) homes. From that point on the term "foster" was rarely used. I have included in the category foster placements which were described as "adoption probation". Placements with relatives are minimal, return to parents greater. The "Other" columns of Table 1 and 2 include one instance of placement of Doukhoubour children, one of placement at the Jewish Orphanage and one placement at an Indian Residential School. This is a reminder that there were other institutions, some of which operated on an ethnic basis, in the field. The number of children going from the Children's Home⁹⁹ to work "at service", for wages or as "help" also increases in the later period (1927-1929). Placements as hospital workers were common. Not only do the numbers of foster placements increase in the latter period, but the reporting becomes more frequent and more precise, reflecting one of the recommendations of the 1927 Survey for improved record-keeping.

The large number of deaths and hospitalizations in 1927-28 period provides shocking statistical corroboration of Adamoski's analysis of the depths of the crisis at the Wall Street Children's Home.

Dianne Purvey argues ¹⁰⁰ that the Alexandra Non-Sectarian Orphanage in Vancouver provided a short term respite for working class families in times of crisis. She notes that the institution actively encouraged ongoing ties between the children it cared for

and their parents. Examination of the extant records (1906-1933) of the Alexandra Orphanage¹⁰¹ bears this out and reveals a number of organizational features of the foster care system.

Firstly, these records clearly indicate that this Orphanage by and large expected the parents of the children in its care to pay for their keep. There were regular demands for payment, especially in periods when the Orphanage was under serious financial pressure.¹⁰² It is worthwhile to note, just as the Abramovitz study¹⁰³ does, that the majority of the residents in U.S. orphanages were not true orphans in the sense of having no parents alive. Her study indicates that more than 50% had at least one parent alive. The pattern was also noted by Gunnlaugsson in the 19th century. The records of the Vancouver Alexandra Orphanage in the early 20th century show voluminous correspondence between the Orphanage and various parents suggest this trend applies in B.C.

Secondly, the records indicate that the Orphanage was intended for children only up to 12 years. This is true of both the Alexandra Orphanage and the Loyal True Blue Orphanage¹⁰⁴. Within months of a child's twelfth birthday, the individual case records of the Alexandra Orphanage show determined if not desperate efforts to find foster placement for the children. Many such foster placements were in fact in the farm communities of Chilliwack, Abbotsford and Langley in the Fraser Valley. Although there does appear to have been some effort to require references for foster care placements, there is no indication of any systematic follow up for these placements.

CONCLUSION

For one reason or another the parents who were unable, on a short term or long term basis, to care for their children made arrangements for the care of these children through relatives or neighbours, without those arrangements becoming part of the "official record". When these arrangements broke down, or when intervention was called for by local charities or the police, the child saving bureaucracy mandated by the Child Protection Act, later the Infant's Act, received children as its wards, and placed these children primarily in orphanages and children's homes. Until well into the late 1920's, the "putting out" of children, was for the children's aid societies at best an ancillary solution, and for orphanages such as the Alexandra in Vancouver or the Loyal True Blue in New Westminster, the normal typical placement when the children reached the age of 12.

In addition to the foster care placements arranged by the children's aid societies and orphanages, other informal foster care arrangements were no doubt made with kin and neighbours, and as a result of community interventions at a local level. These would include institutional arrangements organized on an ethnic basis, and informal arrangements by fathers who had lost their wives, who retained formal custody of their children while placing them with relatives or neighbours. The task of searching out evidence of such arrangements and quantifying them would appear to be a daunting but necessary one, if we are to have a full picture of the various forms of foster care in the period.

The federally-funded Canadian Council on Child Welfare, brought an agenda of professionalism to child protection. It also played a role to a great extent of advancing the professional interests of social work itself, through legislative reform, the establishment of professional training and supervision regimes.

The desire to deflect criticism over the standard of care in the institutional setting, the severe budgetary shortfalls following the 1929 crash in North America, and the trend to professionalization reflected in the founding of a social work department at U.B.C. in 1930, all contributed to the consolidation of the "supervised foster care" model in B.C. The problems of the exploitation and abuse of children within the framework of foster care were sidestepped through the distinction between "free" and "supervised" homes. Less consideration still was given to the effect of severing ties between children and their families.

State policy toward foster care developed autonomously in Canada at the civic, provincial and federal level, with the drift from charitable work to professional intervention occurring in a piecemeal, sporadic and diffuse manner. But within this drift was an inexorable move from informal kin oriented arrangements to bureaucratic rationality and state sanctioned solutions for family dysfunction.

NOTES

1. Bettina Bradbury, "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness, and Poverty, Montreal, 1860-1885" in Joy Parr, ed. Childhood and Family in Canadian History Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1982 and Bettina Bradbury, Working Families: Age, Gender and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal Toronto: McClelland & Stewart 1993
2. Phillipe Aries, Centuries of Childhood, New York, Knoff, 1962
3. Joy Parr, ed. Childhood and Family in Canadian History Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1982; and Joy Parr, Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices in Canada 1869-1924 Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988
4. Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1976
5. See footnote 1 above.
6. For example John Bullen, "J.J. Kelso and the 'New' Child-savers: The Genesis of the Children's Aid Movement in Ontario" in Russell Smandych et al. Dimensions of Childhood: Essays on the History of Children and Youth in Canada, Winnipeg, University of Manitoba, 1991; Jane Ursel, Private Lives, Public Policy: 100 Years of State Intervention in the Family Toronto, Women's Press, 1992.
7. Dennis Guest, The Emergence of Social Security in Canada, Vancouver, U.B.C. Press, 1980
8. Diane Matters, Development of Public Welfare Institutions 1910-1920, Victoria, University of Victoria, 1973 and Jane Ursel, "The State and the Maintenance of Patriarchy: A Case Study of Family, Labour and Welfare Legislation in Canada" in James Dickson and Bob Russell (eds.) Family, Economy and State New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986 and Jane Ursel, Private Lives, Public Policy: 100 Years of State Intervention in the Family Toronto, Women's Press, 1992
9. Robert L. Adamoski, The Profession of Casework: The Organizational Expediency of the British Columbia Child Welfare Survey Toronto, University of Toronto, 1988
10. Tamara K. Harevan, Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community Cambridge: New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982

11. See for example pp. 368-370.

12. Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1986. Berger notes that genealogical research, biographies, and town and county histories made up a large proportion of Victorian historical writing in Canada. p. 2. Such writing typically obscures family dysfunction and would maintain "family secrets" such as the factors that surround foster care.

13. Canada Census figures for British Columbia for 1901 and 1931 respectively.

14. See, for example, Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux's discussion of the proto-industrial period in "Beyond Adoption: Orphans and Family Strategies in Pre-Industrial France" The History of the Family Volume 1, Number 1, 1996 p. 1.

15. Report of the British Columbia Child Welfare Survey, B.C. Child Welfare Survey Committee, Vancouver, B.C. 1927.

16. See, for example, the story of Samuel, (1st Sam. ch. 2:1-10) and of Moses (Ex. ch. 1, 2:11-25). The stories of Naamaw, (2nd Kings ch. 5), Daniel, (Dan. ch. 1), and Joseph, (Gen ch. 37:39-45) involve the abduction of children. The Book of Exodus speaks of the "fields of the fatherless" (Prov ch. 23:10) and the Epistle of James enjoins the faithful to "visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction". (James ch. 1:27). The Holy Bible

17. Thomas Cleary ed. and translator The Essential Koran, San Francisco, Harper, 1993. For instance the Koran says "Do justice by the orphans" (p. 30) "And be good... to orphans and paupers" (p.34)

18. Gingard, C. One Hundred and One Gospel and Spiritual Songs, N.Y. General Music, 1963

19. Germaine Greer, Daddy We Hardly Knew You! London, Hamish Hamilton, 1989 See for example pp. 258-268.

20. The full title of the article by Gisli Agust Gunnlaugsson is "'Everyone's Been Good to Me, Especially the Dogs': Foster-Children and Young Paupers in Nineteenth-Century Southern Iceland" Journal of Social History Vol 27 No. 2 Winter 1993 p. 341

21. Gunnlaugsson, Ibid. p. 342

22. David I. Kertzer, "Gender Ideology and Infant Abandonment in Nineteenth-Century Italy" Journal of Interdisciplinary History Vol. XX11, No. 1 1991, p.3. cited in Gunnlaugsson p. 354. See also the Fauve-Chamoux article at Note 14, for a discussion of the background concerning foster children and adoption in Pre-Industrial France.

23. Gunnlaugsson, p. 341.
24. Gunnlaugsson, p. 347.
25. Gunnlaugsson, p. 329.
26. Gunnlaugsson, p. 349.
27. Gunnlaugsson, p. 350.
28. The Census was conducted on April 6, 1891 under the Census Act [49 Vic c. 58 (1886)] The British Columbia population was 98,173 of whom 35,302 were Native. The B.C. population figure was a 98.5% increase over the 1881 census.
29. 1891 Census, B.C. Archives and Record Service, Introduction.
30. Joan Meznar, "Orphans and the Transition from Slave to Free Labour in Northeast Brazil: The Case of Campina Grande, 1850-1888" Journal of Social History Vol 27 No 3 Spring 1994 p. 499-515
31. Meznar, p. 501. The author points out that the term orphan was understood in this period to refer to children who had lost one parent. If a child's father died, mothers would have to apply for tutores and, as the study shows, often encountered difficulty in winning guardianship, particularly in circumstances where there were labour shortages. See for example p. 507.
32. Meznar, pp. 507-510.
33. Meznar, p. 507
34. Meznar, p. 511.
35. See footnote 22, above.
36. By 1900, the B.C. Police Force (B.C.F.P.) had 100 members. The role of the B.C.P.F. in implementing the policies of the Superintendent of Neglected Children will be discussed below.
37. See for example Re Eve 31 D.L.R. 1 for a discussion of the common law concept of guardianship and its roots in property law. See also Ruth Inglis, Sins of the Fathers A Study of Physical and Emotional Abuse of Children London, Peter Owen, esp. pp. 14-33.
38. La Forest J, Re Eve 31 D.L.R. (4th) 1 at p. 14.
39. An Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to, and Better Protection of Children S.O. 1893, c. 45, cited as The Children's Act.

40. These three sources are cited as the basis for the Ontario legislation in John Bullen "J.J. Kelso and the 'New' Child-savers: The Genesis of the Children's Aid Movement in Ontario" in Russell Smandych et al. Dimensions of Childhood at p. 142. The Report of the Ontario Prison Reform Commission can be found at Sessional Papers (1891) Vol 23, part 4, No. 18.

41. B.C.A.R.S. GR 227. Vol. 1 contains correspondence on individual cases where the CAS is seeking government aid to pay travel expenses of CAS personnel to investigate and/or transport children. Vol. 2 Files 1-4 contain monthly returns of the CAS for 1910-1917. C.f. the returns submitted in the later period to the Superintendent of Neglected Children summarized in Tables 1, 2, and 3.

42. E. F. Watson and N.I Watson, History and Problems of Child Welfare Services in Vancouver, 1960 unpublished manuscript. By contrast the first Adoption Act in France was enacted in 1923. See Note 14.

43. Report on Neglected Children December 23, 1920. B.C. Archives and Records Service, Superintendent of Neglected Children.

44. Mimi Abramovitz, Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present, Boston, South End Press, 1988.

45. Mimi Abramovitz, *Ibid.* p. 196.

46. *Ibid.* pp. 196-197.

47. *Ibid.* p. 198. She notes that Mary Richmond and other social workers began to conceptualize the process of casework which included "study (investigation by a paid agent), diagnosis (case planning by a committee of volunteers), and treatment (rehabilitation by a friendly visitor)" citing her Social Diagnosis (1917).

48. *Ibid.* p. 206. The discussion on Enforcing Patriarchal Norms and the limitations of the programme occurs on pages 200-206.

49. Guest, *Op Cit.* p. 49. The phrase "pension" was used in an effort to lessen the stigma attached to poor house relief. Mothers' pensions were the prototype of social assistance. Guest also cites an article by Tamara K. Hareven, "An Ambiguous Alliance: Some Aspects of American Influences on Canadian Social Welfare" Histoire sociale/Social History 3 (April 1969): 82-98.

50. Dianne Matters, Public Welfare Institutions p.62. She describes the concept as "public aid to dependent children in their homes", and she too notes that "organized charity and social workers presented the only significant objections to the concept". pp. 62-63.

51. Abramovitz, Op Cit. pp. 196-197.
52. Ursel, Jane. Private Lives, Public Policy see pages 154-159 and 344.
53. Dennis Guest, Op Cit. p. 54.
54. Provincial Secretary, B.C. Report on the Administration of Mothers' Pensions in B.C. 1920-1 to 1930-1: Summary of Findings and Recommendations [n.d.] p. 21 cited in Guest, Ibid, p. 57. In Private Lives, Public Policy, Jane Ursel discusses a similar report done by Whitton for the Manitoba Government in 1928. p. 148.
55. Guest, Ibid p. 58.
56. Ibid. p. 58. Guest characterizes the "traditional private charity viewpoint" as being that "financial aid, without social work supervision, was worse than no aid at all". p. 59.
57. See Note 61 and 66.
58. See note 14. For a thorough analysis of the B.C. Survey, and how its outcome was a product of the organizational dynamics of forces within the Vancouver Children's Aid Society see Adamoski, The Profession of Casework.
59. Robert L. Adamoski, The Profession of Casework: The Organizational Expediency of The British Columbia Child Welfare Study M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto 1988 at p. 68.
60. Ibid. p. iii.
61. B.C. Child Welfare Survey, Preface, p. 7.
62. Watson and Watson, Op Cit. p. 27.
63. Evidence of the administrative laxity discussed elsewhere in this paper, is found in the Records of the Creche, which purport to show the consent of parent or guardian for the admission of each child, but for long periods of time no such entries are noted in the Record book. Vancouver City Creche fonds, Vancouver Archives.
64. Children's Aid Society of Vancouver, Twenty-Eighth Annual Report for Year Ending December 31, 1929 Vancouver, 1930. p. 5.
65. Adamoski, Op Cit. pp. 26ff. See also p. 61.
66. B.C. Archives and Record Service, GR2738 - access obtained by permission under the Freedom of Information Act. There are five boxes of files containing 296 files, organized alphabetically by the name of the children concerned, covering the period 1919-1943. This study will concentrate on the records in the period up to

1930. For similar reports from the period 1910-1917, see Note 4.
67. See for example B.C.A.R.S. GR2738 Box 3 No. 2 and 3.
68. See for example B.C.A.R.S. GR2738 Box 3 No. 27 and 62.
69. B.C.A.R.S., GR2738, Box 3 No. 2 and 62.
70. For example for Alberta, B.C.A.R.S. GR2728 Box 2 No. 38, Box 3 No. 2 and 38, Box 4 No. 7, Box 5 No. 1 and 28; for Manitoba Box 3 No. 35, Box 2 No. 8; for Saskatchewan Box 2 No. 44, Box 3 No. 33 and Box 4 No. 52 and 61; for Ontario Box 3 No. 39; for Quebec Box 3 No. 44; for Massachusetts Box 4 No. 32; and for London, England Box 4 No. 4, 25 and 58.
71. See B.C.A.R.S. GR2738 Box 3 No. 10, 34, 36, 49, 50 For requests from other provinces handled by the police see for example Box 2 No. 44, Box 3 No. 9, No. 35, 38, 44.
72. B.C.A.R.S. GR2738 No. 62.
73. For a discussion of Indian Residential Schools see for example James Redford, "Attendance at Indian Residential Schools in B.C. 1890-1920" B.C. Studies 44 (Winter 79-80) 41-56; Isabelle Knockwood, Out of the Depths: The Experiences of Mi'naw Children at the Indian Residential School at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia Lokeport, N.S., Roseway Publishing, 1992; for a discussion of family relations and "country marriages" in the fur trade period see Jennifer S.H. Brown Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country Vancouver, U.B.C. Press, 1980; for a contemporary view of Native peoples and the foster care system see Patrick Johnson Native Children and the Child Welfare System Toronto, Lorimer, 1983 and Eva Jacobs and Lavina White, Liberating Our Children/Liberating Our Nations, Report of the aboriginal Committee Community Panel, Family and Children's Services Legislation Review in British Columbia, October, 1992.
74. Patrick Johnson, Ibid. page 23.
75. Carolyn Strange "Patriarchy Modified: The Criminal Prosecution of Rape in York County, Ontario, 1880-1930" p. 207, in Jim Phillips, Tina Loo and Susan Lewthwaite, Crime and Criminal Justice, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1994
76. Inspector of Municipalities - Children's Aid Society B.C.A.R.S. GR 227 File 2. Available for research with permission through the Freedom of Information Act.
77. B.C.A.R.S. GR2738 Box 3 No. 54.
78. B.C.A. R.S. GR2738 Box 3 No. 58.

79. The Criminal Code of Canada was adopted in 1898.

80. See for example, B.C.A.R.S., GR2738 Box 3 No. 16 where the City Solicitor suggests to the Vancouver General Hospital that charges can be laid against the parents under Section 242 of the Criminal Code when children have been left in the care of the hospital for nine months. In the result, some time later, V.G.H. applies to the Court that the children be committed to the care of the Catholic Children's Aid Society of Vancouver.

81. B.C.A.R.S. GR2738 Box 3 No. 9.

82. B.C.A.R.S. GR2738 Box 3 No. 10.

83. For example, B.C.A.R.S. GR2738 Box 3 No. 33, 35 and 44. In the later case the Saskatchewan Superintendent requests of his counterpart that he "have one of your inspectors look into" the situation, and the request is turned over to the police, and the results forwarded.

84. B.C.A.R.S. GR2738 Box 3 No. 36

85. B.C.A.R.S. GR2738 Box 3 No. 34

86. 1917 Annual Report of the Children's Aid Society, Clarke & Stuart Co. Vancouver, B.C. 1917

87. 1916 Annual Report p. 8.

88. Adamoski, Op Cit p.19.

89. Maurice N. Cote, The Children's Aid Society of the Catholic Archdiocese of Vancouver 1950-1953, M.A. Thesis, U.B.C., 1953 p. 8. Again at page 17 he writes: "Although foster homes were being used there was little or no supervision by the Societies. If a child was not returned to the Society it was considered 'adopted'."

90. Children's Aid Society of Vancouver, Twenty-Eighth Annual Report for the Year Ending December 31, 1929 Vancouver, 1930. p. 10.

91. Adanoski, for example outlines how "free homes" were discredited as abuses were made public. Op. Cit. p. 87.

92. J.J. Kelso, Record of Work for Neglected and Dependent Children Ontario King's Printer, Toronto, 1906. p. 16.

93. Children's Aid Society of Victoria Matron's Report, 1929, B.C. Archives. The same report also states "This year quite a number of children have been placed in homes".

94. B.C.A.R.S. Children's Aid Society of Victoria, Medical Health Officer's Report, 1931.

95.--- Family Welfare, Relief and Child Protection in Greater Victoria Victoria, Victoria Survey Committee 1931-32.

96. Report of the British Columbia Child Welfare Survey p. 7.

97. Cote, Op Cit. p. 74

98. B.C.A.R.S. GR2738 Box 1. Available for review by researchers with permission under the Freedom of Information Act.

99. The Children's Home was an orphanage which was the principal placement arm of the Vancouver C.A.S.

100. Dianne Purvey, "Alexandra Orphanage and Families in Crisis in Vancouver, 1892-1938" in Russell Smandych et al. Dimensions of Childhood 107-133

101. B.C.A.R.S. G.R. 2733. This file is comprised 6 boxes of files containing 279 case files, organized alphabetically, covering the period of the Orphanage's operation 1906-1933. As with the records of the Superintendent of Neglected Children, these records are available through B.C. Archives and Record Service with authorization for research purposes through the Freedom of Information Act. Records on foster care in the possession of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Vancouver are closed to researchers.

102. B.C.A.R.S. GR2733. Box 2 Parents were typically asked to pay \$10 per month for the care of their children, and where such agreements to pay existed there is record of efforts to enforce.

103. Abramovitz, Op Cit. at page 196-197.

104. The letterhead of the Loyal True Blue and Orange Orphanage describes the aim of the institution as being to provide care for children "aged 2 to 12".

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APPENDIX

TABLE 1
DISCHARGE SUMMARIES
VANCOUVER CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY
Reported Monthly 1922-1929

Date	Foster/ Board/Free	Returned to Parents	Returned to Relative	Help/wage 18 years	at Service	Other
1922						
Apr		3				
May	3					
June	1					2
July		2	3			7
Aug	2					
Sept	1		2			
Oct	1					1
Nov	1					1
Dec	1	2	2			2
						Industrial School
1923						
Jan	2					1
Feb		1			1	
May	6				3	
June	4				1	
July	3	2			1	
Aug	7				1	
Sept	4				9	
Oct						
Nov	5				2	
Dec	2				1	
1924						
Jan	1		1		1	
Mar					3	1
Apr	10				1	Abducted by mother
Aug	6				6	
Sept		1			4	
Oct						
Nov						
Dec						
						C.A.S. Home guaranteed Home quarantined Oct, Nov, Dec
1925						
Jan	6					
Feb	2				1	
Mar	4	7				
Apr	3				2	
May					1	1
June	-					Hospital
July		3				
Aug		8			2	1
Sept	-					Industrial School
Oct	2	4	3			
Nov	1	1				
1926						
Jan	6	4	1			
Feb	2	1				
Mar	2	3				
Apr	11	4 (3 by Court)	2		2	2
May	4					1
June	6	3			2	
July	8/1/	1	1		3	
Aug	1	3			2	
Sept	7/1	6	1			1
Oct	3	1			2	1
Nov	1/1	1	3		2	1
Dec	6/3/	5				1
						Catholic C.A.S. Home Jewish Orphanage Girls' Industrial School In training hospital

TABLE 1 continued
DISCHARGE SUMMARIES
VANCOUVER CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY
Reported Monthly 1922-1929

Date	Foster/ Board/Free	Returned to Parents	Relative	18 years	Help/wage at Service	Other
1927						
Jan	2/5/	4			2	
Feb	1	1			2	3 Died
Mar	3	4	4		3	2 Board Salvation Army 2 Died
Apr	1	8	1		3	1 C.A.S.
May		8			1	1 on order SS Dept. Vancouver Hospital
						1 Died
June	3	6			2	3 Alexander Orphanage
					4	20 Out summer holidays
July	1/1/				4	1 to United Church Protective Home for Girls
Aug	3	1			1	1 to mother without permission 3 Home for Incurables
						2 Detention Home
						6 to Hospital and returned
Sept	1/1/	3	4		3	10 Hospital
	6/4/				3	2 Essondale
Oct	10/	4			3	1 Detention to Industrial School
Nov	13/4					8 Hospital
						1 Essondale
						1 Deaf
						1 Industrial
Dec	15/4	3				1 Hospital
1928						
Jan	1/12/2	4			1	23 Hospital
						1 Married
Feb	1/12/	3			1	2 Hospital
	16/1				1	1 Died
						1 Other
Mar	15/3	6		1	3	2 Hospital
Apr	14/	7		13	3	13 Hospital
	17/6					1 Holiday
						6 Hospital
May	7	2			1	12 Hospital
	1/16/5	3				1 Industrial School
June	16/	3		2	1	2 Hospital
	1/11/3			1		1 Industrial School
						1 Out without permission
	4					1 Visit father
July	1/11/1	1		2	1	1 Pass Through
	17/1				3	6 Holiday
	17/7	4			1	3 Holiday
						1 Essondale
Aug	15/3	2			3	1 Holiday
	7/1/1					4 C.A.S. camp to board
	12/5					2 Returned to free
	17/1	3		1		2 Returned to board
						5 Hospital
						1 Holiday
Sept	16/1			5	1	7 Died
	17/1					12 Hospital
	15/2	1				7 Died

TABLE 1 continued
DISCHARGE SUMMARIES
VANCOUVER CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY
Reported Monthly 1922-1929

Date	Foster/ Board/Free	Returned to Parents	Returned to Relative	18 years	Help/wage at Service	Other
Oct	15/ 17/1 17/1			3		
	1/1/5	2		1	1	4 Hospital
	2/8/2				1	
	14/3	2		1	1	2 Hospital
						1 Free to board
						1 Board to free
	1/7/1	1		4		3 Hospital Shelter
Dec	17/1				2	1 Industrial School
	1/4/2				1	3 Holiday
						1 Ran away from foster
						7 Hospital
1929						
Jan	16/1 17/1			4 3		8 Returned to home
		3				3 Hospital
						1 Returned
Feb	14/4	1	1		2	1 Essondale
Mar	1/2					1 Hospital to Home
						1 Finland
						1 Industrial School
						1 Hospital
Apr	1/6 2/3/3	3			1 2	2 Departed
				2		1 Hospital
						8 To Shelter
May	16/4			3		6 Hospital
	7	1			3	1 Essondale
June				3	1	3 Catholic
		3				2 Married
						6 To Shelter
						1 Holiday
					2	5 Hospital
	13/3	4				1 YMCA Wage
						10 To Shelter
July	15/ 17/1 17/1			1	1	11 Camp 1 Holiday
	6	1		1		6 Hospital
						1 Camp
						1 Holiday with father
Aug	15/2 17/1	1				14 To Shelter
						3 Free Holiday
						14 Hospital
						10 To Shelter
	16/1					
	18/1	3 (by Court)		4	3	5 To Shelter
	1/15/	5	1	1		1 Industrial School
Sept	19/4	4		6		1 Pays own board
	1/1	1 (by Court)			2	2 Hospital
						8 Industrial School (Doukhobour)
Oct	9	8		1	2	4 To Shelter
	17/2	4				3 Hospital
						1 Essondale
						1 Detention
Nov	1/1			4	1	5 To Shelter
Dec	2/8/2					18 To Hospital
	1/14			4	5	3 To Shelter

Source: Superintendent of Neglected Children GR 124 Vol 3 B.C. Archives and Records Services, obtained under the Freedom of Information Act. The original categories have been retained wherever possible. Note: Included under the category of foster children, are discharges recorded as "adoption probation." The figures should be approached with caution since the reporting categories shift over time, and the meaning ascribed to those categories also changes.

TABLE 2
DISCHARGE SUMMARIES
VANCOUVER CATHOLIC CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY
Reported Monthly 1922-1929

Date	Foster/ Board/Free	Returned to Parents	Returned to Relative	18 years	Help/wage at Service	Other
1922						
May		1			1	1 Died
July		2			2	
Dec					2	
1923						
Apr	1				1	2 Transfer to Monastery
May					1	
June		7				
Sept		2				
Oct	1	1				
1924						
Jan	1				2	1 Other
Mar						1 St. Paul's Sisters
May		1				1 to Sisters of Immaculate
July		1				Conception (adoption)
Nov	3					
1925						
Mar		6				
Apr	2	1			1	
May	1	4				
July		1				
Aug			1			2 to Cabin Boy
Sept					1	1 to Monastery "halfbreed"
Dec		1			1	
1926						
June	3	3			10	1 Monastery
July		4			1	2 Died
						1 Other
1927						
Jan	7	2				2 Died
	1	6				1 Died
May		3			4	1 Kamloops Indian School
						5 Died
Dec	5	5	1			1 Monastery
		6				1 Other
						2 Died
1928						
Apr	3*	1	(2)*		8	
July	3	4	6			1 Monastery
						1 Hospital
Sept	1					
Oct	1	1				1 Sisters of St. Joseph's
Nov		3	1			Hospital
1929						
Jan	1	2		1		
Feb	1	2			1	1 Work at St. Joseph's
						1 Hospital
June		3	1			1 Arrested by Police
		10				
Aug	1					1 Boy's Home
Sept	1					
Oct	3					
Nov						
Dec		2				

* 2 of the 3 foster placements were to relatives

Source: Superintendent of Neglected Children GR 124 Vol 3 B.C. Archives and Records Services.
Although the reports are to be submitted monthly, there are gaps in the material which are shown.
The relative chosen most often for return was a grandparent.

TABLE 3a
DISCHARGE SUMMARIES
VANCOUVER CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY
Cumulative by Year 1922-1929

Date	Foster/ Board/Free	Returned to Parents	Relative	18 years	Help/wage at Service	Other
1922	10	7	7			14
1923	33	3			19	1
1924	17	1	1		15	3
1925	18	23	3		6	2
1926	47/12/1	32	8		13	7
1927	43/20/5	44	9		31	71
1928	24/174/53	44		34	26	142
1929	24/27/44	42	2	37	25	185

TABLE 3b
DISCHARGE SUMMARIES
VANCOUVER CATHOLIC CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY
Cumulative by Year 1922-1929

Date	Foster/ Board/Free	Returned to Parents	Relative	18 years	Help/wage at Service	Other
1922		3			5	1
1923	2	10			2	1
1924	4	2			2	3
1925	3	13	1		3	3
1926	3	7			11	1
1927	13	22	1		4	13
1928	8	9	7		8	3
1929	7	19	1	1	1	3

Source for Tables 3a and 3b: Superintendent of Neglected Children B.C.A.R.S. GR 124
Vol. 3. Note: The above are summaries of Tables 1 and 2 respectively.