THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PUBLIC CHILD WELFARE PROGRAM IN SASKATCHEWAN

by

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ABSTRACT

The first tangible indication of a provincial responsibility for dependent and neglected children in Saskatchewan was recognized by the Children's Protection Act passed in 1908. The objective of this thesis has been to collect and record the available information pertaining to the development and growth of the government department to which the responsibility for dependent and neglected children was assigned. The project has been limited to specific branches of child welfare, services to children in their own homes, services to unmarried parents, ward care, and adoptions. Juvenile delinquency, another function of the government agency, has not been included. The material used in the study included provincial statutes, annual reports (those for the years 1920, 1921, 1922, 1933, and 1934 are missing), and publicized information supplemented by interviews with agency personnel.

The study was not intended as a legislative analysis. The aim has been to present the actual practices and standards of service offered by the public agency to the children in need of protection.

Planning for the child welfare services in Saskatchewan was patterned in the first place after the organization existing in Ontario. Through the years there have been modifications to accommodate that pattern to the needs of a scattered rural population. Saskatchewan has looked to the longer established agencies for inspiration and the benefit of their experience in the field of child welfare. New programs have been added commensurate with similar advancements in other Canadian provinces. During the past five years the public agency in Saskatchewan has taken more initiative, and now accepts responsibilities for children greater, perhaps, than those assumed in any other Canadian province. These efforts have aroused a new interest in the program and won a place for Saskatchewan as a pioneer in the field of child welfare.

The study reflects, as always, the conflict between the awareness of sound child welfare standards and the difficulties of finance and personnel so necessary to put those standards into effect. The prolonged depression of the 1930's, perhaps, did more than any other factor to emphasize the need for social security measures to counteract the vulnerability of the Saskatchewan people to the agricultural economy. The new period in child welfare is characterized particularly by the increasing emphasis upon a casework approach in all fields of welfare.

It is hoped that the collection, co-ordination, and recording of the history of the Child Welfare Branch will be of value to the agency involved in future evaluations of the services provided to children in the light of past experience.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1. Re-organization Of The Program: 1945 to 1948.


Chapter 2. The Wheat Boom: 1908 to 1913.


Increased administrative responsibility for new legislation concerning mother's allowances and juvenile courts. A program of services to children in their own homes. Problems of foster home and institutional care for children. Inadequacies of the informal adoption program. Services for unmarried parents. Services designed for special groups of children.

Chapter 4. Post-war Prosperity: 1921 to 1930.


Chapter 5. The Depression: 1931 to 1938.

Some changes in administration. Services to families during the depression. Rising costs for children in ward care. Legal adoptions. Services for unmarried parents. Opportunities for handicapped children.

Chapter 6. Another World War: 1939 to 1944.


Changing from an authoritative to a casework approach. New standards in services to families, for children in ward care, in services to unmarried parents, and in an adoption program. Special services during the war period.
TABLES AND CHARTS IN THE TEXT

(a) Tables

Table 1. Cases referred to agencies and their disposal, 1908 to 1919 .......................... 33
Table 2. Foster home placements of wards committed and supervision by agency, 1914 to 1916 .............. 36
Table 3. Distribution of wards in institutional care, 1912 to 1919 .................................... 38
Table 4. Wards in detention homes, 1912 to 1918 .............................................................. 40
Table 5. Provincial expenditures for child welfare, 1913 to 1929 ........................................... 51
Table 6. Ward caseloads of child welfare agencies, 1923 to 1930 ........................................... 52
Table 7. Referrals of cases to Bureau, 1923 to 1926 ............................................................. 55
Table 8. Status of mother's allowance recipients, 1923 to 1927 ............................................. 56
Table 9. Payments to mother's allowance recipients, 1921 to 1927 ........................................... 57
Table 10. Visits made in connection with mother's allowance cases, 1923 to 1925 ....................... 59
Table 11. Committals of children to child welfare agencies, 1923 to 1930 ............................... 60
Table 12. Types of placements for children in care of the Bureau, 1923 to 1930 ...................... 61
Table 13. Supervision by the Bureau of children in care, 1923 to 1926 ..................................... 62
Table 14. Legal adoption cases completed in Saskatchewan, 1923 to 1930 ............................. 64
Table 15. Agency caseload of unmarried mothers, 1927 to 1930 ........................................... 65
Table 16. Financial services to unmarried mothers by the Bureau, 1923 to 1930 .................... 66
Table 17. Plans made for children of unmarried parents, 1928 to 1930 ................................. 67
Table 18. Placements of illegitimate children (by Bureau) 1928 to 1930 ............................... 68
Table 19. Children in care of child welfare agencies, 1931 to 1938 .... 74
Table 20. Provincial expenditures for child welfare, 1931 to 1936 .... 76
Table 21. Mother's allowances paid, 1931 to 1938: Recipients and rates of assistance ......... 79
Table 22. Children committed to care of child welfare agencies, 1931 to 1938 ........ 81
Table 23. Types of placement for children in care of the Bureau, 1931 to 1938 ............. 82
Table 24. Legal adoptions made final, 1931 to 1938 ............ 88
Table 25. Caseload of unmarried mothers known to the Bureau, 1931 to 1938 ............... 96
Table 26. Deaf children attending special schools, 1922 to 1929 .... 101
Table 27. Blind children attending special schools, 1930 to 1938 ... 102
Table 28. Children in care of child welfare agencies .............. 106
Table 29. Mother's allowance recipients: Rates paid, 1939 to 1944 .. 112
Table 30. Children committed to care of child welfare agencies, 1939 to 1944 .... 115
Table 31. Paid and non-paid care for children in care of the Bureau, 1939 to 1944 ............. 116
Table 32. Legal adoptions granted in the province, 1939 to 1944 .... 120
Table 33. Blind children sponsored at special schools by the Bureau, 1938 to 1944 .... 125
Table 34. Children in care of child welfare agencies, 1945 to 1948 ... 134
Table 35. Legal adoptions granted in Saskatchewan, 1945 to 1948 .... 142

(b) Charts

Fig. 1. Administrative Organization of the Child Welfare Branch ... 8
The Development of the Public Child Welfare Program in Saskatchewan
Chapter I

RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE PROGRAM
(1945 - 1948)

A public child welfare program, defined in general terms, is an established way of providing for the well-being of all children. It includes prevention services, protection services to dependent, neglected, delinquent, and handicapped children, and, it implies services to parents to promote the welfare of all children. The state is obligated to all children, with special responsibilities for special groups. More specifically, a public child welfare program is the field of tax-supported services for children.

A public child welfare program operates by the authority of a provincial statute. The statute was the result of a recognition of the need for services to children by the provincial legislature, the machine which represents the voting public. By the statute an elective official is designated to administer the public department. Children's services deserve a special division in the public welfare department as a specific group with problems different from other categories, and of equal significance.

In 1944 the Saskatchewan Bureau of Child Protection was ferreted from the cellars of the Department of Highways and included in the newly formed Department of Labour, Reconstruction, and Public Welfare. Later in the same year the plans for welfare services were sufficiently extensive to merit a separate department of government. Previously there had been considerable duplication of
effort with field staff responsible to several administrations between which there was little co-ordination. Now, for the first time, child welfare, pensions and allowances, and relief services, were drawn together in the Department of Social Welfare.

The program of services offered by the Department of Social Welfare in Saskatchewan was co-ordinated within four branches — the Old Age Pensions Branch, the Social Aid Branch, the Corrections Branch, and the Child Welfare Branch. Each Branch was headed by a director who was responsible to the deputy minister in turn responsible to the Minister in charge of the Department.

The Department of Social Welfare was headed by a single executive, a deputy minister, and an advisory board. Basically this was an efficient plan for administration. There is, of course, the hazard of political manipulation, which can be detrimental to the persons seeking and obtaining service from an agency under this type of administration. A hired administrator was procured to carry out the program of services to children. Sound administrative standards would expect from the minister of the department, the deputy minister, and the division administrator, qualities of leadership, diplomacy, stability, and patience. In the hired administrator professional training and experience, and a personal philosophy in keeping with the job would be expected. While the same professional qualities in the other top administrative positions would be commendable, they are not essential. In those key positions a sound understanding and sincere interest in social welfare can work satisfactorily.

In July 1944, a trained social worker was appointed as director of the Child Welfare Branch. As a result of the expansion
in the program and the increased responsibilities by 1946 it was necessary to appoint an assistant, also a trained social worker, for the director.

The Department of Social Welfare Act, (1944,) set up the Social Welfare Board as a governing body, and its statutory members included the deputy minister, the directors of Old Age Pensions, Social Aid, Corrections, and Child Welfare. Up to three others could be appointed by the government. The functions of the Social Welfare Board were, briefly, to advise the Minister on all matters pertaining to social welfare in the province, to act as an authority in the administration of old age pensions, blind pensions, mother's allowances, and all other matters relating to social welfare generally.

In 1948 the Social Welfare Board was composed of the deputy minister, the director of the Old Age Pensions Branch, the director of the Social Aid Branch, the director of the Corrections Branch, the director of the Child Welfare Branch, and a full-time secretary. The Social Welfare Board met once a week to discuss problems relating to the work of the four Branches. Specifically, (from the Child Welfare Branch,) all applications for mother's allowance from unmarried mothers were submitted to the Board for decisions with regard to eligibility and payment. Applications for non-ward care of children, received from parents or guardians under Section thirty-five of the Child Welfare Act, were also presented to the Board for approval or rejection. And, in general, any problem arising within the Child Welfare Branch which might affect existing policies or warrant a change in those policies, was taken before the Social Welfare Board for consideration.

The services included in the program of the Child Welfare Branch were organized into three divisions within the Branch.
These were the Adoption Division, the Child Care Division, and the Family Division. Each division was headed by a supervisor, with training and experience in social work, responsible to the director of the Child Welfare Branch. The new plan for organization of the Branch reduced the supervisory staff from five to three. Previously there had been supervisors of adoptions, unmarried parents, family work, boys in agency care, and girls in agency care.

The Family Division was responsible for the administration of Parts I, II, and IV of the Act. These included services to unmarried parents which involved administration of mother's allowance to unmarried mothers, services for the protection of neglected children, and services designed to prevent the neglect of children and the necessity for the removal of children from their own homes. Financial assistance programs, including social aid and mother's allowance, were administered by the Social Aid Branch of the Department so that a close working relationship between the Family Division of the Child Welfare Branch and the Social Aid Branch was essential in providing financial aid and family services to families with needs in both areas. A large volume of work was involved for the Family Division. To relieve the heavy burden placed upon the supervisor three junior members of the staff were assigned to assist with the supervisory duties. One of these was assigned to the administration of mother's allowance to unmarried mothers, one to the work concerning putative fathers, and one to family and protection services.

The Child Care Division was not concerned with the direct administration of legislation. The supervisor's duties included planning for wards and none-wards, i.e., children who had
been taken into either permanent or temporary care by the Child Welfare Branch. The duties entailed the operation of a foster home program, supervision of children in placements, and all the services to meet the physical, educational, and emotional needs of the children for whom the Child Welfare Branch had assumed responsibility.

The Adoption Division was responsible for the administration of Part III of the Child Welfare Act, pertaining to adoption procedure in the province of Saskatchewan. The supervisor's duties included the approval or rejection of all applications to adopt children, child placing, and supervision of the placements during the probationary period preparatory to the granting of final adoption.

During 1947, children's institutions, previously administered directly by the deputy minister of the Department, were transferred to the director of the Child Welfare Branch. These institutions included the Green Lake Shelter, the North Battleford Receiving Home, the Girls' Hostel, the Babies' Nursery, and Embury House. The Shelter situated at Green Lake in northern Saskatchewan was a residential school for dependent and neglected Metis children. The Girls' Hostel, situated in Regina, was an institution for the treatment of problems presented by teen-age girls. The Receiving Home, situated in North Battleford, and the Babies' Nursery in Regina, served as temporary accommodation for neglected and dependent children pending placement in suitable foster homes. During 1947 the Department had taken over the administration of Embury House from the Regina Children's Aid Society; the Society disbanded in October of that year, and the services previously offered by the Society were assumed by the public agency. Embury House, in Regina, functioned as a temporary receiving
home for children pending more permanent plans.

The areas of responsibility of the Child Welfare Branch were set out by the Child Welfare Act as revised in 1946. Responsibilities in the past had also included administration of the legislation covering juvenile delinquency, but this function was transferred to the newly organized Corrections Branch within the Department of Social Welfare during 1947. Close co-operation was necessary between these two branches of the Department.

The authority and responsibility for the operation of the child welfare program was centralized in the head office at Regina with the director, the assistant director, and the three supervisors.

The province was divided into twenty-seven field districts. The field districts were determined on a population basis, (approximately thirty-five thousand people per district), and followed municipal boundaries. Because of the sparsely scattered population the area of a district was very extensive, particularly in the northern portion of the province. Because of the shortage of qualified personnel it had not been possible to staff all of the districts; and in 1948, each social worker endeavoured to cover at least two districts.

In addition to the Regina office eight district offices had been opened at central points throughout the province in an effort to provide more adequate coverage and make the services more accessible to those people requiring help. District offices were situated at Melfort, Moose Jaw, North Battleford, Prince Albert, Saskatoon, Swift Current, Weyburn, and Yorkton.

To meet different needs in the program and differences in the qualifications of the workers the field staff of the
Department of Social Welfare was divided between two sets of personnel. One field staff, classified as social welfare officers, did the work of the Old Age Pension, Social Aid, and Corrections Branches. The second field staff, classified as child welfare officers, did the work of the Child Welfare Branch. District office facilities were shared by the social welfare officers and the child welfare officers. Co-operation was essential between the two field staffs in order to provide satisfactory service to families in which there were a variety of needs.

In those districts in which it had not been possible to place child welfare personnel, the social welfare officers carried the child welfare cases in addition to their regular caseloads. The child welfare cases, of course, were supervised by the Child Welfare Branch irregardless of the field staff which carried them.

Contact with the field staff in district offices was maintained primarily by correspondence with the head office in Regina, strengthened by as much personal supervision as possible, and by occasional staff conferences.

The director of the Child Welfare Branch delegated authority to the three supervisors, one of which was responsible for the administration of the adoption program, the second for the child care program, and the third for the protection program. Authority and responsibility flowed from the director, through the assistant director, to the supervisors. The two levels of integration in the administrative organization of the agency are shown in Chart 1 on page eight. The lines of authority flowed from the deputy minister to the director, through the assistant director to the supervisors and to the field staff. Ideally, authority and responsibility circulates from top to
Chart 1

Administrative Organization of the Child Welfare Branch

Deputy minister

Social welfare board

Child Welfare Branch
   Director

   - Assistant director

   Clerical and accounting

   Family division supervisor
   Adoption division supervisor
   Child care division supervisor

Field staff
bottom and from bottom to top. The administrator is responsible for settling questions of policy. It is the field staff with the caseloads who use that policy. If the policy does not work the field staff have a responsibility to their clients to pass the criticism and constructive suggestions back through the supervisor to the administrator. Only be study and sifting at all levels of integration does a program operate efficiently. The Child Welfare Branch tried to observe this democratic process, but the indirect association between the central office and the field staff created difficulties in the actual performance of the objective. The lines of authority in the agency's organization were clearly defined and maintained a satisfactory degree of efficiency in the operation of a developing program.

**Personnel**

Personnel is a qualitative and a quantitative problem. The success, or the failure, of the child welfare program hinges on the calibre of persons actually doing the job, giving service to the client, proving by demonstration the real value of the program. Those whose responsibility it is to deal with the child and the family deal with the most fundamental emotions. Skill and training are essential to the child welfare worker.

As a result of the shortage of qualified personnel throughout Canada, the Saskatchewan government agency adopted a program of staff development. To facilitate training, staff members were offered leave-of-absence with half salary while attending university. The contract stipulated that upon completion of the course the staff member would return to work with the Department for three
years or refund the educational benefits which had been received. On
that basis four staff members were able to attend university during
1944-45, four attended in 1945-46, two attended in 1946-47, and two

In addition to the staff development program the
agency adopted the policy of recruiting trained social workers. Upon
formation of the Department in 1944 there was one trained social
worker, (the director of the Child Welfare Branch), on staff. In
1944-45 there were two social workers appointed to the staff of the
Child Welfare Branch. By 1945 three supervisors trained in social
work had been appointed, and out of the field staff of twelve, six had
some training at schools of social work. At the beginning of the 1948
fiscal year the work of the Child Welfare Branch was carried on by the
director, an assistant director, a supervisory staff of three, and a
field staff of twenty-three. Of that personnel seven had completed
two years of graduate training in social work and nine had completed
one year of graduate training in social work; five had taken special
courses for non-university graduates; two were on educational leave.

The administrative problem is not only one of
obtaining staff but of retaining them. The latter involves not only
remunerative satisfaction, opportunities for advancement, and
generally attractive personnel practices. Self-satisfaction and a
sense of achievement in a job with an overweight caseload, an outsize
district, and demands for community interpretation and participation,
is difficult to maintain.

In spite of the impressive strides achieved toward
increasing the size of the staff the commensurate developments of the
program of services made excessive demands of the field staff. In 1948 caseloads of the rural child welfare officers averaged well over two hundred. Action on cases referred was delayed indefinitely. The field staff could do little beyond coping with emergency situations. Trained to do a preventive and therapeutic job the real situation was disconcerting to the field staff and to the administration.

Two primary goals of a public child welfare program are that all children shall have access to the services, and that the services shall be available to the child and his family in the community in which they live. Achievement of these objectives was limited for the Child Welfare Branch by the shortage of staff with the time to devote toward meeting the needs for service in the province.

The Place Of Private Agencies In The Child Welfare Field

Working toward closer co-operation between the Child Welfare Branch and the Children's Aid Societies a conference was held during 1945 at which areas of mutual interest and concern were discussed. The private agencies were reviewing their programs in comparison with developments in the government agency. Faced by problems of finance and the shortage of qualified personnel the private agencies found it difficult to keep pace with the progressive standards expected from them.

The Regina Children's Aid Society, in 1945, had increased their staff to four and had secured a trained social worker as administrator of the agency. The effectiveness of the services

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increased proportionately, and the Society had assumed a position of leadership for the other private agencies. Their program included the operation of Embury House and the Babies' Welfare, and concentrated on providing broader preventive services in the community.

The Prince Albert Children's Aid Society was unable to finance a program in line with acceptable standards, and, in March of 1946, disbanded. The Child Welfare Branch assumed responsibility for the Societies fifty wards and future services to children in the city of Prince Albert, together with the assets and the liabilities of the Society. The former Board of the Society continued to act in the role of an advisory child welfare committee.

The Moose Jaw Society had continued to operate a "Children's Shelter" also used by the Child Welfare Branch for the temporary care of wards. The standards of care provided in the institution, however, were so unsatisfactory that the government agency removed their wards. Unable to meet the standards required the Society requested to be relieved of the institution in May 1946. At the request of the Moose Jaw city council a survey of the social agencies in the city was conducted in September 1947. The Canadian Welfare Council provided the services of a staff member to do the study. Briefly, the recommendations in relation to the Children's Aid Society were as follows: (1) Increased use should be made of the active family agency for providing services to children in their own homes. (2) Consideration should be given to withdrawal from operation in the neglect field. (3) Consideration should be given to the problems of juvenile delinquency and the possibility of undertaking a program of probation services in Moose Jaw in co-operation with the provincial
Child Welfare Branch.  

The Saskatoon Children's Aid Society had assisted a staff member, who later became executive secretary of the agency, to obtain social work training. Until 1948 the Society had been responsible for protection services, services to unmarried parents, adoption services, probation services, and supervision of temporary wards in placement. At that time the Society asked to be relieved of the services to unmarried parents and the adoption program in order to concentrate on a program of protection services, supervision of children in temporary care, and the operation of the Society's institution for the care of children, Kilburn Hall.

Through the Community Welfare Council in 1947 the Board of the Regina Children's Aid Society initiated a survey to evaluate the future function of their agency. A supervisor from the Division of Social Welfare at St. Paul in Minnesota was brought to Saskatchewan to do the study. The recommendations in part were as follows: (1) That the agency withdraw from the traditional protective role and give up probation work. (2) That the agency withdraw from the adoption field. (3) That the agency take steps to establish a province-wide case work service emphasizing prevention and treatment. (4) That the agency, as a part of the suggested program, establish a "case finding" service in Regina.  

The Children's Aid Society in Regina had made a valuable contribution to the community, and the decision of the Board to withdraw from the child welfare field was accepted with reluctance in August 1947.

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Only the Saskatoon Children's Aid Society continued to function at all in the child welfare field. A province with a predominantly rural population, child welfare services for Saskatchewan was largely a rural problem. Saskatchewan cities are small and had been unable to support programs of a desirable standard. The economic depression of the 1930's riddled Saskatchewan's financial picture more thoroughly, perhaps, than any other province. Local areas were unable to carry responsibilities and were dependent upon assistance from senior governments. Therefore, the developments in the area of child welfare services were not peculiar in the province, but in keeping with the general pattern. The possibility of provincial subsidies to private agencies must have been contemplated and, presumably, rejected because the Department believed it would be possible to provide a higher standard of service more economically themselves. Unfortunately, assuming responsibility for providing children's services in urban areas increased the burden on the understaffed agency whose own program was still in a developmental stage.

A part of the reason behind the withdrawal of private agencies may have been the failure of the Societies and their Boards to recognize the real role of the private agency in the total program of providing services to children. For thirty years the Societies operated almost as small appendages to the Bureau of Child Protection. They had copied faithfully the example set by the government agency and had not ventured into the area of leadership. The sudden developments of the public agency during the 1940's was threatening. The Societies saw themselves in the situation of hopeless competitors rather than as partners in a community child welfare
program.

Child welfare services were organized for Saskatchewan in 1908. There was an initial period of optimistic planning followed by a prolonged period of stagnation. The public agency revived, but the private agencies providing services for children succumbed. The whole story, in so far as the writer has been able to discover it, is recorded in the chapters to follow.
CHAPTER 2
THE WHEAT BOOM
(1908 – 1913)

Occupation of the Canadian prairies proceeded with little
discrimination. The ease of providing transportation facilities, the
flat grasslands so suited to cultivation, lent the area to development.
Unoccupied lands in the Northwest were controlled by the Dominion govern­
ment, and the national purpose was rapid settlement of them. Sixty
million acres offered as free homesteads were irresistible to the pioneer.
Veterans of the Riel Rebellion took home with them stories of the promise
of the west, attracting many settlers from the British Isles. Neighbours
from the southern border came to settle among the Indians and Metis.
Settlers came from Europe; German Mennonites from Russia, Doukhobors from
Russia, Ukrainians from Galicia and Bukovina, Magyars from Hungary.
Settlement was largely accomplished by 1913 and the grassland terrain gave
way to cultivation. Barbed-wire fences and tall red grain elevators
symbolized civilization on the Saskatchewan plains.

The British North America Act of 1867 assigned exclusive
powers to provincial legislatures in "the establishment, maintenance and
management of hospitals, asylums, charities and eleemosynary institutions
in and for the province," and "generally all matters of merely local or
private nature in the province." This implied provincial responsibility
for social welfare problems beyond those resources supplied by private
charity and municipal organizations. The Dominion government retained
jurisdiction over Indians, militia and defence, certain phases of public
health, limiting the power of the provincial governments for welfare
purposes over these special groups of people.

The Dominion government assumed no responsibility for public welfare, and there was nothing to indicate that any federal assistance to the provinces would be required. Some of the Fathers of Confederation even anticipated a time when private charity would relieve the provincial governments of their existing responsibilities for public welfare.3

Certainly at the time of Confederation the poor, the aged and handicapped, the widows and orphans, were the responsibility of local and private organizations.

In the older established provinces the self-sufficient family unit shouldered the burden of providing security for its unfortunate. Few problems went beyond the family homestead and the local community. The care of the individual was a family function, and when the family failed, relatives, neighbours, private charity or religious organizations could be relied upon for the necessary assistance. Government's activity in welfare, therefore, was limited to occasional poor relief assistance to local authorities, and to regulation of private charitable organizations.

Early Organization Of A Child Welfare Program

The purpose of the Saskatchewan child welfare legislation in 1908 seems to have been the promotion and organization of private charities, which, in the mushroom development of the province, had not had an opportunity to become established. The peculiarly Canadian institution, the Children's Aid Society, was adopted from Ontario, and a similar pattern was laid out to organize services for neglected and dependent children in Saskatchewan. A Children's Aid Society is a voluntary association of welfare-minded citizens to whom the provincial government delegates

3Speech on the Proposed Union, p.15.
responsibility for administration of children's legislation by a charter, subject to supervision by the public authority. Once legally established, the Children's Aid Society is responsible for services to children within their local area.

The plan followed in Saskatchewan appears to have been to encourage and promote the organization of such local societies throughout the province. It would be the duty of the government to supervise these societies and to offer a similar program of children's services to those areas in which societies did not operate, in an effort to bring uniform services to all children in the province.

Only one orphanage, St. Patrick's in Prince Albert, existed in Saskatchewan in 1908.4 The surprising lack of children's institutions, particularly in comparison to the abundance of such organizations in older provinces, was perhaps an advantage in facilitating the organization of resources to care for children without undoing or remoulding existing ones. The one established institution was utilized, and a co-operative program was arranged with St. Patrick's Orphanage.

The 1908 statute set out the structure for this public organization whose duty it would be to protect neglected and dependent children in Saskatchewan. A Superintendent was appointed to administer the legislation, the late S. Spencer Page being the first to hold the post. The new governmental branch was tentatively placed in the Provincial Secretary's department.

The first legislation, An Act for the Better Protection of Neglected and Dependent Children, was passed in June 1908 by the Saskatchewan legislature. The similarity of this piece of legislation to that

4Annual Report, Superintendent of Dependent and Neglected Children, Saskatchewan, 1912, p.4.
operating in Ontario suggests that the Saskatchewan legislators had looked to their sister province for guidance and experience in the field of child welfare.

The purpose of the new legislation as stated in the duties of the Superintendent was "to encourage and assist in the organization and establishment in various parts of the province of societies for the protection of children from neglect or cruelty, and for the due care of neglected and abandoned children in temporary homes or shelters and the placing of such children in properly selected foster homes." Further duties enumerated in the legislation included inspection of children in foster homes and shelters, supervision of the recorded activities of established societies, and general enforcement of the Act's provisions.

Soon after the setting up of the administration the government, on the suggestion of the Reverend E. A. Henry and a group of interested citizens, invited the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children from Ontario to visit Saskatchewan in 1909. The visit of Mr. J. J. Kelso was of considerable moment, for he addressed gatherings of welfare-minded people in the four urban centres, bringing to them the experience of the eastern province, offering suggestions for the organization of children's protection services, and arousing interest in the child welfare work being undertaken in Saskatchewan.

Children's Aid Societies were incorporated at Carlyle, Estevan, Humboldt, Indian Head, Kamsack, Maple Creek, Melville, Moosomin, Moose Jaw, North Battleford, Prince Albert, Qu'Appelle, Regina,

5 Chapter 31, Section 9, Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1908.
6 "Public Service Monthly, Department of Agriculture, Regina, Vol.6, No.5, p.1, December 1917."
Saskatoon, Swift Current, Weyburn, and Yorkton. Of these the three in largest urban areas functioned actively. The Regina Society was organized in 1908, the Saskatoon Society in 1909, and the Moose Jaw Society in 1912. These Societies operated "shelters," and were financially subsidized by their city's budgets. These shelters were also used by the government agency as temporary homes for children from rural areas committed to the care of the Superintendent, the province paying for the accommodation at the rate of $2.50 per week per child.

In the cities of Moose Jaw, Saskatoon, and Regina full responsibility was accepted for neglected children. The idea of local responsibility seems to have been clearly reflected there. Administration of children's legislation was largely carried on through the local societies, and the plan was to expand on that level. Provincial coverage by Children's Aid Societies had served successfully for twenty years in Ontario, and Saskatchewan administrators anticipated equally gratifying results from a similar system.

The agricultural economy of Saskatchewan, with the majority of the population scattered in rural areas and small villages, would seem to indicate that such a plan was less feasible than in more industrialized Ontario. It would seem, too, that the provincial agency would be faced with a large responsibility for the great percentage of children residing in rural areas.

**Legislation**

A child in need of protection was defined by statute to include seven categories of neglect - a child who is begging; who is

\[ Annual Report, S.N.D.C., 1913, p.5. \]
wandering about at night and sleeping in the open; who is associating with
a thief or drunkard or vagrant and allowed to grow up without salutary
parental control; who lives in any disorderly house or in the company of
reputed criminal or immoral or disorderly people; who is a destitute
orphan deserted by lawful parents or guardians; who is guilty of petty
crimes and likely to develop criminal tendencies; who is habitually truant
from school. The Saskatchewan government's concept of factors constitu-
ting neglect, the attempt to curb begging, vagrancy and immorality, was in
tune with other Canadian provinces who had inherited their philosophy from
English Common Law. A child was deemed to be any person actually or
apparently under the age of sixteen years.

Within forty-eight hours after apprehending a child believed
to be neglected within one or more of these categories the child had to be
brought before a Judge for hearing. The parents had the right to be
present and to state their case. The Judge might either dismiss the case
or transfer guardianship of the child to the Superintendent or a
Children's Aid Society.

Two major amendments were made to the Protection Act in
1913. The first compelled Judges to make an order of maintenance
against the municipality in which the child committed to care had
residence. This step seems to have been another in the direction of
establishing local responsibility. The second amendment allowed cities
and towns to provide and maintain temporary detention homes, in which a
child could not be detained longer than three months without the consent
of the Superintendent. The plan seems to have been to provide an inter-
mediary type of care for juvenile offenders, which, it was hoped, would
prevent a life of crime and admission to an Industrial School by convincing
the child of the need to mend his ways. The city of Regina considered establishing such a detention home, but none were in actual operation, according to the Superintendent's report in 1913. The move illustrates an attempt at prevention of serious delinquency. It was, however, contrary to present-day philosophy with the emphasis on treatment of behaviour's causal factors rather than punishment for the results. It is unfair to measure standards of 1900 with those of a later, more enlightened period. The important element is that there was a real desire in 1908 to prevent delinquency and an effort was directed toward providing resources.

Finance

Expenditures for child welfare by the province during 1913, as revealed by the Public Accounts Inquiry of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, totalled $16,000. Out of this $8,000 was used for services to children requiring protection under the Act, and $8,000 was used for administrative costs.

The government encouraged Children's Aid Societies to take responsibility, so that the provincial expenditure for the care of children was less than might be expected. The government's policy was one of promoting foster home care for children, so the province did not sponsor any institutions for child care nor were any grants made to those under private auspices. The foster home program included free homes for the younger children, and wage homes for the older ones. The era of the paid foster home was still far remote. The actual costs of children in care, therefore, would be negligible except during the temporary period between removal from the child's own home and placement in an approved foster home.
Fifty percent of the budget devoted to administration is not so startling as it might seem. The $8,000, which would include staff salaries, office supplies and equipment is not exorbitant. The program was in an embryonic stage, and the expenditures not too authentic as an indication of the calibre of service provided to Saskatchewan children.

**Services For Children**

In the first annual report published in 1912 the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children said, "In institutions such as these (orphanages) there can be but little development of spirit of self-reliance, and today it is very widely recognized that the better plan is to bring children under the care and protection of a well chosen home where all recollection of the previous troublous existence is soon forgotten and much of the effect of the same eradicated."

Foster home placement of children committed to the guardianship of the Superintendent was the essential note in the work. Newspaper publicity was used in the campaign for foster homes, and, the Superintendent reported, with great success for the number of applications for children greatly exceeded the supply. The foster home study outlined by the Superintendent required a written application form and at least two character references, one of whom had to be a clergyman. The references were contacted by letter, and it might be assumed from the case records quoted in the annual reports that a good portion of the supervision of the subsequent placement was also done by correspondence.

Preference was given to childless homes, or to homes with only one child.

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8 From 1909 until 1913 the staff employed to administer the Children's Protection Act was a Superintendent and a stenographer.

9 Annual Report, S.N.D.C., Saskatchewan, 1915, p.1
who was lonely and in need of companionship. A written agreement at the
time of placement required regular school attendance for the child, and
provided for inspection of the home and the right of the Superintendent to
remove the child without notice.

In the light of present day thinking we question the lack of
personal contact in the selection of foster homes and supervision of them
after placement. This may well have been a practical limitation, parti-
cularly in rural areas where it was impossible for regular visits by the
two staff members assigned to child welfare work. However critical we
may be of the foster home study and supervision of foster homes, the
important note is the recognition given the family group as the most desir-
able environment for a child, and the recognition given to education as
important for children as future citizens. Both concepts are basic to
child welfare, and the fact that attempts were made to provide children
with these essentials compensated for the calibre of service which could
be developed in the future.

Success was reported with the free foster home placement of
young children, but the plan was believed to be less suited to the older
age groups. A similar procedure was followed in the search for homes
for older children, but the agreement differed in its wording to require
the foster parent to provide the child with "kind treatment, board, lodg-
ing, washing, clothing, and necessaries," and "to pay to the society or
to the Superintendent a small wage in trust for the child," and "to send
the child regularly to school if of school age." Wages paid in trust
were deposited in the child's individual savings account in a chartered
bank, and payment was withheld until the child reached an age of
"discretion."
The Superintendent discussed in his annual report the dangers of rural wage home placements. "The boys-to-de-chores" demand was unlimited, and the tendency to take advantage of government wards as cheap labour was a pitfall to which it was felt that careful supervision must be devoted.

Of the 457 children committed to the care of the Superintendent during the period ending December 31st, 1913, 294 were placed in foster homes subject to supervision by the Superintendent or a Society. An additional 47 were placed in foster homes outside the province. Altogether, 77 per cent of the children in government care had been placed in foster homes, and the remaining 23 per cent were, presumably, cared for in shelters or industrial schools. The statistics substantiated the policy of foster home placement in preference to institutional care.

The statistics recorded in the Superintendent's report for 1913 go on to state that 222 visits were made to children in foster homes during the year. It had not been practicable to visit in 74 cases, those children residing out of the province, or those who had married, absconded or died. Therefore, with responsibility for supervision of 267 children only 222 visits were made to the foster homes. Some children must have been seen only once or not at all. Such irregularity of supervision seems seriously inadequate. Perhaps this lack of attention to children in foster homes may account for the 72 replacements which were required during the same year, and for the 11 children who absconded from foster homes, and for the 11 children who disappeared with absconding foster parents. Insufficient staff, lack of time, long distances to travel, attention concentrated on the organization of a program rather

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10 Annual Report, S.N.D.C., Saskatchewan, 1913, P.18.
than actual practice during the initial period of development, may have
contributed to the quantity of supervision given to the children for whom
the government had accepted responsibility.

Further statistics in the 1913 report indicate that out of
the 457 children in care 106 children were placed with relatives.
Thirty per cent of the wards so placed gives some indication of the res­
ponsibility which the immediate family group accepted for dependent
children.

Institutional Care For Special Groups Of Children

Children, ten years of age and over, who came into the hands
of the police and whom it was believed might benefit from education and
care in an industrial school, could be admitted to such a school by the
Attorney General for an indefinite period. Good conduct, progress in
school, and industry in farm or shop work during the period in the
institution earned the parole of the child to a foster home. The
facilities of the Portage la Prairie Industrial School in Manitoba were
used for boys; girls were sent to the Convent of the Sisters of the Good
Shepherd in Winnipeg or the Presbyterian Social Service House at
Calgary.11

As previously stated the government used the Moose Jaw,
Regina, and Saskatoon Shelters, and St. Patrick's Orphanage as temporary
receiving homes pending foster home placement.

The needs of the deaf and dumb, the blind, and the feeble­
minded children were singled out for special services in the legislation
apart from the neglected and dependent child in need of protection.

11
6Annual Report, S.N.D.C., Saskatchewan, 1913, p.9.
Institutional care was believed to be the most adequate for children with these special problems.

The facilities of the Ontario Institute for the Blind at Brantford were utilized for six blind children from Saskatchewan. In his 1913 report the Superintendent commented on the low registration of blind children in the province and expressed concern that there must be more children who could benefit from the opportunity of training at the Brantford School.

The Institute for the Deaf, in Winnipeg, was the resource used for training deaf children in Saskatchewan. Accommodation in the Institute was limited, and while twenty-eight children from Saskatchewan attended, the 1913 annual report stated that an equal number awaited admission when space was available.

Feeble-minded children composed the largest of the special groups, and the group for whose needs the Superintendent was most concerned. Mental hospitals could accommodate the lower intelligence groups and provide custodial care, but another group that could benefit from training was not receiving it. The number registered for special training increased from forty in 1912 to seventy in 1913. The Superintendent recommended, in the 1913 annual report, that consideration should be given by the three prairie provinces to the provision of an institution for the special training of feeble-minded children from Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan.

It is not surprising that early attention in the organization of the child welfare program was focused on specific groups of children, the deaf, the blind, the feeble-minded, and the delinquent. Handicapped children present a particularly pathetic appeal to the public. In
launching a child welfare program it is, therefore, a strategic starting point from which to build public interest, enthusiasm, and support.

**Informal Adoptions**

The annual reports of the Superintendent in 1912 and again in 1913 emphasized the inadequacy of the unrecorded adoption and the need for a more formal procedure. The protection which legal adoption would give to the child, to the adopting parents, in permanency and security was fully appreciated by the administrator, together with the greater assurance for the well-being of her child with which it would provide the natural parent. Apparently, the need for legally recognized inheritance rights of foster children first brought this thought to light. Children placed permanently with foster parents did not have inheritance rights, except when deliberately arranged by the last will and testament of the foster parent. It was thought that some provision should be made for the future of foster children in the event of the deaths of the foster parents. Legislation to provide for legal adoption had not yet been enacted in Saskatchewan, but the need was recognized for such a provision in the future.

The Superintendent attended the Conference of Canadian Charities and Corrections in Winnipeg in 1913, and apparently found it to be highly impressive and enlightening as he the Conference in detail in his annual report. He was also authorized during the same year to visit the progressive institutions for handicapped children in Minnesota and Wisconsin. "Warning should be taken by the faults and troubles of the older settled portions of Canada, and it should be very fully recognized that prevention is better than cure," seems to summarize the philosophy
of the Saskatchewan child welfare administration and indicated the vigilance with which guidance, stimulation, and inspiration were sought.

The prairie wheat boom brought prosperity to Saskatchewan, but it was a prosperity hinging on the production of wheat, which, in turn, swung precariously on the whim of nature. The prairie provinces specialized in producing wheat for the international market, and in proportion to this specialization the self-sufficient pioneer became dependent and less able to meet mischances and economic diversities by his own effort. Saskatchewan was far less self-reliant than the more established provinces with their more versatile economies. The individual, and the collection of individuals in each local municipality, was far less able to shoulder responsibility for welfare problems in times of stress. These factors may account in a great degree for the assumption by the provincial government of new welfare responsibilities precipitated during World War I.
CHAPTER III

THE FIRST WORLD WAR
(1914 - 1920)

During the period the Children's Protection Act continued to be administered by Children's Aid Societies in the three cities of Moose Jaw, Regina, and Saskatoon. Societies had been formed, also, in Estevan and in Swift Current, but neither agency functioned actively. The Swift Current Society believed their program to be seriously prohibited by the lack of a "shelter" in which to place the children in need of protection, and considered the possibility of building such an institution. The coverage of the government agency's program included services to all children living outside the areas served by local Societies.

The staff employed by the government to administer the child welfare legislation grew by 1915 to include the Superintendent, an Assistant Superintendent, an Inspector, four stenographers, and one clerk. Following the death of the first Superintendent in 1915, Miss Ethel J. MacLachlan was promoted to that post and held the position until her appointment as Judge of the Juvenile Court in September 1917. Mr. F. J. Reynolds received the appointment as Superintendent at that time.

The Juvenile Courts Act, passed in March 1917, brought the federal legislation on this subject into operation in Saskatchewan. The

12 Annual Report, S.N.D.C., Regina, 1914, p.5.
13 Annual Report, S.N.D.C., Regina, 1915, p.11.
Act provided for the appointment locally of voluntary or paid probation officers, and for the appointment of special Judges for Juvenile Court purposes. In practice the staff members of the Children's Aid Societies and the government agency added this new function, serving as probation officers, to their other duties. The Superintendent appealed to communities to appoint probation officers to stimulate interest and accept responsibility for local problems.

The thinking behind the enactment of this legislation is outlined in a quotation from the report of J. J. Kelso:

"To the proper working out of the juvenile court idea, two auxiliaries are indispensable, probation agents and a children's temporary shelter or detention home. The judge cannot personally investigate the cases brought before him nor can he follow up the case after the child has been brought before him. This is the work of probation agents, and their patience and friendly interest in the child and his home surroundings can usually save further court proceedings. Many of these probation agents will doubtless be ladies who have special qualifications for work of this kind. It should not be done by police officers, who, however kind they may be, are usually regarded with distrust by both the children and their parents. To prevent the child continuing in wrong doing there must be continuous supervision and if the cause of the trouble cannot be removed the probation agent should not hesitate to bring the matter before the judge."\(^{14}\)

The administrators of child welfare in Saskatchewan had again looked to Ontario and the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent children there, for guidance and council in building the Saskatchewan
program. Planning by the Saskatchewan administration was in step with changes initiated in other provinces. The establishment of a Juvenile Court set up legal machinery to handle cases in which children were involved, apart from the adult courts. The recognition of a specialized service as a particular need for handling the problems of children was a sound philosophy. Rather than concern over a formal structure the primary emphasis in the Juvenile Court was the development of a special process requiring knowledge, understanding, and a capacity to be helpful. The Juvenile Court Act brought under one jurisdiction all cases involving delinquent, neglected, and dependent children. Provisions for the specialization apart from the usual courts included separate detention, separate and private hearings, and probation services to provide the Juvenile Court judge with a complete picture of each situation and to provide supervisory services of children if the judge believed such services would abet the solution of problems.

Services to Families

A variety of cases were referred to the Superintendent for investigation as potential neglect situations - cases of cruelty, cases of neglect, and cases of children believed to be living in immoral surroundings. The field staff made an investigation in each case referred, reported on the circumstances to the Superintendent, and, if the evidence warranted transfer of guardianship, the Superintendent issued instructions for a court hearing.\(^{15}\)

Judging from recorded cases up to April 1919 in 1713 cases out of 5146 committal to ward care was necessary. In other words, one

\(^{15}\)Annual Report, S.N.D.C., Regina, 1919, p.5.
in three of the cases visited were neglect situations warranting removal of children from their natural parents. No information is available for this period to indicate whether or not any time was spent in working with the remaining cases to try and improve conditions to avoid ultimate committal, or even whether such a service was believed necessary.

### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Referrals</th>
<th>Committals</th>
<th>Total children in care</th>
<th>Discharged From Care</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>O  M  D  L  A Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.1912</td>
<td>1089</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>0 0 7 0 9 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.1913</td>
<td>1038</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>0 2 4 1 5 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.1914</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>685</td>
<td>1 2 5 0 4 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.1915</td>
<td>696</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>989</td>
<td>0 2 10 1 2 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.1916</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>1243</td>
<td>0 0 5 0 1 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec.1917</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>1438</td>
<td>0 1 7 0 1 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr.1919</td>
<td>1135</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>1726</td>
<td>0 0 6 1 3 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>5146</td>
<td>(1713)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 7 44 3 25 80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, S.M.D.C., Regina, 1913 to 1919.

#Beginning April 1919 the fiscal year ended April 30th, rather than the calendar year.


The total number of committals during the period does not agree with the individual items recorded annually.

During the first twelve years of operation 1713 children were committed to the care of the government agency or to one of the three Children's Aid Societies. Of this number eighty were discharged
from care and supervision was no longer necessary or practicable.

A Foster Home Program

Foster home finding, placement, and supervision remained the essential functions in the government program for dependent and neglected children. The Saskatchewan administrators followed the lead of Ontario and adhered to the practice of placing Protestant children in Protestant homes, and Roman Catholic children in Roman Catholic homes, and no problems had been encountered in the religious aspect of the placement program.

One problem which did present difficulty was the need to impress upon foster parents their obligation to permit regular school attendance by foster children. Continual inquiry into school progress had to be made, particularly in order to protect older children who were more vulnerable to labour exploitation. Many applications for foster children were refused because the applicants lived too far from school or church. Applicants listing a family of young children and requesting an older foster child suggested more interest in a servant rather than a child and had to be watched closely. Inadequate housing was another reason mentioned for the rejection of some foster home applications by the Superintendent in the 1916 annual report.

The number of foster home placements for children committed to ward care increased from sixty-two per cent of all placements in 1912 to eighty-three per cent during the fiscal year ending April 30th, 1919. Foster home placements in 1914 had been more than ninety per cent of all placements, but diminished until a low of forty-three per cent was reached in 1917. The decrease in foster home placement may have been due
in part to the war period when people devoted their full attention to war industry and production rather than opening their homes to foster children. Poor crops throughout the province during the period, compared with the financial prosperity of the earlier wheat boom, coupled with the insecurity of a world war, perhaps, did not encourage people to open their homes to foster children on a free-home basis as readily as in the past.

Foster homes, it was reported, were inspected regularly. Every detail of the home surroundings was investigated and reported to the Superintendent. Each visit to the foster home included a private interview with the child to determine the ward's opinion of the foster home placement.16

According to the figures quoted with regard to the supervision of wards during the years 1914, 1915, and 1916, it would not have been possible for ninety-seven, eighty-three, and eighty-nine children in foster homes during those respective years to have been visited at all and the remainder could not have been seen more than once. Some of the placements were made late in the fall so that it was not believed necessary to revisit before the end of the year. Some of the wards, too, may have been those of the Children's Aid Societies who were responsible for their placement and supervision. Nevertheless, it would appear doubtful that the government agency, in practice, was able to carry out the commendable policies outlined.

The demand for older boys and girls to do chores was still unlimited. The government administration stressed their philosophy in the 1916 annual report as, "We have no men and women to hire out. We have

boys and girls for whom we want homes." The child welfare authorities were aware of a tendency on the part of some foster parents to exploit government wards, coupled with a disinclination to send the children to school.

**TABLE 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Children in Placement</th>
<th>Visits to Foster Homes</th>
<th>Visits not made to foster homes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>738</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>891</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, S.N.D.C., Regina, 1914, 1915, and 1916; figures for other years in period under discussion not available.

The totals recorded in annual reports do not agree with individual items.


There were two types of agreements for wage home placements. "Proper farm wages" were paid to wards past school age placed in foster homes for the purpose of supervised employment. Another agreement provided a small wage to be paid to children, attending school, but old enough to be of help around the farm after school hours. After providing the necessary clothing the foster parents forwarded the remainder of the ward's monthly wage to the Superintendent to be deposited in the child's trust account.

17 Annual Report, S.N.D.C., Regina, p. 12.
The number of applications for children on a foster home wage agreement basis increased during the period from 1912 to 1916. Forty-seven children were placed in wage homes in 1912, compared to 183 similar placements in 1916. The war, conscription of man power, and the shortage of farm labour may have contributed toward the trend of placing wards in employment.

**Institutional Care For Children**

The hospitality of the Moose Jaw, Regina, and Saskatoon Shelters continued to be available as temporary accommodation for the provincial agency at the rate of $2.50 per week per child (raised to $3.50 per week per child in 1917 to meet the rising cost of living accompanying the war period.) The Children's Aid Societies repeated, in their reports to the Superintendent during this period, that with the increased volume of their work the existing facilities in the "shelters" had become inadequate and contemplated extensions to their buildings. The Regina Babies' Welfare, an institution opened by the city of Regina in conjunction with their "shelter", but for the care of young babies and toddlers, was also available to the Superintendent for temporary placement of wards pending location of suitable foster homes.

Also, the provincial agency began during this period to use other resources in the communities, convents and private boarding schools which had become established, for some of the wards. Older children, particularly, it was found did not assimilate as well into family groups as young children. Convents and boarding schools were, therefore, sometimes used in preference to the free foster homes. The

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lack of a girls' correctional school in the province created problems for which the agency's administration sought a solution. It was believed that girls presenting behaviour problems which were not acceptable in a foster home would receive more benefit from institutional living.

### TABLE 3

**DISTRIBUTION OF WARDS IN INSTITUTIONAL CARE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Shelters</th>
<th>Convents and Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BW</td>
<td>MJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, S.N.D.C., Regina, 1913 to 1919 inclusive.


The Superintendent's report stated that 177 visits were made to children in institutions during 1914, 214 visits during 1915, and 268 visits during 1916. It is obvious that the supervision provided to wards in institutional placement was vastly more adequate than the contact maintained with children placed in foster homes. Perhaps this was evident
because of a greater faith placed in the integrity of foster parents, interpreted as an assurance of security for children with less need for an active interest on the part of the agency. No doubt the location of the institutions in the more accessible centres was a practical factor. It is possible, also, that the children in institutional placement were those with personal problems less acceptable to foster parents, and whose behaviour demanded the attention of the agency's staff.

Use of the Portage Industrial School for Boys in Manitoba was discontinued by the Saskatchewan government in 1915 when the Portage School doubled the maintenance rate and precipitated the opening of a boys' industrial school in Saskatchewan. The former court house at Wolseley was converted for the purpose. The Industrial School was for the detention of boys under seventeen years of age, and the term of confinement depended upon the Boy's conduct. The boys attended school on the grounds, and worked in rotation at shoe repairing, baking, and laundry for the institution. Baseball, football, skating composed the recreation program. A ten acre garden provided vegetables for consumption of the boys in the school. The accommodation was too limited, however, and in January of 1919 the school was moved to the larger premises previously occupied by the Indian School on the outskirts of Regina.\(^\text{19}\)

The provincial administration was concerned by the lack of similar facilities for girls within the province. The detention homes in Alberta and Manitoba were used, also local convents and private institutions. The latter, it was believed, were undesirable as the delinquent girls mingled with younger innocent children. The administration

\(^{19}\) Annual Report, S.N.D.C., Regina, 1919, p.7.
visualized a cottage-type institution, with a farm attached to render the school self-supporting, the school providing domestic, public school, and business training for the girls. It is interesting to note the commendable philosophy and that the purpose of such an institution was not to be purely custodial in nature, and that the importance of training for rehabilitation of the girls in the community was recognized.

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Boys @ P.I.S.</th>
<th>R.D.H.</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Girls C.S.S.H.</th>
<th>W.H.G.S.</th>
<th>W.S.A.I.H.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, SNDC, Regina, 1913 to 1919 inclusive; relative figures are not recorded in the report of 1915.


The government had felt obligated to provide an institution for delinquent boys within the province. In so far as comparative numbers of boys and girls receiving such institutional training during the period was concerned, the need for a girl's institution appeared equally great. Perhaps part of the reason why the boys' institution was
established and the girls' institution was not may have been based on the philosophy that the delinquencies of the "weaker" sex are less formidable, and, therefore, more amenable to improvement in convents and the resources which did exist until the time that the government was prepared to undertake operation of a second institution.

Inadequacies Of The Informal Adoption Program

The Superintendent reiterated his concern with the prevailing practice of informal adoptions during the period of 1914 to 1920, recalling cases in which the Court had returned children to natural parents after years of placement with foster parents. The reaction of all the people involved to such a court order, and most of all the child, was obviously very damaging. The Superintendent emphasized three advantages of formal adoptions. (1) The foster child was watched and protected as a child supervised under the Act. (2) There was security for the natural mother, in knowing that the Superintendent would protect her child in the event of misfortune befalling the foster parents. (3) There was protection for the foster parents from interference by the natural parents.20

An informal provincial agreement with regard to adoptions had been drawn up between Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. Each province agreed to notify the appropriate Superintendent of child welfare of placements made in another province so that supervision of the foster home could be arranged. Placement outside the home province was to be considered only in special cases, such as keeping children with relatives. The need for such an interprovincial agreement had been indicated by a series of unfortunate placements of children by a Winnipeg agency in foster homes

20Annual Report, S.N.D.C., Regina, 1917, p.28.
rejected by other provinces. 21

Adoption legislation had not yet been passed in Saskatchewan, but current views, and some official practices, were anticipating the Adoption Act to be passed in 1922.

Services To Unmarried Parents

In addition to Court procedure, the Act also provided for the voluntary surrender of a child to the guardianship of the Superintendent or to a Children's Aid Society by the parent. This procedure was used mainly for unmarried mothers unable or unwilling to maintain their children, rather than resorting to the formality and publicity of court proceedings. 22 The practice was, no doubt, less troublesome and involved than the usual court hearing. It did spare the parent the unpleasantness of a court experience. Such a surrender, however, seemed to make very light of parental responsibilities when it is possible for a parent, by the mere signing of a document, to renounce his rights and responsibilities to his children. This method of transfer of guardianship by surrender was one of the provisions included under the Children's Protection Act. There are, apparently, no cases on record in which a parent who had surrendered his child in later years questioned the legality of the document. The decision of the Court on such a case would have been interesting.

Concern for unmarried mothers as a group deserving more special attention was first raised by the Secretary of the Saskatoon Children's Aid Society, (Mr. A. S. Wright), in his 1917 report to the

22Annual Report, S.N.D.C., Regina, 1919, p.5.
Superintendent. Mr. Wright discussed the criticism which the work of his particular agency with unmarried mothers had aroused in that community. He was the problem as one of protecting dependent children, with a special obligation upon child welfare agencies to help the children branded with the stigma of illegitimacy. He saw the unmarried mother, too, as a distinct problem, as a girl who had erred morally, but, none the less, as a human being entitled to help and to guidance. He challenged the sceptical public to take a broader, more Christian attitude toward illegitimacy. The Ministerial Association of Saskatoon supported the Saskatoon Children's Aid Society and urged the government to pass legislation constituting adultery a crime, which, it was thought, would overcome some of the difficulty involved in bringing the putative father to justice.

There was some indication of growth in the new awareness into problems of illegitimate children, a more healthy attitude and approach to the problems of the unmarried mother. Putative fathers, however, failed to receive any acceptance as people, and the stigma formerly upon the unmarried mother and her child shifted to him. While the recommendations were punitive toward him, the putative father was at least recognized as having some responsibility and was to be considered in the problems of unmarried parents.

Services To Special Groups Of Children

The deaf and blind children were not wards of the Superintendent or of any Children's Aid Society. The natural parents retained guardianship. The responsibility of the government was to contact the parents of handicapped children to familiarize them with the educational facilities available and interpret the value of these services to such
children. The government agency provided escort service for the children to school at the opening of the term, and back to their homes again for the summer holidays. Transportation, tuition, maintenance, and sometimes clothing, was provided for the children attending schools for the deaf and blind. The province accepted considerable financial responsibility for handicapped children, and also the moral responsibility to protect the rights of handicapped children for education and training for lives of independence and achievement.

The facilities for the training of the deaf children were satisfactory until the Winnipeg Institute for the Deaf was unable to accept all the children from Saskatchewan who applied for enrollment. In 1913, however, the Institute moved to larger quarters, and hope was renewed that the Winnipeg School would serve as the prairie training centre for deaf children. Just before the 1914 term the Winnipeg Institute increased the per capita rate from $300 to $500 for the school term. The Saskatchewan administration believed this increase was unreasonable and prohibitory, and the government authorized the Superintendent of child welfare and the Superintendent of education to open a school for the deaf, which was housed in the former legislative buildings in Regina. The two Superintendents visited the Halifax and Belleville Schools, as well as several others in the middle west states. A former principal of the Minnesota School for the Deaf, (Mr. Rodwell), was engaged; and Mrs. Rodwell as matron. The Regina School for the Deaf opened in January 1915, with an enrollment of thirty-six, an increase of eight over the twenty-eight children who had attended the Winnipeg Institute for the Deaf previously.23

The experiment was short-lived, however, and in September of 1915 the Saskatchewan children were again enrolled at the Winnipeg School. An amendment to the School Act, (Section 194), in 1915 made education of deaf children, between the ages of eight and fifteen years inclusive, compulsory for seven months of each year. Parents who failed to co-operate were liable to a small fine for evasion. By 1916, fifty children were receiving training at the Winnipeg Institute for the Deaf.

The Ontario Institute for the Blind at Brantford, the School for the Blind at Montreal, and the Hospice de Nazareth at Montreal, were used for the training of blind children from Saskatchewan. Cases of blind children were still being reported in very small numbers, and the Superintendent believed that there must be a good many blind children in the province who were not aware of the training which the provincial government was prepared to make available for them.

The Saskatchewan administration continued to voice concern for special categories of handicapped children for whom opportunity within the province was limited. This was, perhaps, accelerated by the attention which feeble-minded children were at this time receiving across the continent. The National Conference of Charities and Corrections of the United States held in May 1914, and the Canadian Conference of Charities and Corrections held in March 1915, both attended by representatives from the Saskatchewan government agency, stressed the problems of feeble-minded children. The Conference themes seem to have been that the ultimate solution of the problem was isolation of all feeble-minded women of child-bearing age. The Saskatchewan Superintendent's concurrence with this heredity theory is reflected in his summary of the conference.
The "idiot" group of children was provided with custodial care in the mental hospitals, but the absence of facilities for the training and care of the higher grade defectives was regrettable. No action had been taken with regard to the Superintendent's suggestion of a joint-undertaking by the three prairie provinces to provide a training school for feeble-minded children. Late in 1915 refuge for a certain number of extreme cases was available in the premises previously occupied by the Regina School for the Deaf. This seems to have been an institution, mainly custodial in nature, but providing further segregation for the young mental defectives from the adult defectives and mentally ill people.

The White House Conference in 1919 stressed the responsibility of the community for child labour protection, educational opportunity for children, and the necessity for developing specialized services. The program and the planning of the Saskatchewan administration in the areas of child welfare, during this period, seemed to be following along commensurate with the international and Canadian pattern.

The post-war years brought growing administrative responsibilities for the government child welfare agency in Saskatchewan. What had been visualized at the outset as a small government branch was acquiring many unexpected activities essential to the meeting of new demands in a developing province.

In May 1918, the Superintendent's duties were extended to include responsibility for administration of the Mothers' Allowance Act, and in 1923, the Adoption Act. Responsible in 1908 for administering only the Children's Protection Act, now five pieces of legislation were involved - the Mothers' Allowance Act, the Children's Protection Act, the Adoption Act, the Juvenile Court Act, and the federal Juvenile Delinquent Act. In May 1927 the provincial Acts were to be consolidated into the Child Welfare Act, also incorporating two new pieces of legislation covering unmarried and feeble-minded children. In 1928 the federal Old Age Pension Act was assigned to the Superintendent of the Bureau of Child Protection for administration.

The Superintendent, in his 1927-28 report described the activities of the Bureau as follows: (1) Receiving and committing neglected and dependent children as wards. (2) Home finding and child placing in
free homes. (3) Authorizing and arranging juvenile court hearings in rural districts. (4) Inspecting applications for mother's allowance and re-inspecting cases in pay. (5) Preparing material and making recommendations with regard to legal adoptions. (6) Case finding and arranging treatment of feeble-minded and mentally defective children. (7) Providing services to children of unmarried parents. (8) Case finding and arranging education of deaf and blind children in schools outside of the province. Four methods were involved in these activities, the Superintendent pointed out, "family case work, study and advice; clinical methods in child behaviour study; prosecutions both adult and juvenile; domestic relations adjusted." The Superintendent did not explain these methods in any further detail. The distinction drawn between "family case work" and "domestic relations adjusted" is confusing, and it would appear that the two methods should be the same. A good deal would depend on the meaning which the Superintendent ascribed to the term "casework" at that time.

"It is our aim to keep abreast of the improved methods of child-caring and work towards the standards set by all up-to-date child-caring agencies so far as circumstances will permit." This statement implied the administration's desire to provide the neglected and dependent children in Saskatchewan with the best calibre of service, and an ambition to meet the highest standards of child care. Certain limitations in the program were implied as well. Some of these were suggested earlier, e.g., the lack of training facilities for feeble-minded children, the need for a correctional school for girls.

In 1926 the Superintendent urged that citizens organize for the purpose of handling local cases, and not expect that all responsibility for child welfare services rest upon the government agency in the province. In communities where Children's Aid Societies were not incorporated the appointment of child welfare committees was suggested as an alternative.

To promote organization on the local level the Superintendent emphasized the function of the government agency, as defined in the statute, was to take children before the courts when they were found to be neglected children under the terms designated in the Act. Responsibility for other services to children was interpreted to be a local one. By 1929 twenty-three districts in Saskatchewan had organized child welfare committees.

The three Children's Aid Societies, at Moose Jaw, Regina, and Saskatoon, continued to function in those areas. The government agency continued the working agreement with the Children's Aid Societies for temporary accommodation of the Superintendent's wards in their "shelters." In return for this consideration the Bureau staff supervised the children placed in foster homes outside of their urban jurisdictions by the Societies. Upon request, the Bureau staff also drew up foster child agreements, did child placing and replacements in rural areas for the Societies. 27

By 1923 the government branch responsible for services to children adopted the title, "Bureau of Child Protection." The superintendent of Mothers' Allowances, and also the superintendent of Old Age Pensions in 1928, was responsible to the Superintendent of the Bureau of Child Protection. The administrative head of the Bureau, previously designated as Superintendent, became the Commissioner of the Bureau, perhaps to avoid

27 Annual Report, B.C.P., 1923, p.3.
confusion with the administrator of the new branch of service within the Bureau.

In the early 1920's the field staff of the Bureau increased from one to six inspectors, and by 1926 six men and three women were employed in the field. One of the inspectors devoted full time to home finding and foster home placement. The initial responsibility of the field staff was the supervision of wards placed in foster homes. By 1930 this responsibility had expanded considerably to include a miscellaneous grouping of duties. (1) Investigating domestic trouble in the home of children. (2) Adjusting trouble between foster parents and the Commissioner's wards who were behaviour problems. (3) Investigating referrals of cruelty and neglect by natural parents. (4) Visiting wards in foster homes regularly. (5) Prosecuting adults when warranted and attending court when children's welfare was concerned. (6) Committing neglected children as wards. (7) Investigating wilful neglect and desertion. (8) Negotiating settlements with putative fathers of children born out of wedlock. (9) Escorting children to and from foster homes. (10) Case finding and escorting the deaf, blind, and feeble-minded children to schools. (11) Inspecting prospective foster homes. (12) Investigating applicants for mothers' allowances. (13) Inspecting homes regularly where mothers' allowances were in pay. (14) Interviewing in the office people requiring information and assistance to adjust their troubles. (15) Attending conferences with municipal councils.28 Old age pension investigations and re-inspections were done by the field staff who also did the work of the relief branch administered by the Department of Municipal Affairs. The increased volume of work involved in the new

mother's allowance legislation was, perhaps, responsible for the increase in the Bureau's field staff. The increasing number of children committed to government care since the program's inception in 1908 would also warrant a larger staff to provide the wards with the supervision which the government agency had undertaken.

| TABLE 5 PROVINCIAL EXPENDITURES FOR CHILD WELFARE, 1913 - 1929 |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Item                            | 1913            | 1921            | 1926            | 1929            |
| Administration                  | $8000           | $38,000         | $53,000         | $64,000         |
| Child Welfare Act (general)     | 8000            | 26,000          | 25,000          | 36,000          |
| Homes for Neglected Children    |                 |                 | 29,000          |                 |
| Grants to Orphanages            |                 | 5,000           | 4,000           | 4,000           |
| Total                           | 16,000          | 69,000          | 111,000         | 106,000         |

Source: Public Accounts Inquiry of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations.

The increase in the size of the staff, the increase in travelling expenditures, the increase in the numbers of children for whom the government agency had assumed responsibility and the cost of their care and maintenance, all are clearly reflected in the proportionate increases of budgets.

The Bureau of Child Protection was responsible, in 1926, for the supervision of eighty-one per cent of the children in ward care in the province, Children's Aid Societies supervising the remaining nineteen per cent. By April 1930, the government agency's responsibility
had decreased to seventy-one per cent of the total number of children in care, while that of the Children's Aid Societies increased to twenty-nine per cent. In addition, the Bureau had agreed to supervise those wards of the Societies in rural foster home placements.

TABLE 6

WARD CASELOADS OF CHILD WELFARE AGENCIES, 1923 to 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Children in Care</th>
<th>@Children Discharged from Care</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bureau Societies</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>2166</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>2230</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>2213</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1795</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>1263</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>1129</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1115</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., 1923 to 1930; reports for the years 1921 and 1922 not available.

# Beginning in 1929 the statistics were based on the fiscal year ending in April rather than the calendar year.


®Reasons for discharge of children from care: LA: Legal adoption.

The new adoption legislation accounted for the largest number of wards discharged from care and for whom the agency’s responsibility ceased. The advancing years of the children in care for a
a long period of time increased the number of children in the older age group, with the resultant increase in the number of discharges because of marriage or upon reaching the age of twenty-one years when discharge from the agency's care was automatic. The number of children absconding each year diminished appreciably from the earlier period. The administration appeared to have adopted the practice of discharging some wards from care by order in council, presumably to responsible relatives or parents, before the ward reached twenty-one years of age.

Services To Children In Their Own Homes

The Bureau defined its aim in 1923 as to "adjust the home conditions (so) that children will not be committed or surrendered to us without due cause." It was reported that a large portion of the Bureau's work, the preventative aspect, was not so apparent to the casual observer as the usual rescue and reform methods aired in court. Many cases of potential neglect were reported each year, all of which were investigated and evaluated by the staff of the Bureau or a Children's Aid Society. Every effort was made to "impress parents with their responsibility" for children in an attempt to improve home conditions and standards of child care within the home itself. Sometimes, it was believed, children could benefit from temporary, presumably financial, help granted to the family and the staff members negotiated with the responsible municipalities toward that goal. Attempts were made to differentiate between poverty and neglect, and the municipality was held responsible to adjust the situation if possible so that the home ties might be preserved. When parents were believed incapable of improvement, attempts were made to

arrange for placement of the children with more competent relatives, thus keeping children within the family circle and avoiding the necessity for a transfer of guardianship to the public agency. The dangers involved in making children wards too freely were recognized, and the government agency tried to guard against such action.

The Commissioner believed that "it should be the function of private agencies, such as orphanages, to care for more temporary cases where there seems to be no immediate necessity for forcibly and by process of law separating children from parents permanently and such orphanages should give this class preference where it may appear very necessary that children be given institutional care." The Commissioner attempted to clarify the misunderstanding existing in Saskatchewan, particularly in rural areas and among municipal officials, as to the function of the Bureau. The prevalent idea seemed to be that the government was running a "Home" where children might be conveniently and immediately dumped. This indicated a lack of interpretation to the public of the Bureau's function. The Commissioner realized this and tried to correct it by encouraging the formation of child welfare committees in rural areas where chartered societies were not practicable. These committees would serve as a means of publicity for the child welfare program in the community, although it is wondered whether the purpose which the Commissioner may have had in mind was to relieve the Bureau's staff and funds of a part of the increasing load of providing services to children in a population scattered widely throughout the province.

Some conception of the kind of referrals and the work done by the Bureau's field staff during a four year period is given in

30 Annual Report, B.C.P., 1925, p.3.
Table 7. The group "adjusting family disputes" was the first singled out as special material for casework. The terms are not explained any further in the reports so that exactly why this small group was singled out for this specific reference, or what it implied, is not clear.

Mother's Allowance legislation, passed in 1918, was an attempt to preserve the family unit by subsidizing income of mothers financially unable to provide for their children. The eligibility requirements included two years residence in Canada, the year immediately preceding the application to have been in Saskatchewan; one or more children under the age of sixteen years for whom, by reason of poverty, the mother was unable to provide; the mother must be a widow whose

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for referral</th>
<th>1923</th>
<th>1924</th>
<th>1925</th>
<th>1926</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic trouble</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruelty of parents</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immoral surroundings</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleged wilful neglect</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents deserted</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents dead</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents insane</td>
<td>14.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegitimate children</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusting family disputes (case work)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., Regina, 1923 - 1926 inclusive.
husband died in the province, or whose husband was an inmate of a prison, a sanitorium, a home for incurables, or whose husband was permanently incapacitated. Guardians of orphans, or foster mothers who were widows or single women, were also eligible to receive the allowance if they could meet the residence and the means test requirements. A 1929 amendment extended eligibility to include deserted wives, and, for the purposes of this Act, a husband could be presumed dead if he had not been heard from during the seven years following the act of desertion.

TABLE 8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>1923</th>
<th>1924</th>
<th>1925</th>
<th>1926</th>
<th>1927</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Widows</td>
<td>634</td>
<td>779</td>
<td>863</td>
<td>912</td>
<td>1007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Incapacitated&quot; husbands</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband in prison</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardians of orphans</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>1073</td>
<td>1119</td>
<td>1253</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., Regina, 1923 to 1927.

Widows were by far the largest group in receipt of mother's allowance. In 1926 eighty per cent of the recipients were widows, seven per cent were wives with incapacitated husbands, one per cent were wives whose husbands were serving a jail term, and less than one per cent of those women receiving the allowance did so as guardians of orphan children.

At this same time Mother's Allowance legislation had been passed in other Canadian provinces. Some provinces did not grant an
allowance to a mother with only one child, or to a mother while the
husband was in jail. One distinguishing feature of the Saskatchewan
legislation was that the provincial government bore the full cost of the
allowance. In all other provinces the allowance was shared on a
provincial-municipal basis. This trend toward assumption by the pro-
vince of greater financial responsibility for the costs of welfare ser-
vices in Saskatchewan was to become even more pronounced in the program
twenty years later. There is no information available with regard to
the reasons behind the decision respecting mother's allowance payments
in 1918. The actual rate paid to mothers in Saskatchewan under the Act
was low compared to other provinces. The agency's administration
emphasized that the allowance was intended as a supplement to families
on an inadequate income.

TABLE 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Average per family</th>
<th>Children benefitted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>$215,640</td>
<td>$26</td>
<td>2618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>240,885</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>1073</td>
<td>293,495</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1119</td>
<td>325,430</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td>343,975</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5045</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., Regina, 1923 to 1927.
A Superintendent, (Mr. E. Oliver), was appointed to be in charge of the Saskatchewan mother's allowance program. Mr. Oliver believed that undue advantages were often attempted under the Saskatchewan legislation. For example, a father, charged with a minor offence and knowing that his family would be eligible for an allowance, would elect the jail sentence in preference to the small fine. Considering the low rates of mother's allowances it is doubtful if that monetary gain ever inspired the selection of a jail term. The means test, applied before granting the allowance necessitated the family's income being a limited one, and it is possible that even a small fine could precipitate a financial crisis for a family on a border-line income.

A steady increase was reported in the numbers of families receiving help through the mother's allowance program. The number of recipients more than doubled during the period from 1921 to 1927. Statistics are not available for the years beyond 1927 to show whether or not this continued. One would expect that the 1929 crop failure, and the reduced income for many families, may have resulted in an increase in the number of applicants for financial assistance.

The mother's allowance program increased substantially the volume of work for members of the field staff. More than 1277 visits in connection with applications, re-inspection of homes into which payments were made, and special investigations into complaints of misconduct, were made during 1923. In 1925 almost two thousand visits were required. Mother's allowance cases, undoubtedly, composed a large proportion of each worker's caseload and involved considerably time to be devoted to them.

TABLE 10

VISITS MADE IN CONNECTION WITH MOTHER'S ALLOWANCE CASES
1923 to 1925

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for visit</th>
<th>1923</th>
<th>1924</th>
<th>1925</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Applications investigated and recommended for payment</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>1089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applications investigated and rejected for payment</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reports of misconduct investigated</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-inspections</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>848</td>
<td>938</td>
<td>2619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1277</td>
<td>1321</td>
<td>1486</td>
<td>4084</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., Regina, 1923 to 1925.

Children in Ward Care

The objective of the child welfare administration was to prevent the committal or the surrender of children to social agencies by improving the home conditions whenever possible. While eighty-four per cent of the children committed to ward care in 1927 were the responsibility of the Commissioner, only seventy-seven per cent were committed to the government agency during 1930. The Children's Aid Societies committals increased accordingly, as indicated in Table 10.

The Bureau supervised the children placed in foster homes in rural areas by the Children's Aid Societies and also did child placement and replacement for the Societies as requested. One of the Bureau's six inspectors devoted full time to foster home finding and placements.
TABLE 11

COMMITTALS OF CHILDREN TO CHILD WELFARE AGENCIES, 1923 to 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bureau</th>
<th>Children's Aid Societies</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Saskatoon</td>
<td>Regina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td></td>
<td>123</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td></td>
<td>156</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td></td>
<td>163</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928-29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929-30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., 1923 to 1930. Reports for the years 1921 and 1922 are not available.

# Fiscal year changed from calendar year to that ending April 30th in 1929.

Care was given to the selection of a suitable home where the child would adjust happily. A number of children, physical and mental defectives, were not offered for foster home placement but maintained in boarding homes or shelters until a decision was reached in favour of institutional or foster home care.32 Most of the children were placed on a free home basis under an agreement pending adoption. Free foster home placement, with the ultimate hope of adoption was the objective sought for each ward. Approximately 250 boys and girls over school age were in foster wage homes in 1927, but statistics other than those in the report of that year are not available to provide further information with regard to

wage home placements during the period under discussion. The foster boarding home was used for the first time in 1926, and by 1930 the number of these placements had doubled. The agency's administrator expressed some caution about the use of subsidized foster homes with the potential hazard of "baby farming."

Table 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Foster Homes</th>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>Total in care</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Free</td>
<td>Paid</td>
<td>Wage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1692</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., Regina, 1923 to 1930; those for 1921 and 1922 are not available.

# Fiscal year changed from calendar year to that ending on April 30th in 1929.

Institutional placements for children in ward care during the period from 1923 until 1930 varied from almost five per cent in 1924, to more than thirteen per cent of the total number of wards in 1929 for whom the government agency was accepting responsibility.

These institutional placements included those of children committed to
a period of training in correctional schools; children admitted to mental hospitals, general hospitals and sanitoriums for physical care and treatment; and children in shelters, convents, and orphanages pending a decision on a permanent plan. The low proportion of institutional placements substantiates the agency's stated philosophy that foster homes provided a superior quality of care for most children.

The staff of the Bureau, apparently, was unable to follow up the foster home placements made as adequately as would be hoped. As shown in Table 13, even the total number of visits would not have included the 2097, 2056, 2028, and 1830 children in placement during the years 1923, 1924, 1925, and 1926 respectively. The demands which

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supervision By The Bureau Of Children In Care, 1923 - 1926</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspection of wards in foster homes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special visits to troublesome wards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escorting wards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspecting prospective foster homes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settling disputes between wards and foster parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Visits</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., Regina, 1923 to 1926.

an expanding program made upon the staff prohibited the Bureau from fulfilling its supervisory role more adequately. Presumably some of the placements were of fairly long standing, and the foster parents were considered competent to accept the unsupervised responsibilities
delegated to them by the agency. Contact with the progress of some placements may have been maintained superficially by correspondence, particularly during the many months of winter when visits to rural foster homes would be impractical. Still, it would appear that there must have been some "forgotten children," whose welfare hinged on the integrity of the foster parents.

A Formal Adoption Program

Adoption is the term used by child caring agencies to describe the process by which legal guardianship of children is transferred from the natural parents to foster parents, the family adopting, and the child adopted, assuming the obligations and rights of the natural parent and child respectively subject to such limitations as the provincial statute provides. The adoption legislation in Saskatchewan was passed in May 1922. The Commissioner of the Bureau of Child Protection was appointed "provincial officer" for all adoptions, and his consent was required to each application before the Court order was granted. Before final adoption a probationary period of one year, during which the progress of the child in the home was watched, was specified by the legislation.

In his 1923 report, the Commissioner explained the Bureau's procedure in adoption cases as follows. First, a thorough investigation was made into the home surroundings of the applicants. Secondly, as provincial officer, the Commissioner had a responsibility to determine the suitability of the child for each particular home, a responsibility to establish that the child had been legally surrendered by the natural parents or guardians, and a responsibility to see that
the birth registration was appropriately changed in the records of the Vital Statistics Branch following the adoption order by the Court.

**Table 14**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Agency wards</th>
<th>Non-wards</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>714</strong></td>
<td><strong>387</strong></td>
<td><strong>1104</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Annual Reports, B.C.P., Regina, 1923 to 1930.

# Fiscal year changed from calendar year to that ending April 30th in 1929.

© The total number of adoptions for the period stated in the reports does not agree with the individual items recorded.

By May 1930, legal adoption had been granted in more than eleven hundred cases. Two-thirds of the children adopted were wards of the government agency or a Children's Aid Society. It was to be anticipated that a backlog of cases had waited for the adoption legislation to be proclaimed in the province, and, therefore, the number of legal adoptions at this time could be an inflated figure, not really indicative of the government agency's adoption policies and practices.
Services To Unmarried Parents

Legislation covering children of unmarried parents became effective on May 1st, 1927. With the Commissioner of the Bureau rested the responsibility for directing and advising unmarried mothers in regard to procuring maintenance from putative fathers for their illegitimate children. The Commissioner anticipated a sizeable increase in the volume of the Bureau's work, with the addition of this new legislation. He suggested, also, that administration of the Act warranted a legal representative on the staff. Figures to show the number of cases of unmarried parents carried by staff members prior to 1927 are not available. Therefore, it is not possible to show statistically whether or not there was any appreciable increase in requests to the Bureau for services to unmarried parents. Certainly, there was not any startling rise in the caseloads during the years 1929 and 1930 as shown in Table 15.

Table 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cases completed</th>
<th>Cases pending</th>
<th>Dealt with financially</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 1927 to Mar. 1928</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar.1928 to Apr. 1929</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr.1929 to May 1930</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>890</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., 1927 to 1930 inclusive.
The legislation provided machinery for obtaining financial help from the putative father for the maintenance of a child born out of wedlock, and, in default when paternity had been established, outlined punishments for the neglect of his responsibility. The problem was not approached as a social one involving casework services. The purpose was to enforce the responsibility of the putative father. Table gives some indication of the financial benefits the legislation produced for unmarried mothers and their children.

Table 16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Collected on agreements &amp; orders</th>
<th>Paid to unmarried mothers</th>
<th>Balance in trust</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>$3842</td>
<td>$1520</td>
<td>($3322)@</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>8125</td>
<td>5614</td>
<td>2511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>13,925</td>
<td>8081</td>
<td>5844</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., Regina, 1928 to 1930 inclusive.
@ Total stated in report does not agree with individual items.

An unmarried mother who wished to take action against the putative father for the maintenance of her child completed a declaration of paternity, following which a member of the Bureau's field staff approached the putative father with the objective of obtaining a settlement out of court. The second alternative procedure offered to the unmarried mother was to lay an information and make application for an account order against the putative father, providing there was

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sufficient corroborative evidence to warrant such action.

### Table 17

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plan</th>
<th>1928</th>
<th>1929</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents married and kept child</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child cared for by mother</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placed in boarding home by parent</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placed in institution by parent</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child deceased</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child committed as ward of agency</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>784</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., Regina, 1928 to 1930 inclusive.

Discussing the services to unmarried parents in his 1928-29 report the Commissioner pointed out that the problem was, in the final analysis, to prevent illegitimacy. He saw unmarried parenthood as a challenge to parents to improve their methods of child training. The commissioner appealed to parent associations, to public health nurses, to emphasize sex education in their work with adolescents, and to instill sound moral philosophy in the next generation. Inadequate sex education and lack of proper moral training, was believed to be the casual factor resulting in unmarried parenthood.

In only five per cent of the cases of unmarried parents known to the Bureau from 1928 until 1930 did the parents marry and provide a home for their child. Thirty-one per cent of the unmarried
mothers kept their children. Another fifteen per cent arranged privately for the care of their children in boarding homes or in institutions. Forty-three per cent of the children born out of wedlock during this period were committed to the care of a child welfare agency, the unmarried mothers relinquishing all rights to their children.

In addition to advising and aiding unmarried mothers in securing financial help from putative fathers the Bureau also offered a placement service for the children born out of wedlock. The illegitimate children were placed in approved foster homes pending an adoption placement. The government agency accepted responsibility for some children on a temporary basis. The implication seemed to be that if the children later appeared unsuited to adoption placements they were returned to their mothers.

Table 18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Placement</th>
<th>1928</th>
<th>1929</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foster home pending adoption</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal adoption</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awaiting placement in foster home</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cared for temporarily by agency</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cared for temporarily by agency but unfit for adoption</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., Regina, 1928 to 1930 inclusive.
The Bureau of Child Protection continued the program already established for deaf and blind children. The agency's responsibility included case finding, escort service to and from the training schools, the payment of transportation, tuition, maintenance, and also clothing if the parents were unable to provide the latter essentials. An appropriation was earmarked by the legislature to be used for this specific purpose.34

The Commissioner received many requests to commit feeble-minded children to ward care. These children were not believed suitable for foster home placement, the primary program offered by the government agency, and the Bureau had no other resource on which to draw for the care and training of these children. In cases where wardship was taken, the children were placed in institutions with normal children, in institutions where they did not receive any special training or attention. The government paid maintenance indefinitely for the children's care in institutions not suited to the purpose of helping handicapped children, and without hope of ever assimilating the children into family homes. The more defective children were admitted to the children's ward of the Weyburn Mental Hospital. Committal to this hospital was by a court order under the Mental Disease Act or Mental Defectives Act. The practice developed, during this period, of admitting defectives under the age of sixteen years to the Weyburn Hospital by order of the Minister of Public Works. The procedure allowed the investigation to be made out of court and spared the child the court

34 Annual Report, B.C.P., 1928-29, p.15.
experience.

Part four of the Child Welfare Act provided for the examination and evaluation of feeble-minded children by a psychiatrist. The administration reported little success in arranging for examinations of the cases reported. Parents were financially unable or unwilling to make the trip to Weyburn, the only point in the province in which the facilities for psychiatric examination of children were available. Perhaps the lack of co-operation by parents was indicative of a parental instinct to protect their children, and the reluctance may also have been related to the personal stigma attached to mental illness and deficiency. If it would be a basis for a plan of treatment, training and rehabilitation, the inconvenience of the trip to Weyburn would have been worthwhile. With the lack of resources to carry out the psychiatric recommendations, the value of the examination diminished and the motivation to have children examined would be limited.

The Commissioner, at this time, suggested the need existed in Saskatchewan for an institution for feeble-minded children, a psychopathic hospital, a behaviour clinic, and a psychiatrist to devote his full time to the examination and treatment of children. 35

During the 1920's the Saskatchewan child welfare program spread out to provide a greater variety of services to children in the province. The trend, as elsewhere, was to select particular groups of children with common problems, and to develop a program to meet the needs of those special categories. A fairly comprehensive system of

35 Annual Report, B.C.P., Regina, 1928-29, p.11.
of services had been outlined for neglected children generally, for children deprived of natural parents, for children born out of wedlock, for children with physical or with mental handicaps. Another group of children, those who presented behaviour problems, were beginning to arouse interest and concern. With this recognition came the implication that specially trained people were required to help those children. The Commissioner stressed the need for a psychiatrist to diagnose and recommend methods of handling children with behaviour problems. Correlated to his statements there seemed to be some awareness that the warm, sympathetic approach and the good intentions of his present staff was not adequate preparation to work successfully with problem children. This, therefore, may have been one of the first indications of the need for staff members trained in social work. Had not the depression of the 1930's brought such drastic consequences there might have been very interesting and progressive advances in the Saskatchewan child welfare program.
CHAPTER V

THE DEPRESSION
(1931 - 1938)

The general social and economic insecurity during the "thirties" brought results in Saskatchewan more devastating, perhaps, than in any other Canadian province. The drought, grasshoppers, and the annual failures of agriculture brought mass unemployment. By 1937 seventy per cent of the population in the province were receiving relief. Government programs were curtailed and budgets slashed in a vain effort to preserve some degree of financial solvency. The child welfare program did not escape. The period created risks and contingencies that families could not finance adequately from their own resources. Standards of nutrition, housing, education, and medical care dropped. As a result problems accrued during this period of deprivation, problems which could be expected to re-appear in later years.

In Saskatchewan the Bureau of Child Protection continues to do the child welfare work done by private agencies in older provinces and in United States. Conversely, the Bureau was responsible for less supervision of private agencies and was less involved in the problems of this aspect of administration. The private agencies in Moose Jaw, Regina, and Saskatoon, were able to function quite actively. The Bureau encouraged the formation of Societies in other cities in the province, and the Prince Albert Children's Aid Society was incorporated in 1931, the Yorkton Society in 1934. Many Societies incorporated at
at the beginning, in 1908, did not flourish; after a time they became completely inactive, the Bureau assuming their responsibilities for providing services to children.\textsuperscript{36}

Provision for child welfare committees in larger towns was outlined in section nineteen of the Child Welfare Act. The legislation stipulated that all cities, with populations of more than ten thousand people, "shall" have Children's Aid Societies incorporated. Moose Jaw, Regina, and Saskatoon, and now Prince Albert, the only four cities within the province with populations exceeding ten thousand conformed with the legislation. Yorkton, although not required to do so in view of its lower population, had formed a Society. Child welfare committees were formed in the towns of Biggar, Assiniboia, Estevan, Humboldt, Melfort, Melville, North Battleford, Shaunavon, Swift Current, Tisdale, and Weyburn.\textsuperscript{37}

Child welfare committees performed three main duties in their respective communities. They were acting as probation officers when juvenile delinquents were in court, providing used clothing to families in need, building an informed public opinion on child welfare thinking.

In co-operation with Regina social agencies the Bureau arranged a regional conference on social work in 1935, and this was repeated in 1936. One session (a half day) was devoted to the particular problems of child welfare. Each year the staff of the Bureau had their own conference, and usually agreed that the results of these

\textsuperscript{36} Annual Report, B.C.P., 1930-31, p.5.

\textsuperscript{37} Annual Report, B.C.P., 1935-36, p.5.
meetings were inspiring and worth while.  

New legislation passed during the 1930's included provision for licensing rescue and maternity homes, and children's boarding homes. One rescue home of dubious repute was closed by means of the legislation.

Table 19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bureau</th>
<th>Children's Aid Societies</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>Regina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>1125</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>1018</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>806</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>748</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., 1931 to 1938 inclusive with the exception of 1933 and 1934 reports which are not available.

© The total for 1932 does not agree with the individual items.

Children's Aid Societies: Saskatchewan, Regina, Moose Jaw, Prince Albert.

Seventy-three per cent of the children in ward care during 1931 were the responsibility of the provincial agency, the remaining twenty-seven per cent being in care of incorporated

Societies. The Bureau's responsibility increased in terms of children in care to seventy-six per cent in 1938, with the five Societies assuming responsibility for the other twenty-four per cent. The trend of the previous period continued with the Bureau playing a very major role in providing services to neglected and dependent children.

The field staff was increased during the early 1930's, and a district office to serve the northern portion of the province was opened in Saskatoon. Staff members working from the Saskatoon office were supervised by correspondence and as much personal contact as was possible with the Commissioner in Regina. One worker added to the staff during the period devoted full time to the supervision of the older female wards in the province.

Comprehensive studies done in Canada and in United States on relief practices, recommending the policy of encouraging people to help themselves, caused the Commissioner to comment on the difficulty of the suggested task as follows. "Only workers either of long experience or previous social work training, are capable of obtaining best results." In the thirties, under the stress of depression conditions, there was a growing interest in Canada and the United States toward the employment of trained social workers on the staffs of public welfare departments. The Commissioner was impressed by the somewhat radical move in the State of Washington to "go so far as assist capable students to obtain training and education." So far there was not one trained social worker on the staff of the Bureau of Child Protection,

but there was speculation and serious thought devoted to the possibility.

Table 20

Provincial Expenditures For Child Welfare, 1931 - 1936

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expense</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1933</th>
<th>1935</th>
<th>1936</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>$56,000</td>
<td>37,000</td>
<td>44,000</td>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child welfare act (general)</td>
<td>48,000</td>
<td>28,000</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>37,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants to orphanages</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homes for neglected children</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>$108,000</td>
<td>65,000</td>
<td>76,000</td>
<td>82,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Public Accounts Inquiry of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations.

In 1931, one-half (in 1932 - 36 the proportion was at least one-third, and by 1937 two-thirds) of the total farm population of Saskatchewan was destitute. Expenditures for direct relief were high, and all budgets for government services were severely curtailed in order to try to meet the emergency situations created during the economic depression. Expenditures for child welfare suffered along with the rest. The Bureau's budget was higher than in any of the following years, but even the expenditures for that year were considerably lower than those spent in providing services to children during the 1920's.

Comparing the cost of operating the Toronto Children's Aid Society with the Saskatchewan Bureau of Child Protection, the Commissioner discovered that the cost of operating the Society was four times

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times that of the Bureau. He accounted for the difference by the Bureau's ability to secure free foster homes for the wards. The Toronto agency had five times as many children in boarding home care. The Commissioner pondered the question of whether or not the Toronto Society "may give better service and secure better results."

Services to Families

A policy towards keeping children in their own homes, assisting in the rehabilitation of broken homes, offering financial help when poverty was responsible for the low standards of care children received, continued as the Bureau's objective to avoid the removal of children from their natural parents. The program required cooperation with the local social agencies, churches, fraternal organizations, and municipal officials. Saskatchewan municipalities, during the 1930's, were in exceptionally distressing financial circumstances, and the Bureau "had to exert heavy pressure on rural municipalities to get help to families." This attitude on the part of municipalities toward needy families was not, perhaps, lack of recognition of the need so much as lack of the resources with which to be helpful. Relationships between the Bureau and municipalities may have been somewhat strained at times during this trying period. As an alternative solution the Commissioner considered the possibility of temporary guardianship for children as operating in Ontario. Rather than committing children as permanent wards, wardship was ordered by the Court for a specified temporary period, at the end of which time guardianship automatically reverted to the natural parent. With such an arrangement it might be possible to commit children temporarily, allow

them to remain in their own homes, but still enable the Bureau to pay the natural parent a little for the child's maintenance. The purpose of temporary guardianship is to remove the child for a short period, giving the parents an opportunity to improve their home in preparation for the child's return. The use of temporary wardship as a means to render parents eligible for financial assistance is not in keeping with this objective.

Welfare authorities, during the period, were emphasizing the importance of guardianship. The Saskatchewan Commissioner did not concur with one opinion expressed that all dependent children must be made wards of a child welfare agency. In seventy-one cases in 1934, eighty-two in 1935, seventy-one in 1936, and eighty-two in 1937, the Bureau helped parents to place their children in suitable foster homes, supervised the placement, and finalized them as private adoptions without taking wardship. This procedure spared the Bureau the liability of expense which was not justifiable in these difficult economic times. This type of service, it is believed, was offered mainly to unmarried parents. Legal adoption would transfer guardianship from the natural parent to the adopting parents and, in such cases, the intermediate step of transferring guardianship to the Bureau or to a Children's Aid Society was not essential.

Mother's allowances were the major means of financial assistance available to maintain the family unit. The number of Mother's allowance recipients increased during the 1930's. This increase may have been due to the accelerating rate at which financial resources of families diminished during the long years of drought, unemployment, and depression. Mothers, who had previously been self-supporting, were no longer able to obtain employment.

Table 21

Mother's Allowances Paid, 1931-1938: Recipients And Rates Of Assistance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>@ W</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>DW</th>
<th>Total cases</th>
<th>Paid to recipients per year</th>
<th>Average per recipient per month</th>
<th>Average per child per month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>1,633</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2,259</td>
<td>$544,250</td>
<td>$22.35</td>
<td>$7.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>1,691</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2,372</td>
<td>483,618</td>
<td>17.25</td>
<td>6.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>1,766</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>2,511</td>
<td>403,915</td>
<td>14.05</td>
<td>5.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>1,771</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>2,608</td>
<td>407,993</td>
<td>13.42</td>
<td>5.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>1,906</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>2,825</td>
<td>440,580</td>
<td>13.41</td>
<td>5.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>1,983</td>
<td>754</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>2,944</td>
<td>474,120</td>
<td>13.47</td>
<td>5.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>2,067</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>2,958</td>
<td>484,068</td>
<td>13.64</td>
<td>5.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>2,120</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>3,007</td>
<td>495,988</td>
<td>13.79</td>
<td>5.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., Regina, 1931 to 1938 inclusive.


During the depression years the administration of the Bureau was forced to re-adjust the basis of help given in Mother's allowance. The decision was made to pay set rates according to the number of children dependent upon each mother. Financial assistance to the sick and to the indigent was believed to be primarily the responsibility of the local municipality. Mother's allowance was intended only to supplement the grant made by the municipality and not to place the entire burden on the provincial treasury. The amounts paid as mother's allowances, therefore, were meant to be over and above cash relief issued by the

municipality for food, rent, and clothing.

One difficulty reported in the administration of the Mother's Allowance program was the interpretation of certain terms used in the legislation — "fit and proper" mother, "in poverty," and "permanently incapacitated" husband or father. There were a variety of opinions as to what constituted fitness of a mother. In practice, if a mother had an illegitimate child, was addicted to alcohol, or inclined towards having too friendly relationships with male boarders, the mother was considered unfit, and the allowance was rejected or discontinued. The administration of the Bureau recognized some fallacy in this action in that the children were penalized without its "reforming" an errant mother. "In poverty" was interpreted literally to mean any undue hardship for a family. Benefits, by way of Mother's Allowances, were payable not for the mothers' personal maintenance, only for the children's care. It was, therefore, believed that the mother should be entitled to some property or income in order to provide for her own needs. "Permanent incapacity" of a father, which prevented him from supporting his family, was, apparently, regarded as more of a medical problem dependent upon the opinions of the medical profession rather than a matter for the mother's allowance administration.  

Children In Ward Care

Of all the children committed to ward care of a child welfare agency in 1931, 1932, 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1938, more than seventy-eight per cent were made wards of the Bureau of Child Protection. The remainder, about twenty-one per cent, became wards of one of the five Children's Aid Societies. The provincial agency, therefore, was

responsible for almost four times the number of children in the combined care of the Societies. The fact that Saskatchewan's population is largely a rural one, and that it was not feasible to organize private agencies among so scattered a population, explains a part of the reason why the major responsibility for neglected and dependent children rested with the public agency.

Table 22

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bureau</th>
<th>Children's Aid Societies</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sask.</td>
<td>Reg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., Regina, 1931 to 1938 inclusive.

# Statistics for the years 1933 and 1934 are not available.


The number of children (295) committed in 1931 was an increase of eighty-three over the total number of commitments in 1930. A marked increase in the number of committals of children to the care of child welfare agencies might have been expected during the depression, but
there was a decline in the rate of committals to only 145 during 1936, and 179 and 150 in the years 1937 and 1938 respectively. This trend may have been influenced by curtailed financial resources. All government departments were operating on minimum budget, so that the Bureau's administration had to exercise extreme caution in shouldering further responsibility and expense by limiting the number of children in care. The figures may also be a favourable indication of the administration's policy of avoiding the committal of children for any reason other than poverty alone.

Table 23

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>@ Free Care</th>
<th>Paid Care</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F.H. Wage</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>1030 69</td>
<td>130 49 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>838 84</td>
<td>35 28 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>523 86</td>
<td>609 72 76 17 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>466 70</td>
<td>556 78 63 18 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>469 56</td>
<td>525 104 63 26 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>441 48</td>
<td>489 112 106 27 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., Regina, 1931 to 1938 inclusive.

# Total placements recorded in 1931 does not agree with individual items.

## Statistics for the years 1933 and 1934 not available.

@ F.H: Free foster homes. Wage: Wage home placements.
B.H.: Boarding home care.

Although guardianship and responsibility for supervision was retained, the Bureau did not have any expense for the maintenance of children placed in free foster homes, or in homes on a wage agreement.
basis. The number of wards in free home care diminished from 1030 during 1931 to 489 in 1938. The number of wards whose maintenance was paid by the Bureau, as shown in Table 23, diminished from 280 during 1931 to 180 in 1932, then rose steadily to 283 by 1938. While the number of children in paid care remained approximately the same each year during the period, the number of free home placements diminished considerably to less than one-half of those in 1931. The total number of children in care was also diminishing each year, partly caused by the higher rate of discharges from ward care each year.

Placement in free foster homes, as the figures indicate, was the most prevalent type of care for wards. During the continued years of the depression, however, the financial circumstances of families changed. The number of free foster homes available decreased. The Bureau relaxed a former restriction, and allowed the placement of children in foster homes where the foster parents were receiving material relief. Such homes, ones in which the direct relief responsibility of the municipality was not increased by the placement of children, were used during this period. It is to be presumed that at least partial maintenance was paid for the care of wards to those foster parents receiving municipal relief. By 1937 seventy per cent of the Saskatchewan population were on the relief rolls. A foster home program, in order to operate at all in the province, necessarily had to accept applications from relief recipients, who, although financially handicapped still could offer a family life experience to children deprived of their own homes and otherwise destined to institutional placements indefinitely. Financial security is an important element in child placement, however, and ordinarily such practices would not be considered. But these were not ordinary times in
Saskatchewan, and the Bureau's administration is to be commended for the flexibility which the foster home program maintained during the 1930's.

The number of wards kept in paid boarding homes increased steadily from sixty-nine during 1931 to 112 in 1938. This type of foster home care was used for special classes of wards, namely, those with the less attractive backgrounds of delinquency, incest, and physical disease, and those with advanced behaviour problems who did not appeal to prospective foster parents on a free home basis. A larger number of Metis children were also coming into ward care and creating a placement problem. Foster parents of the "white race" did not want to take them in; Metis families were usually prolific and not in the market for foster children. Metis children, therefore, were being maintained in institutions or in foster homes which were paid for their maintenance.

The accumulation of wards unsuited to free foster home placement was partially responsible for the increased use of foster boarding homes. The administration of the Bureau foresaw a continued increase of unplaceable children in care, which would result in increased costs for the government.48

A survey made by the Canadian Council of Child Welfare during the 1930's emphasized the advantages of foster boarding home care for children. The policy of the Saskatchewan administration in child care was placement in "shelters" upon apprehension, for medical examination and treatment pending placement in either a free or paid foster home. Boarding home care was reserved for children difficult to place.

in free homes. The Commissioner, in his 1931-32 report, discussed some of the advantages which boarding home care had offered in the Bureau's experience, and indicated these as fivefold:

1. A home is a more natural environment than an institution for a child, and the ward receives the love and affection of the foster parents. The more individualized attention that a child could receive in a home setting, compared to the group-living of an institution, was recognized.

2. The child moves more easily from a paid foster home to a free home than would be possible from an institution to a free home. The implication of this reasoning appears to be that an attachment formed between the child and the foster parent would eventually result in discontinuance of the board payments.

3. Foster parents or neighbours take a liking to the child, and the ward moves from a paid to a free home. In other words, by giving the child an opportunity for community life the ward is absorbed into the community and eventually assimilated as a member of a family group on a free home basis.

4. There is less chance of quarantine in large numbers if children are in foster homes rather than grouped in institutions. It would be expected that immunization programs and isolation facilities in the institutions would prevent exposure and control contagious illnesses to some degree.

5. Boarding home care is less expensive than institutional care. This would depend, of course, on the respective rates being paid. Apparently it was lower than that paid to institutions for the care of children. Boarding homes, operating during the 1930's in Saskatchewan,
would therefore appear to be ones in which only partial maintenance was paid, with the foster parents assuming some financial responsibility for the ward.

A very real disadvantage in the use of boarding homes in Saskatchewan, pointed out by the Commissioner, was the one of geography and its limitations in providing adequate supervision of the boarding homes compared to the relative convenience of supervising larger groups of children in urban institutions. Monthly visits were made to boarding homes in an effort to provide closer supervision than that devoted to free foster homes. The investment of public funds in these boarding homes increased the Bureau's responsibility for wards in paid care. The philosophy was also based upon the false assumption that the willingness to take financial responsibility for children guaranteed satisfactory care and training. The prevailing attitude toward boarding home care for children, during the period, was that it was a useful tool by which might be achieved the ultimate objective of free foster home care for every child.

Wards beyond school age were placed in "work homes", foster homes supervised by the Bureau, but on a wage basis. Wages during the 1930's were nationally low, and it was not possible for most employees to earn more than their board and clothing. Government wards were in the same predicament. In view of the national employment situation it is really remarkable that the number of wage home placements did not diminish more than from eighty-six during 1935 to forty-eight in 1938. Foster home parents, who before the depression kept wards on wage agreements, continued as long as possible, perhaps, to patronize

that source of labour.

Another inspector was added to the staff, whose duties were supervision of female wards. Every ward of the Bureau was "inspected" at least twice each year. With a decreasing number of children in care, and increased staff, a more concentrated supervision and attention could now be devoted to those children for whom the government agency had accepted responsibility. Still woefully inadequate, it was a step in the right direction and indicative of promise for more individualized service to the needs of each child.

**Formal Adoptions**

The administration of the provincial child welfare agency anticipated that people would hesitate to adopt children during the depression years, and "the inspectors have more or less to urge on foster parents the desirability of taking out a formal order." Nevertheless, in the latter years of the depression the rate of adoptions did diminish, which, perhaps, was due to the strained and insecure financial resources of potential adopting parents.

According to the figures shown in Table 1, the number of wards legally adopted increased from 129 during 1929 to 189 in 1930 and to 201 in 1931. The decline began in 1935, with only 206 adoptions finalized in that year and 190 in 1936, compared to 261 and 287 in 1931 and 1932 respectively.

The administration of the Bureau of Child Protection believed that the ten dollar fee for legal adoption, specified by the

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Table 24

Legal Adoptions Finalized, 1931 to 1938

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Agency Wards</th>
<th>Non-wards</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Accumulative total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>1365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>1652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>2296</td>
<td>2492</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>25133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>207</td>
<td>2720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>190</td>
<td>2910</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., 1931 to 1938 inclusive.

# Statistics for the years 1933 and 1934 not available, and complete detail not recorded for following years.

... provincial legislation, might have stood in the way of some cases which would otherwise have been finalized. To prevent this the Commissioner made a practice of waiving the fee, his prorogative by statute. The fee was believed to be justified in all cases of private adoptions, but questionable in the cases of government and Society wards. "Most foster parents feel that they have performed a service to the state in taking and looking after a child, and they resent slightly the matter of paying a fee on adoption." The motivation of foster parents taking a child in order to be of service to the province rather than the child indicates an attitude not too acceptable by good child welfare standards. Waiving of the adoption fee seems to be tinged more with

bribery rather than the removal of a real barrier to adoption.

Although one year's placement in the foster home was required by statute before legal adoption there was also provision for waiving of this probationary period by the Commissioner in special cases. The full probationary term was insisted upon in cases of the adoption of older to children to ensure that the adjustment was satisfactory. Experience had indicated that younger children adapted quickly in foster homes, and, in the opinion of the Bureau's administration, adoption after a few months was quite safe. Generally, the adoption placements had been successful, and not more than one child yearly had to be re-committed to ward care as a result of failure of an adoption. 53

Courts had always been very partial to the rights of parents, but, the Commissioner reported in his 1930-31 annual report, were becoming more and more concerned with the welfare of children. The opposition by some natural parents to adoption placement of their children aroused comment that year and again in 1932. When natural parents refused to consent to the adoption, as required by statute, it was necessary to establish that the parents were unfit and improper persons, unmindful of their parental duties, and that it was in the best interests of the child to grant the adoption. Apparently this was established in court by an affidavit prepared to that effect by the Commissioner, and whether or not the parents had an opportunity to be present in court to defend their rights at the time when the adoption order was under consideration is not known. 54 The Commissioner, a lawyer by profession,


handled the contested cases himself. The soundness of this practice was open to serious questioning. Upon the integrity of each particular commissioner would depend whether or not rights of natural parents were being revoked unduly.

"The Adopted Child", by Eleanor Garrigue Gallagher, aroused considerable speculation by the Saskatchewan child welfare administration. Miss Gallagher suggested that adoption applicants should not be given background information about the child, that they should not be allowed to personally select a child from a nursery filled with children for placement, and that it was not necessary to supervise very young children in adoption homes following placement during the probationary period prior to final adoption. The Saskatchewan administration did not agree with these recommendations nor follow them in practice. Every effort was made to establish the paternity of illegitimate children placed for adoption, as experience had shown that adopting parents were exceptionally interested in the child's background, and the Bureau endeavoured to provide the information for them. Presumably the same information would be essential in selecting a home for each child, and perhaps it was used for that purpose as well, although the Commissioner did not refer to it. Applicants expected to select their children from the group of children available for placement, and the Bureau followed the practice within certain limitations which were not elaborated. They heartily disagreed with Miss Gallagher's third recommendation, and considered regular supervision of even young children placed in adoption homes during the probationary period very important. The reason for doing so, however, weakened the sound philosophy which appeared implied.

The Bureau's experience with adoptions had convinced them that if the homes were not visited, and if the Bureau did not assist with the final application papers, the court order of adoption would never be made.\(^56\) This negligence on the part of adopting parents indicated either lack of knowledge about adoption procedure which should have been made clear to them at the time of placement, or a lack of interest in obtaining legal guardianship of the child. It indicated a lack of interpretation and misunderstanding of the provincial adoption program, and some inefficiency in the work with applicants wishing to adopt children.

During the 1930's a project was undertaken by the Child Welfare League of America to determine the weaknesses and abuses of prevailing adoption practices. In his 1936-37 annual report, the Commissioner measured the Bureau's practices with the standards proposed by the League in their six point schedule as follows.

(1) Safeguards in placement: The Bureau's policy required applicants to provide at least three character references. The homes were inspected and watched, and attempts were made to fit a child in to each home. Supervision was continued after placement. Upon any indication that the placement was not satisfactory the child was removed. "In some cases the department has tried a child in three or four homes before success is achieved."\(^57\) Perhaps these were very exceptional cases. While the intent to protect the child was honourable and the welfare of the child was kept in mind, the effects of several such placements upon the child must have been at least somewhat damaging. The need for this


experimentation with adjustment in foster homes at the expense of the child could have been avoided in most cases by more careful study and evaluation of both the child and the foster parents before placement.

(2) Place of the private child placing agencies: The Bureau and the Children's Aid Societies were the only child placing agencies in Saskatchewan, and, as the legislation required the consent of the Commissioner to all adoptions, the place of the private agency in child placement was a minor one. The practice was to consider carefully all applications to care for children, and every home, "even if it is not what the department would consider as a suitable home for some wards, it may do fine for other children needing homes. Naturally children do not have any say about their homes, but ninety per cent of them at least get along reasonably well." These statements indicated that children were manipulated into homes because they needed a roof rather than because the emotional as well as the physical needs could be met. The standards of foster home selection appeared to be rather poor, and did not bode well for the welfare of the children for whom the Saskatchewan government had taken responsibility.

(3) Functions of maternity homes: Maternity homes in Saskatchewan were licensed by the Bureau, and were required to provide a register of admissions and discharges to the Bureau each month. The function of the maternity home was rehabilitation of the mother. The Bureau offered placement service for the child.

(4) Functions of the State to safeguard adoptions: Each petition for adoption before the court had to be accompanied by the consent of the Commissioner. Before consent was given a visit to the home was made by a member of the field staff, the report of his visit with the Commissioner's recommendation submitted to the court. Saskatchewan legisla-
tion seemed adequate to protect children in adoptions granted in the province.

(5) Interprovincial traffic in babies: The western Canadian provinces had drawn up the Interprovincial Child Placing Agreement, drafted with the help of the Canadian Welfare Council, which was working very satisfactorily. The consent of the superintendent of child welfare in the province in which placement was considered had to be obtained prior to placement, and the placing province guaranteed to accept responsibility for the child until legal adoption was finalized.

(6) Three minimum essentials in adoption: (a) Placement should be done only by state and licensed private agencies. Placements in Saskatchewan were made by the Bureau of one of the chartered Children's Aid Societies. There was nothing to prevent placement of children by unauthorized persons who took it upon themselves to do so although some control could be exercised at the time of application to the court for final adoption, when the Commissioner's consent was required. (b) The state should be responsible for supervision of child placing and home finding and providing the court with reliable data on which to make a wise decision. The Commissioner's consent to all adoptions, embodied in the adoption legislation since 1922, implied a knowledge of the circumstances upon which that consent must have been based. (c) There should be a probation period, preferably one year, with at least four visits to the home during that period. The Saskatchewan legislation stipulated a probation period of one year although the Commissioner had power to waive this, and sometimes did. In remote areas of the province it was not possible to make four supervisory visits during the year. In the urban areas more than four visits were often made. The
The Commissioner considered the extremely high standards set by some agencies, particularly in the United States, impractical. Many applications had been received in Saskatchewan from United States and other provinces from applicants who had waited indefinitely and found it impossible to obtain a child in their locality. Whether or not the Bureau filled such applications is not known. The Bureau's administration was strongly of the opinion that adoption was the most satisfactory and economical solution to the problems of neglected and dependent children. Adoptions were not approached with such scientific caution in Saskatchewan. In the Bureau's experience the well chosen adoption home seldom failed, and, if it did, the child could be recommitted to ward care. According to their observations, the child did not suffer to any extent.\(^\text{58}\) There may be something to be said for the practical approach of the Bureau to adoption problems. Perfection in children or in adoption applicants will not be found, and perhaps some agencies have erred more wisely by aiming too high. In child placement it is necessary to recognize the weaknesses, as well as the strengths of foster parents, the weaknesses and strengths of children, blending the two so that the strengths of one complement the weaknesses of the other. The Saskatchewan agency may have veered to the wrong extreme compared to those agencies seeking perfection in their child placing programs. The incentive to place all children in foster homes was a worthy one weakened, however, by the emphasis placed upon the economy of such a program and the standards of practice. During the depression, with provincial budgets as well as personal ones pared to bedrock, expense

was a major factor with which the Bureau had to contend.

**Services To Unmarried Parents**

The administration of the Bureau of Child Protection, in the annual reports during the 1930's, expressed alarm at the increasing rate of illegitimate births. Actually this was not a trend peculiar to Saskatchewan, but one which was causing concern throughout Canada and the United States. The records of the Saskatchewan Vital Statistics Department showed 551 illegitimate births in 1929, 663 in 1930, and 658 in 1931. In addition common law unions, particularly in the rural areas, were reported to the Bureau in increasing numbers for investigation. It seems probable that the rise noted in the rate of children born out of wedlock was due in part to improved methods of registration of births, and, therefore, not so alarming as it may have seemed. Offering service to unmarried parents would also have brought more cases to the attention of the Bureau, and, perhaps, the keener awareness of the problem made it loom larger in importance. The administration of the Bureau believed that such conditions had an immoral influence over children living under such circumstances. Common law unions were treated, apparently, as being equivalent to unmarried parents. Some recognition of the common law union as a family unit was indicated in that the Bureau hesitated to remove children for no reason other than the moral factor in spite of pressure from the community.

The statistics concerning the Bureau's caseload of unmarried mothers during the 1930's, as shown in Table 25, are incomplete, but there did appear to have been an increase in the number of cases handled during 1931 and 1932 over the previous ten year period. By 1935 the
Table 25

Caseload of Unmarried Mothers Known To The Bureau, 1931-1938

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Completed cases</th>
<th>Pending cases</th>
<th>Dealt with financially</th>
<th>Total cases</th>
<th>Maintenance collected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>$12,242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>6,745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>@</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>5,497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>3,861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>4,449</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., Regina, 1931 to 1938 inclusive with the exception of the years 1933 and 1934 which are not available.

# Statistics for the years 1933 and 1934 not available.
@ Complete statistics are not available in the reports.

caseload was only approximately half that of 1931. This may be explained by the tendency of the Bureau to encourage unmarried mothers to engage private solicitors to act on their behalf in obtaining financial help from the putative fathers, thereby lowering the number of cases which were dealt with financially.

The amount collected on agreements with putative fathers and on filiation orders reached a peak of $13,925 during 1929, and a new low of $3,861 in 1937. No doubt the strained financial conditions of the depression, drought, and unemployment contributed to the decline. The administration of the Bureau reported that even the threat of imprisonment was of little help in enforcing the court
orders, but it was hoped that with the ultimate end of the depression collections and financial aid to the unmarried mothers would increase.59

The provincial legislation acknowledging the right to collect maintenance from the putative father for illegitimate children was strengthened in 1930. The Commissioner discussed three useful purposes of this legislation and its solution to the problem of illegitimacy. (1) Enforcing financial responsibility of the putative father prevented the child, in many cases, from becoming a public liability. (2) Establishing paternity of the child aided in the selection of a home and placement in adoption, in cases when the unmarried mother was unwilling to keep her child. (3) Enforcing the putative father's responsibility, it was believed, would have a wholesome moral effect on the community and perhaps help to curb the problem of illegitimacy.60

Among the services available to unmarried mothers the most tangible results could be indicated in the financial help obtained from the putative father. Perhaps for this reason efforts to get financial assistance received emphasis more than the other services available. A 1934 amendment to the unmarried parents section of the Child Welfare Act required that all maternity homes in the province be licensed by the Bureau, thereby providing a greater degree of protection for the unmarried mothers. For some time the Sisters of St. Martha had been operating Mercy Hospital in Regina, and in 1937 the Salvation Army opened a maternity home in Saskatoon. Ample accom-

modation, therefore, was reported available in the province for unmarried mothers wishing to enter maternity homes during their confinement. The administration of the Bureau of Child Protection apparently looked hopefully to these maternity homes to undertake the reform and rehabilitation of the girls during their period of confinement and did not consider those services to be within the area of responsibility of the government agency.

The approach adopted by the Bureau in the work with unmarried mothers seemed to be indicated by the following quotation from the Commissioner's report of 1931-32: "The problem (illegitimacy) is perhaps one for the churches and social organizations rather than for this department, but it certainly increases the work of the department. It would seem to indicate a breakdown in morals and a looseness in living that bodes no good for the future. In any case it should have a good moral effect to make the mother of the illegitimate child realize the seriousness of the state of affairs and to bring home to the putative father his responsibility for the living-in expenses and the support of the child. This we are doing."

In other words, the approach to the problems of unmarried parents was an authoritative and punitive one. Every effort was to be made to "force" the putative father into accepting financial responsibility. No child, apparently, was removed until every possibility of the mother caring for the child herself had been canvassed. The Commissioner commented on the thinking of prominent child welfare people of the day which encouraged the unmarried mother to keep her child to the extent of granting relief or mother's allowance to her. The Commissioner's view was that the single girl's struggle to support her

child and bear the obloquy was an example to the public, although he agreed, on the other hand, that the welfare of the child had to be considered. Apparently some financial assistance, by way of partial relief granted by the responsible municipality, had been obtained for some unmarried mothers in an attempt to help them to provide more adequately for their children. The results of these experiments seemed to indicate to the Bureau that the mother was inclined to "run around," disregarded her responsibility for the child, so that financial assistance granted to unmarried mothers only seemed to facilitate and condone illegitimacy. The Commissioner suggested, instead, a plan similar to that operating in Winnipeg, a boarding home arrangement with not more than two unmarried mothers and their children in each boarding home, the foster mother being paid to take an interest in the girls and help with the care and training of the children.

The philosophy toward unmarried parents during the 1930's was a righteous and moralistic one, and the approach to unmarried parents harsh and judgmental. There were some redeeming factors. The welfare of the child born out of wedlock, the child's rights and the state's responsibility to protect those rights, were taken into consideration. There was some recognition, also, of the financial obstacles which an unmarried mother met in bringing up her child, and attention was being devoted towards trying to assist her.

Services To Special Groups Of Children

In 1928 the Weyburn Mental Hospital had been enlarged and was able to provide custodial care for more of the extreme cases of

of mental deficiency. The hospital, however, was not yet adequately equipped for training the mental defectives who had ability to achieve some degree of independence and accomplishment. Facilities for the examination of mental defectives were also available at the psychopathic ward of the Regina General Hospital. Admission to the Weyburn Hospital required certification by a physician plus a comprehensive report on the social aspects of the case by an inspector of the Bureau of Child Protection. Upon this information the deputy minister of the provincial health department made the decision with regard to committal to mental hospital. The Bureau staff acted as escorts, when necessary, for the children travelling from their homes to hospital. This procedure of committal by certification was an alternative to the former practice of committal to mental hospital by order of the court. Both methods were used during the period, with preference given to the voluntary committal upon the physician's recommendation rather than the authoritative approach through the court.

In the reports of the Commissioner during the early 1930's, the need for a training school for mental defectives continued to be stressed. The Commissioner recommended, also, the formation of a travelling mental health clinic for the province, the clinic team to consist of a physician, a psychiatrist, a nurse, and a social worker. Besides examining children and recommending admission to a training school or a custodial institution, it was believed that the clinic would be of considerable value to parents and teachers as a guidance clinic for children presenting problems of difficult behaviour.

Table 26

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Winnipeg</th>
<th>Montreal</th>
<th>Vancouver</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1922-23</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923-24</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924-25</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925-26</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926-27</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927-28</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., 1922 to 1928 inclusive.

In 1936 part four of the Child Welfare Act, which dealt with mental defective children, was deleted and transferred to the Department of Public Health for future administration.

Some difficulty was reported by the administration of the Bureau in arranging for the education of deaf children at the special schools out of the province. Parents objected to sending their children so far from home. In order to bring services closer to Saskatchewan deaf children the School for the Deaf was opened in Saskatoon in 1930. The province had been assuming responsibility for sending a large number of deaf children to schools in other provinces. As shown in Table 26, during the school term of 1927-28 there were forty-eight children at the school in Winnipeg, forty-five at the school in Montreal, and one at the school in Vancouver, altogether a total of ninety-four children.
receiving special training. The education program at the Saskatoon School was administered by the Department of Education, and, perhaps to avoid confusion and overlapping between the Department and the Bureau, complete responsibility for deaf children was transferred to the Department. It was provided that the Bureau would continue to investigate any complaints of neglect of deaf children, who, in such cases, would be children in need of protection under the Child Welfare Act.  

Table 27

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School term</th>
<th>Schools for the Blind</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brantford</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-31</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-32</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934-35</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-36</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-37</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937-38</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., 1930 to 1938 inclusive.

# Relative statistics for the years 1932-33 and 1933-34 are not available.

The Canadian National Institute for the Blind had taken an active part in Saskatchewan with regard to case finding and providing help for the blind generally, referring those cases for whom

training would be valuable to the Bureau. The Bureau continued to arrange transportation, provide escort service, and to provide any essentials which the parents were unable to supply for blind children attending school out of the province. In 1930-31 there were twenty-nine children enrolled in schools for the blind at Brantford, Montreal, and Vancouver. The number diminished to fifteen during the school term of 1937-38, with only one-sixth the number of children attending schools for the deaf. This, perhaps, explains why facilities for education of the deaf had been provided within the province, and the smaller group requiring special training continued to attend schools for the blind outside of the province. By the end of the period services to mentally defective children had been transferred from the Bureau to the Department of Public Health; services to deaf children had been transferred from the Bureau to the Department of Education; services to blind children remained the responsibility of the Bureau.

No new services were extended to Saskatchewan children during the 1930’s, which was not surprising in view of the unusual economic circumstances of the period. The program organized in 1908 and developed during the 1920’s merely marked time. The actual standards of practice in providing the services to children left considerable to be desired. Financial limitations neither accounted for some of the unhealthy attitudes toward people with problems nor for the lack of knowledge and understanding of motivations of human behaviour. With improved financial times it is to be hoped that there would come as well evidence of advancement in those very important

areas of providing a program of services to neglected and dependent children in the province of Saskatchewan.
CHAPTER VI

A SECOND WORLD WAR
(1939 to 1944)

The second world war emphasized the importance to a nation of a generation of sound citizens, sound not only physically but socially as well. One constructive aspect of the war situation was that the value of children was stressed.

The child welfare services offered by the government agency to Saskatchewan children during the 1930's had been superficial and inadequate, lagging behind the progressive programs developed in other parts of Canada and in the United States. No longer able to take refuge behind the financial limitations imposed during the previous period of economic depression, private agencies within the province clamoured for a review of the Bureau's program of services to children and tangible improvements to bring them in line with new developments and thinking elsewhere.

In 1942, on behalf of twenty-seven public and private welfare organization, the Community Council of Saskatoon submitted a brief to the cabinet minister in charge of the Bureau of Child Protection. The brief requested a survey of the provincial and local child welfare services, the survey to be made by a competent authority, preferably one nominated by the Canadian Welfare Council or by the United States Children's Bureau. The brief listed twenty of the diverse suggestions and complaints which had been directed at the child welfare services in the province for many years by individuals and by
organizations both from within and from outside the province. As the government had not indicated any willingness to act on those suggestions the survey was requested to establish the validity and reasonability of the criticisms raised. While the survey did not materialize, within the next few years came evidences of change in line with the contentions contained in the brief.

Table 28

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bureau</th>
<th>Saskatoon</th>
<th>Regina</th>
<th>Moose Jaw</th>
<th>Prince Albert</th>
<th>Yorkton</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>838</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>852</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>917</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>977</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>1014</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>1033</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1306</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., 1939 to 1944 inclusive.

In 1938 seventy-six per cent of the Saskatchewan children in ward care were the responsibility of the Bureau of Child Protection. The Bureau's number of wards was seventy-nine per cent of the total in 1939, and again in 1944. Children's Aid Societies were responsible for the remaining twenty-one per cent of the children in ward care. The provincial agency's responsibility was more than three

66 Brief submitted to the Hon. A. T. Proctor, Minister in charge of child welfare for the province of Saskatchewan, March 1942.
times that of the combined Children's Aid Societies. The Yorkton Society decided to disband during 1938-39, and to act instead in the capacity of a child welfare committee. Their experience had been that it was not possible to operate a Society in a large town incapable of financing at least the salary of an executive director. The Prince Albert Society had solved that problem by appointing the school attendance officer to act in the capacities of probation officer and secretary of the Society as well. They reported satisfaction with the plan. The Regina Society was the first to employ a trained social worker, making the appointment during this period.

One solution to the financial problems of the Societies might have been government grants to the Societies. The private agencies subsidized by the government would have lost their strictly private identity becoming semi-private agencies. Contributing public funds toward their operation, government supervision over the Societies would also have increased. The plan apparently was not considered because of the small volume of work, as was the case in Yorkton, where an incorporated Society was not thought necessary.

Child welfare committees were active at Battleford, Biggar, Canora, Melfort, Melville, and Nipawin. A special effort was put forth on the part of the Bureau to strengthen the child welfare committees organized during the 1930's at Assiniboia, Gravelbourg, Humboldt, Meadow Lake, North Battleford, and Weyburn. The North Battleford Committee was singled out for special commendation in their work with delinquent boys, their interest having been expressed by making the boys welcome in their homes, helping them to find work, and

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assisting in obtaining "necessities." The child welfare committees could, no doubt, fulfil an excellent purpose by building an informed public opinion. The apparently personal interest which they took in local cases, however, is of more questionable value. A co-operative agreement with the Bureau and the committees doing an interpretation job but with the agency continuing responsibility for direct services to clients would have been preferable.

**Staff Improvements**

A special worker for boys was added to the Bureau staff in 1959, his duties to include inspection of foster home applications for boys and supervision of the boys in placement. Another worker was added to the staff to assist with the supervision of teen age girls. Two inspectors with special duties, one to work out of the Regina office and the other from the Saskatoon office were appointed in 1942. They were charged with the special responsibility "of intensive care for problem cases, to provide effective casework toward improving and rehabilitating poor homes." These special services were to be directed primarily at mother's allowance cases, and to supervision of boys in wage homes. The desire to bring more intensive services to people was an admirable one. The inspectors providing the services, however, had no special training or experience to qualify them for these specialized positions with superior responsibilities.

The first professional social worker was employed by the Bureau in 1943. The University of Manitoba now offered a one

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year course in social work, and "public feeling was aroused to the need for the expansion of social services and the need for trained personnel."

Staff members considered the possibility of obtaining formal training. An interim policy was devised. New appointments to the staff were made on the condition that, after an opportunity to become familiar with the work and evaluating their interest and potentialities, staff members would secure formal training.

A staff of three inspectors served northern Saskatchewan from the Saskatoon office. A staff of eight, working out of Regina, served the southern portion of the province. The field staff of the Old Age Pension Branch did some of the rural work when requested by the Bureau.

The brief submitted to the Minister in 1942 critized the lack of training and the unprogressive attitudes of the Bureau's employees. Emphatically stressed was the need for trained social workers in all sections of the child welfare program. In particular, it was recommended that the Bureau be placed under a competent administrative officer with training and experience in child welfare work. Staff appointments, during the past thirty years, had been made under a system of political patronage. Appointees of previous administrations were usually retained in office, and this was particularly true of the commissioner, on the assumption that they were capable. During this period the Bureau had obtained one trained social worker, and made some of the other appointments on the basis that training would be obtained within a reasonable time. It is to be hoped that this practice would be continued with a sizeable improvement in personnel during the period to follow.
Services To Children In Their Own Homes

Social problems related to World War II brought additional duties for the Bureau of Child Protection. In the same way as under arrangements in other provinces, the field staff of the Bureau undertook investigation on behalf of the federal Dependent's Allowance Board. The problems investigated included general difficulties arising in servicemen's families, requests for compassionate leave or discharge from the service, reports of misconduct of soldier's wives, neglect of children, and misuse of dependent's allowance. Sometimes the allowance was made payable to the Bureau for administration on behalf of the family. The new area of service included requests from the Dependent's Board of Trustees for recommendations on applications for special assistance due to financial crises in soldiers' homes. No figures are available, but this new function of the Bureau evidently comprised a comparatively large volume of the agency's total public services.

The problems relating to a minority group, the Metis population, continued to increase. The number of Metis children in care of the Bureau, for whom it was difficult to plan constructively, was of mounting concern. Other departments of government experimented with supervised reservations for Metis, patterned after the federal program for Indians. In view of the problems in foster home placement for Metis children, the Bureau's administration was giving serious thought to an orphanage for illegitimate and orphaned Metis children.70 While this plan was not in keeping with the professed policy of foster home placement in preference to institutional care for children, an institution

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seemed to be the only solution to the acute proportions of the problem.

No figures are available to indicate the extent of the services offered to families during this period by the Bureau. Many families must have been visited and helped to meet the situations facing them. An optimistic note for the future was expressed by the Commissioner. "As the public becomes better acquainted with the Bureau's function and referrals are received before the situation has reached a crucial stage, with the addition of experienced and qualified staff, the Bureau's value in developing and maintaining family life will increase." Early referral is essential if preventive services are to be effective for families facing breakdown. The public had been educated to the fact that the Bureau would take neglected children into ward care. The average citizen was not so familiar with the Bureau's willingness to help in the prevention of situations festering toward collapse and ultimate neglect. The administration's plans for increased and qualified staff would improve the services available to the people requiring help. The problem was to get these people to the services early in the onset of the difficulties. This implied increased publicity and awareness throughout the province of the total function of the Bureau of Child Protection.

Mother's allowance legislation continued to be the major method in Saskatchewan for the preservation of family groups vulnerable to collapse because of poverty. The greatest proportion of allowances, as shown in Table 29, were paid to widows with dependent children. The number of allowances paid to families with an

Table 29

Mother's Allowance Recipients: Rates Paid, 1939 to 1944

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>@ Recipients</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total Paid</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>W</td>
<td>IH</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>DW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>2174</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>2128</td>
<td>748</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>731</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>1646</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>1457</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., 1939 to 1944 inclusive.

incapacitated father in the home also increased. Caveats of liens were filed on the applicant's property by the government when the application for mother's allowance was granted.\(^{72}\) This safeguard, it was believed, prevented deception on the part of people who were capable of self-support. Great precautions were taken to prevent applicants obtaining an allowance by false pretense.

Those responsibility for the administration of public funds have a responsibility to protect that money as a public trust. It was unfortunate, however, that people in real need had to be subjected to acid tests in order to eliminate the few who may have had ulterior motives.

\(^{72}\) Annual Report, B.C.P., Regina, 1938-39, p.11.
The number of families in receipt of mother's allowance continued to increase, as during the depression years, to a peak of 3071 families during 1939. This number decreased by almost one-third, (to 2222), in 1944. A part of the decrease may be attributed to the increasing war prosperity, the availability of employment, and the mother's ability to supplement her income by her own efforts. Older sons and daughters in the services, assigning benefits under the Dependent's Allowance Act, would also raise the financial standard of some families.

Although the number of mothers in receipt of the allowance had diminished by 1944, the total amount paid for mother's allowances was higher in 1944 than in 1939. Available funds were, apparently, being used to raise the rates. The province saw their responsibility as one for the dependent child only, and looked to the local municipality to meet the needs of the mother and the incapacitated father. The municipal responsibility was to supply food, clothing, and necessities required by the parents. The government assumed responsibility for dependent children, but to a very limited extent, and was not prepared during this time at least to extend their responsibility to include the parents of dependent children. That financial responsibility remained at the local level of government. The system of rural tax collections had broken down completely during the depression years, so that the local level of government had to be supported by the provincial and federal governments. In other words, not only families had been on relief during the 1930's, but the municipal governments as well. It was therefore nonsensical to expect the municipalities were providing much assistance to families.
The reasoning was not realistic. Money going into the family, no matter how thoroughly it had been earmarked for the children, would logically be used for the benefit of all of the family. The rates fell far short of the actual needs. In the future it is to be hoped that the assistance would be more adequate and available for the parents as well.

Services To Children In Care

Seventy-seven per cent of the children committed to ward care during the period, as shown in Table, were the responsibility of the provincial agency. The remaining twentieth-three per cent were wards of one of the Children's Aid Societies. Responsibility for approximately one-quarter of Saskatchewan's dependent children, therefore, rested with private agencies, and three-quarters with the provincial Child Protection Bureau. These figures vary only slightly from those of the previous depression era. The responsibility of the province for the large proportion of children living in areas not served by private agencies was heavy. During this period the Yorkton Children's Aid Society retired from active practice. The Prince Albert and Moose Jaw Societies also operated on a rather limited scale in the protection field. The volume of new work of these agencies each year, if the number of committals is any yardstick, was relatively small. Included in their services, of course, was supervision of wards already in care and placed in foster homes or institutions, unmarried parents, and preventive work with families in the protection field. Looking at the total picture, the number of committals, (1158), during the six years of the second war
Table 30

Children Committed To Care Of Child Welfare Agencies, 1939 to 1944

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bureau</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., Regina, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, and 1944.


was only slightly higher than the 1142 children committed to ward care during the six previous years of depression. No appreciable difference in the number of children requiring protection was apparent.

The number of children in free care, which had shown a decline during the depression, increased during the war period from 494 in 1939 to 607 in 1942. There was a decline to 451 in 1943, and to 475 wards in free care in 1944. The 1944 total was inflated by the 192 wards who had enlisted in the services. Approximately fifty-nine per cent of the government wards were maintained in free homes in 1939, as shown in Table 30, sixty-two per cent in 1942, and in 1944, forty-six per cent of the wards were financially independent of the provincial agency.
Table 31

Paid And Non-paid Care For Children In Care Of The Bureau, 1939 to 1944

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>FFH</th>
<th>LPR</th>
<th>FHP</th>
<th>WH</th>
<th>AF</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>BH</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>BI</th>
<th>CS</th>
<th>MH</th>
<th>J</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total in ward care</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>607</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>977</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>1014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>1033</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., Regina, 1939 to 1944 inclusive.

Non-paid care. FFH: Free foster home. LPR: Living with parents or relatives. FHP: Free home out of the province. WH: Wage home. AF: Armed forces.


The number of wards in paid care had increased during the depression. A further increase in this type of care was shown after the decline to 323 in 1940, from 344 paid placements in 1939 to 558 in 1944. Approximately forty-one per cent of the wards were in paid foster homes or institutional care in 1939, thirty-nine per cent in 1940, and fifty-four per cent in 1944. The financial responsibility of the Bureau for children in care was increasing.

Of the wards for whom the Bureau was paying maintenance in 1939 approximately forty per cent were in boarding homes, forty per cent were in shelters of boarding institutions, twenty per cent were in
hospitals and correctional institutions. In 1944, forty eight per cent were in boarding homes, thirty-five per cent were in shelters and boarding institutions, and seventeen per cent were in hospitals and correctional schools. The subsidized boarding home seemed to be receiving a priority over institutional care for children.

The increased use of paid boarding homes was attributed to the accumulation of wards who were unsuitable for placement in free foster homes or in adoption homes. During the second world war the number of boarding homes was limited in comparison to the number of wards awaiting placement in institutions. The employment opportunities offered in war industries were more lucrative, and were a more direct contribution to Canada's war effort that boarding dependent children. The administration of the Bureau of Child Protection found it necessary to raise the boarding home rates paid in some cases to prevent losing valuable boarding homes. 73

The number of wards in wage home placements increased from fifty-nine in 1939 to 122 in 1942, and dropped again to ninety-six in 1944. Opportunities for wage home placements were unlimited, no doubt, during the war with its accompanying shortage of farm labour. The tendency for wards to enlist in the services would lower the number of wards in employment supervised by the agency. Boys were beginning to prefer urban jobs, which were now plentiful, rather than the farm placements used almost exclusively in the past. The Commissioner viewed this preference with some concern, re-emphasizing "the advantages

of a rural district for raising children. As Saskatchewan is primarily an agricultural province it seemed reasonable to expect that a large proportion of the wards would look to careers in that field. There were evidently some wards, however, who were not interested in agriculture: work available in cities was more appealing and, perhaps, more suited to them. With the new opportunities available during the war period, wards had a chance to select their employment rather than take what was offered; this had been almost solely farm labour in the past. Planning for the future of each ward was becoming a more individual problem. In the past it had been a "group" project, wards attending school on a school agreement then changing at fifteen years of age to a farm wage home agreement until their discharge from care.

More wards were showing an inclination to continue on to higher education in collegiates, technical schools, business colleges, normal school, etc. The Bureau encouraged this plan to the extent of paying tuition, and supplying clothing and books. In 1939 there were fifty-five wards, all working for their board, who were continuing school on that basis. There were many more wards, in free foster homes, whose educations were being financed completely by the foster parents.

An era of a more individualized approach to child care was dawning. Three fundamental needs of children, their needs for security, affection, and achievement, were being given a degree of

76 Annual Report, B.C.P., Regina, 1943-44, p.5.
recognition, in planning the future of each ward. This new approach was revealed most clearly, in 1943, shortly after the addition of the first professional social worker to the staff of the Bureau of Child Protection.

The change was timely. In the past it is believed that insufficient care was taken to ensure the welfare of children sent from urban centers to rural foster homes. Pre-placement investigations were superficial, and so long as there were no violent repercussions on the part of foster parents or children, supervision during the placement was negligible.

Adoption Services

The number of legal adoptions granted in Saskatchewan increased during the second world war. A total of 206 adoptions were completed in 1939, and the total increased by seventy-two per cent to 354 during the year 1944. While there was a slight but steady increase, as show in Table 32, in the number of wards of agencies legally adopted, the higher rate of adoptions was due to the greater number of non-wards adopted. The number of non-wards adopted more than doubled by 1944.

The increase in the rate of adoptions was attributed to the regulation of the Dependent's Allowance Board, that an allowance could not be granted for children other than the servicemen's natural children or those legally adopted. Servicemen, therefore, who had foster children but had not petitioned for final adoption previously now hastened to do so in order to establish eligibility for the additional allowance. The regulation stipulated further that the children must have been placed in the homes prior to enlistment. There was, therefore,
Table 32

Legal Adoptions Granted In The Province, 1939 to 1944

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Agency wards</th>
<th>Non-wards</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>354</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, and 1944.

no appreciable rise in the number of applications for placement of children received. The figures indicated the effort to make final those placements of long-standing, with the resultant increase in adoptions granted during the period.77

During the period many applications were received by the Commissioner requesting legal adoption of persons over twenty-one years of age. The Saskatchewan legislation did not provide for the adoption of persons other than minors. The Commissioner believed that the Ontario legislation provided for the adoption of adults, and suggested that an amendment be inserted in the Act to cover such cases in Saskatchewan.78 It was possible that these special and rather

unusual requests arose as the result of the informal adoption methods which had been practiced before the adoption legislation in 1922, or as a result of private placements. The foster parents had not been aware of the need for a formal transfer of guardianship. There had not been any problem until the "adopted child" applied for a birth certificate, for the purpose of employment or for enlistment in the services. More of these cases would come to light during a war period.

There is no useful purpose to be gained by having legislation to include persons over the age of twenty-one years. The major function of adoption legislation is to transfer guardianship legally, from a natural parent to a foster parent. Persons over twenty-one years of age are adults in the light of all other legislation, and are not in need of guardianship. Under the Change of Name Act those over twenty-one years of age can legally change their name, which would seem to fulfil the purpose.

**Services To Unmarried Parents**

The administration of the Bureau of Child Protection had anticipated a rise in rates of illegitimacy during the war period. Compared to the 658 illegitimate births during 1931, however, there was only a slight variation from 665, 693, and 668, to 639 in the years of 1938, 1939, 1940, and 1941 respectively.\(^79\) Registrations of all illegitimate births in the province were supplied to the Bureau of Child Protection by the Vital Statistics Branch of the government. No alarming increased trend toward illegitimacy was indicated. Figures are not available, so that it is not possible to state what proportion

of these illegitimacy cases were known to the Bureau and carried on the active caseloads of the agency.

The services available to unmarried parents through the Bureau of Child Protection appear to have continued to be much the same as those offered in the pre-war period. Contributions obtained from putative fathers for the maintenance of their children were reported to have increased substantially over the amounts it had been possible to collect during the depression years. A good deal of this increase in collections was attributed, also, to the co-operation received from the federal authorities in securing filiation orders and agreements from putative fathers in the Canadian forces. The actual amount of financial help obtained on behalf of unmarried mothers and their children under the provisions of the Child Welfare Act are not included in the statistics recorded by the Bureau during this period.

During the period the Bureau adopted the policy of accepting illegitimate children as wards of the Commissioner before arranging placement if unmarried mothers wished to surrender their children. When unmarried mothers desired to keep their children the Bureau's policy was to try to assist by establishing paternity and financial responsibility of putative fathers. It was not their policy to recommend that an unmarried mother with only one child receive public assistance. The administration believed that an unmarried mother with one child was not sufficiently handicapped by dependents to limit her earning capacity to any great extent. Her full time

would not be required at home in the care of her child, and some private arrangement should be possible for the child's care while the unmarried mother was employed. This thinking reflects that which permeated mother's allowance legislation in some of the provinces where a mother with only one dependent child was not eligible for an allowance. In the case of unmarried mothers, the administration of the Bureau feared that unemployment and inactivity of the mother would encourage delinquency. It was believed unwise, therefore, to promote such a possibility by supplying her with an income from public funds.

The policy of the federal Dependent's Allowance Board of granting the regular allowance to the common law wives of enlisted men on the same basis as in legal marriages was regarded as an interesting precedent by the Bureau's administration. As the problem related to illegitimacy, common law unions had aroused concern since the 1920's. The Commissioner gave consideration to the question, whether since common law wives were eligible for Dependent's Allowance during the war, they might not be eligible for Mother's Allowance during peace. The policy of the Dependent's Allowance Board had added new impetus toward the recognition of the common law union as a family unit, a thought which would have been "beyond the pale" twenty years before, during World War I.

Another impression was made on the Bureau of Child Protection by the liberal services offered by the Department of Pensions and National Health to enlisted women who became illegitimately pregnant. The unmarried mothers were discharged to their home province for social services. The Department provided maintenance

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until the unmarried mother was employable again, guaranteed hospital
and medical expenses, and offered the unmarried mother vocational train-
ing or the opportunity to re-enlist after her confinement. The
approval indicated by the administration of the Bureau of Child Protec-
tion of these federal programs initiated during the war period seemed to
indicate a re-evaluation of the Saskatchewan program for unmarried
mothers in the future. The financial difficulties of the unmarried
mother had been recognized during the pre-depression period, and they
had, no doubt, been even more acute during the 1930's. The problem had
been one of concern to the Bureau's administration. With the lead
established by federal policies, changes in the Bureau's program for
unmarried parents could be expected.

Services To Special Groups Of Children.

At the inception of the Saskatchewan government's
child welfare program in 1908, responsibility for three special groups
of handicapped children, the deaf, the blind, and the feeble-minded,
was assigned to the Bureau of Child Protection. By 1939, the educa-
tional and training programs for deaf children had been transferred to
the Department of Education, and those for feeble-minded children to
the Department of Public Health. The responsibility for providing
educational opportunities for blind children, however, remained with
the Bureau of Child Protection.

There was no appreciable change in the number of
children enrolled in schools for the blind during this period compared

Table 33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School term</th>
<th>Schools for the Blind</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brantford</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938-39</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939-40</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-41</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-42</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942-43</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943-44</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, B.C.P., 1939 to 1944 inclusive.

The enrolments during the period of 1931 to 1938. The Bureau continued to provide escort service for the children going to the schools in the fall. At the end of the school term in June, the Brantford Institute made arrangements for escort service to Winnipeg, and the Bureau assumed responsibility for escorting the children to their respective homes from Winnipeg. The Winnipeg School for the Blind offered a combined academic-vocational curriculum, which the Bureau believed particularly valuable for older children, handicapped by blindness, and without any previous training or education. Since the proportion of blind children in Saskatchewan was relatively small, there was a limited need for training facilities within the province. The present arrangement with schools out of the province was serving

satisfactorily the needs of those children requiring special training.

With the outbreak of World War II there was a mass movement of children in danger zones in Britain to parts of the Empire. At a special conference in Ottawa of Canadian child welfare representatives in June of 1940, whole-hearted support and co-operation was pledged to the project, and the Children's Overseas Reception Board was formed to sponsor the program. As a result of the conference it was agreed that the distribution and care of evacuee children would be handled by the existing child welfare agencies in each province. Due to exchange regulations money could not be sent out of Britain for the care and maintenance of the children evacuated. Each province undertook to be responsible for the children within its borders, for their housing; placement, maintenance, education, and medical care. 86

In Saskatchewan a separate branch, with responsibility for evacuee children was organized with its own director, within the Bureau of Child Protection. A special appeal was made through the press to Saskatchewan residents to open their homes to refugee children. Letters to the secretaries of cities, towns, and villages in the province suggested public meetings and the organization of local committees to assist the provincial officials in receiving and approving applications to take evacuee children, meeting trains, and placing the children in the approved homes. The home of each applicant was personally inspected by a member of the staff of the Bureau of Child Protection or by a representative of the evacuee board. Many of the evacuees had personal contacts in the province and elected to spend

their time in Canada with relatives or friends. These homes, also, were investigated and under agency supervision. Preference, in the selection of foster homes, was given to urban areas because of the proximity to school and medical care.

Services were offered generously to the British children forced from their own homes by the threat of war. Many applications offering to provide homes for evacuees were received, and, by 1942, a total of one hundred and one children were placed in Saskatchewan. Free hospitalization, medical, dental, and optical services were available to evacuee children through the medical associations. The Y. W. C. A.'s, Y. M. C. A.'s, theatres and others offered their facilities gratis to evacuee children. Schools and music teachers exempted the evacuee children from the usual tuition rates to that those opportunities would be available. Free cable service was provided to evacuee children to enable them to maintain as close a contact as possible with their natural parents in Britain.

Boys coming to Canada under the program sponsored by the Children's Overseas Reception Board, remained until six months after their seventeenth birthday when they had the option of returning to enlist in the British Services, or enlisting with the Canadian forces. For girls the period was extended until their nineteenth birthday. In exceptional cases exemptions were provided and permission to remain in Canada, for example to complete school, was granted. The children were visited in their foster homes every six months and progress reports sent to their parents following each visit.

87 Annual Report, B.C.P., Regina, 1941-42, p. 16.
The Bureau of Child Protection was an independent entity reporting to the Minister of Highways prior to the formation of the new Department of Reconstruction, Labour, and Public Welfare early in the next period to be discussed. Gaps in the program of services to children offered by the Bureau were very evident, and included the lack of psychiatric and child guidance services, a training or correctional school for girls. The child welfare legislation, while basically sound, was not always adhered to in fact or in spirit. The field staff carried large caseloads which did not permit good child welfare work, aggravated by the fact that they were equipped neither by education nor training for the job. The administration was weak, and the program suffered for want of competent leadership and direction. However, there were evidences of better things to come, and the next few years proved to be a period of extensive reorganization.
One of the most comprehensive definitions of the function of social work is the following, by Miss Fern Lowry: "Case work is the attempt to meet those needs which are derived from the interaction of the individual and his social environment which precipitate breakdown in the individual's capacity for self maintenance, and social contribution. In other words, there is a large range of human need which does not result in breakdown of self maintenance and social contribution; ill health, legal entanglements, personality difficulties become of significance to the case worker only as they limit the individual's ability to function independently or affect his contribution to the social group of which he is a part."

In comparatively recent years governments had begun to see the relationship between their responsibility to administer public programs and the necessity for relating those programs to basic human needs. The 1944 provincial election in Saskatchewan brought into power a new administration presented with an unparalleled opportunity to give leadership in a new, but increasingly important, function of government. With the emphasis placed upon the intrinsic value of the individual the fundamental objective of the welfare program for the province became the development of citizens who were economically, emotionally, and socially secure.
Child welfare services have their basis in legislation designed to protect the rights of dependent and neglected children. The real significance of the child welfare legislation is in the fact that children have rights, and that from birth to maturity the state has an obligation to protect for its children the opportunity for economic, emotional and social security. The primary responsibilities of the parents are recognized. The family, as the basic unit of society, is protected. When parents fail in their responsibilities, and when the efforts to prevent the break down of the family unit fail, then the state is obligated to provide for the child a substitute environment which will foster the normal growth and development of the child. Thoroughly indoctrinated with this philosophy, the Saskatchewan child welfare agency approached the problems of providing services to children.

Services To Children In Their Own Homes

The family unit, the foundation of society, and its preservation was basically fundamental to the work of the Child Welfare Branch. The causes of family break down -- death, mental or physical inability, marital problems -- were defined in terms of family relationships, those between the mother and father, those between the parent and child, and those between siblings. In cases referred with family problems the emphasis was upon rehabilitation by strengthening the inferior family relationships which had contributed to the formation of the symptoms culminating in the referral to a social agency. This approach required frequent and regular visits to the home, unlimited time, and skilled personnel.
Private family agencies, concentrating their skills on these problems, were active in Moose Jaw, Regina, and Saskatoon. In the rest of the province this important aspect of child welfare work was the responsibility of the Child Welfare Branch. The Branch was keenly aware of the significance of the family casework job as the best protective measure in the total program of children's services. Wardship was the last resort to protect a child when all other alternatives to preserve the home failed.

Actually it was not possible to provide the calibre of service to children in their own homes which the Branch hoped to achieve. During the fiscal year ending in 1946 almost fifteen hundred family cases were referred to the Branch, and more than seven hundred in each of the two following years. In 1947, the agency's load of active family cases was more than sixteen hundred. Each of the several aspects of the agency's program was making heavy demands of the field staff. Personnel, even with the long hours willingly devoted to overtime, could only deal with the referrals on an emergency basis and maintain a superficial contact with the family cases. The agency's administration was acutely aware of the need for better coverage, and was concerned by the cost in terms of human and economic values of the limitations in the family service aspect of the program.

In 1945 the legislation was extended to provide for periods of temporary wardship of children as well as permanent committal. The purpose was to provide parents with an opportunity to work toward the improvement of the home environment, at the same time providing protection for the child from undesirable conditions.

Section thirty-five of the Act outlined a second alternative for the temporary care of children by a voluntary agreement between the parents and the Director of the Child Welfare Branch. Parents could make application for a period of non-ward care for their children. The parents were expected to assume financial responsibility, according to their ability to pay, with the Branch supplementing the parents' contribution, if necessary, to maintain adequate standards of care for the children.

One particular group of children, those whose parents were engaged in divorce proceedings, caused the Branch to study its responsibility for their protection. It appeared that those children were receiving secondary consideration, and, frequently, were being used as bargaining power. The Courts shared this concern, with the result that the provincial child welfare agency offered to assist the Courts by studying the cases from the angle of custody of the children. Several requests were received from the Courts, during the period, for help in preparing information relative to custody in divorce applications.

Another special group was singled out by the number of referrals of war marriages threatened with break down. The Child Welfare Branch received many requests from war brides for help in returning to their home countries. The Branch did not accept responsibility in that area, but did offer casework services toward improving the marital adjustment in the home.

During the year of 1944-45, the interpretation was broadened with regard to those eligible to receive mother's allowance as guardians of dependent children. Usually the guardians were relatives
of the children. The agency's administration was convinced, in any case, that if the child had formed healthy relationships with other parent persons the relationships merited preservation. If it was believed that a mother's allowance would achieve that purpose it was granted.

The decrease in the number of mother's allowance recipients evident during the previous period discussed, (1939 to 1944), continued into 1945 with a drop from a total of 2222 recipients to 2078. There had not been any tightening of the means test, so that it is presumed the decline was indicative of the generally improved economic period.

The increased budget allowed for substantial increases in the rates paid to mother's allowance recipients. The total paid out in mother's allowance benefits during 1944-45 was $52,585, an increased expenditure of almost $10,000 as compared to the $42,739 spent for the same purpose during 1943-44. With fewer cases in pay it meant an average increase of from $19.24 per family to $25.30 per family. Still inadequate, there was, however, a very definite trend toward meeting the needs of the families dependent on this form of public assistance.

In the departmental re-organization of 1945-46, responsibility for administration of the mother's allowance program was transferred from the Child Welfare Branch to the Social Aid Branch. The area of responsibility of the latter Branch included administration of financial assistance programs, so that the transfer appeared to be a logical move. It is to be expected that close co-operation would exist between the two Branches of the department in order to provide

maximum service and benefit to the families.

Child Care

In all cases of children committed to agency care, according to the revision of the Child Welfare Act, guardianship was transferred from the parents to the Director of the Child Welfare Branch. Responsibility for the supervision of all wards, the children committed for only a temporary period were the exception, became the responsibility of the provincial child welfare agency. By 1948 the Child Welfare Branch was responsible for the supervision of almost three thousand children, approximately twice the caseload in 1945.

Table 34

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Child Welfare Branch Non-wards</th>
<th>Wards</th>
<th>Children's Aid Societies @</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>MJ</th>
<th>PA</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1160</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td>1457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1218</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td>1512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>1708</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>2242</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2718</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, Department of Social Welfare, 1945 to 1948 inclusive.

@ Children's Aid Societies: S: Saskatoon, R: Regina, MJ: Moose Jaw, PA: Prince Albert.

The increased number of children in ward and non-ward care, as shown in Table 34, could be partially attributed to the withdrawal of Children's Aid Societies from the protection field. The
new program of non-ward care for children also added substantially to the responsibility of the government agency for children in care. The policy with respect to the children of unmarried mothers coming in to care had also changed. In the past children born out of wedlock had been accepted for ward care on the basis of a surrender signed by the unmarried mothers. This procedure was no longer accepted as a proper means of transferring guardianship. Some of these cases were being corrected during the present period, and would contribute to the inflated figures.

Medical services to wards and non-wards were available through the Medical Services Division of the Department of Public Health on a similar basis to those provided for pensioners and mother's allowance recipients. Every child coming in to care was medically examined, and the policy of an annual check up thereafter was followed. A trained nurse was added to the staff of the Regina office and her duties included compiling medical histories of wards and interpreting medical instructions to foster parents. In 1947-48 the Medical Services Division was relieved of the administrative responsibility which was transferred to the Child Welfare Branch.

Family Allowance payments received on behalf of the children in care by the Child Welfare Branch tended to accumulate and disbursement presented many problems. To ease administrative difficulties the Branch suggested that Family Allowance regulations be broadened, allowing agencies to use at least a portion of the payments for maintenance of the children. The plan was rejected, probably with justification, as the purpose of Family Allowance benefits had been intended to supplement, not to reduce, the responsibilities of parents
and social agencies. No doubt the administration of family allowance payments each month for almost three thousand children created tremendous accounting problems. The final solution was the policy to forward direct to the ward or the foster parent a portion of the allowance monthly to be used as spending money by the child; the remainder was deposited in the child's family allowance trust account to fulfil special desires of the child. Bicycles were very popular.

The agency's administration believed it to be sound business practice, as well as a wise investment in human resources, to provide opportunity for skilled training for wards of the Branch. The aim, with older children, was to help them achieve independence as soon as they had completed their formal education or training. The agency assumed a counselling role rather than a purely protective one. Wards were encouraged to develop skills, and more and more of them were moving out of the unskilled labour marked. In 1945-46 two wards of the Child Welfare Branch were attending University, several were in training as nurses, taking hairdressing or business courses, and studying a trade, preparatory to moving into more responsible types of employment.90

The trend was toward foster home care for wards, using institutions for a specific purpose in individual cases. Unfortunately many wards still remained in institutions as a result of the shortage of foster homes. One handicap in the development of the foster home program was the general housing problem throughout the province since World War II. To encourage foster parents, maintenance payments for children were raised from the standard sixty-five cents per day per child to one dollar per day in urban homes and to seventy-

90 Annual Report, D.S.W., Saskatchewan, 1945-46, p.22.
five cents per day in rural homes. The increase brought the maintenance rate paid more in line with the rising cost of living. Publicity devoted to the need for foster homes brought some response. Twenty-five per cent of the applications received as the result of the campaign were accepted for study, but the number of homes finally approved was too few to meet the need. As had been the experience elsewhere, the best publicity seemed to be that achieved in the day-to-day job.

In 1947-48 the Child Welfare Branch experimented with a subsidized foster home in Prince Albert. The purpose was to provide a temporary receiving home for children apprehended in that area. The move was in keeping with the preference for foster home care for children. In that particular area, the number of children coming into care did not warrant an institution.

In the province there were many small institutions operating as boarding schools, privately sponsored by service clubs and religious orders. Many referrals to the Child Welfare Branch were those of children who had been placed temporarily in such boarding schools and subsequently abandoned by the parents. These cases pointed up the need for licensing of all child caring institutions, and provision was made for this in the new legislation in 1946. The lack of personnel to set up standards and to enforce them, however, prevented the achievement of any real value from the legislation.

The years of 1945, 1946, and 1947, saw the government enter the field of operating institutions for the care of children. In August 1945, a Babies' Nursery was opened in a wing of the Boy's Industrial School at Regina pending possession and renovation of the...
permanent quarters purchased for the purpose. The program was launched hastily to meet the emergency situation created by the sudden closing of the Moose Jaw Shelter. By May 1946, there was accommodation for thirty babies in the Regina nursery.

The Child Welfare Branch continued to use the institutions in Alberta and Manitoba for the treatment of delinquent girls. In view of the few girls requiring that type of care, building a provincial training school seemed impractical. A greater need appeared to exist for a small institution for girls having difficulty with community adjustments. With the fulfilment of this purpose in mind the Girl's Hostel in Regina was opened in February 1947.

To meet the need for temporary care of children apprehended in the North Battleford area, a Receiving Home was opened in that city. Accommodation was available for twenty children, pending more permanent placements, following the official opening of the Receiving Home in November 1946.

Services to Metis children had been one of the areas of special concern to the Child Welfare Branch for many years. Neglect of Metis children usually seemed to be the result of inadequate housing and school facilities. Placement of Metis children in non-Metis communities was approached apprehensively. It was difficult for the children to make a healthy adjustment when faced by deep-seated community prejudices. In co-operation with the Department of Municipal Affairs a survey was made of the Green Lake area, one of the largest Metis settlements in the province. The result was the building of the Green Lake Shelter, officially opened in February 1947, as a training institution for Metis children whose homes in the community were not
Adequate.

In November 1947, the Regina Children's Aid Society decided to withdraw from the protection field. Embury House was transferred to the provincial agency who continued operation of the institution on a receiving home basis. One very obvious gap in the program of institutional care for children was the lack of special treatment facilities. Consideration was being given to remodeling Embury House as a treatment centre.

Services To Unmarried Parents

The approach to the problems of the unmarried mother featured a recognition of her rights which had not always been practised in the agency. The function of the service was to guide each mother toward the best solution for herself and for her child rather than to pass moral judgment. There was an awareness of the intense emotional experience involved with the pregnancy for the unmarried mother, an experience in which the opportunity and the time to make wise decisions was fundamental. Casework services were available to unmarried mothers in rural areas through the field staff. In Saskatoon and Regina, where the majority of unmarried mothers congregated at the maternity homes, casework services were assigned to special staff members. To relieve the pressure on unmarried mothers and to reduce the danger of impulsive decisions, the Child Welfare Branch offered temporary care (on a non-ward basis) for the child while the unmarried mother and the caseworker worked toward a healthy solution for the child's and for the mother's future.
To prevent unmarried mothers giving up their children because of financial obstacles, to make a decision in accord with the unmarried mothers' real wishes possible, the Child Welfare Branch adopted two services designed to relieve financial pressure. The first was in revised methods of establishing paternity and financial responsibility of the putative father. One staff person in the Regina office was responsible for the supervision of the social welfare officers who interviewed the putative fathers. Attempts were directed toward obtaining agreements out of court, although the Branch would initiate court proceedings on the mother's and the child's behalf, if the former method was not successful and the corroborative evidence warranted such action. In order to supervise the putative father's fulfilment of his obligation once it had been established, an amendment to the provincial legislation provided that all payments on agreements and filiation orders must be made through the Child Welfare Branch. Trust accounts were opened in each case, and the money passed on to the unmarried mother or to the person responsible for the actual care of the child to be spent for the child's maintenance.

The second service offered mother's allowance to unmarried mothers who kept their children. To be eligible for the allowance the unmarried mother had to be caring for the child herself, have made every effort to establish the financial responsibility of the putative father and either succeeded or failed, and be in need financially to maintain an adequate standard of care for her child. The passing of the mother's allowance legislation in 1945 brought an influx of applications from unmarried mothers, and from grandparents whose daughters had subsequently married husbands unwilling to accept the
children born prior to the marriage. One indication of that initial group of applications seemed to be that the unmarried mother keeps her child because she is prepared to accept the responsibility, and that she can provide her child with a normal home life. A survey was contemplated during 1948 to study and evaluate the mother's allowance program and the effectiveness of its achievements during the first three years of operation.

Protection of the child born out of wedlock was recognized as a primary responsibility of the Child Welfare Branch, along with the rehabilitation of the unmarried mother and the enforcement of the putative father's legal obligations. The agency's administration was convinced that an unwanted child was a neglected child as much as the physically abused child. Legislation was broadened, therefore, to define a neglected child as a child born out of wedlock whose mother was "unwilling or unable" to maintain him. The mother's unwillingness, or, in other words, her rejection of the child was grounds for apprehension to protect the child from the psychological hazards of parental rejection and stunted emotional growth.

Requests were received from other Canadian provinces, United States, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands, to approach putative fathers to establish paternity and financial responsibility. Conversely, requests went out from the Child Welfare Branch for reciprocal services. The experience of the Branch indicated that private settlements made out of court were paid more regularly, and generally were more productive than filiation orders. Validation of this practice was indicated by the increased number of private agreements

92 Annual Report, D.S.W., Saskatchewan, 1945-46, p.23.
secured from eighty-seven in 1945-46, to 174 in 1947-48, while filiation orders for the same years were respectively seventeen and twenty-two.\footnote{Annual Report, D.S.W., Saskatchewan, 1945-46, p.23.}

A Legal Adoption Program

A considerable levelling off in the total number of adoptions granted, in comparison to the previous period discussed, is indicated in Table 35. The war years had uncovered many adoption placements which had not been completed by the final court order. The rather exaggerated figures, therefore, were not necessarily indicative of any laxity in adoption policies for that period.

Table 35

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Agency wards</th>
<th>Non-wards</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1944-45</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-46</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947-48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Reports, D.S.W., Saskatchewan, 1945 to 1948 inclusive; break down of total is not provided in statistics of last two years.

The number of agency wards adopted was fifty-eight in 1944-45, and 125 in 1945-46. The increase was probably due to the new legislation which stated that all children of unmarried parents surrendered by their mothers for placement must be surrendered through
the Juvenile Court. The purpose of the procedure was to provide protection to the mother and to the child during the probationary period of the adoption placement. Previously the unmarried mother retained guardianship of her child until the adoption was made final by the court a year later. It was believed an unnecessary emotional disturbance for the mother to have the case pending for a year when her own rehabilitation was in progress.

Adoption cases in the province were heard in the District Courts, and, in each case, had to be recommended by the Director of the Child Welfare Branch. As in other provinces, Saskatchewan endeavoured to protect, by legal machinery, the rights of every child placed not only by the child placing agencies, but privately as well. While no adequate solution had yet been devised to cope with private placements, a problem prevalent throughout Canada, at least those in which legal transfer of guardianship was requested received study and protection.

As in other parts of Canada, the number of prospective parents making application to adopt children exceeded the supply of children for placement. There was, therefore, opportunity for a high degree of selectivity in the choice of homes for each child. The administration expressed concern over the supervision of adoption placements during the probationary period as the Branch was not always able to fulfil its legal obligation. The services of the Child Welfare Branch were handicapped by a shortage of trained staff who were already overworked by large caseloads and with large geographical areas to cover. Therefore, supervisory visits to adoption placements were not as frequent as dictated by good child welfare standards. Adoption
work is one of the most serious aspects in the child welfare field. An agency's efficiency needs to be constantly under review as it is one area in which mistakes are not easily rectified.

Special Services During The War Period

During the war period heavy demands were made upon the Child Welfare Branch, an experience shared with all Canadian agencies, by the requests for investigations on behalf of the Department of National Defence with regard to applications from service personnel for compassionate leave and discharge arising out of family problems at home. During 1944-45 the federal department established an office in Regina under a district social service officer, and a close liaison was established between the two government offices. The field staff of the Child Welfare Branch were responsible for the actual home visiting. A priority was given to providing services in this area, with the result that the regular child welfare services were sometimes temporarily shelved. Particularly heavy prior to VJ Day, the requests for service from the Department of National Defence and the Dependents Allowance Board became negligible after that time.

During 1944-45 the movement of evacuee children back to their homes in England commenced. By 1945 all but thirty-one children had returned, and, by 1946, there were only four remaining in Saskatchewan. These four, it was expected, would be remaining in Canada permanently. They were waiting to be joined by their parents as soon as they could arrange to come, or, they were older children well established in jobs who had made a happy adjustment in Canada and

preferred to remain.

Special Services For Blind Children

The provincial child welfare agency continued to carry responsibility for education and training of blind children in the province. The facilities of the Brantford School were used for that purpose. During this period twenty-three children each year went to the eastern province for the school term. The Child Welfare Branch assumed financial responsibility for the maintenance of the children at the Brantford School and transportation from their homes to the School, a financial responsibility amounting to more than $12,000 annually.95

In 1948 the director of the Child Welfare Branch was loaned as executive-secretary of the Co-ordinating Committee. Composed of representatives from the government departments of education, health, and welfare, the objective of the Co-ordinating Committee was the analysis of over-lapping services between the three departments and the development of a co-ordinated public service. The final recommendations included: (1) The establishment in the province of health and welfare regions to be developed jointly by the departments concerned. (2) The establishment of one region immediately as a demonstration project. (3) The decentralization of social services to bring administration closer to the people. (4) The establishment of a research committee to promote continual study and evaluation of the program.

Whether or not the recommendations of the Co-ordinating Committee would ever be carried out, the time was undoubtedly ripe for a

95 Annual Report, D.S.W., Saskatchewan, 1945-46, p.19.
critical inventory of the progress achieved in the child welfare program developed. Decentralization of the services is anticipated as one of the next steps. Staff, qualified both by training and experience to fill responsible positions in a decentralized program, is one of the limiting factors. Meanwhile, the administration of the agency is guided by caution, working at the consolidation of the developments in the past four years before forging on once again.
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Provincial Statutes, including the following:
  Act for the Better Protection of Neglected and Dependent Children, Saskatchewan, 1908.
  Juvenile Courts Act, Saskatchewan, 1917.
  The Mother's Pension Act, Saskatchewan, 1918.
  The Adoption Act, Saskatchewan, 1922.