

Child Welfare in Halifax, 1900-1960:
Institutional Transformation, Denominationalism,
and the Creation of a 'Public' Welfare System

by

Renée Nicole Lafferty

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at

Dalhousie University
Halifax, Nova Scotia
September 2003

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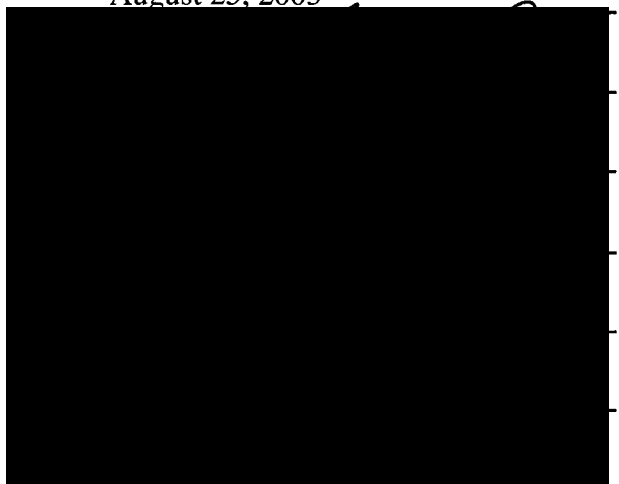
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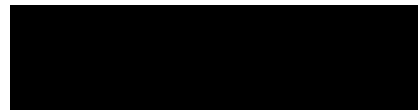
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DEGREE: Doctor of Philosophy

CONVOCATION: October

YEAR: 2003

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DEDICATION

for

Janice Lynn (Hagyard) Lafferty

Henry Thomas Lafferty

Nora (Carr) Hagyard

Mary Anne (Darg) Lafferty

Henry Smith Lafferty

and

Charles Walker Hagyard

History is just a way of making a living – Family is life

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ABSTRACT

Child welfare programmes in the city of Halifax underwent significant transformation between 1900 and 1960, particularly in relation to the place of denominational institutions. Over the course of this sixty year period, material and ideological changes combined to render the types of services once offered by these institutions, redundant. The city's congregate care Homes and asylums were, by the late 1950s, smaller in both size and jurisdiction. While such changes most often are viewed as symptomatic of secularization, the current dissertation disengages from this problematic historical narrative, and sets causality not within an abstract process, but within the peculiar, complex, and often conflictual local context of the city.

As an explanatory framework, secularization imposes a rigid opposition between sacred and secular interests, associating the secular with the modern and professional, and the sacred with the old-fashioned and amateur. It assumes the triumph of the social worker over the institutional manager and thereby obscures both the significant continuity between institutionalization and foster care as therapies for dependency, and the active participation of institutional managers in the adoption of modern practices. It also attributes a degree of control to professional social workers which was not always apparent in the city of Halifax, and it assumes that religious belief had little or no influence within a modern system. Based upon an examination of denominational records, as well as the records of welfare agencies and institutions, this study questions these assumptions about the causes and consequences of change in child welfare practice. It further argues that the institutional managers were, themselves, instrumental in the adoption of those modern methods and ideas which ultimately resulted in their restricted jurisdictions within the city's system.

ABBREVIATIONS

ADC	Anglican Diocesan Centre (Archives), Halifax
AR	Annual Report of the Provincial Director of Child Welfare
CAS	Children's Aid Society
CGIT	Canadian Girls in Training
CPC	Catholic Pastoral Centre (Archives), Halifax
CSA	Council of Social Agencies
CWC	Canadian Welfare Council
ECWA	Ester Clarke Wright Archives, Acadia University, Wolfville
GBRE	General Board of Religious Education (Anglican)
HAICP	Halifax Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor
JHA	Journal of the House of Assembly, Nova Scotia
NAC	National Archives of Canada
NSARM	Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management
NSHCC	Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children
NSACAS	Nova Scotia Association of Children's Aid Societies
NSACCI	Nova Scotia Association of Child Caring Institutions
SPC	Society for the Prevention of Cruelty

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing a history about child welfare is a frequently discouraging and discomfiting exercise. And without the support (emotional, financial, intellectual, and grammatical) of the following people, I would most certainly have been too discouraged and too discomfited to complete this dissertation.

I have been fortunate to have beside me a family with an unparalleled capacity for affection, encouragement, and humour. They have both inspired and supported my work, and provided the opportunity for me to play. To my grandfather, Charles Hagyard, who proves daily the importance of my roots, and to Liam, Nathaniel, Sean, Sarah, Dan, Ian, Mike, "Steen," Heather and Norbert, I extend my deepest thanks. You are nephews, sisters, and brothers beyond compare. Your tongue depressors are in the mail. I am also deeply grateful for the support of my parents. Their help was indispensable, and I am beholden to them for their encouragement, their calm, their friendship, and their unceasing willingness to dismantle the barriers thrown up around me (and sometimes *by me*). I have spent four years studying the problems of child welfare, and know without a doubt that I have parents who know more than I do.

I also extend thanks to my absent friends, fellow graduate students at Dalhousie, and my colleagues at King's College, for time spent in conversation, commiseration and frippery, especially to Marcia, Marie, Amani, Rory, Ruth, Steve, Victoria, and Nhoj. A special debt of gratitude is also owed to Kelley Castle. In my worst moments of muddle and best times of enlightenment, she has exchanged ideas, mulled over the philosophical and the mundane, and driven me to do more than I thought possible in the confined space of graduate study. I am equally indebted to Charlie and Craig Reid, for constant inspiration, early morning wake-up calls and late-night, caffeine-free motivation.

Ted Meighen and John Kimmell proved an excellent tech-crew on short notice and in less-than adequate surroundings, and Mary Wyman and Tina Jones could not have made my experience any better. I am also obligated to the efforts, wisdom, and wealth of untapped information so freely given by the archivists with whom I've worked in the past four years. My thanks to Karen White of the Catholic Pastoral Centre, Winnie Bodden and Pat Townsend at the Esther Clarke Wright Archives at Acadia University, and Lorraine Slopek of the Anglican Diocesan Centre, who opened their collections unreservedly. Thanks also to the staff at Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management, who welcomed me by name, and demonstrated enormous patience when I repeatedly (and unintentionally) sabotaged the micro-film readers.

I had the privilege of financial support from the Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada and the Killam Foundation as I undertook this project. I also had the excellent fortune to share a part of the immense wisdom, insight, and curiosity of Michael Cross, Tom Faulkner, and my graduate committee, David Sutherland, Judith Fingard, Philip Zachernuk, and Lynn Marks. These masterful scholars helped me to

sharpen my understanding as well as my arguments and my enthusiasm for the practice of history.

My final, and most significant, acknowledgment of a debt owed is to Shirley Tillotson, my graduate supervisor. She gave me the confidence to pursue the most interesting and difficult problems I could think of. She set high standards for workmanship, saved me from a great number of foolish mistakes, taught me the value and beauty of a short sentence (a lesson still in progress), and always accepted with grace that my best intentions were invariably ungrammatical. She has suffered through the worst parts of this thesis, often more than once, and served as a Socratic midwife to much of what is good and interesting in these pages – and none of what is erroneous, boring or illiterate. My debt to her instruction and friendship cannot be adequately displayed in either my footnotes or these acknowledgements.

R.N.L.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: SECULARIZATION, RELIGIOUS PERSISTENCE, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NARRATIVE STRUCTURE FOR CHILD WELFARE HISTORY

In August of 1961, Eric Smit of the Canadian Welfare Council wrote a letter to Ross Kinney, the director of the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children. In it, he declared that "[t]he idealized concept of the appealing waif standing desolate and deserted on the street corner – probably in the bitter cold of winter with a wind whipping through threadbare clothes driving the snow deep into his tattered garments – is no longer valid if it ever was."⁽¹⁾ His description, in the context of his correspondence with Kinney, presents a mid-century sign-post of progress, a blueprint sketch of what he, along with countless other professional social workers in Canada, believed to be true of the improvements made in the field of child welfare. These improvements were embodied by the shift away from a singular concern with basic physical care for neglected children. In a modern society, the 'rescue' of neglected children involved thoughtful, reasoned planning, made with both the child and his or her community in mind. It involved action within the accepted parameters of social work theory, intensive medical and psychological testing, and therapeutic case work. The Dickensian emotionalism evoked by Smit's threadbare, homeless waif was replaced by a critical, social scientific awareness of the complexity of child development and the need to bring rational, unbiased and

(1) National Archives of Canada [hereinafter NAC], MG28 I10, Vol. 190:11 (Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children, 1958-1968), correspondence 25 August 1961.

informed opinions into play. The targets were no longer impoverished and pathetic orphans, but children with dysfunctional families and emotional disturbances requiring welfare services for therapy, and not for protection. Noting with approval Kinney's understanding of institutional care as being more than "just custodian," Smit replied, "[f]ew institutions for children, if they are to continue to play a useful part in the whole child welfare program, can escape the necessity of abandoning [older methods] and accepting elements of a treatment oriented place."⁽²⁾

As it most commonly has been interpreted by historians, this transition from child "rescue" to child "welfare" is symptomatic of the broad secularization of late nineteenth and twentieth century North American society. It is precisely this narrative explanation for change which the present thesis seeks to refute, specifically as it applies to Halifax's child welfare system between 1900 and 1960. The shifting imagery of child welfare noted by Smit *does* apply to the Halifax context. Over the sixty year period under study, child care workers did adopt different strategies and targets for their programmes, and a new language to describe their services. However, in order to fully appreciate the contribution of older methods, to realize the continuity between modern care therapies and their predecessors, and to understand in a contextualized way how these new programmes and altered discourses were formed, the main features of the secularization model must be abandoned.

According to the secularization narrative, changes in welfare practices occurred along relatively standard and predictable lines. In the late nineteenth and early

(2) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 190:11 (Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children, 1958-1968), correspondence, 22 June 1961; 25 August 1961.

twentieth centuries, so this story claims, professionally trained specialists, including developmental psychologists, social workers, nurses and physicians overhauled child welfare services. The methods of care and supervision administered by philanthropists and religious orders fell out of favour with these experts, who convincingly argued that, while the intent of amateur religious organizations and private charities was admirable, their work was no longer sufficient, or efficient enough to deal with the problem of child dependency and neglect. Christian impulses and voluntarism, once the essence of the child saving movement in Canada, were replaced by the use of professional and scientific methodology, reflecting the "ideological currents and popular attitudes that equated science with efficiency, progress and modernity."⁽³⁾ Care for orphaned and dependent children was transferred from the supposedly amateur authority of private, denominational institutions and large, congregate asylums, to a system favouring 'professionally' staffed Children's Aid Societies, rigorous case work procedure, foster care and 'scientific charity'.⁽⁴⁾ Most agencies and charitable organizations apparently recognized foster care as the best method for caring for children whose situations were unsuitable, and began to scale back their populations and close their doors. As both historians and some contemporaries have claimed, the inadequacy of the amateur, religiously motivated system to deal with modern society created the need for professionalization. Secularization was inevitable, a response to the manifest needs of

⁽³⁾ Cynthia Comacchio, *Nations Are Built of Babies: Saving Ontario's Mothers and Children, 1900-1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 9.

⁽⁴⁾ P. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum: From Child Welfare to the Welfare State in English Canada (1800-1950)* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1980).

problem families.

That similar transformations occurred within Halifax's child welfare system is indisputable. The orphan asylums and children's Homes⁽⁵⁾ opened in the nineteenth century were, by the 1960s, either unrecognizable in their programmes and policies, or eliminated entirely from the city landscape. The central concern of this thesis, however, is to demonstrate that it was not the *inadequacies* of the denominational institutions which created a need for professionalization. Rather, the need came from their active participation in, and adoption of, modern methods. The institutions were not passive victims of a newer, secular-scientific methodology in child welfare, but were active participants in the transformation of their own programmes and, consequently, their own increasingly restricted jurisdiction. Institutional change was promoted by a continuing desire to eliminate or control threats to childhood – and not by an abstractly defined cultural phenomenon of secularization. In other words, changes – and continuities – within the child welfare system must be approached from an institutional, as well as an ideological, perspective.⁽⁶⁾ The denominational institutions in Halifax set the parameters for child welfare development in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Their decreasing sphere of influence and activity did not occur because they were

(5) Throughout this dissertation, "Home" has been capitalized when it is used to refer to a child caring institution, such as the Infants' Home or the Home for Colored Children.

(6) See, for example, B. L. Vigod, "Ideology and Institutions in Quebec: The Public Charities Controversy 1921-1926," *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 11:21 (1978), 167-182. While I agree with the distinction which Vigod identifies between the ideological and the institutional, I do not, in this case, apply the full meaning of his argument, i.e., that ideological elements had *no* influence upon change.

religious or supposedly amateur, but because they embraced modernity, as far as was possible within the limits of their own sense of institutional identity.

Reconsidering the significance of the religious condition of these institutions should not be taken to imply that religion, as such, had no role to play in child welfare. The precise opposite is true. Religious belief was central to the motivation and identity of many – perhaps most – of the caregivers in this period. Religious programming, from prayer and Sunday School attendance to character training and education, was central to the efforts of the institutions and agencies working on behalf of dependent children. Religion, manifested both as a motivation and a defensive strategy for caregivers, is, in fact, a central focus of this dissertation. Like other realms of experience which have become a focus for historians – including gender, ethnicity, and class – religion was an important element in the perception of self, and in the creation of individual and institutional identities.(7)

Scholars frequently dismiss expressions of religious belief as camouflage for other, ostensibly more important, or "real" concerns. Even in those studies which examine religious rhetoric and doctrine, there can be a tendency to look past the belief itself, to find some kernel of the true problem – anxiety over social and economic change, tensions within personal relationships or ethnic groups, or psychological illnesses.(8) As

(7) Ruth Compton Brouwer, "Transcending the 'Unacknowledged Quarantine': Putting Religion into English-Canadian Women's History," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 27, 3 (Fall, 1992), 51.

(8) See, for example, Susan Curtis, *A Consuming Faith: The Social Gospel and Modern American Culture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991). Many sociological studies of religion maintain this approach to belief – what Robert Abzug refers to as material and psychological "reductionism." See, for example, Peter Berger,

Robert Abzug has argued, however, it is essential that the religious dimensions of the past be given priority equal in importance to secular elements.(9) This is not to argue that religion can, or should be privileged over other categories of identity, whether gender, ethnicity or class. These categories do not function independently of each other, nor can they be understood outside of their immediate historical context.(10) The religious beliefs of institutional managers in Halifax, for example, were formed within the boundaries of their class, within their perceptions of race, and their understandings of appropriate, gender-based education for boys and girls. Equally, their awareness of class, and the perpetuation of their racist and gendered assumptions about their community, were influenced by their religious perception of the world around them – and this world itself was never a constant, unchanging backdrop to their activity.

Religious belief had this influence on the managers and superintendents of the denominational institutions *and* on those who worked and administered supposedly secular agencies and departments. As such, while the religious foundations and motivations of the institutions must be taken into account, they did not have a prior

The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion (New York: Anchor Books, 1967).

(9) Robert H. Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), viii, 3-8.

(10) Race, class and gender, in particular, have been identified in this way by Anne McClintock, as "articulated categories" which "come into existence *in and through* relation to each other." See *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 4-5. See also Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991).

claim on social power by virtue of their religious status alone.⁽¹¹⁾ Nor could this claim be made for those who, in the latter part of the twentieth century, operated under an apparently scientific, secular or modern influence. Whether denominational or secular, these agencies and institutions were members and competitors in a larger matrix of institutions, all of which competed for control and authority within the community. They struggled with each other as well as with their own internal conflicts and interests. None of them embodied the essential goals of the entire community, nor can it be inferred that they met some legitimate, objective need merely because they existed. These institutions and agencies *did* perform a service which was considered both necessary and important within the city, but they were not objective, passive pawns to be pushed and manipulated by an abstract historical process like "secularization," "modernization" or "professionalization." What was necessary and important about their programmes varied among institutions and over time. The prominence of one institution, agency or organization in relation to another was contingent upon its resources, both financial and rhetorical, and its ability to mobilize public interest and generate support. The methods by which child welfare agencies gained this prominence were sometimes closely related to religious intentions, and sometimes to secular ones. Often it was a combination of both. In Halifax, the changing fortunes of the economy, the upheavals caused by the World Wars, the Halifax Explosion, the Great Depression, serious racial conflicts, and even the quality of inter-personal relationships among the

(11) The difficulties with this type of functionalism are explored with some clarity, by Mark Chaves, "Secularization as Declining Religious Authority," *Social Forces*, 72:3 (March 1994), 749-774.

city's child care workers, had as much influence on the shape of local services as any perception of the need to modernize.

Denominationalism was also a particularly influential element in the child welfare system in Halifax. Denominational concerns were present in the organization of the city's earliest educational institutions and charity schools, which predated the establishment of local child welfare institutions by several decades.⁽¹²⁾ The Province's educational system does not feature in the present study of twentieth century welfare, mainly because the complexity of the history of public education is deserving of a separate study.⁽¹³⁾ However, parallels between early educational efforts and later welfare administration are unmistakable. It may well be argued, in fact, that the pattern of welfare development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was preordained by the distinctions made in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries between denominations (as well as between races) within the educational system. In this early period, advocates for charity schools and the education of the poor made little

(12) The earliest charity school in the city was formed by the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1751. The school closed in 1785, and while there were several intervening decades before the successful reestablishment of a charitable educational institution for white children in the city, several such institutions were established in the early 1810s (including, among others, the Royal Acadian School (Protestant), the National School (Anglican), and St. Patrick's and St. Mary's Schools (both Roman Catholic).) The city's first school intended expressly for Black children, the African School operated by the Associates of Thomas Bray, under the auspices of the Church of England, was opened in 1785. See Judith Fingard, "Attitudes Toward the Education of the Poor in Colonial Halifax," *Acadiensis*, vol. II, no. 2 (Spring 1973), 17-54.

(13) As noted below, the present work also takes a definition of welfare institutions which would exclude educational bodies. A "welfare" institution was that which made itself responsible for a child's *total* physical, mental, and religious well-being, effectively replacing his or her family.

separation between the concerns of child welfare, and the concerns of education. Caring for the children of the poor meant providing them with an education that would save their souls from the depravity of their environments, and provide them with the practical tools necessary to make an independent living for themselves as adults.(14) However, the dissemination of this moral and practical education was conducted along relatively strict denominational lines. Pupils were divided not only between Protestant and Roman Catholic schools, but also, like the welfare institutions which followed them, between particular sects of Protestantism. In the later nineteenth century, the divisions between Roman Catholic and Protestant schools were deliberately maintained through legislation, through the bureaucratic organization of the school board, and through informal agreements about equal representation on this board from the Protestant and Roman Catholic communities. Also like welfare institutions, racial concerns structured the institutional response to education: Black children were generally (and between 1876 and 1884, legally) required to attend Black schools.(15)

The denominational (and racial) concerns expressed in these early educational efforts arguably carried the greatest influence in the shaping of charitable services in the

(14) Fingard, "Attitudes toward the Education of the Poor." For the links between these educational mandates and the formation of a middle class culture in Halifax, see Janet Guildford, "Public School Reform and the Halifax Middle Class, 1850-1870," PhD. Diss, Dalhousie University, 1990.

(15) On the bureaucratic organization of the city's education system after 1850, see Karen Balcom, "From Recruitment to Retirement: Female Teachers in the Public Schools of Late 19th Century Halifax," M.A. Diss., Dalhousie University, 1992; and Guildford, "Public School Reform." On the issue of Black education, see Judith Fingard, "Attitudes toward the Education of the Poor," and "Race and Respectability in Victorian Halifax," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 20:2 (May 1992), 169-195.

city. They established the boundaries and standards upon which the child welfare system developed and, as will be argued here, they also limited the possibilities and parameters of change in the twentieth century. While these denominational concerns originated with the theological foundations of these particular churches, and while awareness of theological differences was the catalyst for the initial establishment of these Homes (and in some cases in their continued separation from one another), it is not the *theological* aspects of denominationalism which are the focus of the current dissertation. Denominationalism is used, in this case, to refer specifically to institutional interests, and not to theology. It refers to the ways that the initial theological differences between charities gelled into political, social and cultural positions within the community. The institutions were not simply places from which particular, discrete interpretations of Christian theology were disseminated. They were places which represented the class interests, the social positions, and the cultural prestige of the governing boards or religious orders which managed them. The boundaries between, and territories of, these institutions, were therefore defended not only from the perspective of their religious origins, but also because they had been invested with social and cultural values within their communities. They were, in other words, far more than expressions of Christian benevolence or charitable impulse. They represented the social and political influence of a particular community within the larger landscape of the city.

Denominational imperatives, as I refer to them, thus affected relationships between what traditionally have been seen as denominations – such as Roman Catholic, Anglican, Baptist, or Methodist. But they also worked *within* these denominations. For example, the province's Black Baptist community may have shared doctrinal similarities

with the white Baptists, but the two communities remained separate. They did not hold their annual conferences together, nor were there any deliberate moves to integrate the well-established, racially divided churches in the province. Each branch of this particular religion had its own denominational interests and imperatives, which were related as much to race as they were to differences in theological interpretation or liturgical practice.

The unique context within which Halifax's child welfare programmes originated and operated, and the persistent application of this denominational imperative, ultimately meant that institutional care persisted into the post World War Two period. For the current historiography of institutional care in Canada, as it relates to economic, rather than physical or mental dependency, this is a noteworthy hold-over.⁽¹⁶⁾ In Ontario, for example, historians have observed serious criticism of institutional care as early as the 1890s, and institutions were phased out of welfare programmes sometimes as early as the 1920s.⁽¹⁷⁾ In other places in Canada, this time-line for the elimination of institutional care is not as accurate. In 1941, for example, several of the Provinces,

(16) The distinction made here between economic dependence and physical or mental dependence is significant. Throughout this work, I have used the word dependent to refer specifically to children whose families lacked the economic resources to care for them at home, who had been removed from their family settings by child welfare workers, or whose emotional or behavioural problems rendered them likely candidates for institutional care. Physical or mental disabilities are not included in this number.

(17) See Paul Bennett, "Turning 'Bad Boys' into 'Good Citizens': The Reforming Impulse of Toronto's Industrial Schools Movement, 1883-1920's," *Ontario History* 78:3 (September 1986), 209-232; John Bullen, "J.J. Kelso and the "New" Child -Savers: The Genesis of the Children's Aid Movement in Ontario," *Ontario History* 82:2 (June 1990), 107-128; Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 337-388.

including Nova Scotia, had significant proportions of their dependent children in institutions. Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec, Manitoba and Saskatchewan each had a higher number in institutions than Nova Scotia.(18) The overall perception of the history of welfare, however, – particularly as it relates to the role of professional social workers in Canada – is often limited by an end-date sometime during the Second World War.(19) The persistence of these purportedly amateur institutions, particularly in Eastern Canada, may thus be interpreted as evidence for the sort of regional conservatism which has been frequently mobilized to explain social, economic, and political conditions this region.(20) Certainly, there were deep and abiding elements of conservative behaviour in the city of Halifax, no less in child welfare than in anything else. But as Ernie Forbes has demonstrated, the application of the so-called "Maritime conservatism" thesis can effectively obscure the motivations, obstacles, changes and

(18) The proportion of institutionalized children in Quebec's was by far the highest across the country. See "Children Under Public Care, 1941," in *Historical Atlas of Canada* vol. 3, *Addressing the Twentieth Century, 1891-1961* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), plate 32.

(19) See, for example, Nancy Christie, *Engendering the State: Family Work and Welfare in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Doug Owsam, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986); Neil Sutherland, *Children in English Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976; reprint, Waterloo, Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2000); Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*.

(20) On the issue of Maritime conservatism, see E. R. Forbes, *Challenging the Regional Stereotype: Essays on the 20th Century Maritimes* (Fredericton, N. B.: Acadiensis Press, 1989); *The Maritime Rights Movement: A Study in Canadian Regionalism* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979).

reforms which were present within eastern Canada's provinces. While there was a tendency for continuity among those working in the field of child welfare in Halifax, it was not necessarily the result of innate personal or cultural conservatism. Instead, the necessity for, and promotion of, continuity in this city was deeply connected to the local context.

In addressing a question such as the nature of conservatism in Halifax, historians need to be wary of the influence that secularization theory has in western historiography. Secularization theory has created potent and abiding binary oppositions in the historical record, particularly between religion and modernity. These binaries have impeded historical understanding of the importance which religion has had – and continues to have – for individuals and institutions. Moreover, as the theory is explicitly centred on an argument about the *decline* of religion in modern society, it has imbued the historical record with a powerful motif of linearity and inevitability.⁽²¹⁾ There is certainly much to be gained from some of the sociological literature on secularization theory. In order to appreciate the historical development of Halifax's child welfare system, however, there is also much in secularization theory which requires demystification.

There are few scholars who would see the process of secularization as an easy one, nor is it often argued that religious concerns are eliminated wholesale from society; secularization is rarely an argument about the complete disappearance of religion.⁽²²⁾

(21) See Callum Brown, "Secularisation: A Theory in Danger?" *Scottish Economic and Social History*, 11 (1991), 52-58; Stephen McKnight, *Sacralizing the Secular: Renaissance Origins of Modernity* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989).

(22) One notable exception to this is August Comte's *The Crisis of Industrial Civilization* (London: Heinemann Educational Press, 1974); Comte argues that religion,

A common feature of the story is, instead, the sense of gradual growth – of the emergence of one system out of the other, and of the conflict and resistance encountered in the process.(23) Moreover, secularization is not a single, unified theory, but a variety of interpretive frameworks used to explain the growing differentiation between religion, and personal and public culture. The basic idea behind all of these interpretive frameworks, however, is that religious authorities lose control over areas of social space, time, facilities, resources and personnel. The "social significance" of religion and religious institutions declines, and "empirical procedures and worldly goals and purposes [displace] virtual and symbolic patterns of action directed toward otherworldly, or supernatural ends." Religion becomes increasingly marginal to the business of the social system as the essential functions of society are rationalized, and control passes out of the hands of agencies whose goals and methods are devoted to the supernatural. At its core, this theory supposes that religion's significance is measured by its organized public presence and its potential to act as a primary resource for public concerns. A religion is "significant" when it is able to influence the operation of the social system in such a way that programmes and services are developed and operated in conformity to religious standards, and with "due regard for the supernatural."(24)

substantively defined, is destined to disappear, to be replaced by science. See also Marcel Gauchet, *The Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion*, trans. Oscar Burge (Princeton, 1997).

(23) Ken Moffatt, *A Poetics of Social Work: Personal Agency and Social Transformation in Canada, 1920-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

(24) Bryan Wilson, "Secularization: The Inherited Model," in Phillip E. Hammond (ed.), *The Sacred in a Secular Age: Toward Revision in the Scientific Study of Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 9-20; "Secularization" in Mircea Eliade (ed), *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York: Collier Macmillan, 1987), 159-165; and

For some, the growing ascendancy of scientific reason forms the causal basis of their arguments concerning religion's decline: scientific explanations for phenomena previously understood to be the work of God undermine the intellectual basis for religious world views, forcing churches and their doctrines out of everyday life.(25) Other scholars emphasize the effect of religious pluralism and tolerance. As societies become more tolerant, individuals are exposed to alternative religious beliefs and become selective, mixing elements of various faiths into a personalized religion. The institutional influence of a particular religion, as a whole, is thereby undermined.(26) Secularization theorists have also argued from the perspective of religious transformation. While Christian *values* remain prominent in social and political culture, they are dissociated from a particular religion, and institutional churches are increasingly restricted to a private sphere. Governments expand their jurisdictions over a growing number of social and political concerns, thereby rendering the administrative functions of the church redundant. According to American sociologist Talcott Parsons, the values promoted by the church become generalized, but remain a sacred core of this secular social system.(27)

David Martin, *A General Theory of Secularization* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978).

(25) See, for example, Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*.

(26) Philip Gorski, "Historicizing the Secularization Debate: Church, State, and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, ca. 1300 to 1700," in *American Sociological Review* 65 (February 2000), 138-167.

(27) Talcott Parsons, *Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966); and *Structure and Process in Modern Societies* (New York: Free Press, 1960). See also Nancy Christie, *Engendering the State*.

There are a medley of ways in which these theories are combined in historical and sociological studies of secularization. In most cases, however, secularization is closely linked to a sense of modernity, of the growing complexity of communities shaped by the anonymous forces of urbanization and industrialization. The industrial and urban world, it is argued, detached men and women from the close community settings, dependence, and stability in which religion had previously flourished. Education, the promotion of individualism, and an increasingly rationalized approach to life amplified religion's irrelevancy for "modern" communities.(28) This particular narrative of secularization is common in the Canadian historiographical record. David Marshall's *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850 – 1940*, is a prominent example. Marshall's book sets an argument about the rise of scientific reason into the context of late nineteenth century urban and industrial growth. An increasing reliance upon scientific and natural explanations for events and changes, he argues – a reliance promoted by Church leaders in their efforts to remain a relevant social force – undermined the theological foundation of Protestantism. In the increasingly commercialized cities with their proliferation of colourful, secular entertainments, "[p]eople drifted away from religious belief and worship," as "[t]he clergy failed to find a gospel that an increasingly secularized society would listen to, except for one that was stripped of theological content and was based largely on sentimental emotionalism and moral platitudes. Religion became an empty shell; the churches' mission became

(28) See, for example Owen Chadwick, *The Secularisation of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: University Press, 1975); Susan Curtis, *A Consuming Faith*.

secularized.”(29) For Marshall, as for many historians, English Canadian society was largely a secular one by the end of the First World War.

This vision of secularization in Canada has its critics. In their book, *A Full-Orbed Christianity*, Michael Gauvreau and Nancy Christie challenge Marshall’s approach to secularization as one hampered by a rigid adherence to a nineteenth century vision of theology that does not account for historical change. Theology, they argue, does not function “as an immutable standard,” but is itself the “product of a specific historical context.”(30) Thus, while Marshall views clerical involvement in the ‘practical’ work of social gospel as a fatal compromise, Christie and Gauvreau view it as valid theology, as religious expression in keeping with the needs and understanding of contemporary society. This more flexible vision of theology allows Christie and Gauvreau to push the chronology of secularization further into the twentieth century. They argue that the interwar period was one of vibrancy for the Protestant churches in Canada, and it was not until the greater state involvement of the 1940s that the institutional church lost significant ground. Moreover, following the example of Parsons, they argue that because of their steady and persistent influence, Protestant church leaders effectively guaranteed that the principles guiding their practical Christian theology would also become the principles guiding the actions and policies of the state.(31)

(29) Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 6. See also Curtis, *A Consuming Faith*.

(30) Christie and Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity*, xii.

(31) See Christie, *Engendering the State*. There have also been several important studies which present a contradictory picture of the relationship between urbanization and religious persistence. See, in particular, Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, “Religious Economies and Sacred Canopies: Religious Mobilization in American Cities, 1906,” *American Sociological Review* 53 (1988), 41-49; S. J. D. Green, “Secularisation by Default?”

Disputes over the timing of secularization in Canada clearly pivot on the definition of religion taken by those using the framework. Defining religion, in fact, is one of the most contentious, as well as the most important issues surrounding secularization. Because secularization in its myriad forms is concerned with the declining social authority of religion, the definition of religion determines the course of secularization theory. Christie and Gauvreau's work might be said to encompass a *functional* definition, which identifies religion as any set of beliefs, activities, or ideas that fulfill certain social functions.⁽³²⁾ Most historians working with secularization, however, base their arguments on a substantive definition, meaning that religion refers to beliefs, attitudes, activities, and institutions which make reference to, and are structured around the supernatural, faith, ultimate meaning, and final purposes. According to Marshall, for example, Christianity "involves faith in the abiding existence of God, including the conviction that events or misfortunes can be the result of divine Providence." Belief in personal sinfulness, in the existence of an afterlife, and an acceptance of the truth of Biblical miracles, particularly the "transcendent historic

Urbanisation, Suburbanisation and the Strains of Voluntary Religious Organisation in Victorian and Edwardian England," *Hispania Sacra* 42:86 (1990), 423-433; Hugh McLeod, *Piety and Poverty: Working Class Religion in Berlin, London and New York, 1870-1914* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1996); Robert Pope, *Building Jerusalem: Nonconformity, Labour and the Social Question in Wales, 1906-1939* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998).

(32) This approach is generally more sensitive to historical context, although it is very inclusive by nature, meaning that "religion" can potentially include athletics, politics, or even academic pursuits. For Christie and Gauvreau, their sense of religion remains connected to what is traditionally associated with the substance of religion, but it is, nevertheless, focussed more closely on function. The later work of August Comte (cf. footnote 22, above), takes this functionalist sense much further, arguing that science has, in fact, become the new 'religion' of the twentieth century.

miracle: the revelation of God and his Word in the life and resurrection of Jesus Christ," are also crucial to his definition. Christianity, he argues, *is* Christianity because of its connection to ideas of the supernatural and the divine. This connection "is religion's essential and distinguishing feature ... a system of beliefs, values, and rituals acknowledging a form of being which transcends the world and a level of reality beyond what is observable to human beings." (33) Marshall asserts that this definition must be made specifically, "because religion can be described in ways that completely rule out the concept of secularization." The narrower the definition, the better, as all encompassing ones "lead to the assertion that only change, never decline, is possible." (34)

Marshall's definition may seem, at first, to establish the desired conclusion before any real investigation of the conditions has been made. However, his definition is in keeping with what is considered the basic function of secularization: to recognize and account for the social, institutional decline of religion, or what sociologists have called differentiation. This term refers to the gradual separation of religious (substantively defined) from non-religious functions and institutions in society. (35) Over time, there is a decrease in the proportion of resources devoted to religion (i.e. to the maintenance of the personnel and property of religious organizations), and religious institutions gradually lose political support. Services and programmes once controlled by religious groups are replaced by specialized agencies, staffed by professionally trained individuals,

(33) Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 6. Marshall's work is specifically on Protestant denominations, including Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and United.

(34) David Marshall, "Canadian Historians, Secularization, and the Problem of the Nineteenth Century," *CCHA Historical Studies* 60 (1993-4), 62.

(35) See Gorski, "Historicizing the Secularization Debate," 142.

and often funded by a secular state; they are freed from the matrix of religious assumptions which had once inspired or dominated their operation. This includes institutions related to formal politics, the economy, education, and the family (for eg., hospitals and welfare facilities).

Ostensibly, when the social significance of religion declines, what is disappearing from the public landscape are programmes and services operated in conformity to religious standards. However, secularization is often used to imply much more than this societal level of institutional change. The theory also emphasizes the declining influence of religion at the level of the individual believer. As religion becomes increasingly marginal to the business of the social system, so, it is argued, does it become increasingly marginal to work, play, decision making, social and interpersonal relations, socialization, and life-cycle transitions. The degree of secularization is measured not only through institutional vigour, but also through the time that individuals spend "preoccupied with the supernatural," and paying "solemn attention and perhaps dedication" to supernatural beliefs.⁽³⁶⁾ The increased capacity of humanity to supply its own needs and to understand and exert greater control over its environment results in an assumption that prayers and providence are no longer necessary or effective. Religious observance and ritual practices are no longer obligatory, and according to one of the theory's most articulate supporters, "[t]he possible intervention of the supernatural into everyday life became less plausible."⁽³⁷⁾ In this formulation, deviations from, or contradictions to the

⁽³⁶⁾ Wilson, *Religion in Sociological Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 150.

⁽³⁷⁾ Wilson, "Secularization," 163.

pattern of secularization are difficult to reconcile. For some, contradictory signs of religious revival— at the individual level are aberrant, temporary survivals whose disappearance awaits only time. For others, they are actually integral parts, or *symptoms* of secularization. As Wilson argues, "[a]gainst the dominant trend, there are occasional revivals of religion [and what] such movements achieve has not always been contrary to secular tendencies." Indeed, they "may be almost explicitly secularizing in their impact." (38)

It is on this point that the most significant challenge has been made to the secularization paradigm. Critics of secularization present anthropological and historical evidence for the persistence of religion, and argue that what is happening in Western culture is not religious *decline*, but religious *change*. Turning focus away from the dwindling *plausibility* of religious belief in the modern, scientific world, they point instead to stable, if not increasing rates of church attendance and membership (particularly in the United States) as evidence that religion continues to play a significant role in the lives of individuals. For some, this role is not surprising: religion is conceived as a permanent and necessary feature of the human condition, providing ultimate

(38) *Ibid.*, 162. An example of this in the Canadian context is David Marshall's description of the Oxford Group Movement of the Depression years. This was, in his view, a transitory movement hampered by classist restrictions, whose adherents were not able to express 'authentic' religious feeling. In his interpretation, the Oxford Group was merely a sign of the theological vacuity of the evangelical project, and more evidence to Church leaders that they had lost their ability to influence society. While this was undoubtedly the opinion of some Protestant ministers, Christie and Gauvreau present contrary evidence to show that not all Protestant ministers or, importantly, the movement's adherents, believed the same. In their opinion, the Oxford movement, whatever its limitations, was an authentic expression of religious belief and should be taken as such, despite the ultimate failure of the movement as a whole.

meaning to life, and representing the essence of human nature.(39) Theorists on the side of religious persistence also take issue with arguments from secularization scholars who claim that increasing religious pluralism (exposure to a variety of scriptural interpretation and liturgy) hastens secularization. This so-called religious economies model indicates, instead, a positive correlation between degrees of religious pluralism and church attendance: where there are more churches competing for members, and there is less interference from government through subsidizing or privileging a particular church, there is a higher the level of religious participation.(40) Sociological evidence also indicates that, contrary to the expectations of the secularization theory, a large majority of people in North America and Europe continue to believe in the core elements of Christian doctrine – the existence of God and the afterlife, the efficacy of prayer and the reality of the miraculous.(41)

Arguments for religious persistence provide important challenges to secularization, but they are not altogether convincing of the latter's complete irrelevance

(39) See, for example, Rudolph Otto, *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and its Relation to the Rational* (Penguin Ed., 1959).

(40) See Roger Finke, "Religious Deregulation: Origins and Consequences," *Journal of Church and State* 32 (1990), 609-26; Finke and Laurence B. Iannaccone, "Supply-Side Explanations for Religious Change," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 527 (May, 1993), 27-39; Rodney Stark and William S. Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1985).

(41) Andrew Greeley, *Religious Change in America* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1989); Rodney Stark and Laurence B. Iannaccone, "A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the 'Secularization' of Europe," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 33 (1994), 230-52.

or error.(42) Perhaps the most important contribution which they do make is to highlight the possibility that religious belief was both vital and influential for individuals, regardless of the condition of institutional development in their communities. By demonstrating the persistence of religious belief within otherwise modern, secular communities, these arguments also expose one of the central weakness of secularization theory; that is, while secularization is dependent upon a notion of differentiation, it has yet to be adequately determined what differentiation was a function of. As Philip Gorski argues, it is clearly inadequate, historically as well as anthropologically, to assert "modernization" as the answer. Gorski suggests that neither arguments for secularization, nor arguments for religious persistence or Christianization are correct, or wholly wrong. Instead, the question is not the level of religiosity, but "its very character."(43)

Assessing the *character* of religiosity in Halifax's child welfare system while simultaneously exploring the changing fortunes of institutional power, can be achieved when religion itself is dissociated from an exclusive connection to the denominational institutions. Religion operated both within, and outside of these institutions. And, in

(42) There are some who have argued, in fact, that the contradictions between secularization and religious persistence are more apparent than real. The latter argument, taken strictly, is about the place of religion among individuals. The former, also taken strictly, is about institutional decline (although in practice, secularization is rarely confined to discussions of institutional decline). As Oliver Tschannen points out, "the debate between pro- and anti-secularization theorists cannot take place because, although the critics of secularization appear to disagree with those they criticize, in reality, they agree as to the available evidence –the only real disagreement [is about] predictions." See Tschannen, "Sociological Controversies in Perspective," *Review of Religious Research*, 36:1 (September 1994), 75.

(43) Philip Gorski, "Historicizing the Secularization Debate," 143.

the same way, elements of welfare procedure that would otherwise be deemed secular were employed not only by secular agencies, but also denominational organizations. Therefore, an effort to assess and understand the peculiar development of Halifax's child welfare system must take as its starting point a new understanding of the relationship between sacred and secular perspectives, and their application to wider questions about social power and contemporary understanding of the developmental needs of children.

A significant obstacle to the realization of this approach is the consistent and powerful opposition that historians of child welfare have made between the religious and the modern, the sacred and the secular, the "old" services of amateur religious societies and private charities, and the "new" services of professional social work and publicly funded programmes. The power of this opposition comes from larger historiographical tradition which equates the secular with the modern, educated, and rational, and sacred with the old, superstitious and emotional. This is an equation built into the term 'secularization.'⁽⁴⁴⁾ As historian Stephen McKnight argues, this equation dates at least to the period of the Renaissance. Influential thinkers, including Boccaccio, Machiavelli, and Galileo, adopted an alternative epochal consciousness that resulted "in a fundamental change in traditional patterns of historical interpretation." Where there had been a basic division between ancient and modern (where the birth of Christ

(44) McClintock identifies a similar problem with the use of the term "post-colonial." Even where histories are critical and aware of the pitfalls of assuming 'progress' in the transition from the colonial to the post-colonial, there is nevertheless the "imperial idea of linear time." The term, metaphorically, "marks history as a series of stages along an epochal road from 'the pre-colonial' to the 'post-...' an unbidden, if disavowed commitment to linear time and the idea of development." *Imperial Leather*, 10-11.

provided the rough dividing line), a new three-stage cyclical model was adopted, which juxtaposed two periods of light – the ancient and modern – with a period of darkness corresponding to the Christian era (the so-called "Dark Ages"). The symbolic patterns of this characterization provided what McKnight calls the "root symbols of the Enlightenment," and supplied "the basic historiographical model for most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries."(45)

McKnight further argues that assuming a natural, stationary antagonism between sacred and secular beliefs obscures the correspondence between them, and renders their interdependence invisible. This is not to say that contemporaries never saw these concepts as related. But because historians have relied upon an unrelenting binary opposition in the exploration of sacred and secular ideas, they have failed, as Lawrence Klein argues about binaries more generally, to "adequately explain the complexities of discourse, let alone those of human experience in practice."(46) The terms in the sacred/secular binary do not define each other exclusively or completely, and while association with one aspect of the binary can be constraining, it can also, in different

(45) McKnight also suggests that the light-dark distinction in the latter historical model is an inversion of the sacred mode of historical narrative. Similarly, the language of salvation histories was inverted and applied in the description of secular histories, effectively "sacralizing" historical consciousness and writing. See McKnight, *Sacralizing the Secular*. Hugh Cunningham has identified a similar pattern in the historical treatment of the children of the poor, whereby their history is "shaped as a romance," beginning with a departure from true identity (the child's 'dark-age' of dependency), and ending with their reclamation and return to 'light', where the "tyranny of these circumstances" are overcome. See Cunningham, *Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood Since the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), esp. chapter 2.

(46) Lawrence E. Klein, "Gender and the Public/Private Distinction in the 18th Century: Some Questions About Evidence and Analytic Procedure," *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 29:1 (1995), 97-109. See also McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, esp. chapter 3.

circumstances, be a source of power. Thus, the sacred vision of society which religious reformers proclaimed and worked for in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries made room for secular elements that would promote their interests, and in the same way, the state integrated secular concepts *and* core religious beliefs into its policies. Governmental and religious agencies collaborated in the regulation of childhood behaviour through compulsory schooling and child labour laws, while concerns about protecting children from the sinful corruptions of society through Christian teaching weighed equally with the economic and political benefits of a particular programme. The sacred and the secular were not rigidly opposed, but arranged in a flexible partnership for the establishment of a social ideal – childhood as a period of innocence and protection.

This approach to the relationship between religious institutions and the wider child welfare network in Halifax has affected – and been affected by – the choice of sources used for this project. Throughout the chapters which follow, tracing the moments of upheaval and tranquillity in the relationship between the institutions and agencies of child welfare involves a close look at what has been called “god-talk.”⁽⁴⁷⁾ In one sense, this means identifying those places and times when reference was made to the supernatural, when prayers were a stable part of the routine for groups or individuals, or when religious teaching made its way into a curriculum. However, an examination of god-talk thus defined is only partial, and is no more effective in gauging religious power (or the lack thereof) than taking attendance at Sunday services. The

(47) Richard K. Fenn, *Liturgies and Trials: The Secularization of Religious Language* (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1982).

authority of a sacred influence is evidenced when association with religion defines the acceptable parameters of a programme and controls access to it; when claims to a religious purpose stimulate public concern resulting in financial or moral support; or when they materially affect the mode of treatment given to individuals – in this case, the placing of children in institutional or foster care.

Where possible, I have sought the presence of these moments of religious emphasis in the records of the institutions themselves.⁽⁴⁸⁾ These particular sources do speak, on occasion, to the relationship between institutions and other welfare agencies in the city, but they reflect, for the most part, the day-to-day concerns of resource management. As such, they provide invaluable evidence of the impact of the persistent financial shortfalls faced by most of these institutions. The regular records of the managing committee meetings also evidence the consistency with which prayer was used to focus the attention and efforts of board members. Annual reports from the institutions supplement these minutes in significant ways (particularly after 1912, when their availability is somewhat more consistent, as brief excerpts were published by the Provincial Superintendent of Child Welfare, Ernest Blois). Along with the yearly reports of the Provincial Superintendent and the Juvenile Court Judge in Halifax, these

(48) For the early part of the twentieth century, the documentary history of Halifax's institutions is inconsistent. Fairly complete records are available for the St. Paul's Home for Girls (formerly the St. Paul's Alms House of Industry), Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management (hereafter NSARM), MG 20, Vols. 1325 - 1333. Partial records for the Executive Board of the Halifax Infants' Home are in NSARM MG 20 Vol. 177 (Minutes for 1875-79, 1918-20). Some early registers and correspondence for St. Joseph's Orphanage also are available upon request from the Catholic Pastoral Centre (hereafter CPC) in Halifax. Other related information can be found in the records pertaining to the Halifax Society for the Prevention of Cruelty (SPC), NSARM, MG 20 Vol. 515 #3 (Casebook for Men, Women and Children, 1908-1910).

documents provide a focussed and thoughtful presentation of what their authors considered to be the vital successes, significant concerns, and troubling weaknesses of their programmes and services.

The annual reports of the Provincial Superintendent and the Juvenile Court Judges in Halifax are, given the prominent and active positions of their authors, invaluable for this study. There are potential disadvantages to the use of such annual reports in historical examination. In ways that are not always evident to the contemporary reader, these documents were administratively routine, possibly delegated to lesser departmental officials, and produced year after year because they were legally required. As such, their connection to the concerns and administrative realities of these departments may be weak. However, it is clear that for the reports produced by Blois and the Juvenile Court Judges, particularly for the first years after their offices were established, the writing of these reports was taken as a serious matter. Not only are the documents highly descriptive and intensely opinionated, there is little doubt that Blois and the earliest Judges (Wallace and Hunt) were their authors.⁽⁴⁹⁾ These documents

(49) While authorship cannot be definitively established, there are remarkable similarities, in Blois's case, between the early Annual Reports from his department, and a document he produced (with R. H. Murray, President of the Halifax SPC), arguing for the establishment of a Children's Bureau in Ottawa. See NSARM, V/F v.204 #12, "Report and Recommendation Regarding the Establishing of a Children's Department or Bureau, at Ottawa," 1914. The rhetoric and style in the early reports is also congruous with his correspondence, and with his final report as Superintendent made in 1944. That the Juvenile Court Judges were the authors of their own reports in this early period is probable, given that there were no other officials of comparable standing within the Juvenile Court system at this time to which these men may have delegated the responsibility. There are also distinct differences in the styles of Wallace and Hunt, the latter expressing a particularly evangelical tone, while the former expressed more concern over issues of discipline and punishment. Wallace's authorship can be further determined through a comparison of his first reports, and the final document he

were among the means by which the Provincial Superintendent and the Judges could establish political capital in the community. The reports defended the importance of their novel agencies, and thereby justified the new expenses of their administration. This is not to say that the intensity of these early reports is consistently maintained, or that authorship remains unequivocally vested with the Superintendent and the Judges themselves. After 1926, and excepting his final report as Superintendent in 1944, Blois's reports are considerably shorter, and are repetitive in ways which suggests he had, by this time, delegated their writing to a lesser official. Similarly, the Juvenile Court Judges' reports become far more centred on statistical returns, rather than interpretations of the significance or meaning of the court itself.

But the first fourteen years of his departments' existence, the Annual Reports produced by Blois are particularly valuable. They provide two kinds of evidence. One is statistical and financial, information whose value in describing the conditions of the institutions is obvious.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The other is linguistic. As with most documents of this nature, the material 'facts and figures' reported by the authors are expressed with resplendent rhetoric and metaphorical excess. If such rhetoric is dismissed as a facade

prepared as Juvenile Court Judge before leaving that office in 1918. See W. B. Wallace, "Six Years in a Juvenile Court," in the Annual Report of the Provincial Superintendent of Neglected and Delinquent Children [hereinafter AR], *Journal of the House of Assembly [JHA]*, 1918, Pt. 2, App. 28, 49-65.

(50) While attention has been paid to the basic numerical import of these statistics, *how* they are reported is, in this context, more significant. Changes in the types of information collected and published often reflect significant changes in the motivations and underlying ideologies of their authors. See Bruce Curtis, *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840-1875* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

that misrepresents historical reality and prevents us from seeing real beliefs, then the language of these reports would seem to subvert their utility for an historian seeking to understand the development of child welfare in the Province. But such a dismissal overlooks another kind of use these sources have. The linguistic flourishes must be recognized for their contemporary value and impact. For their intended audiences, the reports resonated with familiar, understandable, and powerful symbols which gave order and sense to the content. Thus, while not every assertion in every report can be taken as literally true or as a statement of honest belief, the language of the reports is reliable as an indication of what their authors believed would seem true and compelling.(51)

The records of these welfare agencies and institutions also have been supplemented by the records of various co-operative welfare committees (notably the Halifax Council of Social Agencies), and with the reports and correspondence of the Canadian Welfare Council (CWC).(52) The value of these particular sources for gauging the relationships among the city's agencies, institutions and social workers is immense. They also provided a methodological gateway for uncovering how welfare services were perceived through the local newspapers by a wider public. Because of the broad chronological boundaries of the present study, a full examination of the local papers was impracticable. Where the manuscript sources noted conflict or events of great public interest, however, (such as the opening or closing of an institution, scandals surrounding

(51) See Valverde, *The Age of Light Soap and Water*, 34-43.

(52) The Canadian Welfare Council was thus named in 1935. Prior to this date, it was referred to as the Canadian Council on Child Welfare, or Child and Family Welfare. Throughout the entire thesis, Canadian Welfare Council is used.

the administration of a particular Home, or the release of a study conducted on the local system), they helped to focus the examination of the city's several newspapers to specific date ranges.

These local news accounts and welfare records necessarily have been complemented by records from denominational archives, specifically the Anglican, Baptist, and Catholic archives. At these repositories, I consulted correspondence, reports, minutes, and short published documents, in order to assess not only the religious temper of child welfare providers, but also how that temper may have been influenced, restricted, or promoted by the city's denominational bodies.⁽⁵³⁾ Unlike those studies which focus exclusively on the Protestant sect of Christianity (blurring all denominations under the banner of Protestantism), the attempt here (albeit an incomplete one) has been to assess intra-religious conflict and agreement, among Protestant, as well as between Protestant and Catholic communities.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Protestantism is discussed, wherever possible,

(53) This research encompassed the records of the Catholic Pastoral Centre and the Anglican Diocesan Archives in Halifax, along with the reports of the Maritime Baptist Association and the African United Baptist Association, both of which are located at the Esther Clarke Wright Archives at Acadia University, Wolfville. In Halifax, the records of several other voluntary charities and associations provided a similar contextual grounding to this research, including particularly the papers of the Halifax Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (NSARM, MG20, Vol. 504C and Microfilm 3799), and the Local Council of Women (NSARM, MG20 Vol. 204).

(54) Rooke and Schnell, in particular, make little distinction between various Protestant sects in their study, *Discarding the Asylum*. They also deliberately exclude Roman Catholic institutions. As Guildford's examination of public school reform in Halifax argues, however, the Roman Catholic community was both politically aggressive and socially well established. This created "special conditions" within the city, which could render any separate consideration of the development of Protestant and Catholic institutions incomplete. See Guildford, "Public School Reform and the Halifax Middle Class," 94-95.

according to denominational associations.

To make the scope of the research into Protestant sects manageable, I chose to focus on the Baptists and the Anglicans. As the historiography of the social gospel and other early twentieth century reform movements has demonstrated, the Salvation Army, Methodist, Presbyterian, and United churches, were also particularly active in issues related to social welfare.⁽⁵⁵⁾ The decision to focus here on the alternative resources of the Anglican and Baptist churches was made, in part, to correct for this historiographical favouritism by contributing to a more diverse picture of Protestantism. But this focus was also inspired by the particular roles which these two denominations played in the city's welfare system.⁽⁵⁶⁾ In the case of the Baptists – especially the African Baptist Association – their participation in the formation and continued support of the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children was of particular interest in the present study.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Of equal importance was this organization's advocacy for the Black community, which provided a clear sense of the continued problem of racism in the Province. Similar

(55) See Phyllis Airhart, *Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1992); Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971); Christie and Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity*; David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*

(56) This is not to say that the Methodists and United sects were not involved in city institutions. Representatives of both denominations sat on the managing boards of the Halifax Infants' Home and the Protestant Orphans' Home. The Jost Mission, a charitable day care centre in the city, was also a direct creation of the Methodist Community. However, these denominations were not as directly implicated in the management of particular institutions, as were the Anglicans or African Baptists.

(57) While I have used the common Canadian spelling of coloured throughout this dissertation, the name of this Home is an exception, as its founders and managers consistently used "Colored" in the title.

motivations prompted my examination of the Anglican Diocesan Centre Archives. The Anglican Church in Halifax was responsible for the establishment of both the Protestant Orphans' Home and the St. Paul's Home for Girls. In the case of the latter, this initial support manifested itself in direct diocesan and parish management of the Home, until its closure. The Anglican Church was thus a particularly active sect in the city, and as its records further revealed, it was deeply involved in a multitude of social reform issues in Halifax. This occurred in part because of the evangelical temper of the city's largest Anglican congregation, St. Paul's, and also because of the vigorous organization of their branch of the Social Service Council of Canada.⁽⁵⁸⁾ There were also several prominent individuals associated with that church, working in the city. Most notable was Reverend Dr. Samuel H. Prince, a graduate of Columbia University's Department of Sociology, and long-serving President of the Halifax Council of Social Agencies. Prince served in various key positions on the Diocesan Social Service Council, was actively involved in the rehabilitation of the city following the 1917 Explosion, and was a close collaborator with the Provincial Superintendent of Neglected and Delinquent Children, Ernest Blois, in the opening of the Maritime School of Social Work.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Taken together with the broader

(58) The minutes, reports and correspondence of this body are available at the Anglican Diocesan Centre, Halifax [Hereinafter ADC], MG 8, Series 9 and 12. Also located at the ADC is the St. Paul's Church *Parish Magazine*, a monthly publication related specifically to congregational issues, and one which reveals this parish's evangelical focus.

(59) Prince sat on an astounding number of committees and boards, and involved himself in issues as diverse as the care and education of the mentally disabled, prison reform, Sunday School Education, and the regulation of curriculum materials in provincial public schools. His doctoral thesis from Columbia was a study of disaster and relief, and was based upon his experiences in Halifax at the time of the Explosion. For biographical information on Prince, see L.F. Hatfield, *Sammy the Prince: The Story of*

historical literature on the Protestant churches, the Anglican, Baptist and Catholic church archives thus present a strong set of indices of the changes that are tracked in the present study.

The focus on the changing fortunes of the child welfare institutions in Halifax was not examined in relation to every child caring institution in the area. Inclusions and exclusions from the list of studied institutions were based in part upon a geographic rationale, and in part out of an awareness of particular consistencies in the types of services offered by the local agencies chosen for study. All of the institutions examined were located, or originally founded, within the city of Halifax. This includes the Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children, which was first established in the city's North end in 1915. It was eventually moved outside of the city – to Preston – after the original site was destroyed in the 1917 Halifax Explosion. Despite the resulting distance of this institution from the city proper, it continued to be understood as a local home for dependent children, and its management was represented in the Child Welfare Division of the Halifax Council of Social Agencies. This latter body also included the home among the sites chosen for their rotating monthly meetings at "local" institutions in the 1930s.⁽⁶⁰⁾ The enormous impact which notions of race had on contemporary understandings of childhood and child development (as discussed in chapters 2 and 3), also meant that the opportunity to explore the place of a deliberately segregated child

Samuel Henry Prince (Hantsport, N.S., Lancelot Press, 1990). Hatfield describes Prince as "one of Canada's pioneering sociologists." On the opening of the MSSW, see NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 183:4, The Maritime School of Social Work.

(60) See NSARM, MG20 Vol. 408, #1, Minutes of the Child Welfare Division of the Halifax Council of Social Agencies, 27 October 1936.

welfare institution could not be ignored.

Local institutions *excluded* from this study of child welfare (despite their obvious connections to it), were the Children's Hospital (founded in 1910), the Middlemore Home (which arranged the fostering of English immigrant children in rural Nova Scotia), and the City and County poor homes (both of which housed children into the 1960s, probably acting to some extent as an "overflow" for those children who could not find places at the local Homes and asylums). These exclusions reflect my decision to examine only those institutions that attempted to replace the functions of a family for local children who had lost one or both of their parents, whose homes were considered to be degenerate, or whose behaviour reflected the symptoms, as they were then understood, of neglect or dependency. As a result, institutions which cared for children because of medical illness alone (the Hospital), because they were part of an international immigration scheme (the Middlemore Home),⁽⁶¹⁾ or because they were part of the wider provincial regulation and management of poverty (the City and County poor Homes), were excluded. These exclusions do have the tendency to present the city's child welfare institutions as somewhat disconnected from wider questions of welfare. However, it is hoped that this disadvantage will be offset by the advantages of a clear focus on

(61) The Middlemore Home submitted annual reports to Blois for the years 1914 and 1915 only. There is no evidence that the managers of this Home were in contact with other welfare agencies, and in February of 1927, Blois expressed to the Provincial Premier his great dissatisfaction with this particular institution. "I have had a good deal of trouble with these Middlemore Home people of late," he wrote. "'Their ways are not our ways, neither are their thoughts our thoughts'." He further expressed concern that they were taking potential foster home placements away from local children. "Our local supply will more than meet *legitimate demands*." NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Nova Scotia Department of Neglected and Dependent Children, 1927), copy of letter from Blois to Premier Rhodes, 3 February 1927. Emphases added.

institutions engaged in closely similar kinds of welfare work.

While reformatory institutions are generally considered to be distinct from child welfare systems, they are included in this study of the Halifax institutions. However, this is not a history of treatment philosophies for delinquent children. Instead, these particular institutions have been approached broadly, as child welfare institutions, and not specifically, as institutions for delinquents. To a large degree, this approach was necessary because, for the early part of the twentieth century, the city's reformatories housed inmates who were neglected and dependent, as well as delinquent. Furthermore, the blurred distinction between, and treatment of, dependency and delinquency – that is, the notion that dependent children were also "pre-delinquent" – rendered examination of these institutions a necessary part of the study.⁽⁶²⁾ Toward the middle years of the century, particularly after the Halifax Industrial School was closed, the institutionalization of delinquents became more specifically focussed on the nature of the offence committed by the child, rather than his or her condition. For this reason, these institutions do not play a major role in the post-war period of this study.

Other significant categories of institutionalized children excluded from this work are the mentally and physically disabled. Concern over the care for these groups was intense in Halifax, particularly as institutional managers found it increasingly difficult to manage these populations. The annual reports of several of these institutions –

(62) Susan Houston, "Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: A Canadian Experience," in Katz and Mattingly, eds., *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 83-109; Anna Davin, *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and Street in London, 1870-1914* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996).

particularly St. Paul's Home for Girls and the Monastery of the Good Shepherd, expressed consistent concern that mentally disabled inmates receive specialized treatment – treatment which they were unable to provide. In 1927 a Provincial Royal Commission "Concerning Mentally Deficient Persons in Nova Scotia" was convened, and shortly thereafter, an institution – the Brookside Home, or the Nova Scotia Training School – was opened outside of Truro, specifically for the care of these children.⁽⁶³⁾ Among the Halifax institutions, this category of children is studied only in relation to their impact on institutional routines for dependents.

Perhaps the most serious limitation on this study, however, – and certainly one affecting many histories of children and child welfare – is the absence of any detailed account of the opinions, feelings, or reactions of the children themselves. They are, in most instances, the "conspicuous mutes of history."⁽⁶⁴⁾ To a very large extent, the inaccessibility of case records is the cause of this omission. Given the highly sensitive

(63) A copy of the Commission Report can be found in the Records of the Nova Scotia Society for Mental Hygiene, NSARM, Microfilm 14.757. This organization (founded in 1908 as the League for the Protection of the Feebleminded), eventually became part of the Canadian Mental Health Association. On one part of the community campaign for the opening of a treatment centre for the mentally disabled, see the Minutes of the Anglican branch of the Social Service Council of Canada, ADC, MG8, Series 12. The Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire also maintained a small institution for between ten and twelve girls in Halifax, but the Home was short-lived, and closed when the Brookside institute was opened. Other specialized institutions for the care of the physically disabled in Halifax included the Halifax School for the Blind and the School for the Deaf.

(64) R. L. Schnell, "Childhood Rescued and Restrained in English Canada," in Patricia T. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, eds., *Studies in Childhood History: A Canadian Perspective* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1982), 204.

nature of these documents, restricted access is to be expected.(65) The interpretive approach taken to those records which *are* used in this study, and the decision *not* to conduct oral histories as part of this project, also contribute to this weakness. As Linda Gordon's history of domestic violence demonstrates, the experience of the clients of a particular social welfare service institution *can* have an impact on the direction which that institution's policies take.(66) This is no less true for the Halifax institutions. Some of the most fundamental changes described in this dissertation, in fact, may be viewed as a response to, or outcome of, the experiences of children and their families. For example, the emotional and behavioural problems which children brought to the institutions required the adaptation of disciplinary regimes. The ways that families continued to use these Homes and Asylums as resources for the temporary care of their children (i.e. during times of illness or unemployment), also required a certain flexibility in admission policies that was not always agreeable to contemporary notions of appropriate welfare administration. While these admission policies answered community demands, they circumvented agencies through which "appropriate" case work could be conducted.(67)

But while a focus on experience, through the medium of oral histories, can

(65) In some cases, on-going legal disputes and adoption laws render case files inaccessible to the public. In the case of some of these institutions, particularly for the early part of the century, it is also not clear that such records were kept.

(66) Linda Gordon, *Heroes of their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence: Boston, 1880-1960* (New York: Viking, 1988).

(67) On the use of institutions as community/family resources, see James Moran, "'Impossible to Manage Her Any Longer at Home': Madness, Family, Power, and the Institutional Option in Quebec, 1850-1900," paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association, May 2003, Halifax.

provide a degree of depth and critical revision of traditional sources, it can also limit the interpretive scope of an historical examination of the type pursued in this thesis. As Joan Scott argues, personal accounts become the "bedrock of evidence upon which explanation is built." However, they rarely question how the *conditions* for that experience itself came into being. In other words, the evidence of experience becomes evidence for the facts of institutional care. It would demonstrate, perhaps, that emotional and psychological damage was a "true" outcome for some children. But experience would not account for the ways that the institutional system developed, changed, and altered the potential for the types of experiences had by children. Nor does it explain how these experiences were contingent upon their context. It would not explain, in the example of psychological damage, how institutional workers, and institutionalized children came to understand this problem as an *effect* of this type of care. Over the sixty year period under study, institutional care in Halifax was transformed both in its methods and in its ideological presentation. It is these transformations which are the focal point of this dissertation.

We will better understand these transformations if we are aware of the ways that the secularization narrative has influenced our understanding of the causes and outcomes of changes in welfare practice. That awareness, in turn, exposes alternative, more contextualized answers to the questions of how change happens, and why it happens when it does. Alterations in Halifax's child welfare system were not caused by an impersonal, cultural secularization. Nor were they motivated by the deliberate or disinterested efforts of professionals seeking to improve or replace an amateur or 'flawed' system. In many cases, in fact, the instigators of modernization were these so-

called amateurs themselves. They were not pushed out of the system by professionals, but through their attempts to contain threats to childhood; they created a need for professional management. When the institutions are interpreted in this way, as politically and socially invested agencies, the persistence of religious emphases within the system as a whole, can be articulated outside of a discourse of conservatism. Religion was not the boundary which separated the old from the new, but a continuous thread which was woven throughout. It was not exclusive to the denominational institutions, nor was it ignored or shunned by the accredited social worker or secular agency. The timing of institutional change is thus explained in relation to a material context, and not in relation to a generalized process which would otherwise obscure the very real complexities and unevenness within the city's child welfare system.

The second and third chapters of this study examine the early influences on institutional programming, particularly as they related to the social and political interests of the institutions – in other words, their denominational imperatives. In chapter two, the fundamental religious segregation of the institutions is examined in light of contemporary concerns about threats to the moral and physical safety of the city's children. As chapter three argues, threats to childhood were also conceptualized in racial terms, and in the early part of the twentieth century, the ultimate result of this was racial, as well as religious segregation in child welfare. Importantly, however, the province's Black community undertook the creation of an institution specifically for their own children. Its opening was inspired not only by their inability to access other services, but also by their own perceptions of race pride and race "uplift."

In chapters four and five, the administration of the institutions, particularly in

the context of severe economic depression in the inter-war years, is the focus of study. During this period, the denominational and racial imperatives, as well as the strong desire to contain threats to childhood, made fertile ground for institutional change. The pattern of that change was limited, however, not only by the constraints of the local context, but also by the expectations and demands of institutional managers. Importantly, their active participation in the transformation (however limited) of their programmes directly contributed to the restriction of the institutions' jurisdiction. This theme continues in the narrative of chapters six and seven. In these final chapters, particular attention is paid to two significant reviews of the child welfare programme in the city – the first relating to the relationship between the local Children's Aid Society and the institutions (1951), and the other encompassing a broad critique of the entire child welfare programme in the city (1958). In each case, the legacy of the denominational and racial segregation of the institutions is exposed. And, as occurred in the inter-war period, the willingness of the institutions to participate in, and accept the findings of these reviews, was directly responsible for their transformation into "modern" child care facilities. They were not, even in the late 1950s, eliminated wholesale from the city landscape, but were invited to participate in a type of service (group care) which they themselves helped to create.

CHAPTER TWO

"WE NEED NO REFORM"

DEGENERACY, DENOMINATIONALISM & EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY CHILD WELFARE SERVICES IN HALIFAX

In the 1919 Annual Report of the Provincial Superintendent of Neglected and Delinquent Children for Nova Scotia, there is a photograph of two young children, probably a boy and a girl, embracing each other [See Fig. 1, page 43]. Shown from the waist up, staring vacantly away from the camera, the pair are a decidedly cherubic portrayal of childhood. Their nakedness emphasizes their vulnerability and innocence, while their gaze marks their distance and separation from the adult world. As with other photographs in this Annual Report, this image established the credibility of the text by emphasizing the obvious benefits of support for, and interest in, child welfare initiatives. It capitalized on the standard imagery of the childhood ideal in this period, echoing similar depictions in magazines, newspapers, pamphlets and posters, which were used to promote everything from tonics and soaps to the objectives and successes of baby clinics and welfare programmes.⁽¹⁾ This image, and others like it, conveyed what many

(1) On Canada's well-baby programmes see Katherine Arnup, *Education for Motherhood: Advice for Mothers in Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); Comacchio, *Nations Are Built of Babies*; Dianne Dodd, "Advice to Parents: The Blue Books, Helen MacMurchy, M. D., and the Federal Department of Health, 1920-1943," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, 8 (1991), 203-30. For a discussion of the use of childhood imagery in advertising, see Anne Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence: the History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998).

people believed to be intrinsic to childhood: physical and moral innocence, fragility and purity demanding the most vigorous and diligent protection.



FIGURE 1: from the 1918 Annual Report of the Provincial Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, *JHA* 1919, Pt. 2., App. 28, 19.(2)

The protective component of the childhood ideal has been, to date, one of the central points of historical interest in Canada. The seminal works of Neil Sutherland, and Patricia Rooke and Rudy Schnell, have argued that the causal forces in the emergence of educational and welfare programming for Canada's young were the development of a

(2) Images of childhood such as this one were certainly prominent throughout most of western society, but child welfare advocates also manipulated images to demonstrate the 'darker side' of childhood. See, for example, Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor*; Davin, *Growing Up Poor*. A local example of this alternative portrayal of childhood can be found in the *Halifax Mail* of 31 March 1924, in a report on the Jost Mission, a charitable day care centre in Halifax. In the latter image, the children are fully clothed in heavy, dark garments, their faces are serious and unsmiling, and they are gazing directly into the camera. The article accompanying the image was intended to generate public support and sympathy for the institution. See R. Lafferty, "'A Very Special Service': Day Care, Welfare and Child Development, Jost Mission Day Nursery, Halifax, 1920-1955" (MA Diss., Dalhousie University, 1998), 79.

consensus around the basic features of this ideal, and the desire to protect it.(3) In the nineteenth century, Rooke and Schnell argue, "childhood became synonymous with child rescue." Children needed to be protected and segregated from adult/bad influences. This segregation effectively promoted childhood dependence, and delayed the assumption of "adult" responsibilities. According to Rooke and Schnell, these criteria promoted the development of institutions specifically for children. When, in the 1890s, these institutions were themselves increasingly identified as a problematic environment for the full realization and protection of ideal childhood, welfare promoters moved away from the institution toward a system of boarding out and foster care. The latter programmes were administered and directed by Children's Aid Societies which were, they note, established across Canada between 1891 and 1914. (The first one was founded in Ontario by J. J. Kelso, that Province's first Superintendent of Neglected and Delinquent Children.)(4)

In this scenario, the introduction of the CAS removed control of services from amateur institutions run by philanthropists and religious orders, and placed it in the

(3) Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, and "Child Welfare in English Canada, 1920-1948," *Social Service Review* 55 (Sept. 1981), 484-506; Schnell, "Childhood as Ideology: A Reinterpretation of the Common School," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 27:1 (February 1979), 7-28; Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*. Sutherland and Rooke and Schnell draw upon other notable studies of childhood, including, particularly, Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage, 1962). There is some disagreement, however, between Ariès and Sutherland about what the former calls the "invention" of childhood, and what Sutherland sees as a growing awareness of new problems. See also Vivana Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child* (New York: Basic Books, 1985).

(4) On Kelso, see Andrew Jones and Leonard Rutman, *In the Children's Aid: J. J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).

hands of secularly trained professionals whose philosophies and methods were apparently "fundamentally opposed" to those of the institutions. The Orphan Asylums were "forced to operate as temporary shelters" for the CAS, and by controlling intake and discharge policies for these shelters, CAS agents effectively controlled the institutions' goals and programmes. Foster care, a new and improved method of caring for children, replaced long-term care in institutions which were then forced either to alter their methods or to close. Private, philanthropic financing was replaced with public funding. In this narrative, asylums and orphan homes are not often characterized as participants in their own transformation, but rather as institutions who acquiesced to the changes, offering little opposition to the superior authority of the trained professional. The CAS has thus been designated as an important first step in the de-institutionalization of Canada's dependent children.(5)

This particular narrative of change in child welfare (like the broader narrative of secularization discussed in chapter one) presents some difficulties for the history of child welfare in Halifax. Here, there had been limited public funding for institutional care since the early 1880s, and an administratively separate CAS was not permanently established until 1920.(6) The association made between the CAS and modernity, and

(5) See particularly, Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 274-277; John Bullen, "J.J. Kelso and the "New" Child-Savers;" 107-128; Jones and Rutman, *In the Children's Aid*; Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*; Christie, *Engendering the State*. Christie's argument maintains the link made between CAS promoters and the attack on institutions, particularly for Ontario. However, her argument does note, importantly, that the imperatives of the Ontario CAS's were not secular, but were allied to Protestant interests. See esp. pages 20-26.

(6) As discussed below, the SPC in Halifax operated as a CAS in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the St. Paul's Home for Girls was also granted this status in

between institutional care and an anti-modern or inadequate welfare system thus means that in this city, welfare reform apparently lagged well behind the rest of the country. The logical assumption is that, as a result, local children were subjected to methods and programmes of care which were both out-dated and damaging. Late nineteenth and early twentieth century changes in Halifax's child welfare system, however, must be interpreted differently if their full implications are to be understood. This is not to say that institutional care was a positive and constructive experience for children. Indeed, contemporaries in Halifax were fully cognizant of the threats posed by institutionalization. Instead, an alternative approach to the development of child welfare in this city will uncover the benefits which institutions *did* have – if not for children, then certainly for the religious communities which administered them. Moreover, it will demonstrate the ways in which institutional administrators themselves sought to overcome the difficulties associated with institutional care, and to implement modern practices, including the adoption of the administrative routines commonly associated with a CAS. The cornerstone upon which child welfare in this city was built was not the apparently modern innovation of a CAS, but the programmes and policies of the denominational institutions – in other words, the denominational imperative.

The causal association between the need to protect the childhood ideal and the

1906. However, it was not until 1920 that an independent CAS was successfully organized, despite attempts to establish one in 1905. The province's (and the country's) first Children's Protection Act, passed in 1884, provided for a minimal amount of public support for children committed to the province's institutions. This money was paid by the municipalities in which the children had residence. See *Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia* [hereinafter *RSNS*], 1884, c. 95, sec.3, "Of the Prevention and Punishment of Wrongs of Children."

emergence of modern therapies for childhood dependency is altered by this alternative narrative of historical change. As the parameters of the childhood ideal became sharper and more widely accepted, so did the *fears* about that ideal's absence or loss become more expansive and threatening. This fear, and not a need to modernize or to guarantee an idealized standard for all children, was the chief factor motivating changes in the child welfare system, be they alterations in institutional programmes, or the establishment of new agencies – such as the Juvenile Court (1911), the office of the Provincial Superintendent (1912), or the Children's Aid Society. This becomes particularly apparent in the context of the First World War and the Halifax Explosion of 1917. Throughout this entire period, in fact, there was a remarkable degree of agreement (if not explicit cooperation) between the denominational and secular child welfare agencies as to the nature of the threats to childhood, and the basic methods necessary to contain them. The development of the city's welfare system was thus motivated by fear, and shaped by self-consciously denominational precepts.

Some of the earliest steps toward the formation of Halifax's child welfare system were taken along denominational lines, as they were in many other Canadian cities. Halifax's major orphan asylums, boarding homes, industrial schools for delinquents, and infants' homes for unwed mothers and their babies were divided along denominational lines, generally between the city's two major religious categories, Roman Catholic and Protestant. (See Appendix Two) Most of these institutions were established in the late nineteenth century. There were two homes for delinquent boys, the Protestant Halifax Industrial School (1864), and the Catholic St. Patrick's Home for Boys (1885). Roman

Catholic delinquent girls were housed at the Monastery of the Good Shepherd (1890), and Protestant girls were committed to the Maritime Home for Girls in Truro (1914), or to the smaller, local Home run by St. Paul's Anglican Church (1867). Inmates at the latter were generally of Anglican background. There were two orphan asylums, the Protestant Orphanage (1857) and the Catholic St. Joseph's Orphanage (1868), and in the early decades of the century, the city boasted three homes for unwed mothers and their infants: the Salvation Army Home for Women (1893); the Halifax Infants' Home (Protestant, 1875); and the Home of the Guardian Angel (Roman Catholic, 1888).⁽⁷⁾

These institutions were established with a social purpose which was, at once, both benevolent and politically tactical. Their administrators believed, if their constitutions can be any indication, that they were providing a necessary charitable service which was in keeping with the truest impulses of Christian benefaction. But the institutions were not simply the result of ethical choices about the amelioration of poverty or childhood dependency. They were representative extensions of the social class of their administrators, as well as their denominational origins. In the case of the former

(7) Two smaller institutions in the city were the "Girls' Home" on College Street, which housed adolescent girls between the ages of 10 and 12, and the Detention Home administered by the SPC. The former's inmates were between the ages of 10 and 20, and were considered to be potential delinquents. They were not committed by the courts, however, and the home was supported by their laundry work. In 1917, Blois's report on this Home refers to it as a branch of the YWCA. See AR, *JHA* 1917, Pt. 2, App. 28, 49. The SPC Detention Home was apparently turned over to the control of the CAS in 1920, although it is unclear how long the Society managed to keep it open, as later reports complain about the lack of a proper receiving home for CAS wards. The Salvation Army Home established in 1893 appears to have closed sometime in the 1920s, as it no longer appears in the lists of Homes in Blois's Annual Reports. A later version of this institution was re-opened in the city in 1955. For a full listing of the city's children's institutions, see Appendix One.

(discussed below, chapter 4), the training and education within these institutions were obviously geared toward the maintenance of a *status quo* in class relations. In the case of the latter, a denominationally based imperative within the institutions regulated associations between agencies and laid the foundations for future welfare endeavour in the city.

Institutional records as well as private diocesan archives indicate that child caring institutions were not simply affiliated with a church or a particular religious belief, nor was denominational association simply the point of origin or a marker of status in relation to secular agencies or social workers. Instead, denominationally inspired imperatives created a powerful sense of place and institutional rationale; that is to say, through their religious associations, institutional administrators established moral and financial support systems, a specific clientele to whom they directed their services, and a firm belief that no other agency could, or should, do the work that they did. Religious affiliation was a motivating, *offensive* policy in relation to other parts of the child welfare network. Thus, the ways that Roman Catholic and Protestant institutions worked, or failed to work, together is as important to understanding later institutional arrangements as is noting the conflicts arising between the so-called "charitable tradition" and newer, non-sectarian welfare initiatives.

With the exception of the Salvation Army Home, the boards and superintendents of these agencies would not accept clientele of the "wrong" religious persuasion. Families, parents, or single mothers-to-be would be referred to the appropriate agency. This religious exclusivity was not taken lightly, nor was it considered to be a mere

administrative convenience. As Cunningham has argued in relation to child welfare efforts in England, the realm of philanthropic child rescue was one of "jealousy, rivalry, and competitive denominationalism," despite any basic agreement about need.⁽⁸⁾ For example, a fund-raising pamphlet printed in the early decades of the twentieth century for the Home of the Guardian Angel declared that

[t]his institution has for its object the protection and nurture of infants whose lives are often in peril from exposure, neglect and other causes; above all, it is destined to prevent these little ones from falling into the hands of Protestants – an evil which existed to a great extent previous to the founding of the Catholic Home ... Without such an institution many of these unfortunate little beings would never see the light, and many more would, as in the past, find entrance into the Protestant Home, and thus lose all chance of being brought up in the Catholic Faith.⁽⁹⁾

Most, if not all, of the city's Protestant institutions also kept records of the particular Protestant variety of their children and, if possible, gave them access to denominationally specific baptisms and Sunday Schools, and placed them in foster homes of similar religious backgrounds. This practice appears to have been more closely observed between Anglicans, on one hand, and other Protestant groups on the other. For example, the Anglican General Board of Religious Education in Halifax (GBRE) expressed a strong desire to maintain the exclusivity of a peculiarly Anglican education in their Sunday Schools, despite potential problems with the teaching materials. In a 1925 report,

(8) Cunningham, *Children of the Poor*, 136.

(9) CPC, Acc No. 995-50-90-7, "An Appeal to the Charity of Catholics in [sic] Behalf of the Foundling Asylum ...in Halifax," nd. One agency in the city which claimed to accept children regardless of ethnic or religious affiliation was the Jost Mission Day Nursery. Later case records kept by the Matron do indicate, however, that religious affiliation and ethnic background were noted as part of the application process, and in one instance in the mid 1920s, a Catholic family was refused service because "Romans" were to "take care of their own." See Lafferty, "'A Very Special Service'," 83.

the Board declared that, "...[I]t is important to retain and foster the sense of unity within our Church engendered by the use of the Church's own publications, even when having to put up with minor defects of chronological arrangement, pedagogical inaccuracies, etc., all of which, if they exist, can be corrected in use by any live superintendent or teacher."(10) The Anglican Church also found itself in conflict with other Protestant denominations over the religious education of the inmates at the Maritime Home for Girls in Truro. In March of 1925, the local Anglican priest in the community reported that the superintendent of the Home had objected to "his holding of Confirmation classes" there. Similarly, there had been an ongoing battle over securing the regular attendance of Anglican girls at Anglican Church services in the town, and there was great tension over the fact that the Superintendent had "cause[d] all the Girls in the Home to attend a Methodist Church." This problem persisted throughout the interwar period, and resulted in several strongly worded resolutions from the Anglican branch of the Council of Social Service for the province, including one which demanded that any Anglican girl who was to be "paroled" into the community, be placed, as far as was possible, in an Anglican home.(11)

(10) ADC, MG 8, Ser 9, Vol. 1:1, Minutes of the GBRE, c. April 1925, "Report of the Board of Religious Education, Diocese of Nova Scotia." In the late 1920s, the GBRE also launched a campaign to have an apparently objectionable textbook, W. M. West's *The Study of Modern Progress* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1927), removed from the curriculum of local high schools. In their campaign, they enlisted the assistance of the Canadian Veterans' Association and the IODE. The specific basis for this protest was related to the text's characterization of the history of the Church of England.

(11) ADC, MG8 Ser 12 Vol. 2., Minutes of the Council of Social Services (Anglican) for Nova Scotia, 1921-1943, 25 March 1925. See also Minutes for 25 February 1930; 18 February 1930; 8 March 1932; 14 November 1932, 21 February 1933.

The obstinacy of these denominational divisions laid the groundwork for the development of a framework of practice for child welfare in the city. They also exacerbated the scarcity of appropriate foster homes, evidenced in part by the chronic shortage of homes for Roman Catholic children, and they restricted the available options for families and children in need. Such divisions also created potential difficulties for non-sectarian welfare agencies attempting to reach consensus on concerns common to all child welfare agencies (see below, chapters five and six). Before the establishment of the local Council of Social Agencies in 1930, there appears to have been very little communication among these agencies, particularly between Roman Catholic and Protestant institutions which provided similar services, such as the Halifax Infants' Home, the Salvation Army Home for Women, and the Home of the Guardian Angel.⁽¹²⁾

Despite the obvious difficulties created by this religious channelling, it was supported both politically and legally, because of the significance which religion had in the popular understanding of adequate child rearing practices. The Provincial Department for Neglected and Dependent Children, and the city's Juvenile Court both recognized religion as a significant factor in the administration of child welfare services, and in the proper growth and education of children. According to Judge W. B. Wallace, who ran the Juvenile Court from 1911 to 1918, the "imperfect success" of modern social

(12) This contrasts with intra-religious cooperation, for example between the Infants' Home and the Protestant Orphanage, where the President of each institution was given a seat on the managing committee of the other. St. Joseph's and the Home of the Guardian Angel also shared board membership through the religious order responsible for administering the institutions (Sisters of Charity). Neither the Roman Catholic nor the Protestant Homes appear to have had any contact with the Salvation Army Home.

work was a direct result of the *lack* of spiritual emphasis. "[T]o be successful," he declared, social workers "must undertake their work in the spirit of Christian brotherhood." The "love of statistics and a desire to do ... social work in a most 'scientific' way," were ill calculated to appeal to those in need.⁽¹³⁾ Not surprisingly, similar emphasis was put on the importance of religious training for *children*, as well as social workers. A familiar refrain in the Annual Reports of the Juvenile Court was the claim that the rise in delinquency in the city was a direct result of a general disregard for religious education. Wallace's successor, J. J. Hunt, described religious training as a *right* that was to be protected and developed so that, "somehow and somewhere" every child would receive it. "Such instruction [was] more important than any other," he argued, "[i]mportant to the child, important to the Nation to which the child belongs and in which he is soon to become an active member."⁽¹⁴⁾ That this religious training should be done along denominational lines was entrenched within the Children's Protection Act, which provided that "no Protestant child shall be placed in any Roman Catholic institution or in any family the head of which is a Roman Catholic," and that "no Roman Catholic child shall be placed in any non-Catholic institution or in any family the head of which is not a Roman Catholic."⁽¹⁵⁾

Support for institutional care allowed for the continued denominational sorting

(13) W. B. Wallace, "Six Years in a Juvenile Court," Report of the Juvenile Court Judge, in AR, *JHA* 1918, Pt. 2, App. 28, 57-8.

(14) Report of the Juvenile Court Judge (Hunt) in AR, *JHA* 1919, Pt. 2, App. 28, 23-4.

(15) Children's Protection Act, *Statutes of Nova Scotia* [hereinafter *SNS*]1923, c.166, Pt. 2, Sec. 30.

of those children in need of welfare services, a concern which remained paramount among caregivers in Halifax throughout the interwar period. Indeed, the institutions themselves had no small influence on the direction of child welfare development; many of those who sat on the Boards of Directors were influential members of the community, with religious, personal and business connections that lent credibility and a perception of integrity to the continued functioning of these Homes. Moreover, while many child care experts in Canada had begun to condemn the orphan asylum and institutional care, both were vigorously defended in Halifax, not only by these influential board members, but also by the Juvenile Court and the Provincial Department of Neglected and Delinquent Children. The latter's support was significant, since Ernest Blois, the Superintendent of this department, was perhaps the most influential member of the child welfare community in the Province at this time. His own personal connection to the work of institutions through his former superintendency of the Halifax Industrial School may well have played a part in his defence of local Homes and asylums.(16)

In 1918, Blois wrote that it had "been the fashion" for some

to belittle the institutions and to place undue importance upon ... foster homes. So intent have been those holding these latter views in advocating

(16) Ernest Blois was the son of long-time Nova Scotian residents, and was born in Hants Co. in 1878. After graduating from the Halifax County Academy, he attended Dalhousie University in 1897-8, and again from 1902-04. He worked as a teacher at the Industrial School beginning in 1901, and became its superintendent in 1906. He remained at this post until taking up his role as the Provincial Superintendent, a position which he held until 1947. This lengthy tenure, as Rooke and Schnell have observed, led to some stagnation in provincial welfare development. See *Discarding the Asylum*, 305-6. Biographical information on Blois can be found in F. R. MacKinnon, *The Life and Times of Ernest Blois* [on-line] (Halifax, 1992); available from: <http://www15.pair.com/buchanan/genes/docs/ernblois.htm>.

their particular schemes that the good work and importance of the children's institutions are grossly misrepresented. There are some who can see no possible good in an 'Orphanage' or Children's Home. The fact is children's institutions are absolutely necessary.(17)

Blois went on to defend Nova Scotia's institutions, in particular, where children were apparently "not kept for any great length of time," and where "[t]he managers of these institutions [were] quite eager to place the children out, when the right homes [became] available." Furthermore, "those who sometimes criticize these institutions should bear in mind [that] they are all comparatively small, and provide ample space and opportunity for outdoor play and exercise." In other words, Nova Scotia's institutions and asylums were fully capable of providing children with as near an ideal childhood as could be expected in adverse circumstances. All that was needed, Blois declared, was a cosmetic change, a means of dissociating these children from the stigma of institutional care:

We strive towards the ideal of placing every child in a proper private home, and urge the advisability of our institutions eliminating the words 'orphanage,' 'Homes,' 'Industrial Schools,' etc. from their names. No child should be known as an 'orphanage' boy or girl, or a 'home' boy or girl. Why not call these child caring institutions simply such names as: 'Riverside Cottage,' 'Armdale House,' or 'Rosebank Farm'?(18)

In Halifax, institutionalized children were not a source of concern because they were under good regulation and constant supervision. Deviations in behaviour could be

(17) AR, *JHA* 1918, Pt. 2, App. 28, 7-8. This statement of institutional defence was offered as part of his general remarks in the Annual Report, and does not appear to have been inspired by any specific event in the city or province generally. He clearly appears to be responding to the growing critique for institutional care across the country. Blois was not without criticism for specific weaknesses within individual institutional programmes (particularly for the reformatories), but these critiques did not verge on an attack of institutional care as a method of child welfare. See for example, his reviews of conditions at the Halifax Industrial School, in AR, *JHA* 1912-1924, Pt. 2, App. 28.

(18) AR, *JHA* 1918, Pt. 2, App. 28, 7-8.

easily identified and corrections made by a staff which had been hired with the specific – and accepted – religious and political mandate of the institution in mind. It was instead, children outside of this institutional system – children on the streets or in corrupted or corruptible homes – who created the greatest anxiety. It was these children – the neglected and the delinquent – who were not receiving what many considered to be the ideal childhood experience. The urgency of child welfare programmes was thus contained, not in the image of the ideal, but in the threat which existed for those who lived outside of it.

The parameters of this threat are most clearly articulated in the Province's legal framework for the protection of children. Beginning with the first *Act to Prevent and Punish Wrongs to Children* in 1882, the Province's laws became, over the course of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, increasingly detailed and expansive.⁽¹⁹⁾ As the "consensus"⁽²⁰⁾ about the childhood ideal sharpened, so did the sense of childhood degeneracy. For example, while this first Act expressed concern both for the physical and moral condition of the Province's children, in both present circumstances and future potential, this concern was very broadly defined. A parent could be convicted if they had

(19) "An Act to Prevent and Punish Wrongs to Children," *SNS*, 1882, c. 18. This was the first such legislation in Canada, and was enacted as a result of lobbying efforts from the Province's reform organizations, including the SPC. In 1880, the latter group had been granted the power to bring before a magistrate anyone violating laws "relating to or affecting children under the age of sixteen years." See, "An Act to amend the Act to incorporate the Nova Scotia Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals," *SNS*, 1880, c. 68. See also B. MacDonald Dubinsky, "Rescued: Early Child Protection Legislation in Nova Scotia" (MSW Diss, Dalhousie University, 1995), 82; Judith Fingard, *The Dark Side of Life in Victorian Halifax* (Porters Lake, N.S.: Pottersfield Press, 1989), 171-186.

(20) Sutherland, *Children in English Canada*.

"assaulted, beaten, ill-used, abandoned or treated said child with habitual cruelty and neglect," or if they had allowed the child to grow up "without salutary parental control ... in circumstances exposing him or her to lead an idle and dissolute life."(21) (s.3). When this Act and its subsequent revisions were consolidated into the *Children's Protection Act* of 1906, the moral dangers threatening childhood were much more carefully detailed.(22) They included a child's presence on the street (or in a tavern) late at night, begging, stealing, or "receiving alms"; associating or living with a thief, prostitute, habitual drunkard or vagrant; growing up without education; parental desertion or homelessness; the use of obscene language or "immoral conduct" in a public place or school room; or habitual visitation of public pool rooms, gambling houses, or "any saloon, shop or other place where intoxicating liquors are sold."(23)

The Children's Protection Act was revised several times, and consolidated with many other laws relating to children (including regulations on hours of labour and issues of delinquency), most notably in 1912, 1917, 1923 and 1950.(24) With each successive

(21) "An Act to Prevent..." *SNS*, 1882, c. 18, s.3. The penalties under this act were relatively severe, including fines of between twenty to one-hundred dollars, or imprisonment for defaulting on payment.

(22) *An Act for the Protection and Reformation of Neglected Children*, *SNS*, 1906, c. 54. The shortened title for this Act was the Children's Protections Act, 1906.

(23) "Children's Protection Act 1906," s. 7. The province also had enacted legislation to punish (by fine or imprisonment) anyone who contributed to a child's moral corruption through the sale of opiates or tobacco. See "Prevention of the Use of Tobacco and Opium by Minors," *SNS* 1892, c.50.

(24) The 1912 Act introduces some stronger provisions for the punishment of those committing offenses to children, or contributing to their corruption, by making these offences a criminal Act. The 1917 Act, notably, introduces the significant (and sweeping) language of "the best interests of the child." See *SNS* 1912, c.4, and 1917, c.2

Act, the boundaries of acceptable behaviour and living arrangements were more strictly defined while the boundaries of degeneracy expanded. Almost from the earliest of these attempts to define and regulate acceptable behaviour, it became necessary to provide some effective management of their terms. In Nova Scotia, this was accomplished, in 1911, with the creation of the Halifax Juvenile Court, and in 1912, with the creation of the office of the Provincial Superintendent of Neglected and Delinquent Children.(25) Acting under the auspices of the Attorney General, the Superintendent (Blois) was the Province's first civil servant responsible solely for issues related to children and child protection.

The growing complexity of legal protection for childhood, and the creation of the Provincial Superintendent's office and the Juvenile Court had the effect of strengthening notions that the basic goals of child welfare legislation were actually *rights*. This meaning is certainly expressed in the Annual Reports of both the Juvenile Court Judge and the Provincial Superintendent, and was a vision of childhood shared, with varying emphases, by the denominational institutions and their associated churches. Not surprisingly, these "rights" were closely linked to arguments about the nation's need for hardworking, educated, and morally upright citizens.(26) Like many other Canadians concerned with

(25) When this office was first created, Blois's position was Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children. Perhaps in reflection of his active role in the administration of the Juvenile Court, this title was changed to Superintendent of Neglected and *Delinquent* children at the time of his fifth Report, in 1918.

(26) Similar trends across Canada are described by Christie in *Engendering the State*. However, while Christie (20-21) notes that, in the early twentieth century, concerns about quality of citizenship had inspired an attack on institutions, similar trends are not conspicuous in the Halifax situation. See also Bennett, "Turning 'Bad Boys' into 'Good Citizens';" Comacchio, *Nations Are Built of Babies*; Robert McIntosh, *Boys in the Pits*;

the care and welfare of the nation's young, Haligonians' judgment of what the nation needed was specific to Canada's economic and social development. "The child has a *right* to be cared for, fed, clothed and sent to school," argued J. J. Hunt, but also a "*right above all else* to be trained for future usefulness." Children did not belong only to their parents, but to the country, and were its "greatest and best assets." The country, therefore, had "not only the right but ... [the] duty to protect the child in his rights if necessary." (27) Blois's office concurred. In 1918, as part of an appeal for greater funding to his department, he argued that the province could not *afford*, "apart altogether from any moral or religious considerations, to have neglected or delinquent children growing up to become delinquent, or anti-social and non-productive men and women." (28)

Thus, the ideal childhood was not only characterized by innocence and dependence, but also by future potential. *Innocence* could not equal *ignorance*. Children needed to be prepared and trained for their future productive roles in society. The programmes of several local institutions and agencies in Halifax were developed along these lines. Through industrial training and practical education they "fitted" children for a useful, independent place in the community. (29) The Children's Aid Society, when it

Child Labour in the Coal Mines (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), esp. chapter 2.

(27) Report of the Juvenile Court Judge (J. J. Hunt), AR, *JHA* 1919, Pt. 2, App. 28, 22-3. Emphasis mine.

(28) AR, *JHA* 1918, Pt. 2, App. 28, p. 5. Cynthia Comacchio notes a similar, consistent use of vocabulary "grounded in economic principles of cost and investment" in advice literature directed at new mothers in Ontario. See *Nations are Built of Babies*, p. 11, 126-132. See also Bennett, Turning 'Bad Boys' into 'Good Citizens'.

(29) Several historians have made note of the industrial nature of this training; boys were generally given education in farm labour or in low-skill trades, while girls were

was eventually and firmly established in 1920, had as one of its primary goals, "[t]o endeavor to prevent children from becoming destitute or dependent on public charity."⁽³⁰⁾ While providing a protected, safe, and healthy childhood was important, there was an equal desire to raise children who had not been so sheltered as to be unaware of the challenges they would face as adults. Judge Wallace argued, for example, that parents, teachers and caregivers had to avoid that "sort of universal soft-heartedness," which declared that "at home, and in the school, a boy's way must be made all sunshine." Otherwise, he continued, "How, in future years, will he be able to stand the hard knocks of the world, to exercise self control, to meet and overcome obstacles, to face unpleasant responsibilities, to confront ill-fortune, or to be patient under the inevitable suffering which awaits every one?"⁽³¹⁾

In deciding on cases of neglect, delinquency, truancy or other transgressions of the Children's Protection Act, the Juvenile Court Judge was attempting not only to protect the child, but also to protect the "assets" of the nation's future. There was a very close fit between these goals and those of the city's religious communities. In an effort to assist the young in developing the necessary skills to deal with life's "hard knocks", many churches sponsored educational clubs and societies. In many ways, these initiatives reflected the religious imperatives of particular churches. Throughout the minutes of the

trained in domestic sciences. See, for example, Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*; Saunders, *Share and Care: The Story of the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children* (Halifax: Nimbus, 1994), 53-57, and below, chapter four.

(30) NAC MG28 I10 Vol. 1:4, "Report of the Children's Aid Society for the Year Ending September 30, 1928."

(31) Wallace, "Six Years in a Juvenile Court," AR, *JHA* 1918, Pt 2, App. 28, 53-54.

Anglican GBRE, for example, there were constant discussions and debates about the most effective means of stimulating children's awareness and interest in the missionary efforts of the Church of England, in Canada and abroad. Lessons on the subject were developed for Sunday School curriculum, and children were encouraged to contribute their pennies to the various causes.⁽³²⁾ The Anglican Young People's Association was involved in several charitable activities, including the creation of "bales" – bundles of clothing, food, and other necessities – for Aboriginal children in Ontario. The Boys' Mission at the Church also was employed in charitable endeavour, carving and painting toys for mission boxes. The Anglican Church in Halifax also sponsored a local branch of the "Band of Hope," a group of young children who were pledged, and took part in educational sessions, on the importance of temperate behaviour.⁽³³⁾ The evangelical churches mirrored this concern for temperance education among their children through sponsorship of the Women's Christian Temperance Union's "Little White Ribboners."⁽³⁴⁾ Many Protestant evangelical churches also promoted the participation of their young girls in the Canadian Girls in Training (CGIT). The latter was not unlike the local Girl Guide

(32) ADC, MG8 Ser. 9 Vol. 1, #1, Minutes of the GBRE, Diocese of Nova Scotia. The Presbyterian, Baptist, and United Churches administered a similar organization, called the Maritime Religious Education Council. Local councils for this body ran summer camps for the Canadian Girls in Training (CGIT), and organized Sunday School competitions and curriculum for local churches. See NSARM, MG 20, Vol. 288, History and Correspondence of the CGIT.

(33) See ADC, MG3 Ser. 8 Vol. 4, St. Paul's Parish Yearbook, 1924.

(34) Correspondence, pamphlets and promotional materials for the Nova Scotia Little White Ribboners can be found in NSARM, MG 20, Vol. 359. See also Sharon Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Women's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 77.

and Boy Scout movements, focussing on personal responsibility and community service, and providing recreational activities through supervised meetings, camps, and jamborees. The CGIT also featured regular vesper services and prayer meetings.(35)

The efforts of these religious clubs, as well as those of the denominational institutions, received, in this early period, increasing support from the government and the legal establishment. However, this support did not impede the efforts of these sectarian groups, or attempt to redefine the priorities of their community initiatives. Just as these denominational interests sought to provide an early awareness of social responsibility among children, so too was it argued by the Juvenile Court that the "object of life" for the province's children was that they might "be enabled to serve." Real life consists of service," Hunt argued, and children "are saved to serve."

It is for this reason ... that we realize the place of children is ideal in every nation. Upon their training our development as a nation, politically, socially, and religiously depends. Never can we emphasize too strongly that we, as a nation, if we are to have a bright future, must begin with the child. Many of us have failed to realize the possibilities that are envolved [sic] in the life of a child. 'Like arrows in the hand of a giant so are young children.'(36)

Controlling these arrows, particularly when they were subject to neglect and dependency, and when the definition of threats to their well-being was expanding, was a project which required vigilance and force. In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the CAS was one option available to child welfare advocates for achieving this control. As many historians have noted, this agency – through its own constitution and

(35) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 288, History and Correspondence of the CGIT.

(36) Report of the Juvenile Court Judge (Hunt), AR, *JHA* 1920, Pt. 2, App. 28, 17.

legal support throughout the country – was granted unprecedented powers of intervention into private family relationships, and the ability to request legal guardianship of children, against the claims of parents.⁽³⁷⁾ The first attempt to organize such a society in Halifax happened in 1905. In November of that year, J.J. Kelso held a number of public meetings in Halifax about "modern methods of helping neglected, delinquent, and dependent" children.⁽³⁸⁾ Following these meetings, a group of concerned and generally well-to-do individuals drew up a constitution, and had the CAS incorporated in April of 1906. While it is not entirely clear why, this incarnation of the Halifax CAS did not last. Its short life-span contrasts with other 'progressive' movements in the city. As elsewhere in Canada, Halifaxians participated in a growing number of voluntary civic organizations which sought to revitalize and modernize the community and its citizenry. Some of these dated to an earlier part of the nineteenth century – such as the Halifax Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (HAICP), and the Charitable Irish Society. Later in this century and in the early 1900s, these charities were joined by organizations such as the Local Council of Women, the Board of Trade, the Community Chest, the Catholic Women's League, denominational branches of the Social Service Council of Canada, the Nova Scotia Society for Mental Hygiene, and several other

⁽³⁷⁾ Jones and Rutman, *In the Children's Aid*; Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, esp. chapter 8.

⁽³⁸⁾ Miriam Jacobson, "A Better Deal for Children: A Half Century of Service (1920-1970): An historical study of the Children's Aid Society of Halifax," NSARM, L-1138 1996, 6. See also "For the Care and Uplifting of Children," (*Halifax*) *Morning Chronicle*, 27 November 1905, 1-2.

athletic and voluntary societies and clubs.(39) The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also witnessed the creation of a Civic Improvement League, a movement for the reformation of municipal politics. After a Civic Revival Campaign of 1911, the organization of the Halifax Welfare Bureau was also begun in an effort "to establish the most efficient means of alleviating and preventing poverty."(40)

According to one historical account, the CAS "had not flourished" in this active reform environment because "there was no permanent official to stimulate and carry on the organization."(41) However, the basic functions of a CAS, including child rescue and foster placement, had been, and continued to be, carried out by other organizations in the city. In 1914, an Act was passed granting the powers of a CAS to the local Society for the Prevention of Cruelty (SPC), the organization which had operated in this capacity prior to 1905. The Provincial Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children also acted as a CAS in the city after this office was formed in 1912. As Director of the

(39) See, for example, J. Fingard, J. Guildford, and D. Sutherland, *Halifax: The First 250 Years* (Halifax: Formac, 1999); E. R. Forbes, "Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia," and "Battles in Another War: Edith Archibald and the Halifax Feminist Movement," in *Challenging the Regional Stereotype*; Henry Roper, "The Halifax Board of Control: The Failure of Municipal Reform, 1906-1919," *Acadiensis* 14:2 (Spring 1985): 46-65. Records for the Halifax Local Council of Women are located in NSARM, MG20, Vol. 204. For the Mental Hygiene Society, see NSARM, Microfilm 14, 757; for the Charitable Irish Society, NSARM, MG20, Vol. 63:9 (Constitution), and Vol. 70 (Minutes, 1884-1944); for the HAICP, see NSARM, MG20, Vol. 504C and Microfilm 3799; for the Community Chest, see NSARM, MG20, Vol. 1713-26. The records of the Catholic Women's League are available at the CPC and, of related interest are the records of the Anglican division of the Social Service Council of Canada, located at the ADC, MG8, Ser. 12.

(40) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 349, brief history on the founding of the Halifax Council of Social Agencies, nd.

(41) Jacobson, "A Better Deal," 5-6.

Provincial Department, Blois made use of the agents of the SPC in the administration of case work within the city, and conducted annual visits to foster homes, institutions, and agencies in Halifax and throughout the Province. The St. Paul's Home for Girls, originally established in 1867, was also given the power of a CAS in 1906.⁽⁴²⁾ To some extent, the work of these agencies and the Juvenile Court, coupled with the work of several other city institutions (most of which had some rudimentary programme of foster placement), meant that a separate CAS did not seem immediately necessary. As one attendee of the public meeting with J. J. Kelso had argued, striking "a new and to some minds a most practical note," Halifax did not need reform, "just development."⁽⁴³⁾ The historiographical priority granted to Kelso and the CAS is thus not appropriate for the Halifax context.

Fifteen years later, this story had changed significantly. Halifax had endured five years of "the pleasure seeking attitudes of war time,"⁽⁴⁴⁾ a rapidly expanding population, economic upheaval, and a severe housing shortage. Reports from Ernest Blois and the Juvenile Court Judges reveal that the loss of a parent, even if only temporarily, had put enormous pressures on many families and on the city's local institutions. There was a

(42) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 1326 # 2, St. Paul's Home for Girls, Minute Book of the Directors of Management, 4 June, 1906. Leading up to their acquisition of the status of a CAS, administrators at this Institution had expressed serious concern over their inability to prevent parents and relatives who had originally placed girls in the Home, from demanding their release. They had also been seeking funding for girls sent to their home by the courts. As a CAS, the Home could now claim legal guardianship (and funding) for their inmates, and thus fulfill their own vision of what they considered to be in the best interests of the girls.

(43) "For the Care and Uplifting of Neglected Children," 2.

(44) Jacobson, "A Better Deal," 6-7.

general impression that juvenile delinquency rates had risen and that, overall, children more often were suffering neglect because of what one local official called "the withdrawal of effective parental supervision, in consequence of the absence of a father overseas." Mothers, deprived of "essential moral support" frequently were left "incapable of controlling the conduct" of their children.⁽⁴⁵⁾ These increasing tensions also are reflected in the language of Blois's reports. As the war persisted, his calls for public interest and assistance for his Department's work became more frequent, and his expressions of despair more common. In 1917, he wrote, "[as] we are called upon to investigate case after case of children living in the most wretched conditions of extreme poverty, filth, and vile moral surroundings, our task appears greater than our ability, and resources to work with We must frankly confess that ... there has been [a] failure to deal with any degree of satisfaction, with many cases brought to our attention."⁽⁴⁶⁾

These pressures on the Department increased significantly after the Halifax Explosion of 6 December 1917, a time which, according to Blois, would "ever stand out as one of extraordinary stress and activity." War conditions already had added to the number of children in institutions, but following the Explosion, seventy children had been left full orphans, 120 without their mothers, and 180 without their fathers. A few

(45) Judge W.B. Wallace, "Six Years in a Juvenile Court," in AR, *JHA* 1918, Pt. 2, App. 28, 60. Wallace frequently laid blame for broken homes upon mothers. In this particular report, he argued that the home which suffered with a weak, dissolute mother was "the saddest of all homes," and it was "in relation to such homes that the court officials find their most difficult work." Even in those homes where the mother was not dissipated, she was, "nevertheless almost wholly to blame for the wretched conditions that exist."

(46) AR, *JHA* 1917, Pt. 2, App. 28, 7.

days following the disaster, a special committee was established to deal specifically with the affected children. With Blois as chairman, the committee dealt with an astounding 1,500 children in its first month of operation. Many of these children required hospitalization, foster care or adoptive services. The committee sought rapid placement of children either in foster homes or with relatives in order to reduce, as far as possible, the disruption of their lives. For many, however, these placements were disappointing. Following the Explosion, some people felt deep sympathy for the deserted children and so took them in, only to find that they lacked sufficient resources to keep them. In other cases, children were returned to Halifax when it was discovered that they had been placed in homes whose religious affiliations clashed with those of the child.(47)

The problems faced by this committee were greatly exacerbated by damages to several of the city's institutions, including the complete destruction of the Protestant Orphans' Home, where only 15 of 41 residents survived. In the Home's annual report to Blois, the secretary wrote that while "[t]he terrible disaster of December 6th wiped this Home out of existence," it was "striving to rise from its ashes, and amid many difficulties [to] continue its work."(48) The Home of the Guardian Angel, a Roman Catholic Infants'

(47) Janet Kitz, *Shattered City: The Halifax Explosion and The Road to Recovery* (Halifax: Nimbus, 1989), 96-104. See also Janet Kitz, *The Survivors: Children of the Halifax Explosion* (Halifax, Nimbus, 1992) and S. Morton, "To Take an Orphan: Gender and Family Roles Following the Halifax Explosion," in K. McPherson, C. Morgan and N. M. Forestell, eds., *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*, 106-122 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1999).

(48) The Orphanage found a temporary building in the city's south end, and while this was "not suitable either in situation or accommodation," the work was resumed in April of 1918. It was many months before the Home was rebuilt and fully operational. See, AR, *JHA* 1919, Pt. 2, App. 28.

Home, also suffered substantial damage, including the death of one baby, and the severe injury of several others. Most other institutions in the city suffered some degree of property damage as well, ranging from broken windows to the partial collapse of walls and ceilings, and most, if they were capable, acted as shelters for children and adults left homeless after the Explosion. All of this added greatly to the general disruption of basic services in the city.(49)

Given these conditions, it is not surprising that a CAS was established once again in the city, in 1920. Its foundation did not follow arguments for the elimination of institutions, or for a modernization of services in the city as it had in 1905, but instead, was seen as meeting demands for the expansion of services and an increase in their ability to deal with a greater number of endangered children. According to Jacobson, the establishment of the CAS came as a direct result of the overload of city cases on the SPC and the Provincial Department. Indeed, Blois himself asked that a separate agency be established. Moreover, for at least the first year of its operation, the mandate of the Halifax CAS was only to assist the work of the Provincial Superintendent and the Juvenile Court.(50)

That the timing of the CAS's successful foundation in 1920 was likely motivated primarily out of fear rather than a desire to modernize, is also indicated by the clearer articulation of the *sources* for this fear, particularly in Blois's Annual Reports and those of the Juvenile Court. After 1912, these reports gave local caregivers a regular source

(49) See the AR, *JHA* 1919 Pt. 2, App. 28; Kitz, *Shattered City*, and *The Survivors*.

(50) See Jacobson, "A Better Deal," 6-8; NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1928), "Annual Report of the Halifax CAS for the Year Ending 1928."

through which their concerns might be expressed. And, while these concerns may have been more rhetorical than real, they nevertheless identify what child welfare services were attempting to control and eliminate. These fears identified the motivations behind child welfare efforts, and indicated, in this early period, where future lines of division and segregation would lie – both among children themselves, and among the institutions. Importantly, the threats identified were not believed to exist in institutions; they were found in particular kinds of environments and behaviours, which can be roughly divided into three overlapping types of degeneracy: physical, moral, and racial.

The threat of physical degeneration was often the most obvious, not only because of its simple visibility, but also because the childhood ideal was itself so physically centred. Artistic rendering, from professional canvasses to promotional pamphlets used by child caring agencies, drew attention directly to the child's *body*, thereby presenting innocence not simply as a state of being but, in the form of purity, as a physical attribute of childhood.⁽⁵¹⁾ The attention which child care workers paid to improving a child's physical condition and environment is thus understandable. If the physical impurities were removed from the child's body, or if the child were removed from an environment of physical corruption, progress toward the ideal would be made. Appearances spoke to health, both physical and moral, so the established institutional routines for bathing and clothing new inmates in garments provided by the institutions, served a functional as well as symbolic purpose. The occasional photographs of institutionalized children published in the Annual Reports, for example, present images of health, cleanliness and

(51) Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence*, 8.

order, while critiques of specific institutions, and descriptions of cases dealt with by the Superintendent, often referred to the poor physical appearance of the children themselves.(52) In 1919, Blois reported one "typical case" dealt with by his department, where, "in a dark attic room of a wretched hovel in one of the worst districts" of Halifax, a "little bundle of rags and filth" was found, with bleeding feet and a "huge, unsightly growth on his neck." Medical treatment was obtained, but not before "a good scrubbing revealed a beautiful boy ... with a sad pathetic face and thin undernourished body." The reclamation of the child was certainly difficult, but its success was secured in this cleansing, and in the revelation of the "beautiful" child beneath the filth.(53)

Moral degeneracy was closely linked to the physical because it was believed to be the direct result of a poor physical environment, such as a filthy, immoral home, or the city sidewalks. Across the country, a concern about children playing, loitering, or working on city streets was a common one in this respect, and the streetscape increasingly was identified as a danger zone for impressionable young Canadians.(54) In Halifax, Blois

(52) See, for example, the photograph of the residents of the Monastery of the Good Shepherd, AR, *JHA* 1920, Pt. 2, App. 28, p. 45. The girls are all attired in bright white pinafores, and are arranged in rows, with the youngest at front. Photographs of the boys at St. Patrick's published in 1919 demonstrate a similar emphasis on physical appearance, but the passivity of the class photo for the Monastery of the Good Shepherd is replaced by the bucolic setting of the institution's farm, where the boys are working in a hay field. See AR, *JHA* 1919, Pt. 2, App. 28, 67-68.

(53) AR, *JHA* 1919, Pt. 2, App. 28, 6-7. Similar narratives are described in Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*.

(54) See esp. Houston, "Victorian Origins;" Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 88-96. In Halifax, the dangers of the street were also articulated in purely physical terms, as concerns were raised about children playing in roadways. See, for example, a cartoon entitled "Death's Playground," *The Halifax Herald*, 10 June 1921, 6. In this image, the children are depicted in a playful, healthy manner – after the ideal –

repeatedly called for a curfew law to curtail the problem. This law, he believed, would also deal with the growing numbers of children engaged in trade on the city sidewalks. In his report to the Legislature in 1919, he wrote, "[i]t is not an uncommon sight to see children of a very tender age selling papers, post cards, and small wares ... even until late hours at night ... in many instances they beg ... [or] make a plea of never having the change, and in that way secure many unearned coppers. A great many of these children become exceedingly bold and saucy."(55) If a child was not a delinquent, prolonged exposure to street life would surely make it one, a concern which was also taken up by the city's religious community. The St. Paul's Church Mission, for example, very active in the downtown core, gave its "greatest attention to the boys and girls. There are so many of these swarming the streets, through lack of good play grounds. Considering their familiarity with vice, the influence of profanity and obscenity, the dinginess of their tenement homes, it is a moral miracle that they are not entirely corrupted."(56)

while the black automobiles racing into the intersection where the children are playing, boast skulls in place of front grills.

(55) AR, *JHA* 1919, Pt. 2, App. 28, 30. The presence of children on Halifax streets continued to be a problem well into the interwar period. It was mentioned in virtually every annual report submitted by the Superintendent, and in January of 1928, Blois wrote to Charlotte Whitton, requesting information and copies of the by-laws governing newsboys and other street occupations for children in Canada. He was "anxious to get [it] at the earliest possible moment." See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4, correspondence, January 1928.

(56) "The Gospel of Social Service: St. Paul's Mission," *Church Work*, 14 November 1912, 1. "Moral Corruption" of children in Halifax was clearly differentiated by sex, most obviously in the Juvenile Court. For young boys, the fall into corruption – or delinquency – meant petty crime, begging, truancy, theft or loitering. For young girls, however, the threat of the street was a corporeal one, believed to inspire irreparable sexual immorality among girls. See the Annual Reports of the Juvenile Court Judges in the *JHA*.

Concerns about childhood in Halifax were also overlaid with concerns about race. This racial fear was subtly, and sometimes flagrantly, entrenched in descriptions of neglected and dependent children. In one case, Blois made use of the term "street Arab" in his description of two young children (aged eight and ten), encountered by his department. This particular descriptor was deeply racialized, deliberately comparing the children to a society which was considered uncivilized. The children were like the Arabs because they were dark, dirty, idle, and nearly savage.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Thus, Blois wrote, these particular children were "dirty, ill-clad, under-nourished, cross-eyed, veritable little street Arabs with 'sub-normal' written all over them." Their heritage was "awful," with "every form of mental and physical defect on the father's side and tuberculosis and alcoholism on the mother's." The children were the "inevitable result" of their parents' unfortunate union and home, which was "a few crowded, evil smelling rooms in a mouldy tenement." When confronted by the child care worker from Blois's department, the parents put up "violent opposition" to their children's removal from the family, and the mother, in particular, was "a pathetic sight," whose grief "was like that of an animal being deprived of her young and her grasp of the situation equally intelligent." The mother was eventually "reconciled" to giving up her daughter, upon witnessing the condition of the Home into which the child would be placed – "bathed in sunshine with little girls at their games surrounded by the evidence of love and comfort." The young boy, however, was still "at large," and had been seen roaming the streets, begging. "There is no place

(57) See Cunningham, *Children of the Poor*, 106-108; Davin, *Growing Up Poor*, 162-164; Houston, "Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency."

for him," Blois despaired, "but ultimately, the poor house or the jail." (58) Not the least of the disturbing issues embedded in this case is that of implicit and explicit racism: implicit in its assumption of a genetic basis to this family's problems, and explicit in its reference to 'little Arabs'. The following year, in a discussion of inter-racial unions in the province, these attitudes toward minorities were echoed, and significantly, were entwined with fears about moral and sexual purity, as well as a concern for the physical environment in which children were being raised. "One has only to look about the streets of our cities and towns to see many people of foreign nationality," Blois reported.

Unquestionably many of these are useful and worthy citizens. We find, however homes where the negro and white races are living together and rearing families. Also where a foreigner from Southern Europe or Asia is living with a native woman and raising a family. In some cases there is no legal marriage. In most cases, the standards of living in such homes are not what we have been accustomed to in this Province. This is especially true in matters of sex morality. (59)

These racist attitudes were, like their denominational equivalents, expressed through the city's institutional arrangements. Most asylums and Homes in Halifax practised an exclusive, 'whites only' policy, leaving few options for Black children in need. (60) Thus, in 1915, the Black community in Nova Scotia launched creation of a separate institution for its children, the Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children, which finally opened in 1921 (see chapter three). The resulting institutional segregation was

(58) AR, *JHA* 1919, Pt. 2, App. 28, 7.

(59) AR, *JHA* 1920, Pt.2, App. 28, 7-8.

(60) See Saunders, *Share and Care*, 6; *Halifax Herald*, 2 April 1920, p.1, an appeal made by the mayor of Halifax on behalf of the Home. In this appeal, the mayor noted that Black children were allowed access only to the Industrial School and St. Patrick's Home. See also below, chapter three, note 6.

an almost insurmountable divide, which mirrored similar divides caused by denominationalism. In each case – for both denominational and racial segregation – the precedents established created the fundamental basis upon which future developments in the city were built. This is not to say, however, that change was not forthcoming, or that agencies like the CAS had no appreciable impact upon the development of services. Rather, it is to suggest that these changes must be seen in relation to the context from which they emerged. "Modernization," whether abstractly or objectively defined, did not motivate change. A desire for continuity, did. In their efforts to contain threats to ideal childhood, the institutions, the Provincial Superintendent, and the CAS, all made use of "modern" techniques and methods. But modernity itself was a justification, not a cause of innovation and change.

CHAPTER THREE

"TO ASSURE THAT WE COMPARE FAVOURABLY" INSTITUTIONAL RACISM AND THE FOUNDING OF THE NOVA SCOTIA HOME FOR COLORED CHILDREN

The Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children (NSHCC) was opened with great pomp and ceremony on 6 June 1921. This was a particularly late date relative to the founding of most local and national institutions for dependent children, and it occurred only three years after Ernest Blois had felt compelled to defend the "good work and importance" of institutions.(1) It occurred, moreover, at a time when some of the country's most vocal and well-known child welfare advocates were arguing that "[t]he orphanage method of rearing dependent children is now generally recognized as out-of-date ... By wise social measures the natural home-life must be saved to the child, and if there is unavoidable homelessness, the foster home plan, with proper safe-guards, is next best."(2)

While there may have been some logic to Blois's defence of pre-existing institutions in the city, the vigorous enthusiasm which greeted the opening of the NSHCC requires closer examination. The potential which this home had to prevent racial integration at the city's white institutions is an important part of the explanation for its opening – but it is not the whole reason. Of equal importance were the tracks laid by the denominational segregation of the community's welfare services, and the symbolic place

(1) AR, *JHA* 1918, Pt. 2, App. 28, 7-8.

(2) Quoted in AR, *JHA* 1916, Pt. 2, App. 28, 87.

which this institution came to represent for the Black community. Reflecting on this meaning at the official opening of the institution, James A.R. Kinney, the Home's Secretary and longest serving Superintendent, called it "the greatest event in the history of the coloured people of Nova Scotia."⁽³⁾ The *Halifax Morning Chronicle* called the Home "an achievement of which all good citizens may well be proud," and the African United Baptist Association (AUBA), an organization deeply involved in the Home's administration and financing, declared that the opening was "an epoch making day for the colored race of the Maritimes [which] betokened a bond of sympathy rare on the continent."⁽⁴⁾

The NSHCC's reasons for existence were not, of course, entirely different than those of other child welfare institutions in the Halifax area. All were to some extent created because of a general shortage of willing foster parents in the province, and the relative expense of private boarding homes in comparison to these charitable, denominationally run Homes. In addition, they all served some groups, or classes of

(3) "3,000 Attend Opening of Colored Home," *Halifax Herald*, 7 June 1921, 1. Kinney was born in Yarmouth in 1878. In 1897 he became the first Black graduate of the Maritime Business College and took up a position as the advertising manager for William, Stairs, Son and Morrow Ltd, a prominent Halifax Company with interests in shipping and forestry. A long time member of the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church in Halifax, he withdrew from the congregation around the time of the NSHCC's opening. According to Pearleen Oliver's *Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia* (1953), he left because of some disagreement with the Church leadership, possibly related to his persistence that the Home maintain a non-denominational policy. Kinney returned to the congregation later in the 1920s, and continued to serve as the Home's Superintendent until his death in 1940. See also Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History* 2nd ed., (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 349.

(4) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 750 #1, Annual Report of the AUBA, 1921, "Official History of the Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children;" *Morning Chronicle*, 28 May 1921, 12.

children who were considered unfit for foster care programmes. And some children needed to stay in institutions because their parents were temporarily unable to care for them, owing to illness or loss of income. Yet other children had emotional, physical and behavioural problems that made them unfit for foster placement. According to Blois, "for one cause or another," these children "cannot, with justice to society, be placed in foster homes."⁽⁵⁾

But the need for the NSHCC was also distinctive. The province's dependent Black children often were classed among those considered unsuited for foster care. Well into the post-World War Two period, provincial and local child welfare personnel noted a chronic shortage of places for Black children among Nova Scotia's roster of available foster homes. However, prior to the opening of the NSHCC, Black children were generally deemed unacceptable candidates for *institutional* care as well. The denominational institutions in the city, for most, if not all of their histories, operated on a whites only basis.⁽⁶⁾ Consequently, dependent or orphaned Black children were left to the mercy of

(5) AR, *JHA* 1921, Pt. 2, App. 28, 57.

(6) Saunders, *Share and Care*, 23; *Halifax Herald*, 2 April 1920, p.1. While the latter source refers to this white's only policy among the child caring institutions, it also notes that Black children were admitted to the city's two reformatories. Records for these institutions indicate that on occasion, Native American children also were committed to them. It is not immediately clear how many Black delinquents were so sentenced, but as Constance Backhouse has noted, the classification of participants in legal disputes in Canada were rarely explicitly distinguished in the records by their race. In the case of the Native American children, their status is known only because the Province's "Indian Department" was listed as a financial contributor. See Backhouse, *Colour Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999). Another exception to this practice of segregation was the Jost Mission Day Nursery, which offered low-cost day care services for working mothers in Halifax, and prided itself on a policy which accepted children "regardless of race, colour or creed." See Lafferty, "'A Very Special Service'." It is also possible that the Salvation Army Maternity Hospital

friends and relatives or, when no suitable community support could be obtained, to the Halifax City Home and County Poor Houses throughout the Province.

When "it became known to many of the best citizens of Halifax" that there was an overall lack of care available to Black children in Nova Scotia, the need for an institution was an obvious solution, and one which was consistent with the arrangement of child welfare services in the province to date. The organization of institutions along denominational lines had established a pattern, and quite probably an expectation, of segregation among different "classes" of children. If it was in the best interests of the children that they be grouped "with their own kind" as far as religion was concerned, it certainly was no difficult stretch to argue that Black children should also be segregated.

As this chapter argues, segregation in the field of child welfare expressed a profound connection between childhood and racial awareness. The visions of the ideal child and the ideal childhood which were so assiduously promoted by child savers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were, in fact, as much about race as they were about age. For most Canadian historians, however, age has been taken to be the defining feature in explanations of welfare development. To a very large degree, this focus on age is the result of a persistent reliance upon the basic sense of childhood and child saving set out by Rooke and Schnell in their landmark study, *Discarding the Asylum*. Childhood, they argue, was a culturally constructed sensibility about the young which developed

and Children's Home accepted coloured women and children. While I have no documentary evidence from the Home itself, a photograph published in the 1916 Annual Report of the Provincial Superintendent, appears to depict a Black infant, and possibly a Black nurse, among the photo's subjects.

through the acknowledgement of "four criteria:" (1) recognition of *dependency*, (2) developing awareness of the need to *protect* the child from adult sensibility and influence, (3) *segregation* from adult society resulting in specialized institutions, and (4) imposing this state upon the young by *delaying their assumption of adult responsibilities*.⁽⁷⁾ While Rooke and Schnell do not impose these criteria as inflexible categories, recognizing, for example, the difference which gender made in the treatment of children, their work deliberately excludes the study of non-Protestant, delinquent, and minority children. As a result, there is tacit acceptance in their work of contemporary historical arguments about what "ideal childhood" implied. For the history of childhood in Canada, this has created a sense that every child was, simply, a child, marked only by its difference in age from the adult population.

One need only make a cursory comparison between the imagery of ideal childhood – the plump and rosy-cheeked, white babies popular with painters, advertisers and illustrators – and the imagery of degenerate childhood – the soot-blackened chimney sweep, the "Street Arab," or the corrupted delinquents in the popular fiction of Charles Kingsley and William Golding – to see that age was not the only, nor perhaps even the most important, defining characteristic for childhood.⁽⁸⁾ Indeed, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, the physical transition from the dirty, dark, uncivilized child to the clean, white, angelic one, was a standard narrative script for child welfare causes. Child welfare workers drew on this racial metaphor to illustrate in the most dramatic way

(7) Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*. See also Schnell's earlier articulation of this theory, in "Childhood as Ideology," 7-28.

(8) Cunningham, *Children of the Poor*.

possible what they considered to be the successes and advancements made in their field. As a result, the metaphor also served a more concrete purpose, as it was used to facilitate and justify policies of racial exclusion and segregation.⁽⁹⁾ The desire of child welfare workers to contain threats to childhood required containment of behaviours and appearances that were racially conceived: for members of the white community, segregation of the Black child was thus a "natural," logical part of child saving.

However, segregation was not a system chiefly imposed upon a passive or unwilling Black population. For many leaders of the Black community, including the promoters and administrators of the Home, segregation was as much desired by them as it was by whites, although for very different reasons. The NSHCC filled a significant space in the Black community, becoming more than a place for the care of dependent or orphaned children. It was a symbol of community progress, a source of "racial uplift," an important expression of their role as citizens in a wider community, and a means of demonstrating their worth and ability to themselves, to the child welfare system, and to the population of the province as a whole. Black Nova Scotians were fully aware of the effects which racism had on their lives, but believed that remaining separate and developing their own institutions for the care and training of their children was the most viable means of overcoming these effects.⁽¹⁰⁾ Whatever its value to these ends, however,

(9) For an exploration of the ways in which racial metaphors informed and structured western understandings of social organization, see Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*; Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*; and Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*.

(10) The similarities between these opinions and those of Booker T. Washington in the United States are not surprising, as many in the Province were familiar with his philosophies. Kinney himself carried on a brief correspondence with Washington in

the policy of segregation embodied by this Home was "ill-calculated to break down racial barriers," and split the welfare community along racial lines well into the mid-1960s.(11)

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Black community in and around Halifax lived in segregated neighbourhoods in the city's North end and in Africville. There was also a large concentration of Blacks in the community of Preston, just outside Dartmouth along the road to the location eventually settled upon for the NSHCC. As Judith Fingard has noted, "[t]he long term effect of this residential segregation was ghettoization," but in the short-term, "the close contact gave the blacks a sense of unity needed to resist the attempts by whites to shape their destiny."(12) Within these communities, Black Nova Scotians developed separate voluntary organizations, lodges, schools, and churches. The records of the Women's Auxiliary of the AUBA indicate that they also had established their own separate system of charitable

1915. In a letter dated 24 September 1915, Kinney wrote that at his "most impressionistic age" (15-18), he began to read Washington's work. "I treasure these pamphlets because they taught me the rules of the game of success in life – 1st, that it made no difference what color you were, if you could deliver the good when opportunity arrived. 2nd, Dip down your bucket among the white men you know, and who know you.... I am yet striving to live by these rules [and] I am travelling on the upward way... and while I have not been Tuskegee trained, I feel I am one of her products." See Louis R. Harlan, Ed, *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, Vol. 13, 1914-1915 (Champaign Ill: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 371. See also, Washington, "Rights and Duties of the Negro," Speech delivered to the National Afro-American Council, 2 July 1903, in Cary D. Wintz, Ed., *African American Political Thought, 1890-1930* (New York, 1996), 48-9.

(11) Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, 349. The quoted statement refers to a contemporary critique of an address given by Kinney to the Annual Meeting of the AUBA in 1918 entitled "The Negro and His Accomplishments." Winks writes, "as one member remarked in 1918 after hearing Kinney give [this address], self-praise and self-segregation were ill-calculated to break down racial barriers." A copy of Kinney's address is located in ECWA, Minutes of the African Baptist Association, 65th Session, 1918, 8-13.

(12) Fingard, "Race and Respectability," 171.

visiting for the ill, the elderly, and the poverty stricken members of their community.(13)

Of these organizations, the church was particularly significant. It is within the leadership of the Black Baptist Church, in particular, that the leadership and philosophy governing the NSHCC are found.(14) According to the AUBA in 1918, "[t]he Colored Race in Nova Scotia has no other Institution to look up to but the Church. All our movements of uplift emanate from her, and the higher her vision and greater her foresight, the higher will the status of citizenship be for those who keep within gunshot of her aims."(15) The Church's spiritual role was thus considered inseparable from its practical, social position within the Black community. This position was itself dictated by the status of its leaders. For many Black Canadians, in fact, the Church provided opportunities for leadership and social advancement denied them in white congregations, and it was generally these elite members of the Black churches who became the 'spokesmen' for Blacks among influential members of the white population. This was not a role consistently filled by the clergy. Throughout Nova Scotia there had been a steady drain of ministers, young and old, to the western provinces and the United States in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At Halifax's

(13) The minutes of the Women's Auxiliary for 1930 indicate that at least one member conducted an extensive round of visits every year as part of her duties within the Auxiliary itself. It is not clear when this practice began, but it continued well into the Depression years, and probably beyond.

(14) This does not preclude the support – both moral and financial – of other Black denominations in the Province. This is evidenced in part by the presence of at least one prominent Black Methodist minister at the Home's opening.

(15) ECWA, Minutes of the African Baptist Association, 65th Session, 1918.

Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, the result was no fewer than ten ministerial changes over a twenty-five year period, a rapid turnover which left the true leadership of the "Mother Church" in the hands of prominent Black families, part of what Robin Winks refers to as "an aristocracy of faith." (16)

This elite comprised a group of socially and racially conscious Blacks whose position in the wider community was closely linked to their desire to achieve respectability through the promotion of temperance and moral uplift. (17) They firmly believed in the importance of racial solidarity within their own institutions, and that segregation was the best means to work toward racial equality. True freedom lay not in protest against unfairness, but in acceptance of Christ's plan for them. Jesus "was a symbol for liberty, a freedom from the restrictions and limitations of the flesh," and to be free, Blacks were urged to "take hold of Christ in whom you will find all things lively, pure and true." The "African race" would come "into its own, not by demanding its rights, but by proving to the world, especially in these days of stress, its fitness to bear its burdens and responsibilities." (18) Blacks needed to promote "sane temperate living in every phase of life, with strong determination to build character on a sound foundation starting first by seeking the Lord Jesus Christ and obtaining full regeneration, then following it with loyalty to race upbuilding and race Institutions, as well as that

(16) Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, 346-7; See also Fingard, "Race and Respectability." Biographical information on many of Black leaders in Nova Scotia can be found in Pearleen Oliver's *Brief History of the Coloured Baptists of Nova Scotia*.

(17) See Fingard, "Race and Respectability."

(18) ECWA, Minutes of the African Baptist Association, 65th Session, 1918.

broader view that we are all members of the human family, and we will fill a place in life where we will not be ashamed.”(19) Reverend W. A. White of the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church further stressed that as “each race [strove] for a place in the sun,” the Black community was obligated to obtain “a clearer view of the possibilities within us, for our latent natures must be stirred and we must work out our own salvation, by ...Realization of Self ... Race Confidence ... [and] Race Regeneration.” “If we so strive,” he concluded, “when Jesus comes to gather His loved ones, we shall not be found wanting.”(20) These opinions were echoed by J.A.R. Kinney in his address on “The Negro and His Accomplishments,” delivered at the AUBA in 1918. “A race without race consciousness or race pride,” he argued, “has lost its greatest incentive, for it is that something which makes one feel that one’s race is good and worthy of the respect of all other races.”(21)

The desire of the Nova Scotian Black community to foster the improvement and progress of their race separately from the white population was certainly an acceptable tactic as far as most white Nova Scotians were concerned. A common feature of racism in the province was a desire to promote separate communities, schools, churches, and other institutions. Moreover, this separation allowed whites to deny responsibility for the depressed condition in which the province’s Black communities lived. Because there were no serious legal restrictions on the freedoms or civil liberties of Black Canadians,

(19) ECWA, Minutes of the African United Baptist Association, 78th Session, Report of the Social Service Committee, 1931.

(20) ECWA, Minutes of the African Baptist Association, 67th Session, 1920.

(21) Kinney, “The Negro and His Accomplishments,” 8.

their inability to prosper economically, the perpetual poverty of their institutions, and the high levels of illiteracy among their children could easily be blamed on racial weaknesses and "natural" character flaws among individual Blacks, and not racism. "Canada is a country of great opportunity for the colored man," declared the Mayor of Halifax at the 1918 session of the AUBA. "It all depends upon the man himself as to what position he finds himself placed. Ancient history proves the capabilities of the race." At this same gathering, which was hosted by the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, E. D. King, a representative of the white Baptist Churches in the city paternalistically declared, "I pray that God may help you solve all problems socially, spiritually and morally, making yourselves a credit not only to your own race, but to the citizenship of the Province as well."(22)

In June of 1921, a local Halifax paper, the *Morning Chronicle*, captured much of this sense of disinterested condescension in its highly romanticised account of the ceremony which marked the opening of the NSHCC. "The greater part of the programme was participated in by representatives of the colored population," the paper declared, a fact which was "most creditable to them." The choir was "expressive of that minor chord of harmony which is characteristic of the negro melody and negro life," the latter of which was "far too often harsh and severe." However, as was usual with "all such functions associated with the colored people," the programme was "largely religious,"

(22) ECWA, Minutes of the AUBA, 65th Session, 1918. While there were notable dissenters from these views, most Blacks were treated at best, with condescending affection, and at worst, with hostility and disdain. See, in particular, Winks's discussion of Canadian immigration policy in the interwar period, pp. 298-313, and Constance Backhouse, *Colour-Coded*.

filled with the "inimitable negro religious ecstasy and fervor [and] the spirit of faith and hope shone in their faces and there were still melody and harmony in their voices." The day was, overall, one to be cherished by "hundreds of these people."

To the little bright-eyed curly haired children, now the inmates of the Home, it was certainly a day long to be remembered, for in the years to come they will tell about the great Governor of the Province who shook hands with them, patted them on the head, and smiled and spoke kindly to them. Then the old people will have treasured in their hearts the memory of the same kind Governor talking to them as if he had always known them. What a wonderful day it was to these people [w]hose lives are like a twilight, where the sun never shines full and clear as it does in the white man's life. This was a flash of color in the drab of existence. And they made the most of it.(23)

Perhaps not surprisingly, given the overall tone of this description, the *Morning Chronicle* also granted full credit for the eventual opening of this home not to "these people," but to Henry G. Bauld, a prominent, white businessman from Halifax, member of the Legislative Assembly for the Liberal party, and the man who served as President of the NSHCC Board for thirty-three years. Bauld, certainly, maintained a consistent and influential interest in the Home throughout its history, but for the *Chronicle*, he became a champion, a white hero for the underprivileged, down-trodden Black man. To his "personal interest in these people, perhaps more than any other factor, is due the splendid institution opened yesterday." Virtually ignoring the labour of the AUBA and men like Kinney, who had been working for almost two decades to raise funds and awareness for the Home, the paper implied that Bauld had single-handedly orchestrated the Home's creation. During periods of depression and difficulty, he had "gone

(23) "Ideal Home for Colored Children of Nova Scotia," *Morning Chronicle*, 7 June 1921, 3.

persistently forward, at many times against very great discouragements, but bringing around him a number of such men as Mr. George H. Hart, who is treasurer, Mr. R.H.Murray, Alderman John Murphy, Thomas Johnson, *JAR Kinney (colored) who is secretary* and Mr. Bailey, Mr. Bauld pressed on until yesterday saw the consummation of *his plans.*"(24)

The assumption that the NSHCC's success was due to a white man was not inconsistent with the general understanding of the Black "race" at this time. At the turn of the century, popular pseudo-scientific arguments about the biological "truth" of racial classification and ranking were assiduously promoted by evolutionary anthropologists, biologists, psychologists, sociologists and eugenicists. They offered "proof" of the physical, mental, and moral inferiority of Blacks, as well as Asians, Aborigines, and other groups of "coloured" peoples. Blacks were generally believed to be naturally indolent, vicious, debauched, and of a lower intellectual capacity than whites. Their "race" was less evolved, and therefore less capable of handling the complexities and challenges of modern civilization. Indeed, civilization, as it was understood by much of the white,

(24) "Ideal Home for Colored Children," 3. Emphases added. The last line of this lengthy article on the Home noted that Bauld, the Governor, and Acting Premier Armstrong had "all referred to [Kinney] and his excellent work and loyal devotion to the colored people." That the paper distinguished Kinney as "colored" in this instance is notable, and probably related to the lightness of his complexion. Two of the other men listed here, Thomas Johnson and Mr. (William) Bailey, were Black. Johnson was a sleeping car porter, and member of the Baptist Church and the Black Masonic Lodge. Bailey was a long time employee of Bauld's, a Methodist, and a former Master of the Black Masons. Bailey continued his association with the Home, and was noted as having delivered the key note address at the School's closing ceremonies in 1926. See, for Johnson, the Halifax City Directory, 1900-1915, and for Bailey, *ibid.* 1885-1915; *Halifax Herald*, 2 June 1926. My thanks to Judith Fingard for providing the biographical information on these two men.

western world, was a product of evolutionary progress whereby (white) man had emerged from his primitive, savage beginnings, to his current state of physical and intellectual advancement. The savage and barbaric coloured races, on the other hand, were less evolved humans.(25)

These arguments about race and civilization were not confined to discussions of human communities in general, but also formed the basis for contemporary understanding of childhood development. Recapitulation Theory, which held that an individual child's development followed precisely the evolution of mankind, was axiomatic in child study circles at this time.(26) To a certain extent, this theory identified all children with savagery. Importantly, however, it was believed that when a child/savage was consciously aided and trained, he or she could develop into the highest expression of human evolutionary progress.(27) It was equally understood that only those races who were already evolved could claim the full benefits of recapitulation for their children. As coloured races were less evolutionally advanced, their children could only be expected to develop as far as their race itself had developed. Therefore, while the intelligence of Black children was often considered equal to that of white children, they

(25) Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 25.

(26) See Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*; Cunningham, *Children of the Poor*. See also Peter J. Miller, "Psychology and the Child: Homer Lane and J. B. Watson," in Rooke and Schnell, eds., *Studies in Childhood History*, 57-80.

(27) As Cunningham has demonstrated for England, the representation of street children as savages was possible in large part because the understanding of "savage" was no longer associated with "a classical desire for a state of natural perfection," (i.e. the "noble savage"). It was instead characterised as state from which someone needed to be saved and civilized. See, *Children of the Poor*, 97-98; see also Anna Davin, *Growing Up Poor*; Houston, "Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency."

advanced no further. Black adults were generally considered to be "roughly as intelligent as Anglo-Saxon children, precisely because their intellectual development stopped in the evolutionary stage corresponding to white childhood."(28)

In Nova Scotia, recapitulation theory clearly marks the annual reports of both the Provincial Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children and the Juvenile Court Judges in the city of Halifax. Both of these offices frequently mobilized the child-as-savage equation when exploring the conditions of (white) childhood in their jurisdiction, and expressed persistent concerns about the problems which would arise if the "savagery" of the children brought before them remained unchecked. Delinquents, truants, and children left to roam the streets of Halifax displayed a "want of self-discipline" and weak moral fibre, as they "had never been taught the binding force of moral law.... They are brought up like *young savages* and know no discipline."(29) This racial metaphor was also used in descriptions of the consequences of a too-long stay in a poorly administered reformatory. "[W]hen a child has been for a considerable time in an institution" whose programmes for education and discipline were substandard, "it has the table manners of a savage, while lacking in the knowledge of ... a host of things which we would reasonably expect a child of its age and mental capacity to know." By contrast, when placed in a well-administered institution, a child taken from "the most wretched [home] conditions imaginable, nearly approaching the savage state," would "in due course" emerge as a "clean, well-mannered child... full of smiles and sunshine." Here,

(28) Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 93.

(29) Annual Report of the Juvenile Court Judge for the City of Halifax (W.B. Wallace), in AR, *JHA* 1916, App. 28, 45.

Blois emphasizes not only the low mental capacity expected of a child in the savage state, but contrasts this with the bright colour of the civilized condition, the "sunshine" of the well-run institution.⁽³⁰⁾ For Blois and the Juvenile Court Judges, saving children from such conditions of savagery and raising them to their full, civilized potential, was work done not simply for the "sake of the child," but also for the sake "of the nation to which he belongs. None can estimate the value of the child, the problem of the child is the problem of the race."⁽³¹⁾

Undoubtedly the Black community was touched by these racist attitudes, both in the reception they received from whites, and in their inability to make good use of existing child welfare services. Despite this, Black Nova Scotians did not reject outright the equation made by white welfare workers between the state of the child and the state of the nation. In fact, they made frequent use of the metaphor in the promotion of the NSHCC's interests. However, while the Home's promoters did link children's welfare to civilization, they clearly conceived of civilization in different terms – not as a justification or proof of white supremacy, but as an argument for racial equality. As argued by a fund-raising pamphlet circulated in the 1920s, "[t]he intelligent and sympathetic view of the public along all lines of social effort places civilization's progress on [this] basic factor: The greatest asset of the human race is its children, so guided that their bodily strength and development should prepare them to receive the heritage which each generation must bequeath to the next." And importantly, the pamphlet's author added, "By the

(30) AR, *JHA* 1917, App. 28, 13.

(31) Annual Report of the Juvenile Court Judge for the City of Halifax (J.J. Hunt), in AR, *JHA* 1925, App. 28, 53.

safeguard of health and the protection of childhood, *we further contribute to that equality of opportunity which is the unique basis of our civilization.*"(32) Quoting from the text of a bequest granted to the Home by a citizen in Saint John, New Brunswick, a booklet celebrating the Home's tenth anniversary evoked a similar sentiment. "[A]ny investment made for your Home," the donor waxes, "would procure satisfactory returns because you [take] children from [an] environment that tends to destructiveness, and [place] them in an environment that ... develops constructiveness, not only financially, but physically, mentally, socially, morally and spiritually. When you help to train a child and give it the proper start in life, you provide 40 to 60 years of service to the state."(33)

Just as the Home's promoters rejected the racist implications of "civilization," they also rejected the position of inferiority assigned them by Recapitulation Theory. Black children were civilized, or not, on the basis of their access to the institutions and services of a civilized society, particularly schools, and not as a result of biological, evolutionary backwardness. Concern over access to quality education, in fact, had been a persistent concern within the AUBA since its earliest years. According to P. E. McKerrow, "it was the want of learning that kept our forefathers in slavery, and for it today we are suffering." Further, he

hoped that the day would soon dawn when the cloud of prejudice that

(32) NSARM, MG 20, Vol. 750 #1 (NSHCC, 1917-1978). Emphases added. The author of the pamphlet was most likely James Kinney, who managed the fundraising efforts of the Home for most of his tenure as Secretary of the Board of Governors. On the flexibility of the term "civilization" in turn of the century racial rhetoric, see Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*.

(33) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 750 #1 (NSHCC 1917-1978), untitled, Tenth Anniversary Pamphlet, ca. March 1931 (Hereinafter, "Tenth Anniversary Pamphlet, NSHCC").

now hangs over the decedents of 'Africa,' [sic] in this province particularly, will soon be dispersed when we will be able to breathe a clearer atmosphere than we now do. The condition of the people of colour in the province [is] deplorable, none worse throughout the Dominion, for although our votes are sought both in parliamentary and civic elections, yet no recompense do we receive, but have to put up with the meanest of school houses that the province can afford, which deserves the greatest censure from the educated world.(34)

This concern for the blockade which prejudice placed on access to education persisted well into the twentieth century. In a 1923 "Report on Education" made to the AUBA, it was argued that "[t]he greatest need of the race, so that it can hold its own in contributing its share to world improvement, is educated men and women. It is true that because of race prejudice, the encouragement to aspire intellectually has no charms in it, but as time advances and changes, we hope for a change for our race in social, religious, and political affairs. It behoves us therefore to prepare for those advantages which may be ours in the future."(35)

Nova Scotian Baptists, including those closely involved with the NSHCC, believed that access to education in such a prejudiced environment had to be promoted and sustained from within Black communities themselves. Following the example set by Booker T. Washington in the United States, Blacks in this province argued that "the colored race must first know itself, [take] stock of its own powers and tools, actual as well as potential," and then "intelligently go about adapting every possible means to the end

(34) ECWA, Minutes of the AUBA, 24th Session, 1877. McKerrow (1841-1906) was, at this time, the Superintendent of Sunday Schools for the Black community in Halifax, and a member of the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church. Born in Antigua, he emigrated to Canada as a young man, and worked in the ranks of the AUBA for over thirty years. See Oliver, *Brief History of the Coloured Baptists*.

(35) ECWA, Minutes of the AUBA, 70th Session, 1923, "Report on Education."

sought." The Black community had a "vital and integral part [to play in] national life," but it was a part which would be found through non-threatening persistence and self-awareness, and not through forceful demands for integration and equality. Blacks themselves had to recognize opportunity, and if they failed "to fit ourselves for it, then indeed whatever else other nations and races of people may achieve for themselves, we gain nothing." (36) The NSHCC's administrators promoted a similar ideology into the 1930s. "The direct purpose of any education worth the name," they argued, was "the development of character by training the intellect, illuminating the conscience, stimulating the finer emotions, directing the will towards nobler ideals, enriching the sense of God in human hearts, and so purifying the spiritual vision and faculties for wise restraint, greater freedom, and a larger and more liberal measure of consecrated service." (37)

Attitudes toward education were certainly not entirely passive: the AUBA's Education and Executive Committees passed persistent resolutions, and conducted frequent, albeit low-key campaigns, to "insist upon the trustees of the day schools" that they be "kept open during the school terms, and that efficient teachers be employed." The problem was, however, not entirely related to school board administration. These same resolutions were often directed at Black parents and parish ministers, who were urged to impress upon their children and congregations that education must be made a priority. "We, the Colored Race throughout Nova Scotia," they declared, "realize that we

(36) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 750 #1, NSHCC 1917-1978, Copy of a report from the Executive Committee of the AUBA, 1917.

(37) Tenth Anniversary Pamphlet, NSHCC.

are living in a progressive era, and that, in order to advance as other races, we must be educated.”(38)

The earliest movement toward the establishment of the NSHCC was conducted along these lines. According to Saunders and Oliver, James R. Johnston, a graduate of the Law School at Dalhousie University and a man deeply committed to the AUBA, brought a proposal for an industrial and normal college for Blacks before the Association in 1908. The school Johnston proposed was to be modelled on Industrial and Normal colleges for Blacks in the United States, such as Tuskegee and Hampton.(39) In 1912, the matter was again raised by the AUBA's Education Committee, which reported that it was time to direct attention "to the question of an industrial education, which, if properly directed, would result in the material, intellectual, and social development of our people." The Committee further recommended that some attempt be made "to procure, during the year, the services of Dr. Booker T. Washington, or some like educator for a lecture tour throughout the province.”(40) The following year, the President of Halifax's SPC, R. H. Murray, addressed an audience at the AUBA's annual meeting, and "spoke on his visit to the South and told of what he saw at Hampton by way of industrial education, and recommended that some action be taken to start a similar institution in this

(38) ECWA, Minutes of the AUBA, 72nd Session, 1925, "Report on Education."

(39) Saunders, *Share and Care*, 18-19; Oliver, *A Brief History of The Colored Baptists*, 38. For a general discussion of the significance which the Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes held for the Black community in the United States, see Wintz, *African American Political Thought*, and B. T. Washington, *Up From Slavery* (1901).

(40) ECWA, Minutes of the AUBA, 59th Session, 1912, Report of the Education Committee.

province.”(41) A formal committee was struck at this meeting to consider the matter, and early in 1915, the NSHCC was incorporated by an Act of Provincial Parliament.

Johnston's original plan was, undoubtedly, to establish an industrial/normal college in the Province. But, over the course of the 1910s, this purpose was gradually replaced with the intention of opening an institution for neglected and dependent children. While the precise mechanisms of this transformation are unclear, there are several indications that a dispute arose among the institution's original promoters. In his plan for an industrial/normal college, Johnston was supported by the Reverend Moses Puryear, who arrived in Halifax from Pennsylvania in 1909 to take over the congregation at the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church. According to Saunders, Puryear was an activist "deeply committed to community development" along the lines advocated by Washington. Believing that "practical, industrial education [was] the best vehicle for black progress," and having personal acquaintance with the Hampton institute, Puryear was well positioned to support Johnston's plan.(42) In March of 1915, however, Johnston was murdered in the course of a family dispute. Very shortly thereafter, it appears that the direction of the proposed institute was guided more firmly by the hand of James Kinney. Like Johnston and Puryear, Kinney was also deeply concerned with the welfare of his community, but his intentions for the proposed institution leaned more closely to the side of welfare service than to education.(43)

(41) ECWA, Minutes of the AUBA, 60th Session, 1913

(42) Saunders, *Share and Care*, 24.

(43) Without access to any personal papers or correspondence for Kinney, it is difficult to say why his opinions on the proposed institution would have differed from

When, in April of 1915, the Home was incorporated, Puryear was noted as one of the Trustees, and was joined on the Board by Kinney, Ernest Blois, R. H. Murray of the SPC, and several other white men from Halifax and Dartmouth, all of whom were involved in charitable welfare organizations in those cities. Not surprisingly, given the make-up of this board, the Act of incorporation gave a strong impression that the proposed corporation was not intended primarily for industrial or normal education. On the one hand, the institution was granted the right to purchase and hold property "for the care, education and proper training of the members of the Afro-American race." On the other, however, there was no explicit mention of its purpose as a normal or industrial college, and the Act further empowered the new corporation "to act as a Children's Aid Society for matters affecting the children of the colored race, and to receive and keep the same under their care pursuant to the provisions of the Children's Protection Act." (44) By contrast, when Puryear presented a resolution to generate "moral and financial aid" for the new institution at the Annual Session of the AUBA in September of 1915, only four months following the Act of Incorporation, the Home was referred to as "the Industrial School of Nova Scotia for Colored Children." Moreover, in the preamble of this resolution, it was argued that support for the institution was necessary because of the substandard quality of educational opportunities for Black children in the Province.

his colleagues'. However, it may be speculated that social connections with prominent white philanthropists like Henry Bauld and R. H. Murray might have swayed his intentions.

(44) "An act to Incorporate The Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children," *SNS* 1915, c. 107. Note that while the Home was an official Children's Aid Society, with the right to inspect and monitor private homes, it was only granted this power as it applied to Black families in the Province.

particularly the lack of "industrial, domestic and business training of our young men and women," and because it was "the duty of the race to produce its own leaders who shall be architects to carve our place in this western civilization."(45)

In December of 1917, pressure to emphasize the charitable over the educational in the aims of the new institution was increased substantially by the Halifax Explosion. After the formal incorporation of the Home in 1915, the Trustees of the NSHCC purchased a vacant building on the property of the Halifax Industrial School. That building was to have been formally opened the week of the Explosion, but on the morning of the disaster, while thankfully empty, it was "completely wrecked."(46) In the confusion and stresses of the Explosion's aftermath, the ability to generate funds and support for an educational institute for Black Nova Scotians was doubtless very low on the Province's and city's list of priorities. Moreover, many Black children were left orphaned by the blast, which levelled several neighbourhoods in the city's North end. This was a class of dependents which the Reconstruction Committee's special section on the problems of orphaned, missing and injured children, noted as a particular difficulty. A small committee made up of some of the original trustees – Bauld, Kinney, and Murray – did meet with the Premier in the weeks following the disaster, and a report to the

(45) ECWA, Minutes of the AUBA, 62nd Session, 1915, "Report on Education." Puryear was chairman of this committee.

(46) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 750 #1, NSHCC 1917-1978, Minutes of the AUBA, 1918, "Conservation of Child Life." The site of this original building was used by the IODE following the Explosion to house "unclaimed children." When this function was no longer necessary, the IODE converted the Home into an institution for "feeble-minded girls." Judith Fingard, Janet Guildford and David Sutherland note in their reference to the IODE's activities in the city, that the NSHCC was "a project which does not seem to have held much interest for the Halifax feminists." See *Halifax; The First 250 Years*, 124-5.

AUBA on progress in the Home's development at this time implies that, by the time of the Explosion, there was little doubt that the corporation would serve as a welfare institution, with education and training as a secondary focus. Indeed, in describing the effects of the Explosion in this report, Kinney implies that even before the formal opening of the Home, those who were intended to be its residents were not candidates for institutional training, but dependents. "[O]wing to the fact that twelve *more* children were found" after the Explosion, he wrote, the Trustees had decided to seek out a larger building than the original.(47)

According to Saunders, Puryear's decision to leave Halifax in 1919 was a direct result of this "shift in direction," one which he "could not in good conscience abide."(48) In his absence, the reformed Board of Trustees for the NSHCC located and purchased the MacKenzie Property, a 211 acre lot with approximately twenty-five acres of arable land. This property was located in Preston, a town with a large Black Baptist population on the outskirts of Dartmouth. The site, after the construction of the new building, would provide a home and training for hundreds of dependent Black children from the Maritime Provinces. They received basic education through an accredited schoolroom inspected by the Provincial Government, as well as training in agricultural and domestic sciences. By 1924, it appeared to Blois, for all intents and purposes, to be "one of the best, if not the best, equipped children's institutions in the province. The buildings and

(47) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 750 #1, NSHCC 1917-1978, Minutes of the AUBA, 1918, "Conservation of Child Life." Emphasis added. See also Saunders, *Share and Care*, and Janet F. Kitz, *Shattered City*.

(48) Saunders, *Share and Care*, 30.

grounds give evidence of great care on the part of the management ... [and] the Home itself is kept in excellent condition, clean and comfortable throughout and the children are well fed and well cared for.”(49)

Blois was certainly not the only one to note the Home's apparent success. Within the Black community, it was upheld as an important sign of "race progress," much to Kinney's satisfaction, and for white Nova Scotians the Home's continued accomplishment removed any concern that welfare programmes for dependent children would be required to integrate. Mainstream, white welfare workers, moreover, were now relieved of the very difficult problem of finding boarding or foster care for Black dependents.(50) However, there were constant financial pressures on the Home, which were greatly exacerbated by the fact that many of the municipalities which sent children to the institution were delinquent in paying the required amounts for board and education. Kinney's skills as a fund-raiser were in steady demand throughout his entire tenure as the Home's secretary. Importantly, he was, for lack of a better term, 'racially bilingual', and presented the Home's needs to both Black and white communities in ways which addressed these communities' specific interests.

In efforts to generate support from the Black community, Kinney's appeals on

(49) AR, *JHA* 1924, Pt. 2, App. 28, 41-2.

(50) Important exceptions to this were Black infants, as the NSHCC did not accept children under two years of age. In the Annual Report of the Halifax Children's Aid Society for 1928, the Secretary of that organization noted that "[a] serious community problem is that of the negro child and the negro unmarried mother. There is also no Home in which the unmarried mother and her child can be placed where she may receive training, other than the City Home." NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1 #4, "Report of the Children's Aid Society for ... 1928."

behalf of the home were cast in a language of "race uplift" and "race pride" which strongly recalled the concerns of groups like the AUBA. They also, significantly, emphasized the potential damage to the reputation of the Black community which would result from a failure of the Home's programme. If the community did not "render the assistance necessary" to the home, he argued,

it is quite likely that a situation will be created which would be quite unpleasant to each and every one of us who holds a deep measure of pride for Institutions for racial betterments [sic]. It is a home of great possibilities to the Race, and from it can emerge those fitted with training which will enable them to pursue higher educational branches, and lay a foundation for Leadership of the Race. If we fail in this means of support, we will lose out in the great essentials of racial opportunity which the Government and our friends have seen fit to provide.(51)

The Home's success was also powerfully linked to the meaning of responsible citizenship within the Black community, and to the ultimate goal of 'race uplift', equality. Blacks were asked to contribute to the Home "because responsible citizenship entails duties and obligations as well as rights and privileges. When my race or any other group of the community demands equality of citizenship they must be prepared to render the same service that other citizens render. We must make our contribution toward the public good in some form or other just as the other members of the community do."(52) Kinney's position on citizenship paralleled that of the Baptist community in general. When "[l]iving in a community," one Baptist minister preached, "each man gives up a

(51) ECWA, Minutes of the AUBA, 67th Session, 1920, "Report of Executive Committee on the NSHCC."

(52) ECWA, Minutes of the AUBA, 68th Session, 1921, "Official History of the NSHCC." This particular message was printed beneath a portrait of Kinney, and commanded an entire page of the report.

certain measure of his own rights for the safety, protection and welfare of the community." This was, in fact, one of the most fundamental "responsibilities of the Christian and the Church member to God." It was also an expression of faith in Christian progress. The financing of their own institutions was a "demonstration of the ability of the Colored Baptists to prove their right to share in the respect and the Christian progress of our present day civilization."(53)

Given the chronic poverty of the Black population in Nova Scotia, there was little doubt that support for the NSHCC had also to be obtained from whites. In his efforts to this end, Kinney continued to emphasize the Home's success as a "racial" institution, but he also appealed to the paternalistic streak so prevalent in the language and attitudes of white Nova Scotians. Importantly, however, he did not capitulate to a language of racial subordination in his appeals, but instead linked the work of the Home to the work of humanity. Donors to the home could be assured that they were not wasting their money on an ill-equipped and dysfunctional institution, and at the same time, could demonstrate "that neither race nor creed enters into the philanthropic spirit of *our* people when worthiness is the superstructure of their appeal." "We ask your support of these colored, orphaned and neglected children," he wrote, "not as a matter of sentiment, but of *human obligation*. It is a part of the moral content of Christianity." Ten years after the Home's opening, Kinney pushed this method of appeal slightly further, and argued that the Home's continued success must be taken as proof of the equality of Black

(53)ECWA, Minutes of the AUBA, 77th Session, 1930, (sermon delivered by Rev. J. R. Rodney, a man with "a fine culture of mind and culture of soul"); 68th Session, 1921, Report of the Executive.

Nova Scotians, at least as far as their ability to provide welfare services was concerned. "We ... have realized," he wrote, "that an institution must serve its apprenticeship of struggle and sacrifice before it makes a recognized place for itself; but we feel we have come through the hard, gruelling discipline that solid achievement demands, and should now receive the full encouragement that is due."(54)

How much equality the white community was willing to grant to this Home is open to debate. Certainly, men like Bauld and Blois were generous in their praise and sincere in their interest. However, even at the best of times, they reflected an assumption that the Home was not part of a wider welfare community, but remained an institution peculiar to *Black* welfare. Because the Home was a separate, racially defined institution, it provided an easy means of denying responsibility for the effects of systemic racism. By giving financially to the Home, and perhaps even through their praise, the white community could demonstrate that they had taken a worthy, Christian interest in "these people," but they could equally declare that failure in the Home was the problem of the Black community. "I am delighted that this institution has been provided," Bauld declared, " and it has been pronounced by many who have seen it, to be the finest Institution of its kind in the Maritime Provinces; however, it can only be kept for the Colored Children, providing the Colored People rally earnestly and actively towards its support."(55)

(54) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 750 #1, "What They Say About Us," ca. 1937; Tenth Anniversary Pamphlet, NSHCC. Emphases added.

(55) ECWA, Minutes of the AUBA, 68th Session, 1921, "Official History of the NSHCC."

A 1919 appeal for support from the Halifax Mayor entitled "Let Us All Chip In And Give the Fund For The Colored Children A Boost," reflects both this awareness of the separateness of the Institution, and the potential it held as an outlet for the expression of Christian charity. "Fellow Citizens:" it began, "[t]he people of Halifax have always shown a hearty interest in every worthy cause that has presented itself. Do not let the colored citizens feel we are not interested in them." This address also emphasized the potential the Institution would have for relieving the tensions of race relations through segregation. "Laying aside all other considerations, let us realize that little lives are at stake. There is a crying need at this time for the establishment of such a Home. It will settle city and town problems throughout Nova Scotia – it will arrest misunderstanding, and do for a portion of our fellow citizens what they are unable to do for themselves." (56)

Because of the highly charged, racial awareness surrounding the NSHCC, before and after its actual opening, it is difficult to envision the children committed to its care as simply neglected or dependent children. They were understood, by the Black community, to be the embodiment of a "racial" potential, a means to "uplift" their community, and to demonstrate the ability of Black citizens to compete on an equal footing with whites. These children were also the foundation upon which Blacks demanded, however politely, to be treated as equals in the province. For many whites, Black children were, at best, a curiosity and a target for benevolent, Christian philanthropy, and at worst, an undesirable element of the community, to be separated and ignored as far as was possible. For the Home's promoters, particularly James Kinney,

(56) Dated 22 August 1919, quoted in Saunders, *Share and Care*, 35.

the ability to balance all of these concerns successfully meant, in the immediate context of the Home's administration, successful fundraising.

In the long term, the insistence upon the Home's potential for racial uplift, linked as it was to a policy of segregation and consistently supported by a large and vocal community like the AUBA, made it difficult to argue for integration with other welfare services. That all child welfare services were, to some extent, segregated 'in the best interests of the child' would make integration at this stage even more unlikely. Moreover, Kinney repeatedly called attention to the Home's qualifications and successes as a "Genuine Home Mission," *and* as a professionally administered welfare service. The layers and subtle shadings of his language meant that neither Black Nova Scotians, nor white ones, had any reason to expect or demand change. The rights of these Black children, as they were understood by both Black and white communities of the time, were being upheld, and their needs were being met. Over the course of the inter-war and post-war periods, the Home would face challenges, financial and material, which threatened the viability of its existence. But the initial successes of this tactic of segregation ensured its endurance longer than what might otherwise have been the case, feeding the "illusion" interwoven through the rhetoric of both Black and white supporters of the Home, that this group was "not oppressed, merely different [or] less developed." (57)

(57) Sherene H. Razack, *Looking White People in the Eye: Gender, Race, and Culture in Courtrooms and Classrooms* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1998), 24.

CHAPTER FOUR

"THE UNREMITTING EXERCISE OF WATCHFULNESS" RELIGION, DISCIPLINE, AND FOSTERING IN THE INSTITUTIONAL REGIME TO 1930

For each year that he was the Superintendent of Neglected and Delinquent children, Ernest Blois presented in his Annual Reports a vast amount of statistical information on children's institutions in the Province. These statistics included data on the number of children admitted to each institution, their ages and mental conditions, their 'class' (orphan, half-orphan, neglected or delinquent) and where applicable, the details of their release – whether they had been adopted, placed in foster care, transferred to another institution, died, or simply been "discharged." These statistical tables also included a detailed rendering of the financial and physical attributes of these institutions. Information was collected pertaining to the staff, the real value of the property, sources of funding, the size of, and materials used in, the construction of the buildings, and the number and location of fire escapes. Details about the furnishings were recorded, as was information on medical and dental inspections, the frequency of illness, the clothing given to children leaving the institutions, the types of punishments used, and records kept. In 1919, Blois's reports also included detailed submissions about weekly menus from each of the institutions then in operation. Certainly, not every aspect of these statistical returns was equally weighted in an assessment of the work of these Homes and Asylums. In combination, however, they evidenced what was supposed

to be the quality of life for institutionalized children in the Province, outlined the obstacles, material and financial, which the various administrations had to cope with on a day-to-day basis, and revealed the priorities of institutional care in Nova Scotia.

This chapter argues that these priorities were shaped by the same motives which made the religious and racial separation of the institutions imperative. They were also a direct cause of the elaboration of foster care programmes in the city. The fundamental goals of the child welfare system, to protect ideal childhood and to repress or eliminate those elements which threatened it, were closely regulated by denominational and racial awareness, and not by a need, or an external pressure for modernization and professionalization. The emergence of foster care as a response to dependency and neglect was similarly motivated. The careful delineation of childhood into acceptable and unacceptable behaviours, roles, and environments did not only result in the separation of Protestant and Roman Catholic, Black and white. It also generated a system of institutional discipline and regulation which made the shift to foster care appear both logical, and highly effective in the creation of "ideal" settings for these children. In what follows, I describe the modern elements of the local institutions' administrative routines and structures, and then the ways that the managers and superintendents of these Homes attempted to create a "normal" home environment within their walls. This is followed by a discussion of the religiosity inherent to this vision of modernity and essential to this promotion of normalcy. Finally, I will conclude with an explanation of the continuity of these features of the city's children's institutions – the religious, modern, and normalizing aspects of a complete disciplinary regime – within foster care.

In this period, modern methods and denominational purposes were interdependent. Ultimately, the combination of the two made these institutions the authors of their own redundancies.

A key component of the modern administrative routines at Halifax institutions were yearly medical, dental, and when possible, mental assessment tests. Records for several of the institutions under study are not complete for the early part of the twentieth century, and so it cannot be definitively stated that they all conducted similar medical supervision of their inmates. For those institutions whose records do exist for this early period, policies for medical exams were axiomatic, whether conducted by a physician specially appointed to the institution, or after 1923, through the Dalhousie Public Health Clinic.⁽¹⁾ It is assumed that the other agencies would have taken a similar approach, particularly for new residents. As indicated by the annual reports submitted to Blois, these institutions took great pride in the health of their charges, frequently noting when their institutions had been epidemic and illness free. Quality of care was also a point of pride. "When sick," reported the Monastery of the Good Shepherd, "our 'Children' as we like to call them, receive the same attendance as the Religious.... The most abject of our Inmates are treated with as much considerateness as if they were the children of the wealthy."⁽²⁾

Along with medical care, dental inspections became more common in the early

(1) See the early Annual Reports of the Halifax Infants' Home, NSARM, HV IN3, and the early minutes and reports of St. Paul's Home for Girls, NSARM, MG20, Vol. 1326-7. Both of these homes had Doctors on retainer.

(2) Annual Report of the Monastery of the Good Shepherd, in AR, *JHA* 1919, Pt. 2, App. 28, 61.

twentieth century, and mental assessments were conducted, if not consistently, with greater regularity after World War One. The practice was considered requisite for assessing a child's suitability for foster placement or adoption.⁽³⁾ As Jacobson notes, the ability to conduct mental assessments of delinquent and dependent children was hampered by the lack of qualified personnel.⁽⁴⁾ The Province of Nova Scotia did not appoint a Provincial Psychiatrist until October of 1927, and at that time, this position required frequent travel and long absences from the city. Prior to that date within the city, Dr. Eliza Brison, the superintendent of the Daughters' of the Empire Home for Feeble Minded Girls, was engaged by Blois to conduct mental testing of many children who came before the Juvenile Court and the Provincial Department, beginning in 1919. Like the directors and superintendents of the institutions, Blois placed great importance on medical and mental testing. He consistently emphasized "the importance of adequate medical care of the children" generally, but he also noted that it was "essential that our children should be examined as to their mentality and we trust that satisfactory arrangements can be made for every child in the future. If this be done, the number of 'misfits' or children placed in foster homes who turn out badly will be reduced to the

⁽³⁾ Mental testing was conducted more regularly for those children coming before the CAS, the Provincial Department, and the Juvenile Court (many of whom were subsequently placed in local institutions). However, several of the institutions were aware of, if not testing for, differences in mental acuity among their inmates. See especially the annual reports of the Monastery of the Good Shepherd and the Halifax Infants' Home, in Blois's Annual Reports.

⁽⁴⁾ Jacobson, "A Better Deal," 12-13.

minimum.”(5)

Staffing within the institutions was another measure of the quality of care, and perhaps surprisingly, several of these private, “amateur” institutions took the matter of staff training quite seriously. The Halifax Infants' Home employed a social service worker who conducted inspections of potential adoptive and foster homes, performed regular visitation among former inmates who had been placed or adopted, and counselled single mothers at the Home. Similarly, the Monastery of the Good Shepherd recognized that their work “of reeducation and reformation require[d] a long moral and psychological training, which each Sister receive[d] during the first years of her joining the Order.” She was “kept out of the work until she [was] judged fit to undertake it, by her Superiors.”(6) Most of these local institutions, finances permitting; took pains to employ experienced teachers, superintendents, trained nurses and nurses' assistants, to work with their charges.(7) Emphasis was also placed upon the moral standards and love for children expressed by staff members, qualities which many believed far outweighed any other attribute in a successful employee. In 1925, the CWC's Section of the Spiritual and Ethical Development of the Child recommended “that a special effort be made to

(5) AR, *JHA* 1919, Pt. 2, App. 28, 53. Regular medical examinations likely required rudimentary record-keeping and casework in these institutions. St. Paul's Home for Girls and St. Joseph's Orphanage maintained relatively detailed records on admissions and discharges, as well, which are available at NSARM, MG20, Vol. 1329, and upon request, from the CPC. Such records are not readily available for other institutions.

(6) Annual Report for the Monastery of the Good Shepherd, in AR, *JHA* 1919, Pt.2 App. 28, 60.

(7) Attracting trained workers to Halifax was a persistent problem throughout the interwar and post World War Two period, and was directly related to the low level of salaries offered. See below, chapters six and seven.

emphasize the point, that the most important element in an educational system is the spiritual and ethical quality of all leaders," a quality which certainly would have extended to leaders within the child welfare system.(8)

Blois's annual inspections of the institutions confirmed these opinions, but made particular reference to additional qualifications for the staff of the local reformatories. "Fine buildings and a heavy endowment [were] not the essentials," he argued, and it was

...not enough that the members of the staff are persons of good character. Neither is the ability to maintain discipline nor good business management the chief requisite. These are valuable attributes and should be insisted upon in the employment of executive officers of the institution. But what counts most is that very rare combination of good character and personality, which the inmates will, both consciously and unconsciously, imitate. Unless our reformatories are manned by such officers, the province is wasting money ... And what is far more to be deplored the children are made worse by the confinement.(9)

In 1929, Henry Atkinson, Superintendent of the Provincial Industrial School in Manitoba and Chairman of the Delinquency Section of the CWC, conducted an external review of Halifax's two reformatories for boys, the Industrial School and St. Patrick's. He reported that only in the case of St. Patrick's had this level of staffing been achieved. Here, "[t]he boys were happy and free in their response to questions ... indicat[ing] a spirit of cooperation between the boys and masters which is essential for real character building." At the Industrial School, there were problems with the quality of staff, particularly in its ability to inspire friendship and "confidence between the Superintendent, staff, and boys [which was] necessary for effective work." Echoing Blois' earlier report almost verbatim,

(8) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 25:123, CWC, Section on the Spiritual and Ethical Development of the Child, 1925-1926.

(9) AR, *JHA* 1921, Pt.2 App. 28, 36.

and clearly highlighting the problem of salary levels, Atkinson advised that, "[t]he value of any Institution depends wholly upon the staff. They must have that personality and good character which inspires confidence in the hearts of the boys ... I doubt whether a personnel of \$50.00 per month calibre can handle such a task." (10)

Atkinson's report on the reformatories also highlighted the importance which the physical setting of an institution had on the quality of care given to children. He praised the "good buildings" at St. Patrick's as "[c]ommendable features" of the institution, as they were "clean, bright, and well equipped to care for nearly every phase of boy life." Of particular importance was the recently constructed gymnasium which allowed for expanded recreational programmes, a refuge from poor weather during play times, and a place for general assemblies. A similar space was not found at the Industrial School. There, although the buildings were clean, they were "old and entirely unsuitable for any real constructive work." The dining room was located in the basement, and the toilets were housed in a separate outbuilding. "The plant lacks modern conveniences and despite the desperate efforts of the staff to cope with the situation the tumble-down appearance of the whole place is bound to have a downward pull on the lives of the

(10) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4, H. Atkinson, "Report on the Nova Scotia Boys' Industrial Schools," 1929 [hereinafter Atkinson, "Report on Industrial Schools."]. Atkinson was recommended for this review by Charlotte Whitton, and his report was made to the Attorney General. In January of 1930, Blois wrote to Whitton that while he had "spent a very pleasant time with Mr. Atkinson," and was pleased with some aspects of the review, he believed that Atkinson "misrepresented several matters of vital importance," had "limited experience" and no grasp "of the broad principles which govern political action in social matters." Moreover, Atkinson did not have "a personality which impresses people favourably." See letter dated 31 January 1930, NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1930).

inmates." The location of both of these institutions within the city itself also became an issue, particularly as the city grew in size and population. For the reformatories, the "proximity of the city's life create[d] a spirit of unrest among the boys, which invite[d] attempts at escape and prevent[ed] the boys from settling down to real constructive work."⁽¹¹⁾

Similar observations, both positive and negative, were made about other institutions in the city. Cleanliness was essential within and outside the buildings, and adequate play space, indoors and out, was necessary. The existence of separate "hospital wings" or quarantine rooms was also noted, and the annual questionnaires submitted to Blois indicated such seemingly trivial things as the types of toilets and baths used (individual or "plunge" baths), whether children had "individual or roller towels," whether dining tables were covered (linen or oil-cloth), whether children sat on benches or chairs while eating, whether there was a garden, and how many cubic feet of air space existed for each child in the dormitories. Taken together, this information gave relatively detailed descriptions on the overall quality of life experienced by institutionalized children, insofar as it was determined by physical surroundings. And, throughout the 1910s and 1920s, these institutions constantly struggled to maintain the quality of their buildings and grounds. This was particularly true for the Protestant Orphans' Home which had been relocated into a city-owned building after its original site was destroyed by the Explosion. It was not until 1926 that a new building for this institution was finally completed and occupied. The minutes and correspondence of the managing Boards of

(11) Atkinson, "Report on Industrial Schools."

other institutions, as well as their annual reports, also contain a constant dialogue about the need for painting, new flooring, improvements to plumbing and heating, the replacement of equipment and furniture, and the maintenance of grounds.

Next to the constant financial pressures of maintaining institutional buildings and grounds, the segregation of 'types' was arguably the most difficult problem facing the child welfare community. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, these institutions had particular goals set for their inmates. While religious and ethnic separation were important aspects in achieving these goals, the ability to effectively separate their charges according to such basic criteria as age and assessed mentality was also seen as essential in the overall success of their efforts. This was certainly less of a concern for the infants' homes and smaller Homes such as St. Paul's,⁽¹²⁾ but for other institutions, the mixing of types presented particular difficulties as their populations increased, and as the criteria for segregation of types became stricter. At the Monastery of the Good Shepherd, for example, the religious carefully noted that they were not trained to care for those considered to be feeble-minded, but "demands of that nature" were continually made

(12) In the minutes of the Managing Committee for this Home, there are a few occasions when the Matron raised concerns about the contaminating effect which the behaviour of some apparently feeble-minded girls was having on the younger inmates. In May of 1922, for example, the Committee was particularly concerned about one inmate whose behaviour and questionable morality was disrupting work with the other girls. The chair of the Committee "felt that it was not in the interest of the Home, and unfair to the other children to keep this child any longer than was absolutely necessary and suggested that a determined effort be made to have one of the child's aunts take her," until such time as she could be placed in the Daughters of the Empire Home for Feeble-Minded Girls. As St. Paul's Home housed a maximum of between 20 and 24 children, however, greater individual attention could be given to the girls in general, and these problems were usually sorted out with relative ease. See NSARM, MG20, Vol. 1327 #1, Minutes of the Managing Committee, 30 May 1922.

upon them throughout the 1920s. As early as 1919, the Home reported that, "[i]f the present conditions continue, and no relief is granted elsewhere, this Institution will be one entirely of defectives. The wayward girl and defective girl require entirely different training and care, and when the two are necessarily inter-mingled the problem of training either class adequately is not satisfactorily solved."⁽¹³⁾ Problems of segregation were also prominent in the boys' reformatories. In 1922, Blois argued that because of overcrowding, "[p]roper classification and separation of the inmates [was] not possible at either place," and they were consequently "about as far from the modern idea of a reformatory institution as can be imagined." Little appears to have changed by 1929 when Atkinson wrote that in the "overcrowded conditions" at the Industrial School, there could be "no pretense at segregation ... [and] one finds neglected, dependent, defective, and delinquent boys herded together to the mutual damage and disadvantage of all."⁽¹⁴⁾

Overcrowding and lack of segregation, according to Atkinson, could be overcome through changes in intake policies and physical arrangements at these institutions. However, local circumstances created obstacles to the institutional managers' abilities to effect either of these changes. In theory, institutions could have dealt with overcrowding by changing their admissions policies. But admissions were not entirely within their control. As provincial reformatories, they were obliged by law to take in children – both delinquent and neglected – sentenced to their care by the Juvenile Court Judge.

(13) Annual Report of the Monastery of the Good Shepherd, in AR, *JHA* 1919, Pt. 2., App. 28, 60. The staff at this institution made annual complaints about the number of "defectives" in the home, and joined a growing movement for the establishment of a separate institution for the feeble-minded in the late 1920s.

(14) AR, *JHA* 1922, Pt. 2, App. 28, 47; Atkinson, "Report on Industrial Schools."

Moreover, these institutions were also privately managed charities, and the Superintendents had the power, under their institutional mandates, to accept children placed voluntarily by parents, relatives, or clergymen. Local families in need of temporary placement for their children, particularly older boys, had no other options than these two homes, as the local orphanages did not accept children over the age of twelve.(15)

An alternative solution to the problem of segregation was the cottage system, whereby the larger, congregate buildings would be broken down into separate "homes" housing fifteen to twenty boys each, all of similar dispositions and backgrounds.(16) While this plan was greatly talked of in the city, not only by the Reformatories but by the larger asylums and orphanages, it was completely outside the realm of financial possibility, particularly in the context of post-Explosion Halifax when several of these institutions laboured under particularly heavy debts. These private institutions generally had some form of endowment, but their day-to-day maintenance was largely dependent upon charitable contributions from the parishes and the community. In a system divided by denominational interests, the sources for this charitable support were narrowed even

(15) St. Patrick's was managed by the Christian Brothers, and the Industrial School by a governing board of prominent local citizens. As later records reveal, the lack of placements for older boys (particularly after the Industrial School was relocated (1947) and St. Patrick's closed (1955)), was an acute problem in the city. See below, Chapter Seven. While the statistical returns for these two institutions do not distinguish between children placed by the courts and those placed by parents, there is anecdotal evidence from Blois that this practice continued up to at least 1930. See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1930), correspondence 31 January 1930, Blois to Whitton.

(16) The Protestant Orphanage in Truro and Bairncroft Asylum in Sydney were both organized on the cottage system. The former was established in 1910 and the latter opened in 1918.

further. In 1919, St. Joseph's Orphanage reported that,

[t]he demands made on the Institution are far beyond its power to satisfy in their entirety. These have increased considerably as a result of the explosion and of the Spanish Influenza which in both cases have deprived many helpless children of one or both parents.... The Institution is now called upon to open its doors still wider, and fit in as many as it can hold without regard to that comfort and convenience which form so desirable a feature of every Institution. The increased cost of living, together with the increase in numbers adds much to the burden of maintenance which has to be sustained almost entirely through the voluntary contributions of the Catholics of the City.(17)

In an attempt to deal with their increasing population, St. Joseph's undertook the construction of a new wing which was completed late in 1923. In reporting on this addition, Blois noted that St. Joseph's was now "the largest institution for the care of children in the Province. We do not like such a large institution for children, but those responsible for the addition were convinced that their action in building was justified by the increased demand made upon it and that it was a financial impossibility to re-establish the whole institution on the cottage plan."(18)

In an environment so closely regulated by financial deficit, the ability of these Homes to maintain an atmosphere of physical normalcy was clearly limited. However, it was not only through the maintenance of their facilities that institutional managers sought to minimize the threats which poverty, orphanhood, and dependency had on their inmates. Educational programmes and disciplinary routines were also employed in this

(17) "Annual Report of St. Joseph's Orphanage," in AR, *JHA* 1919, Pt. 2, App.28, 87. This report noted that many of the children in the orphanage were "half-orphans," or the children of single parents. However, "[i]n nearly ever case the needs of the half orphan are as urgent as those of the whole orphan and call for the same consideration."

(18) Report on St. Joseph's Orphanage, AR, *JHA* 1924, Pt. 2, App. 28, 42.

respect. The institutions were, ideally, preventative mechanisms, as well as therapeutic systems for children whose situations threatened to irrevocably remove them from the territory of ideal childhood. Within their walls, all aspects of a child's behaviour could be monitored, from their diet and education, to their personal habits, play time and sleep time; for infants' homes, the vital importance of anonymity could be upheld, for the protection of the illegitimate child as much as for the mother. Education, training and discipline then worked to "correct" inappropriate behaviours and patterns of thought, and to promote ideals which were considered appropriate to the religion, class, ethnicity and gender of the inmates. In these ways, the institutions were performing what was expected of a parent.

On a day to day basis, institutional programmes sought to regulate their inmates' habits of personal hygiene, decorum, and deportment. This regulation was considered a fundamental part of the effort to promote normal growth and healthy adjustment. For example, the Superintendent of the Industrial School argued that regular military drill at that institution "tends to make a boy alert and self-reliant, besides giving to him an appearance of smartness so different to the slovenly gait so noticeable when they come to the Institution."⁽¹⁹⁾ The NSHCC also provided "training" to their girls on "neatness and cleanliness in work and personal appearance," and Kinney explained that their programmes, overall, were "in a real sense preventative as well as curative for the early stages of social disease" because children at that institution were taught "methods that

(19) Superintendent's Report for the Halifax Industrial School (William Johns), AR, *JHA* 1921, Pt. 2, App. 28, 52.

hold, keep and restrain from the ways of danger and disease, and sometimes death.”(20) It is also very likely that programmes promoting 'good habits' were instituted at the infants' homes for those children aged 2-3, and among younger children at the orphanages. The formation of proper habits was considered, in this period, essential for the healthy development of young children. They were carefully drilled in daily routines which included regular times for meals, wash-room visits, naps and recreational periods. Regular routines and habits were seen as an important method for promoting a sense of personal security for young children, and were considered a vital part of ensuring the healthy adjustment and functioning of adults.(21)

Both Protestant and Catholic institutions believed that children within the institutional system should also receive education in reading, writing, and arithmetic. For some of these Homes and asylums, school rooms were maintained within the institutions themselves; certified teachers were employed, and classes were subject to the inspection and regulation of the Provincial Department of Education. Over the course of the 1920s, most of these institutions, with the notable exceptions of the Reformatories and the NSHCC, began sending their charges to local public schools. In part, this was an effective cost-saving measure. Managing boards also declared that the move promoted closer ties between the institutions and the local community, and

(20) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 750 #1 (NSHCC 1917-1978), untitled Tenth Anniversary Pamphlet, ca. March 1931.

(21) See, for example, William Blatz and Helen MacMurchie-Bott, *The Management of Young Children* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1930); Miller, "Psychology and the Child;" Jocelyn Moyter Raymond, *The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Comacchio, *Nations Are Built Are Babies*, Arnup, *Education for Motherhood*.

provided their inmates with a much needed change of scenery.(22)

The fundamentals of an academic education ensured that these children would grow up to be "useful" and self-reliant members of society. But usefulness also required something more, as there was little expectation that these particular children would make their way in the world through academic pursuits. As Blois had argued from the earliest moments of his tenure as Provincial Superintendent, industrial and vocational training were an integral and necessary part of institutional programmes. Making specific reference to the boys at the local reformatories, Blois quoted from a report by the trustees of the New York Juvenile Asylum, "one of the most modern and progressive institutions of its kind." Boys within the reformatories, it was argued,

are not likely to enter any of the so-called learned professions; nor are they likely to become directors of important business enterprises.... They will, however, be compelled to earn a livelihood and contribute toward the support of others... Surely it is better to discover and give direction to whatever productive skill may be undeveloped in them, and so enable them to become more efficient and progressive citizens, than to neglect their possibilities and suffer them to remain stationary or descend to lower ranks in the great industrial army.(23)

The charitable asylums in the city concurred with this opinion. At every institution where such training was applicable (that is, excepting the infants' homes), boys and girls were "instructed in such useful occupations as will enable them to earn a decent living,"

(22) See for example, ADC, MG3, Ser. 8, Vol. 3, #12, *Parish of St. Paul's Halifax N.S. Year Book, 1910*. A report on the home in this Yearbook noted that "[t]he passing back and forth between the Home and the school, although the distance is short is a pleasant change for the children. This, together with larger and more airy school-rooms and better opportunities for classification must accrue to their benefit."

(23) AR, *JHA* 1914, Pt. 2, App. 28, 10-11.

and fit them, "as far as possible ... for the battle of life." (24) There was no pretence that many of these children would rise above their humble social station, although whenever possible, institutional reports made note of former inmates who had gone on to study teaching, nursing, or to earn commercial diplomas. What was not acceptable was that these children should become chronically dependent upon charity. According to the Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church in Halifax, there was an obligation on the part of caregivers, "to provide for their children such physical development as will enable them to make an honest living, and such a mental training as is well calculated to insure success in the ordinary pursuits of life." (25)

Frequently, practical and financial problems restricted the ability of an institution to carry out extensive industrial or vocational training. This was particularly true for boys, as vocational pursuits considered suitable to their gender, such as farming or carpentry, tended to be more expensive and to require more facilities than those for girls. At the Industrial School and St. Patrick's, limited training was available in wood-working, shoe repair, and printing. However, the small size of their properties meant that farming activities (which were greatly praised as the most practical and inspiring type of training for institutionalized boys) were greatly restricted. In each case, only a few of the inmates could be trained in this area. The NSHCC provided agricultural training for their boys, and while they were ideally located for this pursuit, financial problems in the first years

(24) Report of the Monastery of the Good Shepherd for 1918, in AR, *JHA* 1918, Pt. 2, App. 28, 35-6; Report of St. Joseph's Orphanage, in AR, *JHA* 1925, Pt. 2, App. 28, 75.

(25) Archbishop Edward McCarthy, "Pastoral Letter Addressed to The Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Halifax [hereafter 'Pastoral Letter']," 1924, CPC Bishop McCarthy Papers Vol. V, #352 (Pastoral letters 1918-1929), 6.

after their establishment greatly restricted the extent of other types of vocational training. "[U]ntil further funds are raised," Kinney reported in 1925, "[f]arm labour and chores, with elementary education is all we are able to do for them."(26)

In the case of all three of these institutions, the emphasis was placed upon an education which was supposed to be economically useful. But these pursuits also were seen as those which would build character and physical strength, and inspire manliness, all of which were of great importance for future generations. Archbishop McCarthy warned, for example, that without carefully directed and disciplined education the "greatest ambitions" for young men "would appear to be those of acquiring the reputation of graceful dancers and charming partners." Instead, what was needed was "the virile, sturdy, hard-working type ... for faithful husbands and conscientious fathers."(27) Too much emphasis upon physical labour, however, was considered equally detrimental. Throughout the 1920s, Blois roundly criticized the Industrial School for putting its inmates to work at chopping wood. In 1929, Atkinson echoed Blois's concerns: "The lack of constructive effort, the simple drudgery, the paltry returns in money and less in brain development, the low grade work it provides, lacking any mental effort, stimulus or inspiration, all condemn [wood chopping] as wasteful of the best interest of boy life." Instead, Atkinson recommended agricultural training, which "builds up their health and teach[es] them how to enjoy doing work well."(28)

(26) Annual Report of the NSHCC, in AR, *JHA* 1925, Pt.2, App. 28, 73.

(27) McCarthy, "Pastoral Letter," 1927, CPC, Bishop McCarthy Papers Vol. V, #352 (Pastoral Letters, 1918-1929), 2. See also G. Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*.

(28) Atkinson, "Report on Industrial Schools."

Vocational training for girls was equally geared toward character development and the promotion of health and happiness. It was also characterized by a restrictive awareness of class and gender, and was thus almost entirely devoted to such activities as domestic work (cleaning, dusting, washing floors and windows), food preparation, sewing, knitting, rug hooking, millinery, dress-making and laundry.(29) Clearly, some of this work was not only physically demanding but might also be considered "simple drudgery," giving "paltry returns" in mental and spiritual development. However, as it was considered work both natural and necessary for womanhood, its presence within the educational programming of the institutions was easily defensible. "[E]very girl should know how to use the needle," and if they were "ever to have comfortable and happy homes of their own they must be taught how to properly prepare food, sew, and the thousand and one things which the successful housekeeper must know."(30) Moreover, the domestic work of the girls at various institutions was an important economic factor in institutional management; for example, sewing lessons involved the mending of children's clothing, fancy work and knitted articles often were sold for profit, and 'domestic science' included the general upkeep of the interior of buildings. At the Girls' Home on College Street in Halifax, which housed ten to twelve girls between the ages of 12 and 18, the heavy laundry work taken in from the community was described as an

(29) In the early 1920s, the Monastery of the Good Shepherd offered limited courses on shoemaking and bookbinding, particularly for those inmates considered feeble-minded. See their annual report to Blois in 1921, *JHA*, Pt. 2, App. 28.

(30) Tenth Anniversary Pamphlet, NSHCC; AR, *JHA* 1914, Pt. 2, App. 28, 43. Blois's comments referred to the domestic training at the Monastery of the Good Shepherd, and he continued to praise this, and similar institutional programmes throughout the 1920s.

"outstanding feature of the training ... of which curtains [were] a specialty." Girls at the Home were offered a full three-years' "course" in this work, and upon completion became "as a rule, first class laundresses and good maids and they are eagerly sought for." It was also noted that "[s]ome girls, being more ambitious," had taken courses in hospital nursing.(31)

Vocational and academic programmes, as well as the efforts to regulate habits and deportment, were part of a disciplinary structure whose underpinning was explicitly religious. This religious emphasis regulated daily routines and provided a repository for the motivation for institutional managers, and the expression of their purposes. Thus, the institutional programmes included daily routines of prayer and devotion, and regular church and Sunday school attendance either within the community, or at services conducted within the institutions themselves. This exposure to religious education and training was vital to the overall intent of institutional regimes. As the Committee on Religious Education for the Maritime Home for Girls argued, religious education "should be accorded as organic a place" in institutional programming as "vocational training or any other phase of teaching activity [because] no one can be said to be truly educated unless he has been educated in a religious interpretation of life."(32)

(31) Report of the Girls Home, College Street," in AR, *JHA* 1919, Pt. 2, App. 28, 93-5. Vocational and academic training within the institutions, both for boys and girls, was also supplemented by recreational activities, occasional outings and parties sponsored by board members and community groups.

(32) Report of the Committee on Religious Education for the Maritime Home for Girls, nd, ADC MG 8 Ser 9, Vol. 2, Diocesan Records, #4. This Report most likely dates from the late 1920s, as this committee was established to respond to the problem of ensuring Anglican religious education for the Anglican girls at this institution.

For the children at the NSHCC, religious training carried with it the dual emphasis on freedom and restraint so characteristic of the attitudes of the Home's founders, and was described in a manner which similarly echoed the fervent evangelical tone which accompanied the Home's opening.

The direct purpose of any education worth its name is the development of character by training the intellect, illuminating the conscience, stimulating the finer emotions, directing the will towards nobler ideals, enriching the sense of God in human hearts, and so purifying the spiritual vision and faculties for wise restraint, greater freedom and a larger and more liberal measure of consecrated service.(33)

Roman Catholic institutions also granted functional attributes to religious education which were peculiar to their denomination. In large measure, this resulted from the emphasis placed upon the Catechism in Catholic childhood education generally, but it also stemmed from a sense that, as Catholics, these children would be duty bound to defend and uphold their faith in the face of criticism and derision.(34) "Catholics will fail in their duty of Christian charity," the Archbishop explained, "when through lack of knowledge of their religion they are unable to explain, to defend, to prove the many vital teachings of Catholic faith." He therefore admonished that "no mission [should be] without its Catechism Class [and] parents and others having the guardianship of children

(33) Tenth Anniversary Pamphlet, March 1931.

(34) On Anti-Catholicism in Canada, see J. R. Miller, "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 66 (1985), 474-94; and "Bigotry in the North Atlantic Triangle: Irish, British, and American Influences on Canadian anti-Catholicism, 1850-1900," *Studies in Religion* 16 (1987), 289-301, and "Anti-Catholicism in Canada: From British Conquest to the Great War," in Murphy and Stortz, eds., *Creed and Culture: The Place of English Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930* (Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 24-48.

[were] under obedience to have their wards take advantage of these classes."(35)

The Archbishop promoted religious education as an antidote to personal distress, sinful behaviour, and social unrest. Religious ignorance, he argued, caused "many of [the] sorrows" of life, including "demoralizing customs, sinful pleasures and amusements, apostasy from the faith, invalidly [sic] contracted marriages, marriages with persons of other religions and the failure to help non-Catholics to benefit from what we so undeservedly enjoy."(36) He also pointed to the problem of homes in which parents were lax in their duties to discipline their children and to teach them obedience to their Church. "One of the greatest abuses of the day [was] independence and revolt against lawfully constituted authority," and he emphasized that "the leaders in those radical movements that cause such distress and misery in this world" were often raised in homes where "over-indulgent fathers and mothers ... dared not check the rebellious spirit nor punish the disrespectful, disobedient act," nor teach the importance of obedience to the laws of God and the Catholic Church.(37) A similar emphasis upon religion's ability to check social unrest and rebellion was present in the writings of the Juvenile Court Judge, J. J. Hunt. If children were to develop into responsible parents, independent citizens, and upright, law-abiding members of their community, religious education, "the greatest educational force in the world" was essential. Its presence "creat[ed] a character that enobles [sic]," while its absence accounted, in part, "for the spirit of anarchy that is

(35)McCarthy, "Pastoral Letter" 1925, CPC, Bishop McCarthy Papers Vol. V, #352 (Pastoral Letters, 1918-1929).

(36) *Ibid.*, 1929, 5.

(37) *Ibid.*, 1927, 3.

abroad.”(38)

The disciplinary regimes resulting from the practical and religious routines and expectations just described, made a combination of congregate and foster care appear the most logical response to the goals and limitations of institutional care in the city. Institutional programming and routines for children were directed at creating and encouraging behaviour, beliefs, attitudes, and futures which were commensurate with culturally fixed expectations about the children's social status, gender and religious affiliation. For children who were neglected, dependent, or delinquent, the child welfare system sought to correct the misfortunes of environment and heredity by carefully measuring and separating children according to a carefully defined and predetermined set of individual attributes and abilities. As this work was interpreted by Halifax care givers, it required *both* institutional and foster care programmes. Moreover, the individualizing norms promoted by this understanding of child welfare were equally congruent with both fostering and congregate care. Overall, promoting these norms was for the good of the entire nation. “The children of this country are either potential assets or liabilities,” Blois explained. “On which side of the balance sheet they finally appear depends on two things – heredity and environment during youth.” And because the child “had no control over either of these factors,” it was clear that responsibilities and solutions lay with correcting individual behaviour and attitude.(39)

(38) Annual Report of the Juvenile Court Judge, AR, *JHA* 1925, Pt. 2, App. 28, 53-4.

(39) AR, *JHA* 1924, Pt. 2, App. 28, 1. Blois placed great emphasis upon individual responsibility. In his response to Atkinson's report on the industrial schools in the city, Blois argued that Atkinson had “forgotten” to place blame for delinquency “where it really belongs, namely on the individual.” Similarly, the president of the Halifax CAS argued,

This configuration of the child welfare system around individualised programmes, corresponds to what Michel Foucault has called a disciplinary regime: punishments were not suited to the crime but to the individual offender, and their degree or severity was substantiated by careful supervision and the attempt to alter, to 'correct', not only individual actions, but thoughts, natures, and future potentials.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Acceptable discipline within the institutions was thus not equated solely with the meting out of physical punishments. Indeed, corporal punishment as a standard response to disciplinary problems was considered inappropriate by many in this community, and the yearly questionnaires delivered to Blois by the institutions reveal that few of them practised corporal punishment on a regular basis (or were willing to admit to it).⁽⁴¹⁾ Instead, correct and effective discipline was envisioned as therapeutic, corrective at an individual

in 1921, that his Society was making a "[d]efinite attempt to prevent neglect and delinquency by dealing with such matters as: the sale of cigarettes; the Moving Pictures; objectionable literature; truancy, etc." See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1930), correspondence, 31 January 1930, Blois to Charlotte Whitton; See Annual Report of the Halifax CAS, AR, *JHA* 1921, Pt. 2, App. 28, 18.

⁽⁴⁰⁾Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 1979).

⁽⁴¹⁾ Professional opinion on the use of corporal punishment agreed. See Comacchio, *Nations Are Built of Babies*, 126; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Intruders in the Nursery: Childcare Professionals Reshape the Years One to Five, 1920-1940," in Joy Parr, ed., *Childhood and Family in Canadian History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 160-178. There was some twentieth century *defence* for corporal punishment, however, particularly within the reform school environment. See Linda Mahood, "'Give Him a Doing': The Birching of Young Offenders in Scotland," *Canadian Journal of History* 37:3 (December 2002), 439-457. The statistical data returned by the local institutions indicate that, besides the reformatories, the Protestant Orphans' Home, the NSHCC and St. Joseph's Orphanage used corporal punishment, but the latter two noted that this was done only "occasionally." By the early 1930s, only the NSHCC answered "yes" to this part of the questionnaire. None of these institutions appear to have kept regular records of punishments given.

level. As Judge Hunt argued in 1922, for example, the Juvenile Court in Halifax was not "a vehicle of punishment," but an institution whose objective was "to protect and save," one whose work was "constructive not destructive." While it did punish "when punishment [was] the best resource," its true "aim and object" was "to deal with the child intelligently in regard to his future interest. Our aim is to make the delinquents into good and decent citizens to the end that they may enjoy their birthright and that our homes may enjoy the result of good citizenship. Punishment by itself brings about no lasting good." (42)

Blois envisioned the entirety of the child welfare system operating in this way: "Child welfare work," he argued, "is necessarily based on the theory that it is possible and practicable to improve a child's environment and to correct bad inherited tendencies to such an extent that the child's position is changed from the debit to the credit side of the sheet." (43) The success of such a programme was believed to depend, in part, on the institutions' educational and disciplinary programmes, and also upon their ability to effect a complete break between the child and his or her past environments and behaviours. The architecture and location of the institutions were thus a functional part of the disciplinary regime of child welfare as they physically separated the children from those influences which were perceived as a threat – the street, city life, the presence of

(42) Annual Report of the Juvenile Court Judge (Hunt), AR, *JHA* 1922, Pt. 2, App. 28, 51. Hunt's views were well in keeping with the opinions of the CCCW. In 1925, that agency's Section on the Care of Problem Children explained that while a Juvenile Court was "part of the system of justice and legal discipline, it [was] essentially a behaviour clinic and community agency for juvenile rehabilitation." See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 25:123, "Report of the Section on the Care of Problem Children, 1925-1926.

(43) AR, *JHA* 1924, Pt. 2, App. 28, np.

delinquent friends, weak parents, or broken families. Most of these institutions also restricted access to their inmates to certain days of each month, thereby regulating when, and for how long, children could visit with former acquaintances and family members.(44) In Atkinson's critique of the Halifax Industrial School, he argued that the school's location within the city was responsible for the overall lack of discipline in the institution. "The life of the city creates a spirit of unrest among the boys and makes escape easy. It undermines the discipline in that a complete break with the old life cannot be made."(45)

The mechanisms of institutional care, physical, educational and disciplinary, were intended to ensure that these children had as close to an ideal, 'normal' childhood as was possible. In their annual reports to the Superintendent's office, all of the institutions employed anecdotal evidence – success stories – to emphasize where their work had succeeded in achieving this function. The orphanages and girls' homes, for example, regularly told stories of children who had gone on to raise happy and healthy families, or to work as nurses, clerks, or teachers. Similarly, the NSHCC called attention to what had been accomplished at their institution, highlighting the absence of serious illnesses

(44) Any visits outside of these times had to be approved by the superintendents, matrons, or managing boards. See, for example, NSARM, MG20, Vol. 1329 #2, Admissions form for the St. Paul's Home for Girls, dated c. 1920. Parents or relatives of girls were required to sign this form, which stated that "[t]he Home may be visited once a month (Second Tuesday in the Month) during the afternoon," unless other times had been approved by the Superintendent. In 1910, the Managing Committee also passed a resolution to see that the street door to the Home was kept locked. See minutes, 8 March 1910. For a discussion of the disciplinary mechanism inherent to architectural structures, see M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 170-1.

(45) Atkinson, "Report on Industrial Schools."

and deaths as "evidence of the care and attention given to each child; and especially would you be impressed if you were to see some of the abused, ill-treated and half-starved little ones on their arrival at the Home."(46) The elimination of uniforms in many of these institutions, and the attention paid to details such as the seating arrangements and the types of table cloths in dining rooms, were also parts of the effort to provide a 'normal' and home-like environment.(47)

However, most managing boards and superintendents recognized that to some extent, no matter the degree of comfort and "home-like" atmosphere within the institutions, these children were not living the ideal; that required an actual home, the setting within which the ideal itself was based. In the 1920s, and certainly well before this period, therefore, these institutions developed boarding-out, fostering, and adoptive programmes which were seen as the key to the ultimate success of their goals.(48) Boarding their inmates, arranging adoption and foster-care, was, in this sense, a direct

(46) 10th Anniversary Pamphlet for the NSHCC, March 1931, NSARM, MG 20, Vol. 750, #1. In 1937, the Home published another fund-raising pamphlet, "What they Say About Us," which took a similar approach to describing their success: "The records of the children who have left the Home speak highly for the instruction and care given. No young man or woman who has left the Home has ever been brought to court on a serious charge – a record that rivals the much publicized 'Boys' Town" in the United States." See NSARM, MG20, Vol 750, #1.

(47) That these details were a concern is reflected in the types of statistical data collected by Blois. In the later period, the minutes existing for the Managing Committees of the Halifax Infants' Home and the Protestant Orphans' Home also reflect a degree of care over these aspects of service. See NSARM, HV IN3 (Annual Reports of the Halifax Infants' Home); Vol. 177 (Minutes and Reports of the Halifax Infants' Home executive); 417-9 (Protestant Orphans' Home).

(48) The lack of early records for many of these homes makes it difficult to determine when, and how extensively, these institutions carried out adoptive and fostering programmes.

extension of institutional methodology: to separate the various "classes" of children, and to individualize treatment. Each child would be sent to live with a carefully selected family whose situation and background were suited to his or her specific needs. Certainly, not every institution took such a conscious approach to adoption and foster care; at the Salvation Army Home for Unwed Mothers, for example, annual reports note only a vague programme whereby children were "kept until they [were] 2 or 3 years of age when they [were] adopted out, [and s]ometimes the mothers make the arrangements." (49) At other institutions in the city, not only were homes chosen "as far as can be judged for the child's best interest and happiness," but case workers and members of the managing committees visited children in their new homes to determine the success of the matches. When situations warranted, children were removed from homes which were considered below standard. The religious at St. Joseph's Orphanage described this aspect of their work as "the most difficult ... the most anxious responsibility of those in charge of the orphans." It required "the unremitting exercise of that watchfulness over the well-being of the children," and the extension of "that influence which must yet follow them a long distance after they have passed out of the Institution." (50)

The Halifax Infants' Home had, perhaps, the most developed and rigorous system of boarding out and adoption. Their system was fully reorganized in 1918. Along with the Home's superintendent (who was a graduate nurse), the Board hired Elizabeth

(49) Report of the Salvation Army Maternity Hospital and Children's Home, *JHA* 1915, Pt. 1, App. 3 (B), Public Charities, 26-7.

(50) Annual Report of St. Joseph's Orphanage, in AR, *JHA* 1919, Pt. 2, App. 28, 86.

Woodward, a "trained social worker, who has specialized in children's work."⁽⁵¹⁾ This worker "investigate[d] all applications for admission to the Home," and placed those children who were eligible for adoption into "carefully selected and personally investigated" foster homes. These children were also "placed on a year's trial" in their foster homes before legal adoption was granted, and "during this year the visitor [saw] them every few months." The result, according to the Managing Committee, was that "a very friendly relationship [was] thus established between the Home and the foster parents." Their use of boarding homes also extended to those children whose mothers did not want to relinquish custody of their children, but required temporary care while they established themselves in a permanent job or marriage.⁽⁵²⁾ Indeed, the Home promoted this situation, by requiring that all mothers return to the Home to nurse their babies for six months after their confinement. "This not only insures the health of the baby, but also forms a very close bond between mother and baby, which may mean the salvation of the mother We are growing to feel that adoption should be the exception and not the rule for the illegitimate child." Overall, the Home's boarding-out and adoptive programmes were said to prevent the children from "becoming institutionalized," as they received "love and individual attention which [was] impossible

(51) Woodward also did case work for the Protestant Infants' Home. See Report of the Protestant Orphans' Home, AR, *JHA* 1920, Pt. 2, App. 28, 65.

(52) Usually, the home attempted to 'board' the baby with the mother's relatives, but where this was not possible, they paid \$3.00 per week board for the child "in a very carefully selected private boarding home," where the mother "was always a welcome visitor." See "Report on the Halifax Infants' Home," AR, *JHA* 1919, Pt. 2, App. 28, 75-6.

to obtain in the best run institution in the world.”(53)

The programme at the Infants' Home, as well as similar efforts at other institutions, operated well within the parameters accepted and promoted by the Provincial Superintendent. In 1919, Blois noted that while, in the past, children had been “*given away* by institutions and committees with as little thought and consideration as there would be in parting with so many little kittens” there had, “happily ... been awakened a truer and juster [sic] sense of responsibility and thus we find our children's institutions employing expert visitors and investigators for this important work.”(54) The Provincial Department's work with foster care, in fact, appears to have closely followed that done by the institutions. Blois's reports made continued reference to the importance of careful, personal investigations of every potential foster home to insure that the personalities of would-be foster parents were compatible with the child's, and that the home itself met with a particular standard.(55) The importance of visiting after placements had been made was also essential. This ensured that if a mistake had been

(53) See the Annual Reports of the Halifax Infants' Home, AR, *JHA* 1919-1920, Pt. 2, App. 28, pp. 73-77, 68-70, respectively.

(54) AR, *JHA* 1919, Pt. 2, App. 28, 18. Emphases in original. Blois repeated this praise in 1923 (see AR, 16).

(55) Thus, it was no longer acceptable that foster homes be chosen on the basis of letters of recommendation, a practice which had been in use at some institutions and the Provincial Department in the earlier part of the century. “Often we find the writers of these recommendations will tell us privately quite a different story,” Blois reported, and so “a personal visit, by a person trained and qualified by a natural and acquired understanding of human nature, should be made at the home of every applicant.” AR, *JHA* 1923, Pt. 2, App. 28, 16. The St. Paul's Home for Girls, whose records for the pre-1920 period are relatively complete, made use of letters of recommendation, usually from parish priests, in selecting adoptive homes for many of their girls throughout the province. See NSARM, MG 20, Vol. 1326, #1-2.

made "by placing a child in an unsuitable home," the situation could be redressed relatively quickly. However, while frequent visiting was requisite in some cases, preventing the "sacrifice" of the poorly placed child, in other cases, it could "lead to distrust and tend to prevent the child from becoming 'one of the family'." Thus, not only training and experience were necessary for visitors, but also "considerable tact and moral courage." (56) In Nova Scotia, Blois contended, "there [were] many happy children" who had been placed by his own Department, and the institutions, in foster homes. "[W]e hold the belief," he continued, "that when properly selected with an eye to the welfare of the child, but ever keeping in mind the absolute necessity of placing 'the right child with the right home,' thus safeguarding the interest of the foster parents as well, the *normal* child will be better off than in an institution." (57)

Employing "experts" and following such professional and 'modern' methods did not mean that the institutions (or the Provincial Superintendent) had secular purposes. The careful selection of foster homes and adoptive parents, and the close regulation of placements, were deliberate safeguards which ensured that the children received what was believed to be both necessary and appropriate for the physical, moral, and religious needs of the child: modern methods easily served denominational purposes. Thus, it is not surprising that while the ultimate goal of foster care and adoption was to grant the child an opportunity to live in a 'normal' family environment, there were specific guidelines to be followed when determining what constituted 'normal' for each

(56) AR, *JHA* 1919 and 1921, Pt. 2, App. 28, pp. 18, 90, respectively.

(57) AR, *JHA* 1918, Pt. 2, App. 28, 8-9. My emphasis.

individual child. "Respectability" on part of the receiving home was not enough. Potential foster and adoptive parents had to be "persons who understand children and who are willing to care for those in need of special treatment." (58) They were those who wanted the child to be a member of their family, and not a cheap servant or labourer. "When you take a homeless child to your home to care for and bring up as your own child," Blois advised,

remember these things; the child is human, and has faults. If you expect perfection (according to your notion of perfection) – you will be greatly disappointed. If you have not patience, love and a kindly disposition, the child will not be happy. If you are irritable, nervous, quick tempered, stingy, or a slave driver, don't ask for a child to adopt. Get a dog. The dog can bite you and get even. A child can't. (59)

Moreover, potential foster and adoptive parents were those whose religious and ethnic background matched the child's. A major role of the foster/adoptive home was to safeguard the child's education, religious as well as secular, by ensuring regular attendance at church and school. For this reason, there were practical and legal safeguards in place to ensure that children were, as far as possible, adopted/fostered in homes whose religious affiliation was the same as their own. The continual dearth of foster homes and adoption placements for Black children also demonstrated that race was equally important in choosing a placement; the racial barriers, as well as the chronic poverty of the Nova Scotian Black population, meant that it was "much harder to find

(58) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1929), G. Lantz, "Report of the Children's Aid Society for the Year Ending September 30, 1928."

(59) AR, *JHA* 1918, Pt. 2, App. 28, 9.

suitable foster parents for colored children than white.”(60) In 1928, the Halifax CAS also noted that a “serious community problem” was created by the “negro [sic] child and the negro unmarried mother,” as there was “no institution which will admit a negro baby who is under two years of age.” In these cases (and the CAS report noted here twenty-two children and fifteen mothers), the women “returned usually to their own homes which provided little in moral or physical care.”(61)

Strict criteria in the selection of foster homes, coupled with the necessity of ensuring religious and racial compatibility, meant that in this period, it was not only the Black community which had an apparent shortage of foster homes and adoptive families. In 1925, the President of the Halifax CAS, J. A. Walker, noted that foster placement had been a particular difficulty, and that “[n]early all the children taken over during the past year are still in institutions or temporary shelters [because they] had been unable to find ... foster homes for them.” However, until 1925, the CAS in Halifax did not have a paid social worker, and continued to rely on the services of the local policewomen and the staff of the SPC and the Provincial Department of Dependent and Delinquent Children. With the assistance of a trained worker, Walker argued, suitable foster homes could be found for all of the CAS wards. He was also hopeful that “before long we shall be able to enter into an arrangement by which all the institutions will co-operate with us in placing in the field a trained worker who will devote the greater part of her time in locating

(60) Report of the NSHCC, AR, *JHA* 1925, Pt. 2, App. 28, 73.

(61) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1929), G. Lantz, “Report of the Children’s Aid Society for the Year Ending September 30, 1928.”

suitable foster homes.”(62)

The redundancy of institutional care within the child welfare system thus appears to have been in its embryonic stages in the early 1920s. Through their own increasing participation in foster placement (and through the establishment in 1925 of an agreement with the CAS – see below), the institutions themselves appear to have been actively producing their own superfluity. But for a shortage of personnel and funding, according to the CAS, institutionalized children would soon find themselves within the institution of foster care, if not adoption, and the institutions themselves would act only as temporary, emergency boarding homes. However, the fundamental nature of the disciplinary system which functioned within the institutions, and of which fostering and adoption were a part, meant that while greater numbers of children were chosen to enter the foster care system, other children were revealed as unsuited to either fostering or adoption. Just as the sharpening definition of the childhood ideal exposed that ideal's perversion, so did the careful categorization of children expose individuals for whom the institution was, apparently, the most appropriate place. Institutions, therefore, were not becoming redundant, but were forcing, and being forced, to change their mandates and practices to meet the needs of a more specifically and closely defined population.

One category of children for whom foster care was quickly ruled out, was those between the ages of twelve and sixteen. The perception, probably grounded in fact, was that foster parents requesting older children were seeking to acquire servants or labourers in their homes, farms, and businesses. There was clear historical precedent for

(62) President's Report, Halifax CAS, AR, *JHA* 1925, Pt. 2, App. 28, 23.

such practices: the St. Paul's Home for Girls, for example, began its work as a training ground for transforming troubled, teen-aged girls into domestic servants. Other institutions across the country had maintained similar practices. However, by 1905, the managing board of St. Paul's had begun to refuse requests for servants, declaring that "our children are only sent out for adoption."⁽⁶³⁾ In 1916, Blois argued that his own department had "fewer of such cases than any institution placing out children in foster homes," and that "[n]ot more than one out of twenty applications for children from 14 years of age upward [was] accepted."⁽⁶⁴⁾

While the motives of foster parents seeking older children were considered dubious, at best, there was also a perception that these older children, particularly those who had parents living, were temperamentally unsuited for foster care. "These children may have a good record in some institutions," Blois explained, "and may even express a great willingness to go out to a new home, but life at the institution is so different from life in the family and because the old habits have not been forgotten but merely disused, these older children do not fit into the home life as do the younger ones." Without the ability to restrict access to such children, as in an institutional setting, parents and

(63) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 1326, #2, Minute Book of the Management Committee of the St. Paul's Home for Girls, 12 December 1905. The Managing Committee made frequent refusals of applications for girls, although the reasons were not generally indicated before this date.

(64) AR, *JHA* 1916, Pt. 2, App. 28, 60-1. It is possible that some of the potential demand for child labourers was met by the Middlemore Home. In their annual report to Blois for 1916, the director of the home wrote that while applications for younger children had dropped off considerably, "no doubt ... the result of conditions existing in consequence of this terrible war," they had received "applications for the elder children, from twelve years of age and upward ... in excess of last year." See *ibid.* 70.

relatives of these older children would find out their location, and entice them home. Thus, some older children presented a category for whom institutional care was necessary because it was therapeutic and corrective.

Similarly, there were "other cases" for which it was "necessary to keep [children] for a considerable time under observation and training" within an institution, in order to assess their viability as candidates for fostering or adoption.⁽⁶⁵⁾ In his response to Atkinson's report on the local industrial schools (in which Atkinson roundly criticised the lengths of time which some of the boys had been in the institutions, placing partial blame on the Superintendent's office), Blois further hinted to Charlotte Whitton that, in certain cases, long stays in institutions were highly profitable. "A number of these boys" who had spent upwards of eight years in the Industrial School or St. Patrick's Home, "are now matured men in the City of Halifax [and] some of them have done remarkably well One might [therefore] argue that a long term was more beneficial than a short term."⁽⁶⁶⁾ Generally, the Halifax CAS was in agreement with Blois: while foster care was

⁽⁶⁵⁾AR, *JHA* 1921 and 1925, Pt. 2, App. 28, pp. 90, 47, respectively.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Blois also referred in this letter to a study conducted by Lord Brantford, Home Secretary of the British Government, on institutional stays in the English School system. Brantford argued in favour of long-term institutional care. See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1930), correspondence 31 January 1930, Blois to Whitton. Ironically, Atkinson's discussion of the proper administration of follow-up services, or aftercare, may be used to support Blois's position on the value of longer stays in institutions. In explaining why the institutions themselves had to conduct extensive follow-up care for their former inmates (as opposed to an independent social worker or employee of the Provincial Department), Atkinson argued that, in a well-run institution, the boys would develop a sense of trust, kinship and affinity with the staff which would provide much needed stability in their lives. They would be "responsive" to the "wise guidance" of the institution, and the institution itself would "know the boy, his strengths and weaknesses, and [therefore be] in a better position to give direction to him than anyone else." Such a relationship would be unavailable to those whose time in the

desirable for most 'normal' children, others were better suited to the congregate institutional system. However, in the CAS's 1928 report, there is a subtle indication that deciding who was better suited for institutional care had as much to do with financial constraints as with any other criteria. Reporting that "[t]he society [had] not been able to develop boarding home care as it would like, mainly because of lack of funds," it was stated in the very next sentence that, "[s]ome children thrive on an institutional regime, and others never do well in an institution. Consideration must be given to the personality and needs of the child."(67)

The decision about whether to place a child in foster care or not, the case work, investigations and follow-up of those placements, and the general administrative chores of running an institution, were clearly labour-intensive, complicated endeavours. And while for some children fostering was believed to be a definite improvement over institutional care, the decision to implement and expand fostering was not, in this period, based upon the belief that the institutional system required "modernization" or replacement. The institutions themselves actively promoted and participated in foster care because it was a method which held the potential to accomplish their most fundamental goals. Foster care was, in this sense, the extension of institutional imperatives into the community.

institution was brief. See Atkinson, "Report on Industrial Schools."

(67) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1929), G. Lantz, "Report of the Children's Aid Society ... 1928."

CHAPTER FIVE

"OUT OF MUTUAL RESPECT WILL COME MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITY" NEGOTIATING INSTITUTIONAL INDEPENDENCE, COORDINATING SERVICES, AND PROMOTING INTER-AGENCY COOPERATION, 1920 - 1930.

The innovations in therapeutic methods that Halifax institutions adopted, had little opportunity after World War One to develop in an environment of socio-economic stability. The tensions and weaknesses in the system itself were exacerbated by the poor conditions of the economy and the associated strains on low income families. In several instances, these conditions inspired, and required, defensive rhetoric from child welfare workers, in order that they might justify expenditures and demand greater financial support from a community already suffering through misfortune. In his annual address in 1922, Ralph Woodbury, President of the Halifax CAS, asked, "[is] this work worth doing? Is it something that will benefit our City and country as well as the children directly concerned, or is it merely a sentimental effort of idealists, or as they are sometimes disparagingly called, 'social uplifters'?" Not only was it worthwhile, Woodbury concluded, "from a moral and religious standpoint, but it pays us and it pays the City and State in dollars and cents. Money invested in the proper care and training of children pays the largest dividends known. The pity is that more of our citizens do not invest."⁽¹⁾

(1) R. Woodbury, President's Report to the Annual Meeting of the CAS, in AR, *JHA* 1922, Pt. 2, App. 28, 19-20.

Woodbury's assurances of the sound investment of child welfare were not only directed at those who, inspired by charitable impulses, would donate money. He was also speaking to those who controlled public spending. The child welfare system in Nova Scotia had been partially funded through public monies, if only minimally, since the late nineteenth century. This use of tax monies in child welfare systems was understood to entail a degree of public accountability, based in a more general belief that responsibility for child welfare was necessarily shared by all members of the community. When conditions at the Halifax Industrial School came under intense public scrutiny in the fall of 1924, these concerns about accountability and cooperation became particularly prominent. The specific framing of responsibility at this inquiry reflected the very real tensions caused by the poor economy of the post-war period; complete independence (whether from other agencies or from government) was not financially viable for any child welfare agency or institution after the Great War.

Emphases upon cooperation, however, also resulted from the awareness, on part of child welfare workers, that greater inter-agency and institutional cooperation was a necessary feature of any effectively functioning child welfare system. Improving care, decreasing the threats which persistent poverty and social dislocation posed for local children, demanded such efforts. In spite of calls for cooperation, however, there was no immediate lessening of denominational or racial barriers in the system. The barriers continued to exist because efforts to cooperate were not deliberate or ideologically innovative programmes promoted by a new, powerful cadre of professional social workers. Instead, these programmes were fashioned to respond to the new levels of

complexity and expense of the therapeutic techniques used by institutions which were staffed by volunteers and uncredentialed employees. Just as the creation of the city's CAS was a response to stresses within the Provincial Superintendent's office, so too were these "modern" cooperative efforts a response to the needs of the private, denominational institutions. The language of modernity used to promote cooperative efforts was thus strategic, and not indicative of ideological change. Indeed, as indicated by Woodbury's address, the religious or sacred impulse was not discarded along with the "sentimental efforts" of "social uplifters." In the ferment of the 1920s in Halifax, religion remained a necessary aspect of any efficient and effective child welfare system.

From the perspective of the welfare workers and other concerned citizens in the 1920s, the most immediate obstacle to promoting a prosperous, Christian community was the condition in which the city's poor lived. While there was little population growth in the city after World War One, the enormous expansion of the number of city residents prior to 1920 had caused notable stresses within the city's infrastructure which were not easily remedied in the economically deprived conditions of the 1920s and 1930s.⁽²⁾ This was particularly true for the provision of housing. As described by the *Evening Mail* in 1925, low income residences were "[d]ark, inevitably filthy, rookeries unfit for habitation by animals, much less human beings, much less children." Such degraded housing conditions were not only threatening to the physical health of residents, but to the moral

(2) While the city's population had jumped by twenty-five per cent between 1911 and 1921 (from 46,619 to 58,372), over the course of the next decade, it remained stagnant at just under 60,000 people. *Census of Canada*, 1931, Vol. 2, Table 12. See also Patricia Thornton, "The Problem of Out-Migration from Atlantic Canada, 1871-1921: A New Look," *Acadiensis* 15:1 (Autumn 1985), 3-34.

tone of the city, as within those walls "criminals and ne'er do wells [were] being produced." (3)

Blois's opinions on the effects of poor housing were similar. His reports emphasized that the moral tone of the Province and the stability of family life were directly affected by these degenerate physical and economic conditions, and implied that a definite shift in cultural standards had occurred. "[T]he home and family life as they once were known are fast disappearing," he complained, "and as a consequence, neglect of children and delinquency, are rapidly increasing. Inadequate housing accommodations, the high cost of the essentials of living, the mad desire for pleasure at any cost, loose morals, and low religious ideals are the chief causes for the breaking up of family life." He compared the contemporary situation in the province to the "old days" when "there was very little moving from place to place... Today, however, our people move ... like flies in the sunshine," and the results were sadly apparent to those working in the welfare field.(4) This was certainly true for the Halifax CAS. In 1925, the president of that agency noted that "[t]he business depression and lack of employment has impoverished many families, has increased the number of children that should receive attention from the society, but our resources are so limited that we can only deal

(3) *Evening Mail*, 8 January 1925, 1. See also NSARM, MG20, Vol. 532, #1, Halifax Relief Commission Scrapbook, 1922-1929; W. B. Wallace, *The Housing Problem in Nova Scotia: An Evil, Its Growth and Its Remedy* (Halifax, 1919); S. H. Prince, *Catastrophe and Social Change* (New York, 1920); John C. Weaver, "Halifax Relief Commission, Housing and Town Planning, 1918-1921," *Plan Canada*, 9 (1976), 36-46; Suzanne Morton, *Ideal Surroundings: Domestic Life in a Working-Class Suburb in the 1920s* (Toronto, 1995).

(4) AR, *JHA* 1920, Pt. 2, App. 28, 5-6.

with the worst cases.”(5) Statistical data collected by Blois’s department during the 1920s suggests that the limits of CAS resources in this period were dealt with by passing at least some of the burden to the institutions. During this decade, the city’s institutional populations peaked at some of the highest levels recorded between 1915 and 1960. (See Appendix Three) In addition, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics noted that, in 1931, Nova Scotia had the second highest proportion of institutionalized children in the country. (See Appendix Four)

Significantly, it was not only the shifting population, the weakened economy and the lack of employment which were apparently causing problems in the city. According to Blois, poor conditions were also linked to the *type* of people living in the province. In the “old days” he lamented, “there were very few people of foreign nationality; the people were deeply religious and the moral standards were relatively high.”(6) The specious connection made here between ethnicity and moral character was echoed in other highly racialized characterizations of local problems. In December of 1924, for example, the local labour paper, *The Citizen*, argued that “Justice has failed in Nova Scotia of late, particularly in the city of Halifax. Rape and debauchery fiends go about their daily pleasures without fear of molestation. Negro and foreign masters of organized vice drive nightly through the city in their limousines rounding up their white slave girls. The big moneyed organizations of the liquor traffic carry on their trade unchecked.

(5) President’s Report, Halifax CAS, in AR, *JHA* 1925, Pt. 2 App. 28, 22.

(6) AR, *JHA* 1920, Pt. 2, App. 28, 6.

There's something wrong in the core of things...."(7) Sadly, these highly inflammatory opinions manifested themselves in physical attacks against African Nova Scotians and Chinese residents of the city of Halifax throughout the inter-war period.(8)

The later part of the 1920s saw no appreciable improvement in the economy or, if Blois's reports and concerns are accurate, in social conditions which were conducive to good family life and ideal childhood. In 1928, it appears that he was considering the physical restriction of children in order to curb some of the worst problems. Writing to Charlotte Whitton in January of that year, he requested information on curfew laws for children across Canada, and was "anxious to get it at the earliest possible moment." (9) Whitton had also, a year earlier, notified Blois that Dr. Hincks, the director of the Canadian Mental Hygiene Society, had conducted a survey in Nova Scotia. He had, she wrote, discovered the "most incredible conditions in respect to illegitimacy," and

(7) "Justice Must Prevail," *The Citizen*, 12 December 1924, 6.

(8) Michael S. Boudreau, "Crime and Society in a City of Order: Halifax, 1918-1935," Published Ph. D. Diss., Queen's University, 1996; Judith Fingard, Janet Guildford, and David Sutherland, *Halifax: The First 250 Years* (Halifax, 1999), 139. The latter authors note that "[o]utbursts of racism and xenophobia were frequent in Halifax in the inter-war years; attacks against African Nova Scotians and Chinese citizens occurred almost every year, however, policy and city officials showed little interest in addressing the problem."

(9) NAC, MG 28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1928). correspondence January 1928, Blois to Whitton. According to Marjorie Bradford of the CWC, Blois's efforts at establishing a curfew law may not have been misplaced. Writing in 1937, Bradford reflected on her visit to Halifax almost ten years earlier. In 1928, she wrote, "one of the conditions of which I was extremely conscious and which I had never seen in any other Canadian city, was that of young urchins on the street at night – little boys only a few years old, with about one newspaper under their arms as a subterfuge, were virtually begging all over the downtown area." See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:14, correspondence 13 February 1937.

reported that conditions "extended beyond mental hygiene questions into child welfare questions and general community social conditions and relations." (10) In his reply to this report, Blois noted that he was not surprised by Hincks's findings. "I frankly admit that we have a bad state of social affairs in this Province," he wrote, "I have been stating it emphatically in my Annual Reports to the Legislature for fourteen years, as well as on numerous occasions in public and private. Few people realize the tremendous difficulties under which we have been labouring in this Province with respect to child welfare work and social work generally." (11) So great were these problems, in fact, that Blois was seriously considering retiring from his post as Provincial Superintendent in the late 1920s. Exhausted and frustrated, he turned down Whitton's suggestion of a new post in British Columbia. "I had not thought of going into this particular line of work if I leave here," he wrote, as "[f]rankly, I am tired, dreadfully tired." (12)

Blois's concerns were, in the Halifax of the 1920s, ubiquitous among child welfare agencies and institutions, and as for most of the Province, the source for these concerns was largely financial. Local institutions were plagued by under-funding after World War One. Superintendents and governing Boards were constantly seeking ways to generate income, to stretch budgets, and to make effective appeals for charity dollars. Their methods included using the creative labour of their inmates, as described in chapter four,

(10) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Nova Scotia Department of Neglected and Dependent Children, 1927), correspondence, 10 January 1927, Whitton to Blois.

(11) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Nova Scotia Department of Neglected and Dependent Children, 1927), correspondence 13 January 1927, Blois to Whitton.

(12) NAC, MG28 I10 Vol. 1:4 (Nova Scotia Department of Neglected and Dependent Children, 1927), correspondence, 6 April 1927, Blois to Whitton.

as well as organizing a variety of fundraising events such as bake sales and jumble sales. In the case of the Catholic institutions and the St. Paul's Home for Girls, specific annual collections were made among parishioners following appeals from the pulpits of local churches. After the city's Community Chest was organized in 1925, many of these institutions gave over their larger fundraising projects in favour of the centralized fundraising efforts of this organisation. Importantly from the perspective of denominational interests, funds raised through the Community Chest could be "earmarked" and "thus indicate to which institutions or association [it was] to be allocated." This allowance was a significant element of the Roman Catholic Archbishop's support for the Chest in Halifax in 1927.(13)

For those organizing the fundraising efforts of the institutions, there was surely a certain appeal in claiming the "charitable" nature of their efforts. Presenting their work as "purely charitable [and] depending upon bequests and public subscriptions for

(13) CPC, McCarthy Papers, Vol. V, #353, Circulars: 10 February 1927. In July of 1928, the Bishop received a letter from a parishioner in Halifax who, identifying himself as "Worried," pointed out the irony of seeking funds for an apparently wealthy religious denomination. "Reading through the columns of the Evening Mail," he had noted the need for "extra funds for the Good Sheppards [sic]. Well why not eliminate the number of Automobiles among the priests and have the money invested in the Good Sheppards [sic]. The Lord said, 'If a man hath two coats, let him give one away,' He never said, let him invest the extra amount in Automobiles.... Many of the inmates of the Monastery were craving for Automobile rides, (that some of the priests take at leisure), but not having means of their own to purchase a car were tempted to ride with strangers, and the result was -- the Good Sheppards [sic]." See CPC, McCarthy Papers Vol. III #269, Correspondence dated 10 July 1928. See also Shirley Tillotson, "The Race Question in Federation: Ethno-Religious Conflict and the Constitutional Culture of Community Chests, Ottawa, 1923-1964," Paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association, May 2002, Toronto, Ontario.

support" lent an image of nobility and selflessness to their cause.⁽¹⁴⁾ In Halifax, however, most, if not all of the child caring institutions and agencies would have received at least partial funding for their work from the public coffers. The Province's first Act for the Prevention and Punishment of Wrongs to Children, enacted in 1884, carried with it the potential for such public support. Children who were removed from the custody of parents or guardians because of neglect or abuse could be committed to an orphan asylum, charitable institution, or dealt with through some "other disposition" according to the Province's Poor Law – i.e., admittance to one of the Province's County Poor Homes. As the support for these municipal Homes was generated through public tax monies, this legislation thus carried the potential, if not the specific requirement, for public support of institutionalized children.⁽¹⁵⁾ The Children's Protection Act (CPA) of 1906 extended the potential for public funding of dependent and neglected children by authorizing the municipal governments' use of tax revenues for the establishment and maintenance of children's homes or shelters, and for the support and maintenance of children in those institutions. In 1909, an addendum to the 1906 CPA clarified this funding structure. The new act specified that the municipality, town or city within which a given child had legal settlement, would be liable for all expenses incurred in his or her apprehension, and would be obligated to pay the sum of \$2.00 weekly to maintain that child in "a temporary home of shelter, orphan asylum, infants' home, industrial school, house of industry,

(14) AR, *JHA* 1917, Pt. 2, App. 28, 12. Similar sentiments were used to describe the "deserving efforts" of the institutions throughout the 1920s.

(15) *RSNS* 1884, Ch. 95, Sec. 3, "Of The Prevention and Punishment of Wrongs to Children.

boys' or girls' home, or other children's home."(16) After the creation of the Juvenile Court, the Provincial Department, and the CAS, there were also fees forthcoming from municipalities and the Provincial Government in order to support those children who were committed to institutions as wards of the CAS or the Provincial Superintendent. Grants of \$5.00 per week were paid for children committed as neglected, with \$2.00 from the Province and \$3.00 from the municipality.(17)

The earliest legislation relating to the public support of *delinquent* children was enacted in 1890, and was much more specific in its requirements for public financial support of children. Directed specifically at delinquent boys committed to the Halifax Industrial School or to St. Patrick's Home, it required that the municipalities or incorporated towns from which the boys originated "make provision out of the revenues of the municipality for the maintenance of any boy so sentenced ... at a rate not exceeding sixty dollars (\$60) per annum for each boy."(18) By the early twentieth

(16) See *SNS*, 1906, Ch. 54, Sec. 5, "An Act for the Protection and Reformation of Neglected Children"; *SNS* 1909, Ch. 44, Sec. 4(3), "An Act to amend... [the CPA of 1906]." Under these Acts, the municipalities were allowed to seek this payment through court action from "any person liable under the law for the maintenance and support of such child."

(17) As per earlier legislation respecting the commission of children to reformatories, money for the support of CAS wards was paid directly to the institutions, Homes and asylums in question. In 1929, foreshadowing later battles for control over various administrative practices with the institutions, Lantz complained to Whitton that she thought "this [was] awkward and that it should all come through our Society since we bill the Provincial Government for it and it is paid for our Wards." See *NAC*, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1929), correspondence, 30 January 1929, Lantz to Whitton.

(18) *SNS* 1890, Ch. 23, Sec 1., "An Act to Provide for the Reform of Juvenile Offenders." It was also stipulated in this 1890 act that the municipalities or towns could "fix the number of boys within the municipality or town for which it will become liable,"

century, the amount paid for maintenance had been raised to one hundred dollars per annum, sixty of which was paid by the municipalities, and forty of which was taken from the Provincial treasury. This funding also applied, as of 1910, to girls sentenced to the Monastery of the Good Shepherd.(19) In the mid 1920s the rate paid for the maintenance of delinquents was \$250.00 per annum, with \$100.00 contributed by the Province, and \$150 from the Municipality in which the child was resident.

These sources of money were far from adequate: in most cases, the funds they provided barely covered the basic operating budgets of these institutions, and were certainly not adequate to cover larger overhead costs for the maintenance of grounds and buildings. In 1931, conservative estimates from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics indicated that the cost of raising a child, from infancy to age 18, was \$5750, or approximately \$320 per year. The study which presented this estimate also noted that prices had been higher in earlier years (\$7,425 in total, or \$412.50 per annum), and that variations would occur among the Provinces.(20) Indeed, Blois made oblique reference to the weakness of Provincial support for dependent children, in an early, comparative

and the judges were required, before sentencing, to discover whether a municipality had the funds to support the boy in question. The institutions collected the money directly from the municipalities.

(19) See *SNS* 1902, c. 20, Sec 1, "An Act Respecting the Maintenance and Reform of Juvenile Offenders;" *SNS* 1910, c. 9, Sec. 1, "An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Act Respecting the Maintenance and Reform of Juvenile Offenders."

(20) Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. XIII, Monographs, J. E. Robbins, "Dependency of Youth," 398. Robbins's calculations were based mainly upon the bare minimum requirements for healthy development. Housing and shelter accounted for 35.66% of the total cost, followed by food at 26.95%, clothing at 13.81%, schooling at 13.14%, and health, recreation and "Social Costs" at 10.44%.

study of the monies paid by Provincial Governments for the care of delinquent and dependent children. "The total amount expended for these children in this Province is less per capita than that in Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Manitoba, and British Columbia," he reported, and while he had not been able to secure adequate statistics on payment levels across the country, he was able to conclude that the Nova Scotian government "was particularly fortunate" in having to pay such small amounts toward the support of neglected and delinquent children.(21)

The existence of these government monies and stipulations for municipal contributions did not always guarantee income, however meagre, to the institutions. This was notably and, given the racial hostilities of this period, perhaps predictably true for the NSHCC. In 1925, Blois noted in his annual report that, "[w]e regret to learn that the Management is having some difficulty over finances, due in a large measure to the delay by the municipalities in making payments for the children being boarded there."(22) No other institutions reported, or admitted to having similar difficulties. This situation may have resulted, in part, because the geographical origins of the NSHCC's population were more widespread than for other institutions in Halifax County, making collection of these monies more difficult.(23) A more likely explanation,

(21) See AR, *JHA* 1916, Pt. 2., App. 28, 56-7. At a rate of \$2.00 per week per neglected child, the Provincial Government paid a maximum of 104 dollars per annum for this class of children. Along with the \$300/week from the municipalities, institutions for neglected children could expect a maximum of \$260/annum for children in their care.

(22) AR, *JHA* 1925, Pt. 2, App. 28, 72.

(23) See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1929), correspondence 14 August 1829, Kinney to Whitton. Whitton had requested information on the basic admission policies of the Home, and Kinney had assured her that they took

however, lies in the fact that the municipalities from which Black children came were likely among the poorest in the province, being those in which the largest proportion of Blacks resided. As the Black community was, on the whole, a poorer one, and thus less able to generate alternative, charitable support, the ability of the NSHCC to function *without* this municipal aid would have been severely crippled. Not surprisingly, the administrators took particular pains to "seek due recognition for [their] splendid contribution towards the welfare and training of the orphaned, homeless and neglected children of the Colored Race, who [would] play a part in the future as citizens of our country."(24)

The monies granted by the Provincial and municipal governments were not only contingent on the financial solvency of a given community, but were also determined by several basic conditions laid out by the Governor-in-Council. Because institutions had been, and continued to be, dependent upon these sources of funding, these conditions held the potential to erode institutional independence. For the most part, however, the regulatory requirements did not move beyond the basic level of services which these Homes and asylums considered fundamental. Children under fourteen were required to attend school regularly, and those over fourteen were required to be "taught some useful trade or calling" if not in school. Cleanliness of person and attire, as well as environment, access to "an adequate supply of wholesome food," clean and comfortable bedding, and "proper medical care when sick" were also stipulations. Institutional

children, under stated conditions, from across Canada. Whitton was seeking placement of a child from New Brunswick.

(24) 10th Anniversary Pamphlet, March 1931.

administrators were required to keep records of these medical treatments, as well as any corporal punishments, and the homes were to be made available for annual inspections from the Superintendent. On top of these basic regulations, the institutional administrators were to make "every reasonable effort ... to train every boy and girl to be neat, clean, courteous, industrious, obedient and studious," and they were "to inculcate the teachings of the Christian religion."⁽²⁵⁾ It was Blois's "intention to follow strictly these regulations [and] institutions which [did] not comply should not receive the grant."⁽²⁶⁾

Thus, while the government's stipulations were not in any way contrary to institutional mandates and goals, dependence upon public monies did have the effect of drawing the public interest into discussions of child welfare. This opened the possibility for tax-paying citizens to demand accountability, and perhaps even to demand change in the way that institutions were administered. Referring specifically to the Halifax Industrial School, for example, Blois argued that "[w]hile the public is paying such a large proportion of the maintenance" for children in this institution, "it is quite reasonable to demand a better system of training and educating the boys."⁽²⁷⁾ Blois's reference to the "public interest" in this particular case necessarily implicated all Nova Scotians who paid

(25) "Conditions Under Which Government Grants are Paid for Maintenance of Children," (made as provisions of the Children's Protection Act), published as part of Blois' Annual Reports, *JHA* 1920, Pt. 2, App. 28, p. 93-4.

(26) AR, *JHA* 1920, Pt. 2, App. 28, 67. These regulatory requirements were likely part of the motivation behind the collection of the detailed statistics outlined in chapter four.

(27) AR, *JHA* 1914, Pt. 2, App. 28, 42. Blois expressed similar opinions in virtually every subsequent report on this home, leading up the 1924 inquiry.

taxes – particularly those within the City of Halifax, where the majority of the School's inmates had legal settlement. The inclusivity of his argument gave much greater weight to his critique of the School as it invested responsibility for conditions at the School with every tax payer. Each individual citizen had some stake in the manner in which the Industrial School was administered, and the School's staff had an obligation to demonstrate to these citizens that their money had been wisely invested and judiciously used.

When the School's management came under investigation in 1924, Blois's concerns about the role played by the public interest in the city's child welfare field was made particularly explicit. The investigation began in October 1924, when Halifax's left-leaning weekly paper, *The Citizen*, made "[d]isclosures of a most startling character" about conditions for, and treatment of, inmates at the school.(28) Over the course of several weeks in October and November, Blois and the Juvenile Court Judge, J.J. Hunt, conducted an inquiry into these allegations, interviewing staff, students, board members, and neighbours of the institutions. "One vitally important matter " made clear by the hearings Blois argued, was that "there ha[d] heretofore been a deplorable lack of public interest in the School and its affairs."(29) And, without this vital public support, little could be expected from the administration of child welfare practices in the city.

(28) "Horrible Disclosures Brought To Light Regarding Youthful Inmates At The Halifax Industrial School," *The Citizen*, 3 October 1924, 1.

(29) "Findings of E. H. Blois Re Industrial School Inquiry," 1. Blois had made a similar argument several years prior to the Industrial School Scandal, writing that while "[g]ood laws justly carried out [were] a help" to social improvement, "the primary need is the quickening of the moral and religious ideals of all the people." See AR, *JHA* 1920, Pt. 2, App. 28. 5.

In these opinions, Blois found support from several quarters, including the readers of the *Citizen*. In a letter to the editor dated 21 November 1924, "A Citizen of Ward Two" argued that public interest was vital "so that we may know just what results are being secured with the people's money.... If such inhumane conditions exist in our Industrial School ... it is most deplorable. However, 'every cloud has a silver lining,' so let us hope that as a result of the Industrial School investigations, we shall see an awakening of our citizens to a larger realization of their obligations in connection with the public institutions situate[d] within our fair city."⁽³⁰⁾ C. A. Baragar, the Medical Superintendent of the Hospital for Mental Diseases in Brandon, Manitoba, expressed a similar opinion on the Halifax Industrial School. After the inquiry had begun, the CWC requested copies of the reports published by the *Citizen*, and had mailed these out across Canada. Baragar was one of many to respond to these reports. While acknowledging that a degree of the blame for conditions must be placed with the institution's administrators, he argued that,

ultimately the blame lies with the public themselves and the ordinary citizen. Very often these institutions receive altogether inadequate support, both moral and financial. I think most public officials will agree that they feel they are working against tremendous inertia that tends to crush out in them initiative... The public must give sympathetic support, and if they do they have a right to expect ... a reasonably great amount of success. It does seem unfortunate that these unhappy conditions must arise, and must result in a regrettable public scandal before the ordinary citizen can be interested and made [to] do his share.⁽³¹⁾

⁽³⁰⁾ "Princely Pension to the Former Official of A Public Institution," letter to the Editor, *The Citizen*, 21 November 1924, 2.

⁽³¹⁾ NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Halifax Industrial School, Blois Report), correspondence, 9 December 1924. C. A. Baragar to Thorburn.

The Industrial School inquiry thus exposed what, for some, were serious problems in the accountability of institutional administrations. The remedy proposed for the problems, however, was not to change the fundamental goals of institutional care, or to close this particular reformatory. By recognizing and drawing attention to the worst circumstances of the institutional environment, this inquiry sought instead, to preserve and cultivate the original intent and inspiration behind institutional care. Viewed in this light, the Inquiry worked to promote the importance of institutions in the wider network of child welfare services in the city. It was perhaps for this reason, as much as any desire to boost circulation, that the editor of the *Citizen* not only participated in the hearings (officially representing the interests of the boys), but also decided to publish, with painstaking detail, verbatim transcripts of the hearings. The front pages of this paper were, for weeks, blanketed with dramatic headlines and filled with disturbing and graphic testimony of the "cruel punishments and revolting acts that outrival the fearsome tales of Dickens."⁽³²⁾ According to the *Citizen*, while the School was "supposed to be a reformatory, a place where the youthful law breaker has a chance to make good [and] to be taught the principles of morality and the ethics of citizenship," it had become instead the epitome of all that was reprehensible in the institutional system. It was a degrading, de-humanizing and brutal prison, "a blot upon our city," whose administrators "must have the instincts of the savage and the cruelty of an ancient tyrant, and certainly cannot possess any of the qualities necessary to effecting reforms among children and helping

(32) "Industrial School a Place of Torture – Not A Reformatory," *The Citizen*, 31 October 1924, 1.

them to become good citizens." It would be better to send the boys to jail, the paper argued, than to have them "live in constant dread of the lash and of punishments which belong to the dark period of the middle ages Your boy, or ours, or anybody's boy, might be sent there at anytime for some offense and, going into the environment of this place, would blacken his whole life and probably ruin him forever."(33)

According to the evidence taken at the hearings, virtually every aspect of the institution's programming and administration was seriously below basic standards. Discipline was harsh, and the boys were frequently subjected to severe corporal punishment and solitary confinement. They were restricted from regular use of the toilet facilities, and were forbidden to speak during meals. Serious concerns were also raised about the inadequacy of efforts to segregate boys according to age, mentality, or severity of crime, and to "prevent mingling" of types. Testimony from the schools' teachers (who were employed by the Halifax Board of Education and did not live at the school) also implied that malnourishment, the inadequacies of clothing, and excessive work responsibilities impeded the boys' abilities in the classroom. Each morning, before classes, and each afternoon when school had ended, they were employed at chopping and cutting kindling wood for sale and delivery throughout the city. According to the *Citizen*, "[t]here seems to have been no attempt made at moral training, and intellectual development was made secondary to hard and labourious work at which the boys were

(33) "Horrible Disclosures Brought To Light Regarding Youthful Inmates At The Halifax Industrial School," *The Citizen*, 3 October 1924, 1; "Fiendish Cruelty Practised Upon The Inmates of The Halifax Industrial School," *The Citizen*, 17 October 1924, 1.

forced to toil hard and long, with little chance for recreation or enjoyment.”(34)

The quality and training of staff members, including the Superintendent, were also a concern at these hearings, and “one of the greatest evils brought to light” was that virtually every member of the staff “exercised the right of using his own judgement in administering corporal punishment,” despite the fact that “in every case these men were totally untrained and without special qualification for their duties.”(35) It was also revealed that the assistant superintendent had formerly been convicted of assault, and unbeknownst to the Board, had been allowed to continue his work in the School.(36) Despite these serious concerns, there appeared to be little recourse to the Board of Directors, which was found to be too small, and not representative of those interests

(34) “Industrial School A Place of Torture,” 1. Accounts of corporal punishment at the School were indeed very severe, even by Reformatory standards. The inmates were beaten with leather traces, broom handles and belt buckles, and Johns was accused, in several instances, of kicking, or beating the boys with his fists. The treatment of one particular inmate, a feeble-minded boy nicknamed “Inkus,” received greatest attention, as he had apparently been “so brutally handled that he became insane and was sent to the Nova Scotia Hospital.” The restrictions on use of toilet facilities were apparently in place to prevent the spread of venereal disease contracted through the “immoral acts” of the boys. No suggestion was ever made of sexual abuse from the staff at the School.

(35) “Findings of E. H. Blois Re Industrial School Inquiry!” *The Citizen*, 12 Dec. 1924, 1. Blois noted clearly that the deficiencies of the staff were directly related to “entirely inadequate” salaries offered by the Board of Directors.

(36) The Assistant Superintendent, Alfred Johns, was the son of the Head Superintendent of the School. The familial connection between these two, as well as the Matron (wife of the Superintendent), caused considerable friction among the other staff members, and made it difficult for them to lodge complaints with the Board of Directors. In November of 1924, Alfred Johns was again charged for assault, although the details of this case were carefully distanced from the *Citizen's* investigation of the School. See “The Citizen Had Nothing To Do With It.” 21 Nov 1924, 1.

whose input would be vital to the School's management.(37) Thus, along with "a complete new staff of officers at the School," the Managing Committee needed to be "enlarged and made more representative by the addition of some practical educationists, humanitarians and clergymen." More specifically, Blois recommended that new requirements be drawn up for the Board's composition, requiring that at least one-third of the Board members be women. Members were, ideally, to be appointed by the Government, the Municipalities, the School Board, Juvenile Court and Chief Justice's offices, and from each of the Protestant denominations in the Province.(38)

The recommendations made for the Industrial School were certainly not surprising given the persistent critique Blois had made of the institution in his Annual Reports since 1912. Nor was his suggestion that the major difficulties could be at least partially improved through a new and more qualified staff, particularly one which combined the efforts and skills of "professionals" in child welfare with those of the city's religious community. The modern, efficient and effective institution was publicly accountable when its methodology was sound and professional, and its philosophies were religiously grounded and inspired. Such a balance could only be achieved through the careful cooperation of all interested parties. The discourses of Christian motivation

(37) The *Citizen* was highly critical of the Board, describing it as a "close corporation which owns and controls the institution ... apparently independent of the government and of everybody else." The paper also reported the possibility that the Board had been "illegally constituted for some time" and that it had "not made any real effort to comply with the law in their organization or in the work for which they were incorporated." See "Instead Of A Reformatory – Industrial School Has Been A Prison And Torture House Where Criminals Have Developed," *The Citizen*, 21 November 1924, 1.

(38) "Findings of E. H. Blois Re Industrial School Inquiry!" 1, 6.

and scientific procedure and professionalism were thus interdependent, often combined in discussions of the potentials and pitfalls of various welfare procedures and staffing. As the CWC argued, for example, child welfare agencies that hired staff members who were spiritually and morally suited to the work, as well as professionally trained, were those whose work promised the best results. One of the prerequisites for effective child welfare services was "[t]he employment in child welfare of only such persons as are *temperamentally suitable* and properly trained in child psychology and social principles and techniques."⁽³⁹⁾ According to the Council's Section on the Spiritual and Ethical Development of the Child, this combination of professional and moral qualifications, and not political patronage, were to be the most important considerations in the assignment of child welfare posts.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In Halifax, child welfare workers and volunteers in the denominational agencies and institutions could improve their own qualifications along these lines, through such programmes as the "limited but intense course ... in Mental Hygiene and Social Welfare" which was offered as "psychiatry" training by Dalhousie University's Extension Department in 1929. According to the course's promotional literature, "[i]t is being increasingly recognized that many of our social problems arise through social maladjustment and through ignorance of the laws of mental and social life. The present classes are designed to be of aid to parents, teachers, public health workers [and] should ... prove of interest to all socially minded citizens who have at heart the

(39) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 25:123, CWC, "Report of the Section of the Care of Problem Children, 1925-1926." My emphases.

(40) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 25:123, CWC, "Section on the Spiritual and Ethical Development of the Child, 1925-1926."

well-being of society and the extension of human happiness.”(41)

What remains consistent in these discussions of the staff requirements for child welfare programmes are the demands for a rigorous surveillance of the conditions under which delinquent, dependent and neglected children were cared for. The establishment of the CAS in 1920 was certainly a response to this demand, as were the individualized programmes and therapies undertaken by the institutions. In the later 1920s, efforts to improve the welfare system in the city also were promoted through inter-agency cooperation in committees, voluntary cooperative agencies, and the use of centralized reporting through the Social Service Index.(42) And, just as programmes and practices for the internal institutional surveillance of children were dependent upon local conditions and constraints, so too were these efforts at cooperation and surveillance of the entire system.

In the 1920s, two important factors contributed to the local commitment to cooperation and its potential outcomes. First was the apparent need to improve and expand administrative surveillance, particularly as it related to foster care programmes. Second was a strong, religiously anchored conviction that cooperative efforts were

(41) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1929), Pamphlet, Dalhousie University Extension Course on "School of Psychiatry for Social Workers," January 1929.

(42) This Index was established in 1934, and administered by the Executive Secretary of the Council of Social Agencies. It consisted of an extensive filing system which recorded the names, dates, and reasons for which local families requested relief. The idea behind the Index was that, when individuals approached a welfare agency for support, that Agency could refer to the Index in order to ensure that they were not "duplicating" the efforts of another agency. In this way, the system could be made more efficient, overlap could be eliminated, and the scant resources available could be more effectively used. See NSARM, MG20, Vol. 414, 416.

essential to the reform and regeneration of Canadian society. The combination of these two elements, in the context of the economic strain and the perception of growing social dislocation and strife in the 1920s, manifested themselves in a number of cooperative efforts in the city.

There was no one, perhaps, as vocal about the need to improve cooperation and coordination of services in Halifax as Ernest Blois. His role as Provincial Superintendent, his direct responsibility for the majority of children placed in foster care throughout the province, as well as his function as the inspector for provincial institutions and Children's Aid Societies, were certainly an important determinant in the formation of his opinions on this issue. But whatever their inspiration, they spoke to a basic need to improve and expand administrative surveillance: his own work had to be supported, supplemented, and strengthened by a Province-wide agreement on the basic principles of child welfare. As he reported shortly after the War,

[t]here was a time when it was generally thought that the careing [sic] for the poor, the unfit, the insane, the orphans and neglected children was a matter for each community to deal with as they saw fit. No person who has studied this problem as it affects this Province to-day would subscribe to any such doctrine. A progressive policy which will produce results of a permanent character must be founded upon this truth; – The whole Province is concerned in the well being [sic] of each individual citizen. We will never accomplish anything worth while as long as each community is left to deal with these matters according to its ability and from the view point of local interests."(43)

These communities and "local interests" were not confined to welfare advocates or institutional boards, but also implicated the general public. It was, he argued, "generally

(43) AR, *JHA* 1920, Pt. 2, App. 28, 8.

very difficult to separate the child's problem from that of the family and the community." (44) As the public was asked to take on greater responsibility for child welfare through such programmes as foster care, there was thus a need to subject the public, as embodied by the ideal foster parent, to the same conditions and restrictions as were placed upon institutions. This could not be accomplished without better coordination between agencies and institutions. He argued in 1921, for example, that without more centralized reporting, there was a good possibility that an application to take a foster child which had been rejected by one agency would be accepted by another. To avoid such cases, there was a clear need for the institutions to notify some central organization, such as Blois's Department, when and for what reasons they had rejected a particular application. (45)

Religious agencies and societies in eastern Canada were also vocal supporters of inter-agency cooperation. Co-operation was envisioned, in fact, as an indispensable tool in the efforts to reform and regenerate Canadian society. (46) The ability to extend the benefits of an ideal childhood to all children required a sincere, rigorous, and combined effort, and the reform of all aspects of social and political life. The Social Service Board of the Baptist Association of Nova Scotia argued that the "branch of Christian work known as Social Service should be more intimately allied with the work of the church," as "[n]o evil can long flourish under her ban." The Church had therefore to "cooperate

(44) AR, *JHA* 1923, Pt. 2, App. 23, 1.

(45) AR, *JHA* 1921, Pt. 2, App. 28, 92. See also NAC, MG28 110, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1929), correspondence 10 October 1929, Blois to Whitton.

(46) See Christie and Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity*.

with all social agencies in the endeavour to place proper laws on the statute books as well as to enforce those already there." Through such cooperation, "the principles of Jesus [could be applied] to our social and economic problems."(47) The Association also argued that these principles were not exclusively religious. "[O]ur religious problems are vitally and inseparably related to life as it is being lived about us," they argued, and

the solution of these problems with their manifold complexities, is to be found in the application of biological and sociological law as well as in metaphysical and theological assertions. The essence of religion is unchanged and unchangeable but in its message and application, in an ever changing world, there must be continuous and constant adjustment. This does not mean that *social* service is to be divorced from *christian* [sic] service but that social service *is* christian service, and whatever makes a contribution to human welfare, is in the last analysis religious and in accord with the great purpose of Jesus. Our social problems are religious problems."(48)

In the mid to late 1920s, this blending of the strengths of sacred and secular perspectives in the cause of child welfare was manifested in a variety of cooperative endeavours between denominational and non-denominational agencies in the city. Two prominent examples in the child welfare field include the agreement made between the Children's Aid Society and the denominational institutions in 1925, and the organization of the Council of Social Agencies (CSA) in 1930. In the 1920s, the CAS, as it was intended, became an important element in the effort to coordinate and improve the management of child welfare services in the city. This was particularly true after the CAS had raised enough funds to hire a full time worker, Gwendolen Lantz, in 1925. Lantz, a native of

(47) ECWA, "Report of the Social Service Board," Baptist Association of Nova Scotia, *Yearbook* 1928, 1930, p. 171, 173-4.

(48) ECWA, Baptist Yearbook, 1927, p. 171. See also Christie and Gauvreau, *A Full Orbed Christianity*.

Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia, received a Bachelor's Degree from Dalhousie University in 1911, and also may have received a diploma from McGill University's Department of Social Study and Training in the early 1920s. With experience as a visitor for the Halifax Relief Commission's Rehabilitation Division after the Explosion, and as a worker at the Montreal Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Women and Children, Lantz appeared well-qualified, in both education and experience, to take on the position in the Halifax CAS.(49)

Lantz's arrival corresponded with, and was dependent upon, the first attempt made to formally organize cooperation between the institutions. In March of 1925, St. Joseph's, the Home of the Guardian Angel, the Protestant Orphans' Home, and the Halifax Infants' Home, all began making regular, annual payments to the CAS which were used to engage Lantz as a full time case worker. In return for the "comparatively small sum" paid to the CAS, representatives from each Home were given a seat on the executive committee of the Society, and their institution's applications for admission and discharge, and their "social case work" were to be handled by Lantz. As Lantz described it in her first report as Secretary of the CAS, the Society was acting "as a clearing house for the problem of the dependent and neglected child and the unmarried mother and her child." Moreover, she argued, agreements such as this were "recognized as being the most modern and efficient at this time," and she boasted that Halifax was only the "second

(49) See Shirley Tillotson, "Democracy, Dollars and the Children's Aid Society: The Eclipse of Gwendolen Lantz," in *Mothers of the Municipality: Women's Work in Social Policy in Post 1945 Halifax*, forthcoming. Personality conflicts between Lantz and other social workers in Halifax became a prominent, and at times disabling, feature of the city's child welfare system. See below, chapter six.

City in Canada (Montreal being the first), to adopt it.”(50)

The necessity of these sorts of centralized, cooperative efforts was articulated, echoing Blois's words, as a recognition of the inter-connectedness of the causes and cures for child dependency, neglect, and delinquency. The CSA, for example, was a voluntary, independent agency which brought together representatives from the children's institutions and the CAS, the local Family Welfare Bureau, and other interested agencies and individuals concerned with wide-ranging welfare issues including recreation, mental and physical health, unemployment, and housing. According to a brief history of the Council written in 1960, its original inspiration came from the outcome of a Social Welfare Conference in May of 1928, and a survey made in the same year by Judge Harkness of Ontario, "in the interest of social service work.”(51)

The first president of the CSA, Mrs. Geoffrey Morrow, consulted with Charlotte Whitton shortly after the executive of the Council was elected, seeking advice on the best means of constituting the group. Following Whitton's recommendations, the Council was divided into four sections, all of which reported to a central executive. These sections consisted of the Health, Family Welfare, Child Welfare, and Recreation Divisions. According to Whitton, "[o]ut of a clearer perception of the community's whole social problem and each agency's part in its treatment, each group will logically perceive its

(50) "Agent's Report," Halifax CAS, in AR *JHA* 1926, Pt. 2, App. 28-33; NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1929), Lantz, "Report of the Children's Aid Society ... 1928."

(51) Quote from Harkness in G. V. Shand, *A Brief History of the Welfare Council of Halifax, Nova Scotia*, published by the Welfare Council, c. 1960. See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol 347:22, 5-6.

joint responsibility towards the whole and towards the successful operation of the work of each other group. Each group will see that it cannot do a complete job in its sphere, if each other agency does not find it possible to do its part. Out of mutual responsibility, will come mutual respect, and that is the beginning of corporate planning and corporate responsibility."(52)

Whether or not "mutual responsibility and respect" were the outcome of these efforts at coordination is debatable. Certainly the establishment of the CSA and the Social Service Index appeared to function well as a means of eliminating "duplication" in charitable spending, and the regular meeting together of representatives in the child welfare field would certainly have provided an opportunity to talk of common interests and concerns. The meetings of the child welfare division did just this, meeting in the early 1930s to discuss a multitude of issues related to institutional care and administration, foster care and curfew laws.(53) However, there are several indications that in the 1920s and early 1930s, there were indissoluble barriers to the effective

(52) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1930), correspondence, 8 February 1930, Whitton to Morrow. In her first letter to Whitton, Morrow displays a startling lack of understanding of the basic requirements for such a Council, which foreshadows the certain degree of ineffectiveness which the CSA had in generating action on child welfare issues in Halifax. Her letter also contains a slight jab at Harkness' efforts in the city, not unlike Blois's reaction to Atkinson. She writes, "[a]t a meeting held today of representatives of all the Social Workers in Halifax, it was decided to form a Council of Social Agencies and I was put in the Committee to get information explaining how it should be run and I am sending you an S.O.S. Do like a dear let me know the how and why of such an agency and any other information you think necessary. I am quite sure we need one here and your friend Harkness strongly recommended it – the one practical idea he offered." See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1930), correspondence 3 February 1930, Morrow to Whitton.

(53) See NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408.

cooperation of agencies and institutions in the city.

The effectiveness that the agreement between the CAS and the children's institutions had in coordinating local child welfare efforts, for example, was dubious. After investigating an application, Lantz would make recommendations to the relevant institution about how to proceed; however, this service did not over-ride the institutions' rights to make the final decision on an application, and in some cases, "the institutions prefer[ed] to deal with a case" entirely on their own. Moreover, in 1928, it was noted that only two of the institutions made regular use of the CAS agreement, and the others referred "only such applications as they [thought] require[d] special field work service." These institutions also continued to make placements, and take in wards, directly from parents, clergymen, and other institutions.⁽⁵⁴⁾ It is quite likely, given the well-established, historical precedence which these institutions held in the city, that their administrators and boards were unwilling to easily give over control of their policies to a new, and relatively unknown child care worker who was, in attitude and temperament, a growing source of friction rather than support or cooperation (See chapter six).

Just as institutional workers and managers may have resented Lantz's interference and authority in their policies, Blois himself voiced a degree of irritation at the attempts made by other child welfare professionals to review, to judge, or to make recommendations on his work in the Province.⁽⁵⁵⁾ This was certainly evident in his

(54) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1929), Lantz, "Report of the Children's Aid Society ... 1928."

(55) This antagonism toward the "outsider" was not limited to Blois (cf. note 65, above). R. H. Murray of the SPC reflected this preference for locals as well, in his assessment of the problems encountered with William Johns's tenure at the Industrial

response to Atkinson's review of the Industrial Schools in 1930. He accused Atkinson, in his letter to Whitton, of misunderstanding, or "deliberately misrepresent[ing] the facts" about the reformatories in Halifax, particularly with regard to the segregation of inmates. While Atkinson reported that he had found "neglected, dependent and delinquent children" in the Schools, Blois countered that, in Nova Scotia, "[w]e are not concerned with names." Atkinson simply hadn't taken the time "to find out whether these words have the same meaning in Nova Scotia that they have in Manitoba." Thus, while a boy committed to the home "may be technically a neglected child, he is in reality in need of reformatory institutional training and under such system a boy's case is more likely to receive careful consideration." Blois further argued that "[t]he word 'dependent' has no significance in this Province." The institutional practice of taking in so-called "dependent" children voluntarily from their parents and guardians was, in fact, a preventive measure which allowed greater flexibility in dealing with these particular sorts of cases. And while he did admit that there was a "mixing [of] types," he defined these "dependent" boys as "boys of wayward tendencies [who were] taken in rather than having them go on and be committed by the Court."(56)

School. "The superintendent and wife are not natives of Nova Scotia," he wrote, and while "[t]here isn't such a lot of comfort in that... there is some." See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Halifax Industrial School, Blois Report), correspondence 12 December 1924, E. H. Murray to Thorburn. Hattie Ogden, writing to Whitton in her capacity as the General Secretary of the Halifax Welfare Bureau, concurred with this opinion: "We are no doubt a peculiar people," she wrote, "and we must go carefully and slowly ... I have not lived in Halifax all my life and worked with the Halifax Welfare Bureau for six years, without knowing something of its people and how they are to be handled." NAC, MG 28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1931), correspondence, 15 May 1931.

(56) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1930), correspondence 31 January 1930, Blois to Whitton, Whitton expressed some degree of sympathy for

In the same letter which expressed his dissatisfaction with Atkinson, Blois also lashed out at Whitton's apparent interference and presumption on matters pertaining to Mothers' Allowance Legislation in Nova Scotia (passed in 1931). "I cannot help wondering what would happen," he wrote, "if you were actually administering a department rather than formulating policies for others from a purely theoretical standpoint. There is a big difference between actual administration and theory." (57) And while Blois's later apology for this resentful outburst deflected blame from Whitton's interference, it nevertheless revealed a degree of rivalry and tension within the Province itself. "[W]hat sometimes get under my skin," he reflected, "is the fact that people who simply could not administer a public department for a month, let alone for seventeen years, criticise us for not carrying out certain reforms or certain policies." He argued, presenting a more cautious opinion on public involvement than had been expressed in his assessment of the Industrial School in 1924, that not only were there several differing opinions about what constituted a "right policy" in the Province, but there were also "many half-baked people in this world who seem to be full of theories." Unfortunately, from his perspective, these people had "the ear of the public, through the press and otherwise, and we get all kinds of schemes advocated, sometimes injurious, which simply

Blois's position on the issue of language: "We are in a period in social work in Canada," she wrote, "when we are constantly establishing precedents and making interpretations. We are trying, in the office, gradually to work out a vocabulary of definitions and phrases, which will give us a common language in our work. But because we are all making history in social work in Canada today, we are like Dr. Johnson and his first dictionary -- our meanings, etc. are subject yet to the controversy of private judgement." see *ibid.*, 24 February 1930.

(57) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1930), correspondence 31 January 1930, Blois to Whitton.

make it more difficult for the administering officials to carry on their work.”(58)

This sort of antagonism also existed *among* these ‘administering officials,’ and *within* the various agencies and institutions in Halifax. R. H. Murray of the SPC, for example, was particularly disapproving of the Juvenile Court Judge, J. J. Hunt. Hunt was, in Murray’s opinion, “non compos mentis,” a “travesty,” and Murray had “been trying for five years” to impress the truth of his opinions, “to help everybody to know what he is, because of what I definitely and positively *know* of his stupidity and unfitness for office.”(59) Similar personal tensions were exposed at the Halifax Infants’ Home in the early 1920s, when a battle erupted over a decision by the Ladies’ Managing Committee to fire the Home’s doctor. While the details of their reasoning for this firing are not stated in the records, it is very clear that the Advisory Board of the institution, made up entirely of men, was divided over the issue. (The Advisory Board was responsible for managing large overhead costs, investments, and legal issues, while the Managing Committee administered the day-to-day functions of the Home) For the Ladies, the Board’s unwillingness to give immediate and unambiguous support to their decision raised fundamental questions about the division of power between the two bodies. Some members of the Advisory Board, in turn, argued that the Managing Committee did not have the right to take such action without their prior approval, because it was they, and not this Committee, who would be legally responsible should any action be taken by the doctor for wrongful dismissal. At the joint meeting held by these two bodies to discuss

(58) *Ibid.*, correspondence 27 February 1930.

(59) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Halifax Industrial School, Blois Report), correspondence 12 December 1924, R. H. Murray to Thorburn,

the firing, accusations were made about mismanagement on the part of the Management Committee, and "discussion became heated and the joint meeting broke up in a more or less informal manner." Several weeks following this incident, the President of the Advisory Board, the Rev. Dr. Forrest, who had been associated with the Home since its inception, resigned in protest over the handling of the issue.(60)

Such disagreements over jurisdiction, language, and policy within the child welfare system in Halifax were a stubborn feature of the project of broadening cooperation and integration of services in the 1920s. Given that this was a child welfare system founded upon a fundamental belief in the *necessity* of division, the resiliency and continuity of these tensions should not be surprising. However, attempts to cooperate, even in the face of these tensions, were a necessary consequence of the economic deprivations and the inadequacy of funding for child welfare agencies in this decade. Efforts at cooperation were a response to the unique circumstances of the child welfare system in the city. Cooperation was not a deliberate modernization, but rather an expression of sacred purposes in a context of expanding secular needs. As demonstrated in chapter three, the role of racism in the organization of child welfare was one of the signs of continuity between old and new. Similarly, as the inquiry into the Industrial School reveals, the promotion of "modern" techniques and policies did not imply the closing of "out-dated" institutions. Instead, these techniques were proposed as a means of ensuring that existing services were adequately prepared to promote and carry out the

(60) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 177, Minutes of the Advisory Board, Halifax Infants' Home, 22 January 1920.

programmes which were so important to the protection of ideal childhood, and the elimination of threats to it. To promote the changes that were needed to keep underfunded programmes functioning, the providers of these programmes had to describe their work in terms that expressed the continuity of their purpose, demonstrated the system's efficiency, and allayed potential criticism of its cost. These terms they drew from the language of modern efficiency, heavily laced with the language of sacred purpose.

CHAPTER SIX

MANAGING "HIGH STANDARDS OF PROFESSIONAL ETHICS" GWENDOLEN LANTZ, INTER-AGENCY CONFLICT, AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE 'MODERN' INSTITUTION, 1930-1952

As the poor economic context of the 1920s gave way to the poorer of the 1930s, the motivation for, and promotion of, child welfare efforts, continued to use a blend of sacred and secular language. There was, equally, continued friction and disagreement among care givers over a variety of administrative and policy issues. Perhaps because of changes in available source materials for the post 1930 period – notably existing records for the CSA and its Child Welfare Division (hereafter Division A) – or perhaps because these conflicts were themselves deeper and more divisive, the period spanning 1930-1952 presents a particularly clear picture of the ways that sacred and secular perspectives were used to position, defend and promote the various (and sometimes opposing) goals of child welfare workers.

This period of conflict corresponds with the greater part of Gwendolen Lantz's career as Executive Secretary of the Halifax CAS. Lantz was characterized by many who worked with her as arrogant, authoritarian, and abrasive, lacking in the open sympathy and kindness so highly prized in institutional staff. She had, according to one report, "an almost uncanny faculty of putting others in the wrong, even on occasions when the

Children's Aid itself is patently to blame.”(1) Over the course of her turbulent career (which ended in 1952), Lantz came to represent the most unprogressive element of the child welfare system in the city, despite her own sense of professionalism, and despite her inability to secure even marginally adequate financial support from the Community Chest. Indeed, throughout a lengthy and bitter conflict between her and the managing boards and superintendents of the institutions in the late 1940s and early 1950s, it was the institutions – historically characterized as the old-fashioned, un-modern element of twentieth century welfare, who effectively positioned themselves as progressive and professional against the claims of a authentically trained social worker. To a certain extent, the friction caused by Lantz's personality made her an easy scapegoat for problems in a child welfare system which had been – and continued to be – severely underfunded and historically structured by division and antagonism. In presenting their case against Lantz, however, institutional managers were less concerned with problems in their environment, with the inadequacies of funding, or even their own unwillingness to cooperate with each other. Instead, they focussed criticism and blame upon Lantz's inability or unwillingness to meet their needs. And these needs were carefully articulated with reference to modern, professional methodology requiring that institutions be managed as *short term* care facilities. Thus, while the institutions were ultimately successful in their campaign against Lantz, a sacrifice was made in the further shrinking of their own jurisdictions.

(1) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:1 (Halifax (N.S.) Study of Children's Aid Society and its Relationship to Other Agencies). "The Welfare Council of Halifax: The Children's Aid Society and Other Agencies, 1946-1952," 30 May 1952.

Almost from the earliest point of her career in Halifax, Lantz's work at the CAS was hampered by severe socio-economic conditions in the region. These conditions only worsened in the 1930s. In January of 1935, for example, the CWC estimated that, in Halifax, seventeen percent of the city's population was on relief. As the city's ports were busiest in winter, and because more Haligonians could secure some employment while the Legislature was sitting, this situation was considered an improvement over what had been – and could be – experienced in the city at any other time of the year. It also was considered an improvement, as far as local families were concerned, over the earliest years of the 1930s. Publicly supported outdoor relief had only been given in the city since 1933, and prior to this, "cases of destitution had been sent to the county poorhouse." Because the Province's Child Protection Act forbade the placement of children in poorhouses, poverty had separated many families in the province.(2) The strains this imposed on families was felt, in Nova Scotia's Children's Aid Societies, which were made responsible for the placement of destitute families' children. It is unclear how many families suffered separation at this time, but it is likely that many also struggled even after outdoor relief was available. Before September 1937, Halifax had some of the lowest relief payments in Canada: the distribution of these small sums was administered by "a humourless and unimaginative" Commissioner, and they were

(2) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 381:8 (Field Reports - Maritimes, 1935-1949), Field Report, March 1935, no author. The HAICP also administered outdoor relief in the city. See NSARM, MG20, Vol. 504C; MG20, Vol. 1290, #5: *A General History of the HAICP* (1981).

"obviously inadequate" for many families.(3) According to Gwendolen Lantz, "[a]lthough poverty, as such, [was] not of primary importance to this organization, nevertheless poverty [had] been the underlying cause in a large proportion of cases of domestic difficulties and separation of parents The discouragement, fear and anxiety, over the past years of the depression, [had] resulted in social problems which in normal times would not have developed."(4)

The Provincial Superintendent also noted the impact of the Depression, particularly in relation to "[c]alls upon ... Child Welfare workers and Agencies." They had been "deluged with applications to care for children" from the earliest years of the Depression, and the Societies and Homes "which depend wholly or in a large part upon Charity for maintenance and operating expenses have had great difficulty in maintaining their services to the community and meeting the increased demands made upon them."(5) As reflected in the annual statistics collected by Blois, the numbers of

(3) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 347:24 (Halifax – Department of Public Health and Welfare, Correspondence, 1937-1951), "Halifax Direct Relief Committee: Salient Facts Concerning Relief Administration." According to the comparative relief scales published with this document, Halifax's rate was lower than several cities in western Canada, including Edmonton and Ottawa, and was also below the rates given in several places in Atlantic Canada, including Saint John, Moncton, Glace Bay and Springhill. For a family of five, for example, the rate of relief in Halifax was \$2.75 per week. The closest rate to this was given in Saint John at \$3.80, and the highest was in Windsor at approximately \$7.34. After September 1 of 1937, the weekly rate in Halifax was raised to \$4.00.

(4) Agent's Report, Halifax CAS, in AR, *JHA* 1936, Pt. 2, App.23, 56-7. It also appears that many families continued to rely on the labour of their children. In September 1936, Division A noted the persistent presence of young children on the city streets, who were selling papers and trinkets, and begging for alms. See NSARM, MG20, Vol 408 #1, Minutes of the Child Welfare Division (A) of the CSA, 22 September 1936 [hereinafter Division A Minutes].

(5) AR, *JHA* 1933, Pt. 2, App. 23, 8.

institutionalized children were at their lowest during the 1930s, most likely because the institutions were financially incapable of maintaining higher numbers. (See Appendix Three) To demand an increase in the proportion of public monies to support the maintenance and operation of these homes in such a period of stress was, in Blois's opinion, a risky business. "If we depend only on Charity," he told Charlotte Whitton, "then in times like we are passing through now, the Societies are apt to suffer greatly. While if we depend on public funds, those who contribute are too insistent on control."(6)

Although the arrival of the War in 1939 did bring some economic growth and expansion to Nova Scotia, it was a mixed blessing in Halifax. "Each day and hour seemed to be lived under a sense of the highest tension," one social worker recollected, and "[t]he peace time agencies were caught unaware, and did not know what they should do."(7) While Stephen Kimber has argued that many in Halifax saw the War coming long before its official declaration, and thus could hardly have been caught unaware, it is equally true that the city was unprepared "to assume its suddenly vital role in the world in September

(6) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol.1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1932), correspondence, Blois to Whitton, 14 December 1932. Not surprisingly, welfare workers sought some respite and reconsideration of the management of relief payments through a campaign to establish a Welfare Department for the city of Halifax. See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 227 and Vol. 347:24, Department of Public Health and Welfare, Correspondence, 1937-1951; NSARM, MG20, Vol. 407, #2.3, 2.15, 2.30, 2.56.

(7) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 347:22 (Halifax Welfare Council – 1957-1962), G. V. Shand, "A Brief History of the Welfare Council of Halifax, Nova Scotia" [Hereinafter, "A Brief History."]

1939.”(8) The population within the city increased from approximately 66,000 in 1939, to over 100,000 in 1941. Soldiers, sailors, officers, and “camp followers” joined the growing numbers of men and women who flocked to the city to take advantage of employment opportunities in wartime industries. However, the city’s infrastructure and housing facilities had shown little improvement over the 1930s, and as rental rates increased, rooms disappeared, military personnel were housed in skating rinks and gymnasiums, young women coming into the city for work slept in the halls and recreation rooms at the YWCA, and conditions deteriorated further.(9)

According to the director of the city’s Community Chest, Gwladys Kennedy, the war had “affected Halifax more than any other city in Canada except possibly Vancouver.” As well as dealing with the arrival of Guest Children, she declared, social agencies were reporting a rising number of broken families, desertions and separations, as well as an “enormous increase in illegitimacy and juvenile delinquency.”(10) There were also a multitude of health crises, including outbreaks of scarlet fever and diphtheria, rising rates of tuberculosis and the menace of venereal disease.(11) Health and welfare workers

(8) S. Kimber, *Sailors, Slackers and Blind Pigs: Halifax at War* (Toronto: Doubleday, 2002), 15-22.

(9) Kimber, *Sailors, Slackers and Blind Pigs*; Shand, “A Brief History,” 9-12. See also Katherine Ling, “Servicewives in Wartime Halifax, 1939-1945” (MA Diss., Dalhousie University, 1994), and Jay White, “Conscripted City: Halifax and the Second World War” (Ph.D. Diss., McMaster University, 1995).

(10) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:16 (Halifax Community Chest, 1938-1949), correspondence, 29 July 1942, Gwladys Kennedy to George Davidson (Executive Director of the CWC).

(11) John Farley, “The Halifax Diphtheria Epidemic (1940-1944): A Disaster Waiting to Happen or a Blessing in Disguise?” *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* Vol. 5 (2002), 44-63; Kimber, *Sailors, Slackers and Blind Pigs*, 218-220; Shand, “A

were greatly concerned by the poor living conditions and overcrowding that persisted in the city's poorer areas, and argued that these regions were breeding grounds for disease and immorality. "[T]he conditions under which hundreds of men, women and children are forced to live in this city," declared the Council for Social Service of the Anglican Church, "constitute a serious menace to health and morals."⁽¹²⁾

The war also brought physical dislocation and 'housing problems' to the city's welfare agencies. The Council of Social Agencies (CSA), for example, was homeless for almost a month at the start of the war, when it was forced out of its offices to make room for Air Force administration. This may have impeded their ability to "prevent the hasty establishment of all kinds of 'wartime' services," such as "canteens, service centres, and hostels [which] were burgeoning all over the City," and making it "more difficult for the local welfare agencies to secure adequate funds."⁽¹³⁾ The end of the war also brought the

Brief History," 9-10.

(12) ADC, MG8 Ser 12, Vol. 2, Minute Book of the Anglican Board for the Council for Social Service, 20 February 1940. Similar resolutions were passed throughout the 1930s, both by the Council for Social Service, and other organizations including the CSA. A serious deficiency of accessible and constructive recreational programmes, both for children and adults, exacerbated these concerns. In 1943, Gwynedd Monroe of the Community Service Department of the Junior League wrote to the CWC that "[t]here [was] no Community Centre or recreation programme outside the Y's, and the small children's library operated by the Junior League." She had also heard "the usual wartime stories of youngsters becoming prostitutes (except technically, as they do not accept money)," and with the city "full of soldiers and sailors, and not adequate – or for that matter inadequate – recreation available, the result is to be expected." See NAC, MG28 110, Vol 347:15 (Halifax – General Correspondence, 1943-1959), correspondence, 1 April 1943, Gwynedd Monroe, Community Service Department of the Association of the Junior Leagues of America, to Nora Lea, Canadian Welfare Council. While not noted in Monroe's somewhat dramatic letter, there were also Guide, Brownie and Scout troops active in the city, as well as groups of the Canadian Girls in Training.

(13) Shand, "A Brief History," 9-10.

destruction and "mental depression of the V. E. Day riots," and at least one local institution, the Halifax Infants' Home, suffered some relatively substantial structural damage from the explosion of the Naval Magazine on 18 July 1945.(14)

Adjustment to conditions of peace time were hindered by the persistence of many pre-war difficulties. By 1947, one social worker in the city noted that "unemployment ... closely resemble[d] the early days of the Depression,"(15) and while several slum clearance projects were under way, affordable housing was scarce, and many families found themselves "under canvas" in emergency shelters. There appeared, to some, to be "a good deal of apathy" about these conditions, and as late as 1950, the CSA publicly deplored "the herding of several families together with no privacy and no family life." If this situation continued, the Council warned, "we are storing up problems in health, in delinquency, and in lack of family responsibility."(16) Amid these strained, albeit

(14) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 227:24 (Halifax Family Services Bureau & Halifax CAS(1), 1942-1967), Helen Burgess, Annual Report of the Halifax Welfare Bureau, 1945; NSARM, MG20, Vol. 177, #3, Minutes of the Board of Management for the Halifax Infants' Home, 18 July 1948, 17 Oct 1945, 16 Oct 1946. The home thankfully reported that no injuries were sustained, and that, in fact, "the children slept all night." The Home did suffer several broken windows, fallen plaster, the collapse of one of the chimneys, and several cracks in the walls and ceilings. The Magazine explosion certainly roused memories of the confusion and destruction caused by the 1917 Explosion. It was perhaps in response to this that the Home of the Guardian Angel had been advised later in 1945 to consider attaching identification discs to their infants, "in case of fires or other accidents." See Minutes of the Board of Management for the Halifax Infants' Home, 15 November 1945. On the V. E. Day Riots, See Kimber, *Sailors, Slackers and Blind Pigs*.

(15) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 227:24 (Halifax - Family Services Bureau and Halifax CAS (1), 1942-1967), correspondence 18 February 1947, Burgess to KM Jackson.

(16) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 227:24, (Halifax Family Services Bureau and Halifax Children's Aid Society (1), 1942-1967), Memorandum, 1 April 1948, from K.M. Jackson of the CWC; NSARM, MG20, Vol. 407, #2.56, Halifax CSA, President's Address, 9 March 1950.

familiar conditions, welfare agencies also were attempting to cope with the direct consequences of the war on local families. Many homes, according to the CSA, had been broken by the war. "Husbands and wives [had] drifted apart; children [had] become problems without the father in the home" and, while there were "thousands of new families" requiring assistance and advice, there were also those that had "not had a chance really to be established." For all of these problems, "[s]ocial agencies like the Welfare Bureau and the Children's Aid [were] especially needed."⁽¹⁷⁾

Over the course of the 1930s and 1940s, these poor social and economic conditions had a two-fold effect on the population of the city's child caring institutions. First, as noted above, many families were seeking support of the institutions through the placement of their children, either temporarily, or permanently. This was particularly true during the Second World War, and was reflecting in a dramatic increase in the number of institutionalized children in the city. (See Appendix Three). Second, institutional boards and superintendents had more difficulty finding suitable adoptive and foster homes for their children, as few families could afford to take on the added responsibility of another child. In the mid-1930s, virtually every institution noted that one of the greatest difficulties was finding homes – particularly for older children. In 1935, St. Joseph's Orphanage reported, for example, that "[v]ery few children ha[d] been given in adoption because of the difficulty of finding homes good enough for them." Over the course of the year, ten applications for children had been refused and only two

(17) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 407, #1.28, CSA, Minutes of Annual Meeting, 21 February 1944.

children had been placed.(18) Both of the city's orphanages, in fact, found themselves caring for children who, they believed, were far too old to benefit from institutional care, particularly if they were boys. However, there was simply "no place for them to go."(19) The end of the war, which might have brought some sense of domestic stability to the Province, did nothing to improve the availability of placements, and the "distressing lack of foster homes" was a major concern for most institutions throughout this period.(20) In 1940, Ernest Blois had identified this difficulty in finding foster and adoptive placements as a disturbing trend across the province. "It was not a difficult task a few years ago to obtain free foster homes for children," he reported.

Many families were quite willing to take a foster child into their home, and a considerable number of these children were later adopted During the depression years it became exceedingly difficult to secure free foster homes and few people were willing to take children ... on any other basis except that of boarding. The change has not been a sudden one, but it may be said that the trend since 1930 has been increasingly toward the use of the boarding home and the number of available free homes has declined. The net result of this trend has been that our maintenance costs for children in boarding homes has gone up tremendously over the past few years, and unless conditions change it is too much to hope that these maintenance costs will appreciably decrease.(21)

As Blois's concerns indicate, a serious side effect of the inability to place children

(18) Division A Minutes, 28 May 1935.

(19) Division A Minutes, 26 March 1935.

(20) News clipping, "Homes For Infants Required," 26 January 1950, in the Annual Report of the Halifax Infants' Home, 1949, NSARM, HV IN3; NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 59: 491 (Foster Homes). In October of 1949, the CWC reported that there was a shortage of about 1000 foster homes across the country. In Halifax, the CAS reported a need for 140 homes. See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 59: 491 (Foster Homes), Radio Release, 24 October 1949.

(21) AR, *JHA* 1940, Pt. 2, App. 23, 10.

was an unrelenting demand upon the finances of the child welfare system.(22) And while institutions necessarily received some regular funding from the boarding of wards for both the CAS and the Provincial Superintendent, maintenance rates continued to be set well below the actual cost of boarding a child and keeping him or her in good health. In 1947, the CAS estimated that the annual cost per child would be approximately \$492.12. The combined municipal and provincial grant for neglected children to the institutions, however, was only \$5.00 per week, or \$260.00 per year. And while, "in certain instances" the rate could be "raised to \$7.00 per week ... permission had to be secured from the Minister, and this [was] very difficult to get."(23) The institutions also continued to take in private cases, and while in some situations small weekly or monthly fees were paid by parents, relatives, or clergymen, many of these children were kept free of charge. In 1948, for example, one-third of the total days' care at the Halifax Infants' Homes was given free. In the same year, St. Paul's Home for Girls had 7 children placed by the CAS and 10 placed privately, while at the Protestant Orphans' Home, 25 were public wards, and 22 were private. The Monastery of the Good Shepherd, generally considered to be a reformatory, also took private, "charity" cases, caring for 21 such girls out of a total of 38. The population at St. Joseph's Orphanage had the highest proportion

(22) Boarding homes were sometimes distinguished in Blois's reports from the institutions. They referred to smaller, family based homes where parents or women, occasionally working with an assistant of graduate nurse, would care for small groups of children. In the statistical returns of the Halifax CAS, boarding homes and institutions were not distinguished from each other until the mid 1940s. See chapter seven.

(23) Division A Minutes, 17 November 1947. In 1948, the Halifax Infants Home calculated the cost per child, per week, at \$8.61. Not surprisingly, the Home reported heavy deficits each month in the post war period. See NSARM, MG 20, Vol. 177, #3, 4, Minutes of the Board of Management for the Halifax Infants' Home.

of private to public placements, with 110 private, and 71 CAS and Provincial placements.(24)

The ultimate consequences of these circumstances were the gradual deterioration of buildings, the inability to generate salaries for trained staff, and the worsening of the quality of the services and living conditions for institutionalized children. At the Infants' Home, "[o]ne of the biggest problems" identified in the late 1940s "was the inability to give sufficient individual attention to the toddlers group and ... lack of funds was the chief reason."(25) In a 1950 visit to the city by Elizabeth Govan of the Child Welfare Council, the Home of the Guardian Angel and St. Joseph's Orphanage were described as "very institutionalized." While the religious were clearly interested in the children and concerned about these conditions, "they seem unable to do anything about it." At St. Joseph's, the additional wing constructed in the 1920s appeared to have fulfilled Blois's worst fears; the building "presents difficulties," Govan noted, "and is of the old institutional type." The work in the Home was thus "very much handicapped by the building and the accommodation."(26) The situation at the city's one remaining reformatory, St. Patrick's was equally distressing. (The Industrial School closed in 1947 when the Provincial Government opened the Nova Scotia Home for Boys in Shelburne). While St. Patrick's was housed in "a comparatively new fireproof building," it was

(24) Division A Minutes, 9 April, 7 May 1948.

(25) Clipping, "Homes For Infants Required."

(26) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 216:3, (Department of Public Welfare, 1936-1954), E. Govan, "Field Trip to Nova Scotia, Feb 16-18, 1950,"

nevertheless "one of the most depressing places you could imagine."(27)

Despite the challenges faced by these institutional administrators, this period was marked by the same hopeful persistence which had characterized their work in earlier decades. For many, the source of this hope lay in their continued belief that their work was divinely ordained. The evidence of this belief in operation was the continuation of religious emphases in institutional routines and programmes. Among the religious at the Home of the Guardian Angel, the Monastery of the Good Shepherd, St. Patrick's, and St. Joseph's, this spiritual focus was built into every aspect of their lives. Among the Protestants, it revealed itself in the consistent practice of prayer at their monthly meetings, as well as the enduring use of religious education and daily prayer routines for their charges. The city's two infants' homes also kept careful statistics of the number of children whose baptisms they arranged.(28) In 1943, the Canadian Children's Charter confirmed the national value of nurturing sacred experience and understanding among children. Along with defining each child's right to a home, adequate family income, good health, education, and wholesome play opportunities, the charter also required that, "in

(27) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 347 (Halifax, General Correspondence, 1943-1959), Memorandum Re. St. Patrick's Reformatory, 8 April 1948, from K. M. Jackson.

(28) See NSARM, MG 20 Vol. 177, Minutes of the Board of Management for the Halifax Infants' Home; NSARM, MG20, Vol. 417-19, Ladies' Committee Minutes for the Protestant Orphans' Home; NSARM, MG20, Vol. 1327, 1328 (Series A), Minutes of the Directors of Management, St. Paul's Home for Girls. There was also continued strife between these Protestant Denominations, particularly at the Maritime Home for Girls, where the United Church members of the Board aggravated several tempers among the Baptists and Anglicans, by demanding greater control over the Board's decisions. See ADC, MG8, Ser. 12, Vol. 2, Minutes of the Social Service Council, 17 November 1936. This Anglican body was also concerned that the Superintendent was doing no more than distinguishing between Roman Catholic and Protestant on the Institution's Register, and they lodged official complaints with Blois's Department.

preparation for responsible citizenship," each child be ensured "opportunities for Spiritual Growth and the development of sound values." (29)

Sacred rhetoric was also an important component of the reports and annual meetings of the Halifax CSA and the city's Welfare Bureau. As for the institutional administrators, the sacred offered a point of motivation and focus for welfare workers – a means of conceptualizing and articulating the importance of their work to the community. As those gathered at the annual meeting of the CSA in 1947 were informed, "workers need[ed] both motive power and special training," but there was also an "underlying principle" to their work. "[T]he social services were an extension of the work of the Church," because "human beings are holy and sacred ... All our work is meaningless unless we have such a philosophy." (30) The "main and basic fears [of] human nature and human needs" were similarly connected to a sacred and supernatural root. According to Helen Burgess, the Executive Secretary of the Welfare Bureau, "[t]hese fears are that there is no Divine Spirit at the back of the Universe ... that there is no underlying purpose to Life or meaning in it ... that there is no hope for Society ... [and] that there is no assurance of future security here or hereafter." And, while "some look[ed] to organized religion" or their own personal philosophies to "keep them[selves] steady," others relied either on social agencies with their sympathetic staffs, or "in bewilderment [took] refuge in drunkenness, indolence, and other forms of immorality." Welfare agencies, Burgess argued, were organized "to take care of the two latter groups

(29) Included in the Minutes of Division A, c. 1943.

(30) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 407, #2.20, Minutes of the Annual Meeting for the Halifax CSA, 26 March 1947.

and if we believe that civilization has developed upon Christian principles, we must assume a major responsibility in upholding every phase of social betterment.(31)

The sacred purposes and motivations of welfare programming were closely connected with methods and approaches identified – by contemporaries *and* historians – as modern and secular. The day-to-day work of "upholding every phase of social betterment" was neither an exclusively religious campaign, nor a social scientific project. As Burgess's address claimed, religious motivations were as important to secular methodologies, as these methodologies were, in turn, to the fulfilment of a Christian vision of social relations and organization. It is in this light that the emphasis upon professional planning and inter-agency cooperation must be seen. Social welfare in the city could not "go forward blindly, trusting to luck that somehow things will right themselves as they did in the relatively more prosperous years of the early 20th century." Nor could welfare workers "keep forever hopping from one dry spot to another in this bog of unemployment and distress, but must have some plan for getting out of the bog."(32) The full realization of a Christian community required much more. During the war, in what was certainly, for the time, a befittingly militaristic metaphor, the President

(31) Notably, Burgess had been trained as a Deaconess for the Church of England. She had served as the Superintendent of the St. Paul's Home for Girls for a number of years, and had worked under Hattie Ogden, former Secretary of the Welfare Bureau, before being asked to take on this position. While she was not a trained social worker, Junior League representatives in the city believed that she was well suited for the job as she was "progressive, with courage, understands Halifax, and will move at a speed they can take." See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 347:15 (Halifax, General Correspondence, 1943-1959), correspondence, 1 April 1943, G. Monroe to Nora Lea.

(32) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 407, #1.2., Halifax CSA, Annual Report of Executive Secretary, 6 Feb 1939.

of the CSA, Samuel Prince, remarked that "only as we become allies and organize as allies [will] the war with evil be won." He argued that social agencies needed to organize "on a war basis," and that while

each agency ha[d] built up a splendid efficiency in doing its own particular job ... the various organizations have not developed the ability to work together for common objectives. We don't know anything about military strategy. We haven't learned to decide on objectives, to plan an attack and to succeed in large scale social accomplishment. Well organized effort will secure anything in Halifax ... What the social agencies of Halifax need to do is to learn like an army to concentrate on objectives."⁽³³⁾

Some – if not all – of the most perdurable divisions between child welfare agencies would need to be dismantled if city welfare workers were to have any success in conquering social ills. Racial segregation was one of these, and after the Second World War, some small steps were taken in this direction. In 1947, for example, "[t]he problem concerning [the] colored unmarried mother" and her child was raised at a Board of Management meeting at the Halifax Infants' Home. Limited accommodation for infants, as well as long waiting lists at the NSHCC, meant that Black mothers were unable to get adequate services and support. In order to lessen this difficulty, the Board at the Infants' Home voted "that no racial discrimination be made on admission of any unmarried mother to the Home."⁽³⁴⁾ Two years after this resolution, it was noted that the Infants' Home was caring for a coloured woman.⁽³⁵⁾ However, racism here, as elsewhere, was not

⁽³³⁾ NSARM, MG20, Vol 407 #1.15, CSA, President's Address, 1941.

⁽³⁴⁾ NSARM, MG20, Vol. 177, #3, Minutes of the Board of Management of the Halifax Infants' Home, 10 December 1947.

⁽³⁵⁾ NSARM, MG20, Vol. 177, #4, Minutes of the Board of Management of the Halifax Infants' Home, 14 September 1949.

eliminated by such resolutions. Indeed, the presence of Reverend W. P. Oliver at the 1947 meeting which resulted in the original resolution may have had as much to do with the decision to eliminate racialized admission policies as any general sense of the need for ethnic equality. (Oliver was the pastor for the Black congregation at the Cornwallis Street Baptist Church, and was one of the most prominent members of the city's Black community.)⁽³⁶⁾ The Baptist Association's Social Service Board's reports in the late 1940s and early 1950s confirm the persistence of "race prejudice ... in these Maritime Provinces." Even those who professed themselves as Christian, "uttered disparaging remarks and pass[ed] on bitter untruths about our colored brethren." The material outcome of such attitudes was "a reluctance to accept colored children" in at least one Maritime institution, despite the lack of accommodation at the NSHCC.⁽³⁷⁾

Denominational barriers were equally persistent in the city. In 1932, for example, Reverend C. F. Curran of St. Joseph's Rectory in Halifax complained to the Archbishop about what he saw as "the ultra-Protestantism of the Field Secretary" for the Halifax Community Chest, Gwladys Kennedy. His specific concerns, "from a Catholic point of view," related to "the compiling of lists of names" by the Chest, "one Catholic and the other Protestant ... with the evident intention of proving the contention that the

(36) According to Winks, Oliver had visited the Hampton and Tuskegee institutions in 1949, and "returned from the United States convinced that separate, vocationally oriented education remained the Negro's best hope." See Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, 350.

(37) ECWA, *Baptist Yearbook*, 1947, "Report of the Social Service Board," p. 183. These Yearbooks contain almost yearly condemnations of racial prejudice, and present anecdotal evidence of the impact of racism. See, for example, the Report of the Social Service Board, 1951, p. 175-6, which recounts two instances where Blacks were refused service in hotels and restaurants in Nova Scotia.

Catholics, of the City of Halifax, were not bearing their fair share of the Community Chest Budget." Curran reported to a special meeting with the Chest's Budget Committee that the Archbishop himself "was very much displeased with this discrimination against the Catholics of the City, that he objected to our people being singled out for publicity, when absolutely no steps had been taken to ascertain from the Baptists, the Anglicans, the Methodists [sic] and other denominations of the city, the amount they had contributed." He concluded that Kennedy "should be forbidden to make any comparisons or in any other way to stress the Catholic versus the Protestant element in this campaign."(38)

Of equal concern to Curran was the Chest's decision to reduce the budget allotments to two local Catholic institutions, the Monastery of the Good Shepherd, and St. Theresa's Retreat, a boarding home for aged women, retired nuns, and young female workers in the city. For the Good Shepherd, in particular, the "proposed reduction of \$1000 ... in the opinion of the religious," would not make membership in the Chest worthwhile. Catholics would not see them embarrassed," he reported. "Providence would make up their deficit. For all they were receiving – the results did not compensate

(38) CPC, O'Donnell Papers, Vol. II, #93, correspondence, 3 October 1932, Rev. C. F. Curran to Archbishop Thomas O'Donnell. Msgr. Charles F. Curran was a native of Halifax, born 22 October 1888. Ordained in 1911, he served in the Archdiocese of Halifax for his entire priestly career; at the time of his death in 1954, was parish priest at St. Joseph's, where he had been assigned since 1926. He also taught at St. Mary's College (now St. Mary's University), and was the director of "Catholic Action." He was the Chancellor to the Archdiocese and Archbishop McCarthy's secretary from 1920 to 1926, and is credited with having written most of McCarthy's Pastor Letters during this period. My thanks to Karen White at the CPC for providing this biographical information.

them for the publicity given to all their affairs at the Monastery.”(39) Curran suggested to the Budget Committee that unless their quota remained the same as in previous years, Catholic Charities in the city would consider conducting their own campaign. He frankly admitted that such a move “would be disastrous to the good relationship hithertofore existing between the various religious bodies in the city of Halifax [and it] would unavoidably lead to a serious outbreak of religious bigotry.... that did exist in the city, despite the belief to the contrary.”(40)

Conflict among child welfare and social agencies in Halifax also arose over issues of function and jurisdiction. These conflicts had serious consequences both for the recipients of welfare, and for those involved in its administration. In 1948, for example, a serious conflict emerged between the Child Welfare Division of the CSA and the Nova

(39) Curran also drew attention to the fact that the Catholic institutions in the city (particularly the Home of the Guardian Angel), because they were larger, were “doing twice or three times the work” of their Protestant counterparts, yet received a quota far below that given to Protestant agencies. He did acknowledge that part of this difference resulted from the fact that the religious worked without salary. He also noted that Catholics were “the only denomination in the city to have a special letter, bearing on the merits of the Community Chest, read from all our pulpits; ours was the only religious body to depute one of its clergymen to organize the campaign among the adherents of our church [and o]ur quota was already small enough without aiming at making it smaller.”

(40) CPC Archives, O'Donnell Papers Vol. II, #93, correspondence, 3 October 1932, Rev. C. F. Curran to Archbishop Thomas O'Donnell. The Chest eventually decided not to reduce the allotments to these two Catholic Agencies. In 1934, interestingly, they also sent a letter to all Protestant parishes in the city, requesting that a prepared statement on the Community Chest be read at Sunday Services in the week preceding the Chest drive. The letter noted that “[f]or the past three years a strongly worded pastoral letter from His Grace Archbishop O'Donnell has been read at all masses in the local Roman Catholic Churches and it has been felt that some of the Protestant Churches could do more to co-operate than they have been doing.” See CPC Archives, O'Donnell Papers, Vol. II #93-4, correspondence, 8 October 1934, from Walter Black, Community Chest President, open letter to the Protestant Ministers in the city.

Scotia Association of Children's Aid Societies (NSACAS), both of which had been reviewing the province's out-dated Unmarried Parents' Act. As their respective reviews drew to a close, the Division's Committee suggested that the two groups conduct a joint meeting at which their opinions on the Act could be discussed, and a single recommendation forwarded to the Provincial Government. However, when the two groups finally met, members of the Division were surprised to hear that the NSACAS's version of the Act had already been sent to the Legislature. Further, it appeared that "there had been unfortunate manipulation behind the scenes" by members of the NSACAS, including Halifax's Gwendolen Lantz.⁽⁴¹⁾ Some Division members whose attendance had been otherwise quite irregular, arrived at this meeting, and voted in favour of the NSACAS's Act. Ada Greenhill, an instructor at the Maritime School of Social Work, and a regular member of the Division, protested to the Executive of the CSA, arguing that this was "a breach of democratic principle." Discussion of the differences between the two Acts was vital, if only to "help to confirm our own convictions."⁽⁴²⁾ Eventually, the Act passed by the legislature was closer to the version forwarded by the Division. The dispute between the Division and the NSACAS, however, exposed deep

(41) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:1 (Halifax (N.S.) Study of Children's Aid Society and its Relationship to Other Agencies), "The Welfare Council of Halifax: The Children's Aid Society and Other Agencies, 1946-1952." See also Tillotson, "Democracy, Dollars and the Children's Aid Society."

(42) NSARM, MG20, Vol 408 #3, correspondence, Greenhill to Prince, 16 February 1948. See also the Division A Minutes for January and February of 1948. One of the major points of disagreement between the two Acts was over the NSCAS's suggestion that a court of appeal be established to deal with such disputes as might arise between unmarried mothers and putative fathers. Members of the Division, while seeing the value in such a Commission, were concerned about the potential breach of a woman's confidentiality. See Division Minutes of 13 February 1947.

fractures in the relationship between groups and individuals who, as Prince had hoped in 1941, should otherwise have "formed themselves into a central organization and set forth like an army with banners conquering" disease, dependency and delinquency.(43)

Such "jealousies and quarrels" were also a feature of relations within the CSA itself.(44) In the mid 1930s, while the Council "had been in existence for some time ... [it] did not seem to be functioning in any way as regards co-ordinating the work and standards of its member units."(45) The various Divisions of the Council had met together, as a whole, only infrequently, "owing to some friction within the Council, and well into the 1940s, attendance at Division A [child welfare] meetings was distressingly low.(46) The situation as a whole implied a lack of interest in the sort of cooperative work represented by the Council, and "the general impression [was that] the Halifax CSA [was] not a potent force in the community."(47)

(43) NSARM, MG20, Vol 407, #1.15, CSA Annual Meeting, Presidents' Address, 1941.

(44) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 381:8 (Field Reports - Maritimes, 1935-1949), "Maritime Provinces," Field Report conducted by Miss Tucker, February 1935.

(45) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 381:8 (Field Reports - Maritimes, 1935-1949), Field Report, March 1935, no author,

(46) Annual Reports for Division A, throughout this period, note that greater attendance, particularly from institutional boards, would be most desirable in order to improve the effectiveness of the Division's study. While there were generally between eight and twelve people at each session, one notable exception was the meeting held at the NSHCC in January of 1937: at this time, there was an attendance of 26. See NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408, #1. Attendance from the religious of the Home of the Guardian Angel and St. Joseph's Orphanage was consistent.

(47) NAC, MG28 I10, Volume 228: 14 (Halifax Welfare Council, 1937-1950), Memorandum from Nora Lea, February 1944. See also NAC, MG28 I10, Vol 347:15

In 1944, Nora Lea of the CWC identified the source of the Council's weakness in its Executive Secretary, Gwendolyn Shand, and its long-serving President, the Reverend Dr. S. H. Prince. "[A]lthough exceedingly well meaning and, [on] the part of Miss Shand, most conscientious," leadership of the Council was "not forceful, nor foresighted, and there [was] a tendency to accept the status quo and jog along as well as may be with the facilities and the scope which are at hand." Dr. Prince had been president of the Council for twelve years, "and there appear[ed] to be no indication that he would resign and make way for a more vigorous and forward-looking person." On the part of the community, Lea reported that there was "an attitude of tolerant acceptance ... due to Miss Shand's easy and pleasant manner rather than any real respect for the Council as a body giving leadership."⁽⁴⁸⁾ Later that same year, Lea remarked to a member of the Junior League that weak leadership extended beyond the CSA, and that there was "a decided lack of ... virility" among many of the boards and executives of local agencies.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Perhaps surprisingly, given his own lengthy tenure as Provincial Superintendent, Blois himself had foreshadowed these concerns in 1933. "I am afraid that our difficulty in the future," he wrote to Whitton, "is going to be ... that a small group of elderly people in the

(Halifax - General Correspondence, 1943-1959), correspondence, 10 March 1944, Lea to Mrs. Donald Pierpont, Consultant, Community Service Staff, Association of Junior Leagues; NAC, MG28 I10, Vol 347:24 (Halifax Department of Public Health and Welfare, Correspondence, 1937-51), Memorandum regarding the Halifax Public Welfare Department, prepared by K. M. Jackson, 4 April 1946.

(48) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:14 (Halifax Welfare Council, 1937-1950), Memorandum prepared by Nora Lea, February 1944.

(49) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 347:15 (Halifax - General Correspondence, 1943-1959), correspondence, 10 March 1944, Lea to Pierpont.

community, who have little or no knowledge of modern methods in social work, get control of the Societies. These people, on account of their social and financial position in community, wield tremendous influence, and unless one is constantly associating with them, they are apt to become fixed in their ways and their ways are not always the ways that we would like them to walk in.”(50)

From the perspective of the child welfare institutions themselves, this apparent lack of progress was likely seen as having more to do with their weak financial position than their leadership. While there was, undoubtedly, a sense that executive boards operated along the lines of a ‘family compact’, the tendency to reappoint committee leaders for consecutive terms may well have represented a source of stability throughout the vicissitudes of this period. Indeed, even Lea admitted that “much of the responsibility for the stagnation” in Halifax lay in the inadequacy of the financial set-up of the system, particularly as it related to the city’s Community Chest.(51) Like the CSA, the Chest “present[ed] a really sad and obsolete picture.”(52) The Chest’s secretary, Kennedy, who had caused such distress among the Roman Catholic welfare community in 1932, was described by Helen Burgess of the Halifax Welfare Bureau as being “so anxious to hoard money that she strangled the development of the individual

(50) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 1:4 (Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, 1933), correspondence, 15 December 1933, Blois to Whitton.

(51) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol 347:15 (Halifax – General Correspondence, 1943-1959), correspondence, 10 March 1944, Lea to Pierpont.

(52) *Ibid.*, 1 April 1943, Monroe to Lea.

agencies.”(53) Kennedy’s Annual Report in 1944, as described by Lea, “laid great emphasis on the point that Chests existed to save the business man irritation and prevent overlapping rather than to serve the social agencies. All this may give you some idea of why I felt rather blue about the City of Halifax and its private agencies.”(54)

The constant financial shortfalls in the budgets of the institutions and private agencies spoke clearly of the impact of the Community Chest’s weaknesses. And, because the CAS, unlike most of the institutions, lacked even the smallest endowment, it was more dramatically restricted in its abilities than most.(55) Throughout this entire period the CAS complained of the meagre allotment from Chest funds, particularly because of its impact on the Society’s staff size. Comparisons made between the Halifax CAS and other agencies in cities of comparable size indicated that while the CAS could afford only three to four workers, they should have had a staff of between ten and twelve.(56) There were strong suggestions made from several quarters, including the

(53) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 227:24 (Halifax - Family Services Bureau and Halifax CAS (1), 1942-1967), Memorandum prepared by K.M. Jackson, April 1946.

(54) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol 347:15 (Halifax – General Correspondence, 1943-1959), correspondence, 10 March 1944, Lea to Pierpont. Until 1949, the CSA did not have representation of the Community Chest Board, a point which caused considerable resentment, as the Executive of the Board believed (probably rightly), that they were better acquainted with the varied needs of the agencies and institutions in the city. This representation was granted when the Chest’s constitution was rewritten in 1949.

(55) As of 1948, the Protestant Orphans’ Home was also not a member of the Community Chest. In the 1950s, the home was criticised for maintaining a surplus (instead of spending it on something like a professional social worker), and so their membership status may not have affected their financial position that severely. Unfortunately, changes in the reporting methods for institutional financial returns mean that the sources of their funding are unclear.

(56) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408, #10.3, CSA, Child Welfare Division, Round Table Conference, 8 March 1951. During this meeting, Lantz reported that she had received

CWC and the Provincial Superintendent's office, that the CAS withdraw their membership in the Chest and conduct their own campaign. The CAS was "not generally lacking in sympathy and support throughout the Province," and some argued that even the threat of a withdrawal might be enough to secure more adequate support. While Lantz agreed, she nevertheless remained unconvinced that her agency's board could conduct a successful campaign. The continuing "unhappy relationship" between the CAS and the Chest thus meant that the CAS was "operating on a most inadequate basis." (57)

While there was a degree of sympathy for Lantz's problem with the Halifax Community Chest, there was also a degree of frustration with Lantz herself, because of what was described as her "unfortunate personality." According to the Halifax Welfare Bureau, Lantz's "attitude cause[d] considerable resentment" among welfare workers, and "continual reports were received regarding complications caused by [her] temperamental difficulties." (58) Staffing problems at the Society were thus more often interpreted as a problem of character rather than cash flow. As well as being understaffed, there was an "excessive" rate of turnover at the CAS, and both the Provincial Department and the CWC reported that trained social workers employed under Lantz were treated as "glorified errand boys," who were "not given much responsibility for initiative in

\$10,600 from the Community Chest, despite requesting nearly three times this amount (\$30,608).

(57) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408, #10.15, F. R. MacKinnon, "Report for Committee of the Welfare Council of Halifax," 14 June 1951; NAC, MG28 I10, Volume 228:14 (Halifax Welfare Council, 1937-1950), Memorandum prepared by Nora Lea, February 1944.

(58) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 227:26 (Halifax (N. S.) CAS 1936-1958), Memorandum from K.M. Jackson, 8 April 1948; NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 227:24 (Halifax - Family Services Bureau and Halifax CAS (1), 1942-1967), Memorandum, April of 1946, K. M. Jackson.

planning and working through [their] case work."(59) In 1950, Govan reported that "any person holding a position in Miss Lantz' [sic] office would need to be someone who had no desire to take ... responsibility ... or to use her own initiative, as that is apparently what Miss Lantz wants.... In the past, people of more initiative than her present worker who have been on her staff have found the situation intolerable.... the placement of an executive type of person under Miss Lantz would probably lead to disaster."(60)

Friction between Lantz and other child care workers extended outside her own office into her relationship with the institutions and the community at large. Eventually, it initiated a shift in the inter-agency relationships in the city. Complaints about Lantz had been "received constantly from other agencies, from principals and teachers, from nurses, from the police, from members of the clergy, from doctors, business men, and housewives."(61) The city's local newspapers also claimed to "have been aware of difficulties with the CAS at least since 1929," but had "hesitated to publish criticism" because "it injures the whole welfare structure."(62) By the late 1940s, however, these complaints, "buttressed by specific instances, and even the exact words used on

(59) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:1 (Halifax (N.S.) Study of Children's Aid Society and its Relationship to Other Agencies), "The Welfare Council of Halifax: The Children's Aid Society and Other Agencies, 1946-1952," 30 May 1952; NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 227:26 (Halifax (N. S.) CAS 1936-1958), Memorandum, February 1944, N. Lea.

(60) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 347 (Halifax, General Correspondence, 1943-1959), Memorandum, February 1950, E. S. L. Govan.

(61) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:1 (Halifax (N.S.) Study of Children's Aid Society and its Relationship to Other Agencies), "The Welfare Council of Halifax: The Children's Aid Society and Other Agencies, 1946-1952," 30 May 1952.

(62) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:1 (Halifax (N.S.) Study of Children's Aid Society and its Relationship to Other Agencies), "The Welfare Council of Halifax: Committee on Relationship Between The CAS and Other Agencies, September 1951."

occasion," convinced members of Division A "that there was something very wrong with the methods and administration of the CAS."(63) In 1948, these tensions had also resulted in the cancellation of the 1925 agreement between the CAS and the institutions, by all but one local orphanage, St. Joseph's. In a letter to the Provincial Superintendent, now F. R. MacKinnon,(64) the institutions indicated that "they [had] not been fully satisfied with the services rendered by the Society." They had asked the Superintendent to take over case work "in such areas as intake and discharge." As MacKinnon indicated, "there [were] several implications arising from such requests [with respect to] the community organization pattern in the City of Halifax."(65)

Between 1946 and 1951, Division A conducted a self-survey of the agencies and institutions providing services within the city of Halifax, and held a series of round-table discussions between representatives of the Institutions and the CAS in order to discover

(63) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:1 (Halifax (N.S.) Study of Children's Aid Society and its Relationship to Other Agencies), "The Welfare Council of Halifax: The Children's Aid Society and Other Agencies, 1946-1952," 30 May 1952.

(64) MacKinnon replaced Blois as the Provincial Director of Child Welfare in 1948. As Tillotson notes, he was representative of the younger generation of Canadian social worker, which included an increasing proportion of men with graduate degrees. MacKinnon received an MA from Harvard in 1935, was listed as the director of the Colchester Co. CAS in 1937, and after studying under a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship in social work in the 1930s, he returned to Halifax to serve as Blois's assistant director of child welfare. See "Democracy, Dollars and the Children's Aid Society." The records of at least one local institution, the Halifax Infants' Home, indicate that MacKinnon was far more pro-active in his relationships with the institutions. He was frequently in correspondence with the managing committee, and attended their meetings, offering advice on a number of administrative matters. See NSARM, MG20, Vol. 177 #3.

(65) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:1 (Halifax (N.S.) Study of Children's Aid Society and its Relationship to Other Agencies), correspondence, 17 April 1949, F. R. MacKinnon to Col. S. R. Balcom, President of the CSA.

possible solutions to such inter-agency friction. The survey Committee declared that each agency should "know... beforehand that such a study may result in changes which they must be ready and willing to make. However it must be borne in mind that no upsetting nor disastrous changes were intended but just what would be needed to co-ordinate the forces at our disposal."(66)

Significantly, the result of these reviews placed the institutions firmly at the forefront of what might be considered "modern" and professional standards for child welfare. In making their case against Lantz, they exposed the fundamental motivations behind their programmes, and showed their adherence to the principle that an institution should only be used as a temporary welfare measure. They envisioned their institutions not as end-placements for children, but as "hospitals and clearing houses where temporary care is provided in order to prepare the child for placement in a normal home."(67) Their frustrations with Lantz on three particular issues – the length of stay for CAS wards, access to case histories, and the failure of the CAS to conduct thorough, or even adequate preventive and protective work within the community – worked in the same way as their focus on foster care did in the 1910s and 1920s; that is to say that, in their efforts to control threats to ideal childhood, to promote Christian character development among their inmates, the institutions participated in the contraction of their function and prominence within the child welfare system as a whole. Their efforts to remove Lantz from the post of Executive Secretary of the CAS were a deliberate,

(66) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 407, #2.48, "Report: Survey Committee," 21 February 1949.

(67) AR, *JHA*, 1940, Pt. 2, App. 23, 8.

offensive attempt to *improve* their status and working conditions, and to offset the problems which had evolved over several decades of financial distress.

The length of time that CAS wards were spending in the institutions was the primary concern raised during the survey and round-table meetings. This particular critique allowed institutional representatives to put forth a clear, and certainly professionally inspired, opinion on the threat which long institutional stays presented to the well-being of most children. During the war and immediate post-war period, several prominent studies of institutionalized children, particularly those conducted by Anna Freud and John Bowlby, confirmed and amplified long-standing arguments about the detrimental impact which institutional stays could have on the young. Freud's work on pre-school war time evacuees in England demonstrated that more mental and emotional damage was done by the separation of a child from his or her parents than from the destruction of their homes and neighbourhoods.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Bowlby's well-known 1950 study for the World Health Organization reached similar conclusions. His particular concern was with the effects of maternal deprivation, and his conclusions proscribed institutional care for infants entirely. For children over five, he recommended that institutional care should be used only during emergencies, that these "reception centres" be restricted in size, and that the length of stay be "thought of in terms of a few days only." Describing the impact of the breaking up of a home, Bowlby warned about the "bewilderment and perplexity" experienced by a child, "which leads [him or her] to be

(68) See Anna Freud, *War and Children*, (New York: 1943); *Infants Without Families: Reports on the Hampstead Nurseries, 1939-1945*, (New York: 1973); *Research at the Hampstead Child-Therapy Clinic: And Other Papers, 1956-1965* (New York:1969).

unable to accept and respond to his new environment and the new people caring for him.”(69)

The language of these studies was echoed in the reports and complaints of the Halifax institutions throughout the 1940s. In 1948, for example, Mildred Bridgeford, Superintendent of the Halifax Infants' Home, expressed concern over how any institution could “possibly bridge [the] gap” caused by the “bewildering” separation of a child from its parents,

and supply immediately everything he requires for his mental, spiritual and physical needs. The adjustment is a serious undertaking and must be in the hands of qualified and sympathetic people: Standards must be high! We not only wish to improve our building and bring the equipment up-to-date, but we earnestly desire to give the child intelligent care. Since we have him during his formative years, we know what is done or left undone for him now may mean his future success or failure.(70)

During the round-table meetings, similar concerns were expressed by virtually every local institution caring for CAS wards. According to MacKinnon, the CAS had a total of 60 wards in foster homes, and 105 in orphanages, where their average length of stay was five and a half years. “Of these about 50 children had been in institutions from 1 to 5 years, about 35 had been there from 6 to 10 years, and about 20 children had been there from 11 to 15 years.” Statistics reported by the CAS also indicated that the Society had

(69) John Bowlby, *Maternal Care and Mental Health* (Geneva: World Health Organization, 1951), 58, 110. Bowlby did recognize the importance of “group care” for particular groups of emotionally disturbed children, an argument which was adopted by many local institutions in Halifax. See chapter seven.

(70) NSARM, HV IN3, *Seventy-Fifth Annual Report of the Halifax Infants Home*, 1948, “Report of the Superintendent.”

placed only seven children in adoptive homes during the previous five year period.(71) Institutional managers and superintendents unanimously agreed that these children had been far too long outside of a normal family situation, and that the CAS did not visit them often enough. They were "[a]pparently ... forgotten child[ren]," and seemed "to belong to nobody." As the Superintendent of the St. Paul's Home for Girls warned, "children should not be [in the Home] too long [as] there is a tendency to regress. They are not sure of themselves ... They try to overcome the disadvantages of institutional life, but it is not possible."(72)

These criticisms did not emerge only during the conferences and round-table meetings. Repeated requests also had been made by institutional managers throughout the 1940s that the CAS remove their wards and arrange foster or adoptive placements for them. For the most part, these requests remained unanswered. At St. Joseph's, particular concern was expressed about several boys over the age of twelve. The Orphanage's staff, as they were all women, did not feel capable of providing the supervision or guidance necessary for teenaged boys. Despite the fact that St. Joseph's had been working with the CAS since 1925, Lantz replied to the orphanage's repeated concerns for these boys by writing, "I had no idea that your orphanage wished boys removed at the age of 12."(73) In 1945, it appears that the Provincial Superintendent was

(71) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408, #10.15, F. R. MacKinnon, "Report for Committee of the Welfare Council of Halifax," 14 June 1951.

(72) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408, #10.3, CSA, Child Welfare Division, Round Table Conference, 8 March 1951.

(73) See Correspondence dated 1951-2, from Sister Anita Vincent to Lantz. These letters were submitted to the CWC in order to facilitate the Council's review of the

attempting to clarify the number of CAS wards being cared for in institutions, as opposed to smaller boarding homes or foster placements. In that year, and for the first time, that statistical data returned by the Provincial CASs were required to distinguish between these two groups. This level of specificity had the effect of exposing the high numbers of children who could be classed as 'institutionalized' in Halifax.(74)

The Managing Board of the Halifax Infants' Home experienced similar difficulties in their relationship with Lantz during the 1940s. In March of 1943, the Board's minutes register concern about the length of time which Lantz had left CAS wards in the Home. (Records for this Board are in existence only from September of 1941; the tone of this 1943 complaint seems to indicate that Lantz had been contacted about CAS wards before this date.) In many cases, CAS wards had been in the home for several years, and were much older than those allowed by the Home's Constitution (three years). In 1944, for example, when Lantz contacted the Home about the placement of two toddlers, she was informed that they would be admitted, "provided that 2 older children – now age 6 – be removed." As these children were wards of the CAS, the Home's Management could not legally transfer them to an orphanage, nor arrange for their placement in a foster or adoptive home. In 1947, the Home's Case Committee reported that "obstructionist tactics [had been] employed by Miss Lantz mak[ing] the moving of children from the Home impossible [and delaying] the adoption of children by prospective foster parents." There had been a "keen interest" in the adoption of fifteen wards at this time, but these

findings of the CSA Survey and Round-table discussions. NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:12 (Halifax, St. Joseph's Orphanage, 1952-1957).

(74) The first such distinction was made in the AR, *JHA*, 1946, Pt. 2, App. 23.

cases had been repeatedly postponed because of Lantz's inattention. A month later, the Board held an emergency meeting to discuss "[t]he difficulty experienced in Miss Lantz's non-cooperation [in the] receiving and moving and adoption of children." It was the "unanimous will of those present" that the CAS president be notified "that we no longer require the services of Miss Lantz as our Social Worker." As the home still cared for several CAS wards, however, the problem of moving them to foster placements remained. In 1949, the Board issued another "ultimatum" directly to the CAS President about the removal of CAS wards, and through to 1951, similar requests were made on a regular basis.(75)

These discussions of the length of institutional stays necessarily generated discourse on the apparent lack of foster home placements in the province. In the early 1940s, the Superintendent's office had identified this problem as a trend resulting from poor economic conditions. In the late 1940s, however, in the context of the review of Lantz's work, it became an issue of her ability to discharge adequately the duties of her office. Throughout the round-table discussion, and in the final survey reports, it was universally acknowledged that the CAS did not find a sufficient number of foster homes. Comparisons were made between the number placed by the CAS in Halifax, other Societies throughout the Province, and the Provincial Superintendent's office. Those involved in this investigation agreed that the staff shortages at the Halifax CAS were a

(75) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 177, #3, #4, Minutes of the Board of Management of the Halifax Infants' Home, 17 March 1943, 21 June 1944, 18 April 1947, 8 October 1947, 5 November 1947, 11 February 1948, 9 November 1949, 8 March 1950, 14 June 1950, 10 October 1951.

causal feature, but the implication was that the shortage resulted directly from Lantz's approach, and not the unwillingness of the community to take on the responsibilities of fostering. Lantz herself argued that her Society had very high ethical and material standards, and that potential foster homes had to meet not only strict character requirements, but financial ones as well. Thus, when it was suggested that the Halifax CAS look into securing foster homes in Guysborough County, Lantz replied that this area was too far away to make visitation feasible, and that the communities were "too primitive." When it was suggested that her agency might make use of "responsible local people" such as clergymen, teachers and housewives to visit these distant wards during times when the CAS could not, Lantz replied that "a clergyman is not a social worker, and she felt doubtful that the true situation [in the foster home] would be revealed." (76)

These "professional ethics" also were invoked to defend the CAS's position on case histories. Social case work, as described by Lantz in 1932, was a method of "making the best adjustments possible in situations where the individual does not meet the requirements of society or where society fails to fulfill its duty to the individual." This involved investigation into a child's "background, his possibilities, his weaknesses, his relationships toward his family, friend[s], school, associates, etc., and their attitude toward him." (77) When CAS wards were placed into institutions, however, the only information given to superintendents or case committees was the child's name, date and place of birth, and former address. Lantz argued that she had "been advised by the Child

(76) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408, #10.5, CSA, Child Welfare Division, Round Table Discussion, 28 March 1951.

(77) Agent's Report, in AR, *JHA* 1932, Pt. 2., App. 23, 39-40.

Welfare League of America and other authorities not to give out too much," presumably because of the confidential nature of the information, and the fact that institutional workers did not rank among the country's professionals. "[T]he giving out of case histories [was] not looked upon as ethical," according to CAS president R. A. Donahoe, and "[i]n any case, the institution or boarding home is in a position to study the child. What caused the neglect would appear to be a matter for the agency rather than the institution."(78)

Neither the institutional representatives, nor F. R. MacKinnon, expressed concern about the non-professional status of institutional workers. Instead, emphasis was placed upon the fact that without "some knowledge of [a child's] previous life," child care workers could not "give proper help" to their inmates. "All children admitted to institutions [had] some emotional problems" which institutional staff had to cope with, and without adequate understanding of their causes, little real assistance or attempt at adjusting the child for placement, could be made.(79) "[H]ow could an institution ... be

(78) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408, #10.6, CSA, Child Welfare Division, Round Table Conference, 18 April 1951; NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408 #5.27, brief prepared by the President of the CAS, R. A. Donahoe, for the round-table conferences. During the hearings, Lantz countered these accusations regarding case histories by arguing that the institutions were not making regular progress reports on CAS wards. However, from the perspective of the institutions, it was impossible to chart progress without knowing a child's starting point, something which required access to case histories. During the hearings, institutional representatives also outlined the restricted access placed upon case histories within their respective homes and asylums, to assuage fears about the possibility for breaches in confidentiality.

(79) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:1 (Halifax (N.S.) Study of Children's Aid Society and its Relationship to Other Agencies), "The Welfare Council of Halifax: Committee of Relationship Between the CAS and Other Agencies, September 1951;" NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408, #10.6, CSA, Child Welfare Division, Round Table Conference, 18 April 1951.

'father and mother' to a child," MacKinnon asked, "without knowing some of its history. We have reached a stage in child welfare methods where a history is considered essential."⁽⁸⁰⁾

Lantz's reluctance to release case histories to the institutions was, in the opinion of the round-table participants, evidence that the Society was failing to uphold its responsibilities within the community. Without case histories, the institutions were little more than holding cells. Moreover, the tendency of the CAS to leave children in institutions for longer periods than was considered healthy or appropriate meant that the fundamental characteristics of ideal childhood were compromised. These concerns were further complicated by the apparent reluctance of the CAS to claim guardianship over neglected or dependent children. Lantz was often unwilling "to say a child [was] really neglected, [and] in some instances this ... meant that children ... lacked the protection they should be receiving." MacKinnon noted that the number of children taken in as wards by the Halifax CAS was "very small" when compared to other societies, averaging only seventeen per year between approximately 1945 and 1950. "It may be objected," he wrote,

that a child welfare agency will take fewer and fewer children from their parents as it develops a strong preventative service. That objection is sound. The experience of social agencies, however, in Nova Scotia and elsewhere indicates that with our present knowledge and skill, there will be a proportion of cases in which wardship is necessary. It is difficult to see how the Halifax Society can explain this unfavourable comparison on

(80) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408, #10.6., CSA, Child Welfare Division, Round Table Conference, 18 April 1951.

the basis of the quantity or quality of its preventative work.(81)

This problem of wardship directly affected the composition of institutional populations, and consequently the status of institutional finances. It also cast further doubt upon the adequacy of the CAS's protective work in the community, particularly as, in a 'modern' system, the institutions were to act as temporary shelters and places which prepared children for placement into foster or adoptive homes. Families in Halifax who could not get assistance from the CAS often went directly to the local Homes and asylums, seeking to place children privately. As noted above, these private placements were not funded, except through small boarding fees collected from those who could afford them. The institutions, in this period, did not employ their own social workers; placement work was thus restricted by limitations in both time and money, if not in expertise. During the round-table meetings, the institutional representatives raised these concerns directly, frequently asking "how better provision [could] be made ... for these non-wards [and] what [could] be done to give them a more normal childhood and a better start in life."(82) In several of these cases, institutional administrators had appealed to the CAS; according to the Province's Child Protection Act, after six months of non-payment from parents' or guardians, the Society could declare an institutionalized child a ward. This would guarantee, if nothing else, the payment of regular maintenance

(81) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408, #10.15, F. R. MacKinnon, "Report for Committee of the Welfare Council of Halifax," 14 June 1951.

(82) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408, #10.12., CSA, Child Welfare Division, Survey Report, 14 February 1951.

fees.(83)

As with other related problems of mis-communication and disagreement with the CAS and the institutions, superintendents and managing boards received little help from Lantz for these non-wards. Whether because she was already carrying such an enormous case load, or because she objected, on principle, to removing parental guardianship for non-payment, Lantz was "strongly opposed to wardship in such instances," and was "anxious to have this clause of the Act repealed." (84) The CAS, strictly speaking, was responsible only for those children declared neglected by the courts. Lantz recommended, therefore, that the institutions hire their own social workers. This would not only eliminate what she saw as the resentment caused by "suggestions or advice from the cooperating agency," but would materially improve the work of the private agencies. Despite their "sincerely charitable motives," she argued, by accepting non-ward charges without proper case work on intake, the institutions were "encouraging the breaking up of homes." With their own social workers on hand to deal with non-ward cases, these problems could be eliminated. (85)

MacKinnon and the institutional representatives responded to Lantz's position

(83) See, for example, NAC, MG 28 I10, Vol. 228:12, Halifax, St. Joseph's Orphanage 1952-1957. This file contains a lengthy list of the names and basic information on several non-wards cared for at this Institution, some of whom had been institutionalized for over ten years. The religious wanted Lantz to take over wardship of these children in order to facilitate their placement, but the outcome of the cases is not known.

(84) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 216:3 (Department of Public Welfare, 1936-1954), Govan, "Field Trip to Nova Scotia, Feb 16-18, 1950."

(85) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408, #10.12. The Welfare Council of Halifax, Child Welfare Division, Survey Report, 14 February 1951.

on this issue in two ways. Perhaps predictably, they argued that the institutions could not afford to hire their own social workers. However, they also strongly implied that had Lantz been fulfilling her duties adequately, "there would be no appreciable problem of intake and discharge." Hiring social workers within the institutions would be an unnecessary duplication of effort. The CAS's strict interpretation of its responsibility – that they were bound only to care for those children legally defined as neglected – was considered inadequate. "It is obvious," MacKinnon argued, "that if this statement accurately reflects the policy of the Society little preventive work is being done, because preventive work goes far beyond meeting the needs of children who are legally or technically neglected."(86)

The inability of the CAS to function within the community, and the unwillingness of its Executive Secretary to take what her opponents saw as a 'modern' approach to institutional care resulted, ultimately, in the request for her resignation. Those opposed to Lantz's tenure as director of the CAS argued that she had not only lost the confidence of the institutions, but of the general public as well. "Where such good will has been alienated over a long period of time," the Survey Committee reported, "only drastic changes in administration and in methods of work will suffice to restore confidence in an organization."(87) These "drastic changes" of administration and methods, significantly, implied more than the removal of Lantz as CAS Secretary. The arguments

(86) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408, #10.15. F. R. MacKinnon. "Report for Committee of the Welfare Council of Halifax," 14 June 1951.

(87)NAC, MG28 110, Vol. 228:1, "The Welfare Council of Halifax: Committee Report of Relationship Between the CAS and Other Agencies, September 1951."

made by the institutions in their efforts to effect her removal also implied the reduction of the institutions' jurisdiction and influence in the child welfare community. The modern and effective system which they sought through Lantz's firing was one in which institutional care was acceptable only in very particular cases, and where long-term stays, which had been such a feature of institutional therapies, were eliminated.(88) The institutions declared themselves as temporary *resources* for child welfare. The work of protection and prevention was to be carried on through a revitalized CAS, while the institutions practised therapies specific to those children whose emotional difficulties made them unsuited to either foster care or adoption.

(88) In many of the early institutional reports published by Blois's department, and in the extant minutes of the Halifax Infants' Home and the St. Paul's Home for Girls Manager's and Superintendents expressed a particular pride in having a full house. In some instances, this was evidence to them, that they were performing an effective community service. In other instances, it was a source of pride, as they could claim to have managed high numbers of dependent children. See, for example, NSARM, MG20, Vol. 1326 # 2: Minute book of the Directors of Management for the St. Paul's Home for Girls, Report of the Annual Meeting, 1900. In this report, the Secretary of the Home, L.J. Donaldson, declared, "We rejoice over the increased number of children in the home and we look for even greater numbers in the coming year." See also the Report of the Protestant Orphans' Home, in AR, *JHA*, 1933, Pt. 2, App. 28, 134-5.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TRANSFORMING THE INSTITUTION, 1944-1960: GROUP CARE AND THE LEGACY OF THE DENOMINATIONAL IMPERATIVE

Early in 1953, Mr. M. Thomas Blue, the former Executive Secretary of the Annapolis CAS, was hired to replace Gwendolen Lantz in Halifax. The gendered nature of this change was likely a great relief to Fred MacKinnon. In 1955, he expressed – not for the first time – his concern about recruiting skilled, mature individuals to the field of social welfare work. Until such time as social workers were adequately paid for their skills, the attractions of the job lay in "the satisfaction that it offers in terms of personal accomplishment, and the service concept which is so much a part of it." He did, however, note "one encouraging trend [in] the considerable increase in the number of men entering this vocation."⁽¹⁾

Changing the gender of the CAS's director was not the only novelty in Halifax's child welfare system in the 1950s. With the new executive director came a drop in the number of institutional placements, as well as an expansion of foster care and adoption placement services. Some of this change was a direct result of the effort to implement new programmes at the CAS under Blue's tenure, some of it was a result of the new

(1) AR, *JHA* 1955, Vol. 1., App. 23, 9-10. MacKinnon did not directly disparage the work of female social workers, but noted their unreliability as permanent staff members, as many of them left work upon marriage. See also Struthers, "Lord Give Us Men': Women and Social Work in English Canada, 1918 to 1953," and "A Profession in Crisis: Charlotte Whitton and Canadian Social Work in the 1930s," in A. Moscovitch and J. Albert, *The Benevolent State: The Growth of Welfare in Canada* (Toronto: Garamond, 1987).

welfare initiatives of the Federal government, and some was effected by the sharper definition of the 'new' dependency of the post-world war period – emotional disturbance. None of these changes were accomplished without the participation, whether in support or opposition, of the institutions. The resulting dynamic of change meant, for the institutions, the subjugation of their own programmes and policies to the needs of the CAS. In this decade, the ability and willingness of the institutions to comply with the demands of the CAS, to cope with smaller populations, and to provide the staffing and programming required by this new dependency, were shackled by the denominational imperative – the resiliency of institutional identities based upon religious and racial segregation. While denominationalism limited change, however, *religion* did not. Sacred motivations and emphases remained central to the project of child welfare, even as denominational institutions were marginalized.

In the early 1950s, the most visible evidence of change among the institutions was a significant drop in the numbers of institutionalized children across the province (see Appendix Three). Particularly in the later part of the 1950s, more intensive and deliberate methods were used to facilitate adoption placement – including placements for some children who previously had been categorized as 'un-adoptable' or unsuited for foster care. The practice of "labelling all children who did not measure up to rigid tests and requirements as unplaceable or unadoptable," MacKinnon claimed, had been abandoned. Child welfare workers had "learned by experience that this was unwise and every effort [was] now being made to plan for these children on an individual basis and

without labels or categories.”(2) In 1956, Blue was able to claim, probably with some justification, that his Society had managed to place children who were “well past the stage of infancy and in some instances ranged up to teen age. Others placed had physical handicaps or allergies, but in all [they were] convinced that every child so placed will have the opportunity develop physically, emotionally, and spiritually to the extent that every natural parent, who relinquished their child for placement, could thank God for providing through the adoptive parents.”(3)

In 1956, the Provincial Superintendent's office established an “Adoption Clearance Service” at the recommendation of the NSACAS. The service was intended “to facilitate the placement of hard-to-place children in adoption homes and to co-ordinate better the placement efforts of all the Societies and District Offices.” The service provided, according to its promoters, “an organized method of exchanging information among social agencies,” about children for whom adoption homes were difficult to find and about parents who had “waited unduly long for a child.” It noted was also that, in particular, “[t]he children referred are usually older children, handicapped children, children of mixed racial origin, siblings who should be placed together and children who should be placed in a different geographical area.”(4) The upward trend in adoption

(2) AR, *JHA* 1953, Pt.3, App. 23, 7-8.

(3) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 227:26 (Halifax (N.S.) Children's Aid Society, 1936-1958), M. T. Blue, “Children's Aid Society of Halifax, Annual Report of the Executive Director, Fiscal Year April 1, 1956 - March 31, 1957.”

(4)AR, *JHA* 1958, Vol. 3, App. 21, 10. Importantly, the practice of screening potential adoptees continued. Mental testing was compulsory, and extensive background checks were made to ensure that the characters, religions and temperaments of the child and adoptive parents matched. See, for example, the Report of the Provincial

placements in the late 1950s was frequently attributed to this service, and not unexpectedly, the structure of the Provincial Superintendent's Annual Reports shifted dramatically in the 1950s to reflect this emphasis on adoption. These reports no longer contained the same degree of detail on the institutions, nor did they publish the Annual Reports of the institutional Boards, or indeed, of the various branches of the CAS. They did, however, begin to incorporate detailed statistical information on adoptions, including pictorial representations and tables outlining the numbers of children adopted, their ages, the ages of their adoptive parents, gender ratios, and the number of adoptive placements at various stages of the process. The information thus considered vital and worthy of interest to a concerned public reflected one aspect of the subordination of institutional programming to the work of adoption placement.

Efforts also were made in 1955, through a change in the Child Welfare Act, to provide more efficient, expeditious ways of terminating legal guardianship by a CAS.⁽⁵⁾ In those cases where CAS officials believed children should be returned to their parents' reformed home, or where this had already occurred without a change in guardianship status, a simple court order could now be made to effect transfer, avoiding the necessity for complicated legal hearings and court appearances, and their attendant costs. This new provision, MacKinnon argued, would allow for a "true[r] picture" of ward case loads and the Societies, identifying more clearly "the number of children actually benefiting

Psychologist, in *JHA* 1955, App. 23, 149.

(5) RSNS, 1955, c4. See also 1958 AR, *JHA* 1959, Vol. 3 App. 21, 10.

from being under the care of the Director or a CAS."(6) This method of clearing guardianship cases also carried with it the potential to improve, if not the practice, then certainly the appearance that a CAS was practising vigorous *protective* work in its community. As was noted in MacKinnon's Annual Report in 1960, this legislative change, combined with the Adoption Clearance Service, had reduced the total number of wards in the province by 471 over a five year period. More than forty-seven per cent of these terminations of wardship were the result of adoption.(7)

Within the city of Halifax, the number of wards under the care of the CAS also had begun to fall, as Tom Blue, himself, had begun a more aggressive campaign of foster home finding and adoptive placement. The contrast with Lantz was made explicit. According to Gwendolyn Shand (who may well have exaggerated Blue's impact in an effort to soothe the tempers which had been aggravated by the 1951 review), contacts between the CAS and the institutions were "entirely different now." The institutional managers "[a]lready [had] much praise for Mr. Blue, and his approach to the various matters in which all are interested." At a meeting of the child caring agencies held shortly after Blue took up the role of Executive Secretary, "the whole tone of the discussion was entirely changed" and there was

a feeling now of working out things together. ... There have been many unhappy moments for all of us, but ... the solution of this situation has considerably strengthened welfare work in Halifax, and has also reinforced the Chest, and the Provincial Department. The present relationships are

(6) 1959 AR, *JHA* 1960, Pt. 2, App. 21, p.9.

(7) *Ibid.*

even better than we all could have hoped, and we are most encouraged.(8)

Blue's first report also made oblique reference to his intention of transforming – or at least improving – the relationship between the CAS and the institutions. "It appear[ed] obvious" to him that " a total reorganization of our Society is necessary [and] in starting [his] term of office as Miss Lantz's successor, [he] look[ed] forward to a period of pleasant relationships with all Agencies and Institutions in the City, as well as those outside with whom we co-operate."(9)

While the Society continued to be understaffed and underfunded, these problems were much less dire. In 1955, Blue had a staff of one supervisor, 3 full-time and one part-time case workers, two stenographers and a bookkeeper. There remained a significant backlog of cases, but with an operating budget which had jumped from \$15,000 to \$33,000, the agency was far more capable of fulfilling its duties and responsibilities.(10) Its constitution was over-hauled in 1954 in order to attempt, if only on paper, to redress

(8) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408 #1.6, correspondence 24 March 1953, Gwendolyn Shand to Bessie Touzel (CWC). The meeting to which Shand refers was most likely the regular monthly session of Division A.

(9)Annual Report for the Children's Aid Society of Halifax, M. T. Blue, in *JHA* 1954, Pt. 3 App. 23, p. 54. As late as 1958, the difficulties of administration and community relations continued, to some degree, to be blamed on Lantz. In 1958, Eric Smit of the CWC, reported that the CAS board, because it had "failed to keep pace with the growth of the City of Halifax and with new skills and knowledge in casework and child welfare [was] struggl[ing] against inertia and indifference in the community [to] win the place in the welfare services of Halifax that the Society had failed to achieve" under Lantz's tenure. See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228.2, Eric Smit, "Report of the Survey of Child Welfare Services having membership in the Welfare Council of Halifax," November 1958, p. 12 [hereinafter, Smit, "Report of the Survey," 1958].

(10) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 381:11 (Field Reports - Maritimes, 1953-1956), Field Visit Report (on the CAS) by Peter Stanne, 7 June 1955.

what had been seen in 1951 as some of the most significant problems of organization and mandate. The society's "objects" were more explicitly articulated as preventive – that is, directed toward "casework services to parents and children for the welfare of the family and preservation of the home."(11) Provisions also were made to impose limits upon the tenure of Board members – a self-consciously 'modern' practice which was intended to prevent the creation of static, oligarchic rule within the agency.

Efforts to improve the preventive aspects of the CAS's programme had received some backing through various government programmes of income support. As the CSA argued in 1943, social welfare had become, "without our quite realizing it ... one of the main functions of government ... [and an] increasing amount of our tax money must go for the upkeep of the social services, as it already does in England, and more of the political planning of the government must be turned in this direction."(12) In 1931, for example, the Provincial Government had established Mothers' Allowances in Nova Scotia. While eligibility for the allowance was severely restricted for much of the 1930s and 1940s, it was nonetheless described by MacKinnon as a "milestone in social progress." Indeed, in relation to the Province's Poor Law system, it may well have been.(13)

The introduction of Federal Family Allowances in 1944 also was considered by

(11) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 227:26 (Halifax, N.S., CAS, 1936-1958), Article Three of the CAS Constitution, amended in 1954.

(12) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 407 #1.26, CSA, Annual Report of the Executive Secretary, 15 February 1943.

(13) 1951 AR, *JHA* 1952, Pt. 2, App. 23, 8. In 1955, an organized effort, on behalf of Provincial CAS's was undertaken to expand eligibility for this Allowance. See NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408, #10.29.

some to be a sign of "Great progress."⁽¹⁴⁾ Among child welfare workers in Halifax, however, opinions on this particular programme were divided. There were concerns expressed about its potential to shift much needed support away from private child care agencies and institutions. As MacKinnon stated at a special meeting of Division in 1943, the Allowance was the most "democratic" way of increasing the incomes of Canadian families, particularly larger ones, and "the benefits that could accrue, physically, mentally, and emotionally," would be great. However, MacKinnon offered this opinion "against his better judgement," as part of a general discussion of the Allowance's potential impact on child welfare in the Province. The "opposite side of the picture" was the opinion to which, it appears, most of those in attendance subscribed. There was a danger in "giving allowances to all kinds of families without supervision. In many cases the allowances would never benefit the children themselves. The cost ... would be very great, and ... the benefits of much of the money [would be] lost." It was further suggested that the Allowance would "help to keep wages down" as unscrupulous employers would "have an excuse not to raise wages."⁽¹⁵⁾

Perhaps predictably, given their own interests, the Division's resolutions on the Family Allowance were universally negative (and were repeated almost verbatim in 1944 after the Act had been passed). Because the money would "not bring the child better preventative, health, or educational services," Division members argued that it "would be more beneficial for the child, and less costly to the nation, if we strengthen our social

(14) NSARM, MG20, Vol 408 #4, Minutes of Division A, 11 January 1949.

(15) NSARM, MG20, Vol 408 #2.17, Division A Minutes [hereinafter, Division A Minutes], 6 December 1943.

utilities (rather than provide a children's allowance)."(16) The Division established a list of priorities for the strengthening of these utilities. First, "Child and Family Welfare agencies" were to receive expanded support, "with particular emphasis [on] financial assistance and the training of their personnel." Public welfare services such as the Juvenile Courts and Mothers' Allowances were to be expanded, followed by improvements in educational facilities, the expansion of medical, dental and psychiatric clinics, and finally, recreational services.(17)

Opposition to the Allowance from the institutional representatives of Division A also may have been inspired by the fact that allowance payments, while applicable to institutionalized children, were not designed to deal with the most pressing financial problems of the institutional system. As such, the legislation was fundamentally, albeit not explicitly, anti-institutional. At a "large meeting" of Division A to discuss the permissible uses for these allowances, great emphasis was laid by the guest speaker upon their potential to improve the "normalcy" of a child's stay in an institution, as the allowance could be used "for special occasions, such as birthdays," or for "extras" like music lessons, toys, or bicycles, "a ski suit for skiing and even an evening dress in a special case." However, the money could "not to be used to buy basic clothing" or "regular equipment" – such as furniture or linens – which were shared by all children in the institution. If a child required a particular piece of equipment because of some

(16) *Ibid.*

(17) Division A Minutes, 6 December 1943 (findings of the committee struck to examine the Allowances, and provide alternative suggestions. Along with MacKinnon, there were three other members of the Committee, including one representative each from the Roman Catholic and Protestant institutions.

disability, "that piece of equipment belongs to the child and goes with him." Further, institutional managers could not administer the fund at their own discretion, as its use was "subject to controls exercised from Ottawa." Managing Boards and executives could therefore not apply the fund to their largest expenses – staff salaries, food, electricity, and the upkeep of buildings.(18)

The ways in which this fund expanded government activity into areas once managed almost exclusively by private charitable enterprises also appears to have ruffled some feathers in the post-War period. In the late 1940s and into the early 1950s, the value and necessity of the private welfare agency became a topic of some significance in Halifax, as it did with social workers across the country, who participated in the CWC's national study of public-private relationships.(19) In 1945 or 1946, for example, the CSA's report to the Civic Planning Commission in the city noted that while the "public social agencies ha[d] grown rapidly of recent years" they had

not done away with the necessity for the private social agency or health agency. This is especially so in a democracy where the expression of the individual and the community will is a part of our way of life. The private social agency does what the public agency cannot ... [it] fills in the gaps (and there are many), does the pioneering work... carries on the experiments in new methods of social work, educates the public... and gives the individual touch to 'service' in a way the larger agency can never quite accomplish.... It also gives a chance for the personal expression of

(18) Division A Minutes, 11 January 1949. Food was restricted from the list of permissible purchases because it was, technically, an item shared by all children and staff at the institution. In 1950, it appears that Lantz was using some "creative" – and complicated – accounting methods to overcome the limitations placed on use of this fund. See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 381:9 (Field Reports, Maritimes, 1950-1), Report on the Halifax CAS by Elizabeth Govan, October 1950.

(19) The report of this study was titled "Public-Private Relationships in Child Welfare." See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 79:591 (Ottawa: Canadian Welfare Council, 1950).

the philanthropic instincts of many people in our community. The greatest authorities on social welfare feel that private social and health work will ... be needed, no matter how many public social agencies we have... each helps to make a total welfare programme for our community.(20)

In 1951, perhaps as part of a desire to repair the public image of the private agency after the scandal of Lantz's 'retirement', the Welfare Council repeated these sentiments by drawing on the authority of the Federal Minister of Health and Welfare, Paul Martin, to argue that "the Private Social Agency ... [was] needed to compliment [sic] the work of Public Agencies," which were, by nature, "inelastic." "While government action can care for certain material needs, there can be no formal or official substitute for the human concern that springs not from duty, but from devotion."(21)

The supposed flexibility of the private agency would become a key feature of institutional rhetoric in the post-War period. As the pool of candidates considered suitable for institutional care shrank, boards and managing committees of the city's Homes redefined their programming philosophies – if only rhetorically – to suit these smaller, and more carefully defined groups of children. As previously argued, social workers and institutional managers alike accepted and promoted a refined notion of the institution's role as a short term, therapeutic service, for specific types of children. Institutions were not adequate homes for 'normal' children, and these sentiments, coupled with several other material changes, contributed to the decline in institutional

(20) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 347:15 (Halifax, General Correspondence, 1943-1959) Halifax CSA: Report to the Civic Planning Commission, nd. See also NSARM MG20 Vol. 407, #2.15, Halifax CSA, Report of the President at the Annual Meeting, 26 March 1947.

(21) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:1 (Halifax (N.S.) Study of Children's Aid Society and its Relationship to Other Agencies).

populations. In the 1950s, Provincial and CAS adoption programmes attempted to widen the definition of "normal," finding home placements for groups who had previously been counted among the unadoptable, or considered unsuited to fostering. Moreover, deliberate efforts were made by Thomas Blue's administration to keep families together through counselling and case work. In Halifax, as in other places across Canada, Homemaker services and day care centres also garnered attention for their potential to maintain families during short periods of illness or hospitalization, or during those times when mothers were compelled to work.(22) Improved health and safety measures and lower death rates made true orphanhood a much rarer condition than it had once been, and theoretically, Family and Mothers' Allowances rendered economic need or the death of one parent inadequate reasons for institutionalization.

In 1958 Eric Smit of the CWC reflected on the impact which these broad trends had had – and would continue to have – on child welfare agencies in Halifax. His opinions connected what he believed to be the proper focus of the city's child welfare system with professional and popular psychological discourse about normalcy in the post

(22) In Halifax, the Red Cross maintained a Homemaker service to deal with "emergency" situations where a child's primary caregiver in the home – usually the mother – was temporarily incapacitated by illness. This was a limited programme and one whose eligibility requirements were often criticized as being too strict. See NSARM, MG 20, Vol. 408, #5.21; Chris Dummit, "Better Left Unsaid: Power, Discourse, and Masculine Domesticity in Postwar Halifax, 1945-1960" (MA Diss., Dalhousie University, 1997). Day care facilities were equally limited. Some out-of-home day care was offered by individual women, but the only day care centre was the Jost Mission, whose capacity was between 25 and 35 children. See Lafferty, "A Very Special Service;" Christina Simmons, "'Helping the Poorer Sisters': The Women of the Jost Mission, Halifax, 1905-1945," in Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita C. Fellman, eds., *Rethinking Canada*, 286-307.

war era. The problems which confronted child care workers were "less likely to be physical," he argued, but would instead encompass the "social and emotional welfare of children." These were problems of much greater import as in the present "complex society," it was "not enough for a person to be sound in body but he must also reach some reasonable degree of emotional maturity if he is to be successful as an adult. Child welfare [was thus] concerned ... with those factors which militate against the growth and development of a mature and socially adjusted individual." (23)

As Mona Gleason has aptly demonstrated, the definition of normalcy to which Smit referred pathologized those whose behaviours or ways of life lay outside of a pre-defined norm – in the same way that clear notions of ideal childhood generated clear notions of the childhood deviant, as I argued in chapter two. Gleason examines, specifically, the way that the meaning of normalcy was regulated by psychologists after World War Two. Through the use of formal certification and claims to professional expertise, these psychologists were able to successfully promulgate a vision of normalcy that was deeply influenced by contemporary notions of appropriate family and gender roles. The need to promote stability and security in the aftermath of the War and the Great Depression, in the context of rising divorce rates, working mothers, and cold-war tensions, meant that the best place for the nurturing and development of the nation's children was their home, with both parents. There was no substitute, in the case of *normal* children, for the family. (24)

(23) Smit, "Report of the Survey," 1958, 3-4.

(24) Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Post-War Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

For care givers and administrators in Halifax's child welfare system, I would argue that the meaning of normalcy was regulated by far more than the demands of professional psychology. Superintendents and managing boards did express concern for their ability to promote psychological health and a sense of 'normalcy' for the children in their care through such programmes as foster care, as was clearly demonstrated in 1951. The ways in which children were defined as normal, however, were directly influenced by the institutions' long standing investment in their service, and by the fact that they had the ability to exert influence on the direction of child welfare services in the city. As the conflict with Lantz demonstrated, institutions willingly participated in a programme wherein their own jurisdiction was restricted. But they did not capitulate entirely to the discourse of "professional" psychology which deemed family homes as the only truly viable setting for child development. This position continued into the 1950s. Superintendents and managing boards, and indeed many professional social workers, offered their own interpretations of what an ideal system consisted of, and within that ideal, experience (shaped by their own personal, institutional interests) had taught that "institutions [had] their place."⁽²⁵⁾

In the early part of the twentieth century, that place had been understood as one whose value lay in the ability to protect children from corruption, to ensure that they

(25) Division A Minutes, 25 June 1948. This meeting involved a discussion of the recent attendance of two local child welfare workers, Mrs. Bridgeford of the Halifax Infants' Home, and Sister Miriam de Lourdes of the Sisters of Charity, at a social work conference in Hamilton. Sister Miriam was particularly upset at one presentation which "did not give enough credit to what the Institutions were trying to do, and ... kept referring to 'the damaged kids of the institutions'."

would not, despite their circumstances, deviate too far from the ideal. In the past war period, however, institutional strength in the field of child welfare – as it related to dependency – lay more explicitly in the *treatment* and correction of the *consequences* of corruption and deviance. This focus on treatment meant both a greater emphasis on foster care and structural changes in the institutions. In the 1940s and 1950s, the institutions' managers and superintendents showed their agreement with this treatment emphasis by presenting care in their Homes as part of a therapeutic programme referred to as "group care." In 1947, Division A members made one of their earliest references to this concept, during a discussion with Ada Greenhill of the Maritime School of Social Work. Children who required institutional care were "in general ... those for whom there is no need to establish ties of affection" with foster parents as compensation for deficiencies in their own family, children "requiring temporary care because of ill health of [their] parents," and "those who need the *experience of group living*." (26) Over a decade later, MacKinnon echoed this point of view. There would "always be certain children for whom the specialized group care of an institution is essential if such children are to be given the opportunity to make the necessary adjustment so that it is possible for them to return to their homes and take their rightful places in their communities." (27)

The types of children who would *not* profit from group care were very specifically defined. And, in light of the persistent and deliberate segregation of "types" among

(26) Division A Minutes, 29 January 1947.

(27) AR, *JHA* 1960, Pt. 2 App. 21, 10-11.

dependent children – religiously, racially, and through foster-care, temperamentally – the insistence (if only in word) on these definitions is not surprising. The most emphatic restriction on group care was placed on infants. Children under three years of age were “in quite a different category” than most dependent children. “since they require a measure of individual attention, not usually found in a Child Caring Institution.” It was therefore logical to assume that “long periods of institutional care lead to retardation and negative behaviour and children brought up in this environment [would] offer poor prospects for a happy, normal life.”(28) Similar concerns meant that pre-school children also were deemed unacceptable candidates for group care, except where their placement was done out of a desire to keep siblings together.

Most often, those suited to institutional care were those with specific behavioural or emotional problems. Children placed in institutions were those in need of “a treatment resource” for problems considered particularly “amenable to institutional treatment,”(29) and were those who could not be expected to “accept foster parents because of their feelings and attitudes towards their own parents,” or those whose parents were “not able to accept placement of their children in another family home even

(28) AR, *JHA* 1954, Pt. 3, App. 23, 9. These were many of the same conclusions reached by Dr. Bowlby, and they were, in the 1950s, ‘common currency’ among social workers and most child care workers. See for example, Smit, “Report of the Survey,” 1958, 4, 9-10.

(29) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 60:491 (Institutional Care for Children... 1949-1953), Memo dated 14 December 1951, From Phyllis Burns, Secretary of the Child Welfare Division of the CWC, to the Department of National Health and Welfare. The contents of this memo are repeated in a revised memo in 1954. See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 66 (Children - Institutional Care of Children - Misc Matters, 1954-1956), “Research Division Memo, Institutional Care for Children in Canada.”

with social work help." Behaviour problems which could not "be effectively handled in a foster home setting (including emotionally disturbed children)... those who [could] not establish close personal relationships; [and those] who require[d] close, skilled observation" were the children most suited to institutional care.(30) Ideally, for example, a girl resident at the St. Paul's Home for Girls would "respond ... to the peer group very strongly" and find in the Home the "less emotionally demanding experience of the group" more helpful as "she begins her move away from dependence upon the adult to self-dependence and ultimately adulthood."(31)

Importantly, however, group care was not to be long-term care. Institutional placements were to be maintained only as long as was necessary for the child to adjust (although it was unclear how this 'adjustment' was to be identified), and he or she was to be returned to a family setting as soon as was practicable. As Smit explained to James Kinney at the NSHCC, while "group care of children has its place in a total child care program [it was] not considered to be an alternative to other kinds of child care" simply because it was more convenient. "Rather, it must be used on a discriminating basis after careful assessment of the individual child's needs. In other words, a child should be placed in an institution only if it meets his total needs, physical, mental, emotional, under circumstances which indicate that some other type of care would not."(32) Thus,

(30) Smit, "Report of the Survey," 1958, 23-4.

(31) *Ibid.*, 38-9.

(32) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 190:11 (NSHCC, 1958-1968), correspondence, 9 September 1960, Smit to Kinney. This Kinney was the son of the James Kinney, who died in 1940.

just as careful planning and investigation was required to fit a child with foster or adoptive parents, so too was it now required in the case of institutions. As the religious of St. Joseph's declared, the institution was not to be used as a place of "the last resort," but because its services offered "the best range of opportunities and association for fostering growth."(33)

The insistence upon the specific contribution and value of institutional care in the post-war period continued to be associated with the religious substance ingrained into their objectives. For children so defined as emotionally disturbed, in fact, it is likely that the religious aspects of the local institutional programmes were a conscious part of daily therapies. Certainly, as a 1960 workshop on Public Assistance in the Province emphasised, "Christian and Jewish thought concerning the essential worth and dignity of the individual" was an essential part of a "democratic society," and these beliefs informed the most essential aspects of charity and welfare programmes.(34) Within the child welfare system as a whole, sacred references were emphasized at relatively private moments – prayers at board meetings or with the children themselves – and also at those moments which were intensely, and consciously public, such as annual meetings and key-note conference addresses. In 1955, for example, the Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia made an analogy between what he saw as the "sacred vocation" of parenthood and the

(33) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:12 (Halifax, St. Joseph's Orphanage 1952-1957), completed schedule return for 1958. This excerpt was taken from a brief description of the Home's "Aims and Objectives."

(34) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 216:15 (Nova Scotia: Department of Public Welfare, 1936-1954), Nova Scotia Dept of Public Welfare, "Workshop on Public Assistance," Halifax, January 5- 8, 1960.

work done by institutional managers and staff. Whatever the "mechanics and technical procedures," and whatever skills were brought to bear on the "character training" conducted in the institution, he argued, parents – and thereby institutional staffs – acted "with and for God. Their authority comes from God. Their natural love... is a God-given love. They are responsible to God in the fulfilment of their duties." Managers, superintendents and other staff members "shar[ed] vicariously in the graces and obligations of parental vocation ... Their work is not a job; it is participation in a holy vocation, blessed, aided, and rewarded by God."(35) The persistence of such references, in both public and private, suggests that whatever the position, or influence of the denominational institution, the fundamental concerns for *religion* had not diminished.(36)

Despite the Bishop's emphasis upon the sacred motivations required for, and apparently characteristic of, institutional caregivers, staff at the city's Homes and orphanages also clearly required great skill in order to effectively "treat" these groups of emotionally and behaviourally troubled children. They needed to maintain discipline and order, to educate and befriend their inmates, gain their trust and inspire their understanding and cooperation. They also needed to deal with the peculiar problems

(35) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 66 (No File #: Children- Institutional Care of Children - Misc. Matters, 1954-56), Clipping, "Better Financial Aid For Child-Care Centre Needed." Containing text of the address of Bishop MacDonald.

(36) The concern for religious training extended to the material arrangements of institutional care as well. In contrast to earlier assessments of institutional care where rural settings were considered beneficial, an important aspect of *groupcare* required that facilities be located near "community resources for worship, education and recreation," and that the children be allowed to "make... use of them." Smit, "Report of the Survey," 1958, 24-5.

accompanying a child's "growing personality." For a boy, this meant granting "more and more freedom" while still maintaining order. Without this balance, he could not be expected "to accept our leadership and to become a free and responsible man." (37) For girls, as the staff of the St. Paul's Home for Girls was instructed, the balance to be sought was not necessarily between freedom and restraint, but between security and the "natural" fears which accompanied her "hesitating ... steps toward her awakening womanhood." The girls at this home were generally from broken homes, and as such they "may well be suspicious of the adult and ... fearful of people 'ganging up' on [them] and may withhold [their] acceptance of any adult in authority until that adult proves himself." (38) Not surprisingly, staffing was a major preoccupation and source of worry for cash-strapped agencies in the post war period. The challenges of treating the complex emotional needs and behavioural problems of institutional populations meant that all staff required "some training in child development and ability in group leadership in addition to personal traits of evenness of disposition, fairness and a good sense of humour." Certainly, the educational backgrounds of various staff members would vary depending upon their position, but in general, "[a]ll the staff of an institution should understand the goals of the institution, accept its basic principles and work within its philosophy. This means 'indoctrination' and continuous interpretation. A cook in an institution is not only a cook but is a person to whom children related in some way and

(37) AR, *JHA* 1954, Pt. 3, App. 23, p. 144.

(38) Smit, "Report of the Survey," 1958, 38.

is therefore significant to them."(39)

Without access to case records or staff profiles at these local institutions, it is impossible to gauge both the nature of the *actual* problems which faced staff members in their work with the children, and the level of training among staff members themselves. But it is clear that the discourse of group care, in itself, was a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it maintained a position of some significance for institutional care in the overall field of child welfare. The use of the *rhetoric* of "group care" in the minutes of Division A, as well as in institutional reports, indicates that managers and superintendents were well aware of its protective qualities, and its ability to promote the services and successes of institutional programmes. On the other hand, "group care" demanded a level of staff training which was certainly beyond the financial capabilities of many of these institutions. In describing their staff qualifications to Smit in 1958, for example, the Protestant Orphans' Home stated that "[t]he only qualifications re staff that we have been able to adhere to is to have an even disposition and a real love for children. We have no actually trained in social service members on our staff at present. We have however raised our standards lately and have increased our staff considerably."(40) A year later, after their Superintendent had left and they were "searching frantically for a replacement," suggestions that they might hire a social worker were dismissed as

(39) *Ibid.*, 38.

(40) NAC, MG28 110, Vol. 228:10, Survey Returns of the Protestant Orphans' Home, 1958. In his annual report in 1952, Blue also accentuated the importance of proper training by drawing attention to the fact that social workers deciding on foster and adoptive placements possessed a "power ... that in most other circumstances rests with the Deity." See AR, *JHA* 1956, Vol. 1, App. 4, 11.

"impossible."(41)

Significantly, institutional managers often were told that their perennial financial concerns must be taken as a lower priority than the quality of their staff. At the annual meeting of the Halifax Infants' Home in 1950, for example, MacKinnon argued that the deficit on the Home's account, amounting to just over \$2300, should be "interpreted as a healthy sign as it showed that the institution is going ahead in a progressive way and is earnestly striving to keep up with the pace of modern child care." Certainly the Home's president appears to have agreed, as she noted that expenses for salaries and provisions were the cause of much budgetary stress, but "the Board did not feel it a good policy to cut down on either of these as they were both essential to the children's welfare."(42) In 1960, Smit wrote to Kinney expressing similar opinions. While "an institutional program [was] expensive ... this [could not] be an excuse for operating on a substandard basis, which cannot be truly helpful to the children.... This is 'strong medicine' but, I think, important to think about."(43)

The requirements of staffing for group care also carried with them the potential to undermine long-standing power structures within the institutions themselves. In 1958, Eric Smit conducted a lengthy review of the child welfare services in the city. With regard to staff, he strongly recommended that professionally trained case workers be

(41) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:8 (Halifax Infants' Home, 1948-1959) correspondence of 4 February 1959, from Shand to Smit.

(42) "Homes For Infants Required," newspaper clipping dated 26 January 1950, in NSARM, HV IN3, Halifax Infants' Home Annual Reports.

(43) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 190:11 (NSHCC, 1958-1968), Correspondence 9 September 1960, Smit to Kinney.

employed in the city's larger institutions to deal with issues of intake and discharge. The decision to admit a child to an institution could only be made "after careful study," and if the person conducting this study was a member of the institution's staff, he or she would have the requisite skills necessary to undertake the task, as well as a "full knowledge of [the institution's] operation." They would, therefore, "be in a better position to judge its capacity to meet the needs of the individual child."⁽⁴⁴⁾ While this was a position which could be combined with the role of superintendent, the long standing practice of managing intake and discharge through a managing board or "Case Committee" was deemed unacceptable. In fact, he argued that contact between the children and members of the Board "should be limited in such a way that children are not conscious of the [Board] members, but will accept the staff as providing the protection and direction that [they] depend on."⁽⁴⁵⁾

Considering the long history of these case committees – many of them having been part of the institution's structure since the time of their founding – this recommendation represented something of a radical departure. As Blue's schedule submission to the 1958 Survey indicates, however, it was a practice which had impeded his ability to work with CAS wards in some of the local institutions. Referring specially to the Protestant Orphans' Home, the Halifax Infants' Home, and St. Paul's Home for Girls, he complained that "Board Members carry responsibilities which I ordinarily would consider to be that of staff." Their reliance on these advisory committees for decisions

(44) Smit, "Report of the Survey," 24.

(45) *Ibid.*, 24, 32. Smit's review noted this Board "control" as being a problem in the Protestant Orphans' Home and the Halifax Infants' Home, particularly.

on intake meant that cases were not accepted on the basis of a standard "policy," but upon their "own discretion." This was the cause of great irregularity in admission practices, and it would appear, raised concerns about confidentiality. In "planning and discussion [of] the needs of our wards boarding in these institutions," he wrote, "the board members share information on the children and attend CAS-Institution conferences regarding the children. The Superintendents with whom we work are cooperative and capable, but one gets the feeling that they are not free to discuss a child because some board members know the child's problems better than herself."(46)

At the city's Roman Catholic institutions, St. Joseph's and the Home of the Guardian Angel, the employment of professional social workers, along with regular in-service training programmes, appear to have been a standard feature of their management through the late 1940s and 1950s. These practices and staff regulations became the cornerstone of a particularly aggressive and highly successful placement service after 1950 which seemed to justify the opinions of people like MacKinnon, Blue, and Eric Smit about the necessity for trained staff. However, the Catholic institutions were clearly advantaged in this aspect of their work, as their professional staffs were also members of the religious, and so did not draw salaries.(47) Sister Mary Clare, for example, who arrived at the Home of the Guardian Angel in 1951, brought with her "a

(46) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 227:26 (Halifax (N.S.) Children's Aid Society, 1936-1958), Survey Schedule Return of the CAS, 1958.

(47) See NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 347 (Halifax, General Correspondence 1943-1959) Field Visit Report, Peter Stanne, 7 June 1955; NAC, MG 28 I 10, Vol.228:12 (Halifax, St. Joseph's Orphanage, 1952-1957), Completed Survey Schedule, 1958; Smit, "Report of the Survey," 1958, 33.

personally crusading temperament [and] principles learned through professional training" – perhaps even at the graduate level – at a recognized school of social work.(48) There had been almost ninety children in care at the time of her arrival and despite what she referred to as "difficulties [and] criticism" encountered "when she took the position that group congregate care of infants was not a proper function of child welfare," within four years, she had reduced this number to only eighteen.

Sister Mary Clare's success was attributed to a comprehensive programme of case work services, which included "pre-admission conference[s]" to determine if institutional care was the most appropriate response to the needs of a particular unmarried mother. Case work also included medical and psychometric testing. After admission, weekly sessions with the unmarried mother, and in some cases the putative father, were combined with an intensive home finding and adoption placement programme for those mothers who did not want to keep their children. As was reported in a policy statement issued by the Home some time in the 1950s, the children who were kept in care were only those who needed group living – "the steadying influence of institutional routine; whose [lives], emotionally and physically, [had] been, up to the time of placement, more or less 'helter skelter'."(49) In response to Smit's survey inquiries in the late 1950s, Sister Mary Clare declared that these programmes had been instituted out of necessity because of "the under-developed state of the usual casework services to the unmarried parent and

(48) NAC, MG 28 I10, Vol. 228:11 (Halifax Home of the Guardian Angel (for unwed mothers), excerpt from field report of C. McAllister, 29 March 29, 1962; See also Smit, "Report of the Survey," 1958, 51.

(49) CPC, Acc. 995-50-90-11, "Home of the Guardian Angel Act of Incorporation... Policy Statement"

adoption program of the CAS and the [Provincial] Department of Public Welfare." In particular, "Catholic adoption homes had not been found in sufficient numbers" by these agencies.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Not surprisingly, perhaps, given the historical significance which this institution had in the Roman Catholic community, Sister Mary Clare's abilities contributed to a sense of community pride. The Archbishop wrote to her, it was "good to know that this Institution is unsurpassed by any in the City for its standards of care."⁽⁵¹⁾

Sister Mary Clare's skills, and the professional rigour of her administration did have some negative consequences for the child welfare system as a whole. According to the administrators of the Halifax Infants' Home, for example, there were problems caused by the admission policies for unmarried mothers at the Home of the Guardian Angel. In August of 1953, the Superintendent at the Infants' Home reported to her board that she had been caring for a Roman Catholic mother and child because there was no place for her at the Catholic home. She emphasized that policies at the Guardian Angel would not allow admittance "unless [a girl] had made arrangements beforehand," and defended the decision to admit this woman by emphasizing that "quite frequently girls arrive here in an upset hysterical state and they need immediate attention and care."⁽⁵²⁾

(50) Smit, "Report of the Survey," 1958, 50. These services and programmes were extended to St. Joseph's Orphanage later in the decade when the two institutions were combined, and Sister Mary Clare took control of case work for both Homes.

(51) CPC, Acc No. 995-50-90-9: Correspondence of the Home of the Guardian Angel, 1952-1975, letter dated 21 Jan 1959.

(52) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 177, #4, Minute Book of the Board of Management, May 1949 to January 1954, Superintendent's Report, August 1953.

Similar complaints about a "limited number of beds" at the Catholic Home were reported by the CAS, and after a field trip to the Guardian Angel in 1954, Elizabeth Govan of the CWC hinted that problems for Roman Catholic unmarried mothers may have been exacerbated as they "were not able to be given accommodation at the Home."(53)

Sister Mary Clare's policies also created tensions in the working relationship with the CAS, in part because, under her administration, the Catholic Home refused the "emergency" placement of children by Blue and his case workers. Sister Mary Clare had reported to one of Blue's workers that if the Home of the Guardian Angel and St. Joseph's Orphanage offered this service, the "Children's Aid would never do anything about getting a receiving home of their own." Thus, Blue noted, while the "social work ideals and casework standards of Sister Mary Clare are both admired and respected ... on some occasions, it is felt that the ideals and standards of our Society may not be as reciprocally appreciated."(54) Similar conclusions were reached by Eric Smit. While he reported admiration for the "modern practice and concepts" at both St. Joseph's Orphanage and the Home of the Guardian Angel, he noted that there was

some lack of mutual understanding. Certainly there is a distinct contrast between the relatively fully staffed orphanage and the under-staffed child placing organizations. The same goals may exist in both cases, the same concepts may be held, but the capacity of the orphanage to carry these out is probably greater than the capacity of the other organizations. This can be a source of some irritation. In discussion during case conferences with other agencies agreement can be reached because of the similarity of

(53) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 227:26 (Halifax (N.S.) Children's Aid Society, 1936-1958), Survey Schedule Return of the CAS, 1958; NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 347:15 (Halifax General Correspondence, 1943-59), Field Work Report, 2 December 1954 (E. Govan).

(54) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 227:26 (Halifax (N.S.) Children's Aid Society, 1936-1958), Survey Schedule Return of the CAS, 1958.

attitudes, but the child placing agency may be unable to carry out its share of the plan.”(55)

The gaps in services caused by the implementation of a modern programme for child welfare under Sister Mary Clare were far from the only problems existing among the city's child caring agencies in the 1950s. The results of a preliminary survey of these problems, conducted in 1956 by L. T. Hancock of the Maritime School of Social Work, attributed many of the difficulties to “significant changes... in Child Welfare theory and practice” which had occurred in recent years. The improvements in adoption and fostering plans of the CAS and the Provincial Department (for 'normal' and hard-to-place children), as well as legislative changes such as the Family Allowance, meant that institutions had responsibility for fewer wards. As these were placements which had previously guaranteed per capita payments, these particular changes had a direct, negative impact on institutional finances.(56)

The availability of institutional placements also was shifted by the closure, in 1955, of the St. Patrick's Home for Boys, and the (re) opening, in February of 1955, of the Salvation Army Home for Girls.(57) The latter development meant that, on the whole, fewer mothers and infants were admitted to the struggling Halifax Infants' Home, while

(55) Smit, "Report of the Survey," 1958, 35.

(56) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:4, Memorandum, May 1957, from L. T. Hancock. This memorandum was submitted to a Committee of Division A, which was established to decide on, and later to orchestrate, the external survey of child welfare services in the city.

(57) It is not entirely clear why the decision was made to close St. Patrick's, but the increasing use of the Shelburne School for Boys, as well as financial troubles at the Home, were both influential in the decision. See AR, *JHA* 1956, Vol. 1, App. 4, 15.

the former meant a further reduction in the number of institutional placements for Roman Catholic children. In fact, places for non-delinquent adolescent boys in general were practically nonexistent after St. Patrick's closed, as both the Protestant Orphans' Home and St. Joseph's Orphanage had lowered the ages at which boys had to be removed (from twelve to ten years of age). Serious over-crowding at the St. Paul's Home for Girls revealed similar problems for the placement of adolescent girls. As this was generally the age group considered both too old for the majority of the city's institutions, *and* to have the most difficulty adjusting to foster care (thus needing group care more often), the lack of appropriate institutional placements for adolescents was considered an acute problem. In Halifax, child welfare workers believed that the solution to this two-fold problem lay in the creation of institutions specifically for the adolescent.(58)

When Hancock's review was submitted to the CSA in May of 1957, the unanimous decision of Division A members was that their relationships, which entailed many intertwined (and sometimes conflicting) responsibilities and goals, needed the direction and guidance which could only happen with the assistance of an external (and therefore,

(58) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:10 (Halifax Protestant Orphans' Home, 1947-1959), Survey Schedule Return, 1958; NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 347:15 (Halifax General Correspondence, 1943-59), Field Work Report, 2 December 1954 (E. Govan); NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 67 (no file #: Children, Working Boys and Working Girls Homes, 1960-1), Correspondence, 17 March 1960, from Mrs. Ruth H. Blue, Interim Executive Director of the CSA to Mr. Réal Rouleau, Family and Child Welfare Division, CWC. Ruth Blue, who was Tom Blue's wife, noted that "[i]n Halifax we do not have even one institution which gives service of any kind to the older boy. This is a serious problem with us and a sub-committee of [Division A] is at the present time studying the question of care and the adolescent boy.... Girls have not been quite as neglected as boys in Halifax [but] we do not have any homes that provide exclusively for the sixteen and eighteen year olds." Among the Homes caring for adolescent girls, she listed St. Paul's Home, St. Theresa's Retreat, and the YWCA.

apparently objective), professionally administered review. Changes did, on the one hand, reflect "an alertness to more modern methods, and a feeling on the part of Boards and Staffs of Agencies that they must not remain static." On the other, these changes created a necessity "to bring about better integration, to assess what we have and to decide what extra services we need to obtain in this community." The timing for a review was considered most appropriate because "[t]he attitudes ... and the teamwork among agencies is excellent; it seems to be a time that a study could well be undertaken."(59)

Eric Smit, who was the Executive Secretary of the Family and Child Welfare Department at the CWC, was engaged to conduct this review in 1957. Over the course of the next year, he surveyed each of the city's institutions, as well as the CAS, inquiring as to their policies, their needs, and what they themselves considered to be the gaps and weaknesses in the city's child welfare system. His final report was tabled in the autumn of 1958 and was, in some ways, predictable. Focussing on the inadequacy of funding, logistical problems and gaps in foster care services, the lack of professional status of some institutional managers, and the disproportionate amount of money spent on child *care* as opposed to child *protection*, Smit's findings echoed those of almost a decade earlier, when Division A members had sought changes in their relationship with Lantz and the CAS.

Unlike the 1951 review, however, Smit's interpretation of these problems placed institutional care, perhaps for the first time in the city's history, in a position subordinate

(59) NSARM, MG20, Vol. 408, 7.3, Correspondence 20 February 1956, from Shand to R.E.G. Davis, CWC.

to the needs and programmes of the CAS. The structure of the entire report, in fact, reflected an emphasis upon the ways in which the CAS was to be *serviced* by the institutions, and his recommendations often followed directly the concerns and complaints which Tom Blue had expressed in his survey returns. The institutional system, overall, was not providing what he considered adequate care for children with emotional disturbances, and the institutions themselves were, in his opinion, "unspecialized." This situation resulted directly from the "slow development of foster family placement" at the CAS.(60) To redress this problem, each institution needed to make "careful study," to reconsider its role, and to achieve "full realization of [its] ultimate aim, to provide services for children with special needs." Thus, they would abandon their historic roles in foster placement and as community resources for parents and families in need. The institution needed to act "in partnerships with the other services, and should not consider itself as a rival method of caring for the same kinds of children, or children in the same circumstance, as the foster family placement services [i.e., the CAS]."(61) This problem was intensified by the fact that the CAS did not have its own receiving home, and was therefore "*forced* into relationships with the institutions because it turns to them for help in caring for its wards."(62) Blue was, himself, acutely aware of the difficulties of his society's "dependence" upon the policies

(60) Notably, Smit did not consider the foster placements services which many of these institutions had maintained during the inter-war years, and for the early part of the twentieth century. The "slow development" appears to have been entirely associated with Lantz's tenure as Executive Secretary of the CAS.

(61) Smit, "Report of the Survey," 1958, 26.

(62) *Ibid.*, 17. My emphasis.

of the existing institutions, and reported, in his survey returns to Smit, that "personally," he believed the problems could be overcome if the institutions adopted "a different emphasis on their intake policies" to better suit the needs of the CAS.(63)

Despite the re-conceived relationship between the institutions and the CAS, Smit's recommendations were, in many ways, congruous with the vision of child welfare which local institutions had, themselves, promoted over the course of their histories. Quality of care was ensured through individualization (accomplished, in part, through segregation), and the promotion of such methods and practices which would mitigate the worst effects of institutionalization and help inmates to mature into responsible, Christian, and self-supporting citizens. There also was widespread agreement expressed among the survey returns that special services for emotionally disturbed children must be a priority in the city. "Rather than gaps existing," the Board of the Halifax Infants' Home argued, "there [was] an abundance of community services and ... what [was] need[ed was] a redefinition of their role to keep in tune with changes in the welfare field."(64)

The ability, or indeed, the willingness, of the Halifax institutions to redefine their roles in compliance with the demands of modern practice were obstructed by – and exposed the troubling legacies of – the denominational and racial imperatives of individual agencies. Where the desire to segregate children by religious and racial types

(63) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 227:26 (Halifax (N.S.) Children's Aid Society, 1936-1958), Survey Schedule Return of the CAS, 1958.

(64) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:8 (Halifax Infants' Home, 1948-1959), Completed Survey Returns.

had once been envisioned as a means of containing certain threats, it was now a potential barrier to what Smit, and others, believed was the full realization of a 'modern' child welfare system. This was particularly true in those instances where this segregation was the defining feature of an institutional programme. Even in the case of the Roman Catholic institutions, where the adoption of modern casework methods had transformed some of the fundamental features of their methods, the ability to transform their intake policies effectively, to accept only those for whom other methods of care were inappropriate, was restricted by their status as *Catholic* institutions. At St. Joseph's Orphanage, the religious reported to Smit that theirs was "a necessary resource in the community because it is the only Roman Catholic Child-caring institution in this area." As a result, the Home had "no specific method [of intake] other than the requests we get from agencies and individuals for our service."⁽⁶⁵⁾ Similar religious concerns also continued to affect the administration of foster placement services. In November of 1956, Sister Mary Clare appealed to the Archbishop to make a special appeal throughout the province to find placements for Roman Catholic children. In her request, she drew particular attention to the fact that twelve of their children were currently being boarded in Protestant homes.⁽⁶⁶⁾

The legacy of segregation was more troubling in the late 1950s and early 1960s for the children of the NSHCC. Here, as at St. Joseph's Orphanage, community expectations

(65) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:12 (Halifax, St. Joseph's Orphanage, 1952-1957), Completed Survey Schedule, 1958.

(66) CPC, Acc. No. 995-50-90-9, Correspondence of the Home of the Guardian Angel, 1952-1975, letter dated 26 November 1956, from Sister Mary Clare to Most Rev Berry, Archbishop of NS.

and not compliance with modern methods guaranteed a degree of permanence to the Home's programme. While the Home's board had begun, with the financial help of the Provincial Government, "an effort to bring our Institution up to or nearer the Child Care Standard," this implied an extension of the existing living, recreational, and hospital facilities, and not a redefinition of intake policies. As Kinney reported to Smit in 1959, the home continued each year to care for upwards of fifty children of all ages and backgrounds, and "even in the foreseeable future, according to our opinion and the experts, there will be the need of the type of service we are rendering.... The way we see it, children are still coming to us for care and shelter and we must keep our facilities and services up to date, until such service is no longer needed."(67)

The experts to whom Kinney referred were not likely to have been associated with the CWC. In 1962, Clare McAllister conducted a field visit to the Home on behalf of the Council. While praising the "warmth and acceptance" displayed by the Home's staff, she expressed great concern about the Home's isolation – both geographically and symbolically, from the wider community of child welfare resources. The Home's location, which had once generated praise for its wholesome, agricultural setting, was now too far from any "community activities" which might promote the integration of its inmates into "normal" community activities. Of arguably more concern was Kinney's revelation that the Provincial CAS's who maintained wards there, were "not sufficiently aggressive in seeking homes for the coloured children." This likely prompted McAllister's

(67) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 190:11 (NSHCC, 1958-1968), Correspondence, 22 July 1959, Kinney to Smit.

"particular concern [for] ... the large group of toddling children who are having no real experience of family life." McAllister wrote at length about the "question of responsibility" for this situation, and concluded that,

Much of the tolerance of [this] situation is probably rooted in community attitudes toward coloured persons. This is of concern to social workers in Halifax We must therefore upgrade community thinking to see these people as real citizens of the community with rights equal to those of other citizens, whether children or adults. The very existence of this facility, particularly now that it has a new wing and there is less overcrowding, probably contributes to the negligence of agencies in ardently seeking homes for the children who they now consign to an institution.(68)

CWC staff were not only dismayed by the continued segregation of Black children at the NSHCC. Several years before McAllister waited upon the staff at the Coloured Home in Preston, CWC representative Peter Stanne paid a visit to the Halifax Infants' Home, where another legacy of the denominational imperative appeared. Here, Stanne observed a sort of settled certainty verging on complacency among the Home's administrators. Their long standing position as the city's only Protestant Home for infants and unmarried mothers, it would seem, imbued them with as sense of singular purpose, and inspired what might be considered as arrogance and determined independence from the rest of the child welfare community. After meeting with the Board and Superintendent in 1955, Stanne was given a tour of the facilities, where he was

(68) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 190:11 (Nova Scotia Home for Coloured Children, 1958-1968) Field Report, Clare McAllister, 31 March 1962. McAllister noted, in comparison to the work of Sister Mary Clare, that little support for change could be promised from within the Home's administration. While Kinney possessed "the warmest of natural intuition," he lacked the "learned body of theory ... to reinforce any campaign to better the situation."

"shock[ed] ... to learn that the adoptable children were being *allowed* to remain in this institution ... some of them graduating into the Halifax Protestant Orphans' Home."(69) While the inmates, many of whom were non-wards, received "good physical care", they could not possibly, in his opinion, be receiving "the kind of personal care that would begin to approach what Dr. Bowlby refers to as 'maternal care'."(70) The Home appeared to be operating along the same lines as it had since its inception, sheltering unmarried mothers, sometimes for a small fee, and often with the expectation that the women would provide domestic service and nursery care before and after the birth of their children. Where mothers decided to give their children up for adoption, the Home took charge of the infants.

Theoretically, the Managing Board's Case Committee, which made most of the pertinent decisions about intake and discharge, was supposed to apply to the CAS for casework services. However, this was not done with any consistency, and many of the infants lived as private placements, or "charity cases" at the Home.(71) The separation made here between public wards and charity cases is significant, and suggests that the

(69) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 347 (Halifax, General Correspondence, 1943-1959), Field Visit Report, Peter Stanne, 8 June 1955.

(70) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 347 (Halifax, General Correspondence, 1943-1959), correspondence 15 August 1955, Stanne to Shand.

(71) Although the Home's Board of Management claimed in 1951 that "it had been decided some years ago that no private cases should be taken," and that mothers' applications for aid were to be referred directly for aid were to be referred directly to the CAS or the Provincial Department, this rule was not rigidly enforced, probably because of financial concerns. At the time of Smit's review, approximately half of the women and children in the home were private cases. See NSARM MG20 Vol. 177, #4, Minutes of the Board of Management, 10 October 1951, and NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:8 (Halifax Infants' Home, 1948-1959), Survey Schedule Returns.

board of management had remained true to the notion of charitable benevolence which was central to their earliest constitution. The primary actors in a 'true' charity were two groups: the individuals in need and those dispensing aid. The 'intermediaries' of the CAS, of casework and legal wardship, were clearly not something that these women believed necessary for all of their inmates. In 1953, the Superintendent noted with pride, in fact, that she was "quite sure that this Home is the only charitable one in the City of Halifax, because the Protestant Orphanage will not take a child from here unless he or she is a ward of a Society."(72)

Throughout the 1950s, and particularly following Smit's review, the Home's management ignored a variety of pressures which demanded that they alter this programme to better suit the needs of other agencies in the city. These pressures included financial coercion from the Community Chest, as well as what might be called professional coercion, resulting from the widely accepted "expertise" of Smit's Survey findings. In the case of the former, Shand reported in 1955 that the Community Chest was "worrying" about the "high cost of operation" at the Home. This concern was, indeed, one of the motivating factors in the earliest efforts to secure a broad review of the city's services. By the end of the decade, the Chest had moved from concern to a form of blackmail; they were, according to Shand, "bringing strong pressure on the Board of the Infants' Home to follow the recommendations of the Child Welfare Survey. Caseworkers might deplore the pressure, but some of our local workers believe that

(72) NSARM MG20 Vol. 177, #4, Minutes of the Board of Management, Superintendent's Report for October 1953.

otherwise, there will be no changes made." Members of the Chest had clearly suggested to the Home's management that financial support "might not be continued indefinitely on the present basis."(73)

Smit's report drew attention to several options for the home that might have satisfied the concerns of the Chest – and those of child care workers who were "strongly opposed" to infant care in institutional settings(74) – none of which included a continuation of their present service. The recommendations were based in part upon Smit's own opinion of the gaps and weakness in Halifax's system, but also upon the opinions of other agencies expressed through the Survey schedule returns. As such, the Report not only carried the weight of the CWC's Executive Secretary of Family and Child Welfare, but was also a measurement of the consensus of opinion among Halifax's child care workers. The suggestions themselves ranged from the possibility of operating a Homemaker service, a day care centre, or a boarding home for unmarried mothers, before and after confinement (without, it is presumed, any specific programme for infant care). It also was recommended that the Board "start studying the possibility of setting up as a home for emotionally disturbed children," or of joining forces with other institutions – like the St. Paul's Home for Girls – to expand services to other specific groups of children, notably adolescent boys.(75)

Despite the apparent wisdom of many of these suggestions, and despite the

(73) NAC, MG28, 110, Vol. 228:8 (Halifax Infants' Home, 1948-1959), Correspondence, 4 February 1959, from Shand to Smit.

(74) Smit, "Report of the Survey," 1958, 47.

(75) *Ibid.*, 48-9.

threats of funding withdrawal, the Infants' Home persistently denied that radical changes in their policies were necessary. Indeed, the seeming contradiction of their participation during the 1951 review, and their position on this later survey, suggest that their earlier support and promotion for 'modern' methods was calculated to maintain their historic mandate, rather than to position themselves for a new, more specialized role in the community.(76) At the time of Smit's review, the management at the Home was not unaware that conditions bearing directly on their services had changed – including a drop in placements from the CAS and the Provincial Department, the impact of Family Allowances, and the opening of the Salvation Army Home. However, operationally and rhetorically, they attempted to lessen the impact of these changes. Early in 1954 or 1955, for example, they had begun to take convalescent cases from the local children's hospital. Board members, possibly under the influence of the Home's Physician and its new President, Dr. Alice Kitz, began "emphasizing the value of the Home as a convalescent Centre" for "mongoloids ... [the] severely mentally retarded, or even ... chronically ill children."(77) This option had no appeal for other agencies, however (as was made clear in Smit's Report), probably because it did nothing to address immediate concerns about child *welfare* (i.e. the care of *dependent* children, particularly those who were emotionally disturbed, as opposed to those whose needs were strictly physical/medical). Smit himself argued that outpatient care of the type suggested by the Halifax Infants'

(76) Significantly, at the first meeting of Division A set to discuss the findings of Smit's survey, there was no representation from the Halifax Infants' Home.

(77) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:4 (Halifax (N.S.) Child Welfare Services (Survey), 1956-1961), Correspondence, 25 April 1958, Shand to Smit.

Home "require[d] considerable knowledge and skill both on the part of the hospital and of the agency providing the services if it is not to be used merely as a convenience rather than in the interests of a child." His report clearly implied that this quality of staff was not available at the Infants' Home, and he further questioned "whether an institutional setting [was] the best way to provide convalescent care as the child has already had an institutional experience in the hospital and he may not respond well to another institutional period."(78)

A more subtle, but nonetheless ultimately unsuccessful attempt to defend their long-standing community role, involved Infants' Home board members, and the Superintendent, in an emotional promotion of their basic policy as being a necessary stop-gap service for the most unfortunate members of the community – unmarried mothers. Drawing direct comparison with the restrictive intake policy at the Home of the Guardian Angel, the Survey returns for the Infants' Home noted several cases of abandonment and eviction of single mothers, including one case of a "Common Law wife with two young children and a new baby due, literally on the street ... evicted at night. Because no one else will handle these cases, we do. What good is hard and fast 'Policy' when the need is urgent and is referred by Social Workers to our door." This same return also expressed a degree of bitterness over the difficulty of getting case histories for the girls and children in the home. "We should not have to argue our need for them, or, our right to them. Neither should we need to wait weeks, before receiving half answers. We

(78) Smit, "Report of the Survey," 1958, 47.

notice that we are expected to tell all and give full cooperation.”(79)

Several months after the release of Smit's report, amid increasing pressure for change, the Halifax Infants' Home Board also claimed to possess "information 'on competent authority' that a number of poor commercial and unlicensed homes have sprung up." If the Infants' Home no longer functioned in its traditional capacity, many unmarried mothers would be left to the mercy of these unscrupulous baby farmers.(80) While the number of mothers in the home was higher at the time these claims were made, seeming to support the arguments made by the managers about the necessity of the service, Shand suggested that this was likely due "to their very definite effort, through letters and other publicity, to persuade girls to enter from other parts of Nova Scotia.”(81)

After the release of Smit's report and the positive publicity given to its recommendations, it became more difficult for the management of the Infants' Home to present alternatives, and they appear to have, instead, adopted a "wait and see" approach to their problems. Shand, Smit, and MacKinnon expressed great concern over this continued, stubborn resistance. Dr. Kitz, who was initially believed to be a potential force for positive change, displayed to Smit "a certain complacency that was regrettable." She apparently had argued that "social workers in Halifax [were] behind a continuation of the

(79) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:8 (Halifax Infants' Home, 1948-1959), Completed Survey Schedule, 1958.

(80) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:4 (Halifax (N.S.) Child Welfare Services (Survey), 1956-1961), correspondence, 14 May 1959, Smit to Shand.

(81) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:8 (Halifax Infants' Home, 1948-1959), correspondence, 4 February 1959, Shand to Smit.

existing function" of the Home, and Smit did not "know just how this [could] be tackled." (82) Meetings held with Shand and MacKinnon were equally fruitless. In February of 1959, the Home's representatives were apparently becoming "resentful" of the intrusion of other agencies into their internal affairs, and "[i]t was evident [that they] wished to continue on the same basis rather indefinitely." (83)

From the perspective of these social workers, *closure* was not the ultimate goal of their pressures – transformation was. From the perspective of the Halifax Infants' Home's Board, however, it appears that change – or continuity – were of less importance than maintaining their right to decide for themselves what future course would be taken. Unable to make a convincing argument to continue their services, and surely unable to function under threats of the withdrawal of financial support from the Community Chest, the Home's Advisory Committee decided that the Home would close permanently in February of 1960, after 85 years of operation. Ironically, in a letter to Smit describing this decision, Gwendolyn Shand wrote, "[t]here has been much quiet work (both direct and indirect) done on this problem since last spring. Besides our Council, the United Appeal, and the Provincial Dept of Child Welfare have played their part. It has come about quietly and without any ultimatums and only indirect 'pressure.' We are so glad the Board came to their own decision without any real struggle." (84)

(82) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:4 (Halifax (N.S.) Child Welfare Services (Survey), 1956-1961), correspondence, 8 October 1958, Smit to Shand.

(83) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:8 (Halifax Infants' Home, 1948-1959), correspondence, 18 February 1959, Shand to Smit.

(84) NAC, MG28 I10, Vol. 228:8 (Halifax Infants' Home, 1948-1959), correspondence, 11 December 1959, Shand to Smit.

The closure of the Halifax Infants' Home demonstrates, on one hand, the diminished power of the institutions in the city. Once independent and powerful enough to direct their own programmes and control the direction of local welfare efforts, they now lacked even the smallest influence over decisions affecting their own work. On the other hand, the closure highlights the ways in which the denominational imperatives of their earliest identity constrained their ability to recognize their limitations or adapt to new circumstances.

The closure should not, however, be taken as evidence that the institutions' imperatives were universally recognized as problematic or requiring change. There is no evidence, for example, that local care givers objected to the Catholic institutions' insistence upon the need to direct their services to Roman Catholic clientele. Yet, the shortage of Catholic foster placements remained a concern into the 1960s. Similarly, the NSHCC, whose claims to a continuation of the *status quo* were arguably *less* compelling than those of the Infants' Home, was granted Provincial funding in the late 1950s to expand their institution and improve facilities.⁽⁸⁵⁾ On the one hand, the Infants' Home's claims for continuance were based upon a particular type of service for which there continued to be a demand, however diminished. It might well be argued, moreover, that there were great benefits to be gained in such a service, particularly for the unmarried mothers' themselves. The professional social work methods in use at the Home of the

(85) See Saunders, *Share and Care*, 105. The new addition was called the Cumming Annex, after the Home's former President, Dr. Melvin Cumming. The Annex cost approximately \$70,000, and housed expanded sleeping quarters (increasing the Home's capacity to 65), a large dining room, modern kitchen, and small, basement level gymnasium. It was opened on 28 April 1961.

Guardian Angel may have been, as the Infants' Home claimed, inflexible, and they were certainly more intrusive than the admittance rules at the Infants' Home. The latter's continued acceptance of private cases likely would have made them an appealing option for young women 'in trouble.'(86) On the other hand, the NSHCC's claims were based, in part, upon an unwillingness to integrate the institutional system and, in part, upon the Home's continued pride of place within the Black Community. The legacy of the denominational-racial imperative was thus uneven, and highly circumstantial. Institutional managers and boards acted and reacted as independent agents in the community – not always with success – but never as passive elements whose history was forced and moved by some general and fixed process of secularization or modernization.

(86) Despite the problems at the Halifax Infants' Home, there were regularly upwards of 10 or 20 girls in residence throughout the 1950s, and at the time of closing, there were 27 children living there. Alternative services for Protestant girls did exist at the Salvation Army Maternity Hospital, but these were not likely large enough to handle all such cases in the city. There do not appear to have been any other local Roman Catholic Homes for unmarried mothers. For a discussion of the potential drawbacks of social work methods in the care of unmarried mothers, see Regina Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890-1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

CONCLUSION

From the late nineteenth century to the late 1950s, child welfare in Halifax was transformed. Early organization around denominational, institutional care for *all* dependent children was replaced by a system featuring aggressive adoption and foster care placement for "normal" children. This latter service was administered through the CAS and its social workers, while "group care" was developed for those unsuited, by temperament or emotional state, for the transition to a new family. By the 1960s, the church-affiliated institutions, which had once been central to the welfare system, operated in a restricted capacity and with a diminished jurisdiction. Ideally, they were no longer managed by untrained, supposedly amateur staff, but rather by 'professional' social workers who understood the complexities and necessary processes of modern child welfare. In essence, the facts of these changes indicate the secularization of Halifax's child welfare system.

There are five main problems with this narrative. First, it attributes to Halifax social workers a degree of disinterested professionalism that was not always evident. Second, in treating social workers and religious volunteers as opposites, and emphasizing the impact of the former, it helps to deny the continued emphasis of religious belief and religious training within child welfare programmes. Third, it fails to compare the different histories of local institutions and to explain their differences. Why did some stay open, with their governing programmes nearly intact (like the NSHCC), while others

were closed (the Halifax Infants' Home), and still others adopted programmes and procedures which were more progressive than even the so-called secular and professional system of the CAS (for example, the Home of the Guardian Angel under Sister Mary Clare)? The secularization narrative, in failing to answer such questions, has a fourth limitation: it fails to explain the timing of institutional change. When the secularization narrative placed the ability to effect change squarely with the opinions and efforts of the progressive experts, then conservatism among Haligonians seems to explain the persistence of the city's Homes and asylums well beyond the date established by the secularization narrative in Canada. But this explanation does little justice to the political interests, influence, and power of the local institutions, and this is the fifth of its limitations. The complexity of their historical development is reduced to "modernization," and the active role which their managers played in directing the course of the child welfare system as a whole is forgotten. The unevenness of development, the impact of context, of persistent economic underdevelopment, of politics, of racism, and of the shifting claims of sacred motivation and secular purpose, are subsumed under a binary opposition between the modern professional, and the religious/old-fashioned amateur.

In order to redress the problems of linearity and inevitability which are built into an explanation based upon the secularization model, this thesis has tried to explore change without relying upon the imprecise explanatory terminology of secularization, modernization, or professionalization. By avoiding these catch-all phrases for historical change, I was able to investigate the varied ways that these general phenomena emerged

in Halifax's particular context. This does not mean that secular, modern, or professional elements had no part to play in this argument. Indeed, all of these elements were crucial, with varying emphases, over this sixty year period. It means, instead, that religion was removed as the analytical category which defined one set of welfare agencies against another.⁽¹⁾ This allowed both for the study of the internal interests and politics of the institutions themselves, and for a clearer understanding of the ways that sacred emphases operated both within the institutions, and within the supposedly secular agencies in the city.

This approach to institutional change in Halifax also allowed for a clearer understanding of the ways in which the local context regulated the direction and pace of change during this period. Persistent economic troubles in the city, and the province more generally, are clearly as important to understanding the peculiarities of the child welfare system in Halifax as ideological or political ideas about the ideal system. The Great War and the Halifax Explosion, the chronic inter-war unemployment and underdevelopment of the region, and the upheaval of the Second World War, increased the number of families who required welfare services, and intensified awareness about the ways that local children were threatened by their environments. However, these events and conditions *also* restricted the abilities of the institutions to respond to local needs, to maintain their facilities, and to provide the kinds of services which they believed were necessary for the protection of their inmates.

After World War Two, while Family Allowances may have lessened stresses on

(1) See Chaves. "Secularization as Declining Religious Authority." 750.

local families, they did little to alleviate the most pressing problems of institutional financing. And, as adoption and foster placement programmes in the City and Province were intensified under the leaderships of Tom Blue and Fred MacKinnon, the institutions faced further reductions in their income, and the material realities of declining populations. However, as the 1958 Survey conducted by Eric Smit demonstrated, the institutions did not capitulate under these economic and demographic pressures. Many local Homes successfully adapted their programmes and services to suit the transformed parameters of child welfare in the 1950s. In many cases, moreover, the institutions led the way in this transformation.

Halifax's denominational institutions existed as political forces in the child welfare community. They had their own sets of interests, their own politics, their own varied and historically determined philosophies and attitudes toward other child welfare agencies, and toward their own functions. And, very significantly, while they proclaimed and practised a service based in some part on religious belief, they did not have prior claim on their positions in the community because of this. Nor was that position eroded because of their association with religion. Similarly, the interests and philosophies of other agencies in the city were not exclusively secular, nor did they gain control or ascendancy over the institutions only/simply because they were more modern, more scientific, or more professional. The politics of denomination, racism, and interpersonal friction were, instead, the crucial factors in the varied and uneven changes in this system. And while not all institutions were successful – that is, able to maintain their position and continue their services in the community – they were all implicated in the

emergence of "modernity." Their denominational imperatives laid the tracks upon which future developments ran.

When understood as political actors, the institutions become barometers of at least some part of the community's attitudes and fears about childhood. On the one hand, their efforts to separate children from the apparently contaminating influence of degenerate family or community settings, expressed the vital, symbolic importance attached to childhood. "We realize very fully," one public official declared, "that the race marches forward or backward on the feet of little children."⁽²⁾ On the other hand, the persistent focus upon, and multiplication of, sources for the contamination and corruption of childhood, exposed some of the most basic fears in this community. These were not only fears about the future potential of children, but also about denomination, and about race.

From the earliest attempts to provide services for dependent children in Halifax, the ability to contain threats to childhood required the elimination of contaminant influences. In the nineteenth century, many contaminants and sources for the corruption of dependent children were identified within the *adult* world of Poor Houses and asylums. This belief was an important factor in the development of specialized institutions for children.⁽³⁾ The ability of a child-centred institution to limit access to

(2) M. E. MacKenzie, "Report of the Superintendent of Nursing Service," *Annual Report Department of Public Health*, 1927, 19.

(3) See Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, esp. chapters 3 and 4, "Childhood Sentiment and Specialized Children," and "Charity Givers and the 'Child-Institutionalized'." See also Fitzner, *The Development of Social Welfare in Nova Scotia*, 35-36, 43-47.

their inmates, and to maintain a physical barrier between the child and the contamination of their family or community, was thus a distinct benefit of their service.

When cultural differences were perceived as sources of contamination, religious and racial segregation became the defining basis for institutional organization in the city. Children were not, among themselves, considered equal in nature, potential or character. Of perhaps more significance than the segregation necessitated by age were, in this period, the separations required by religious dogmatism and racism. In an ideal system, there could / should be no mixing between Roman Catholics and Protestants. And, while there was less strictness about the mixing of various Protestant sects, there were clearly moments when even this latter category was broken down in the interests of denominationalism.

Concerns over race were equally predominant in the organization and administration of institutional services in the city. In this period, blackness – closely linked with notions of savagery – was understood to be a threat to ideal childhood development. The creation of the NSHCC speaks clearly of the power of these attitudes in Halifax. Blacks were not given access to mainstream institutional care because of their skin colour. And, as the denominational segregation of institutions had established a pattern for the segregation of types, there was little ground for arguing the case of integration.⁽⁴⁾ Importantly, however, the Colored Home was as much a creation of the

(4) Ironically, the management of the NSHCC decided to integrate the Home in the 1970s, allowing white children and families to make use of their services. The institution, still under the same name, continues in operation today, although not as an orphanage,

Black community's agency and self-awareness, as it was of racism. For Nova Scotia's Blacks, this Home was an important symbol of community progress.

Community attitudes toward children and child welfare also were reflected in the disciplinary regimes that were adopted by the city's institutions over the course of the twentieth century. These regimes were inspired in part by the Homes' religious motivations, and in part by their participation in the creation of a social discourse about dependent childhood. Children's behaviour, appearance, language, and attitudes were carefully delineated through welfare programmes and legal regulations, to express what a large proportion of the community believed to be the childhood ideal – at least, the ideal to be sought for the children of the poor.⁽⁵⁾ As such, the racial and religious imperatives of institutional organization were joined by the class and gender imperatives of institutional practice. In the occupational training they offered children, the institutions sought to make their charges independent and useful in the future in ways that conformed to existing norms of class and gender separation.

Over time, these disciplinary regimes and legal structures also were refined to address both real and perceived problems in the institutional system itself, and in the community. The imagined source of potential corruption and degeneracy shifted perceptibly from the physical to the psychological and emotional. The development of foster care, and the full participation of the institutions in that programme, provide the clearest example of how the perception of this particular threat operated. It also

but as a resource centre for at-risk teenagers. See Saunders, *Share and Care*, 110-113.

(5) See Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor*, especially chapter one, for a discussion of the politicized discourse of "the children of the poor."

demonstrates that the institutions were not opposed to the philosophies and programmes promoted by supposedly modern agencies like the CAS; they were, in Halifax, actively involved in forming and defining that modern system. Measures of normalcy – based in professional psychological discourse as much as the experiences and philosophies behind the institutions themselves – were used to divide children by temperament and character. Those considered "normal" – and who had not been placed in the institution by a parent in need of temporary assistance – could best be cared for in a "normal" environment, i.e. the family setting. Even before the city's local CAS was fully functioning, several local institutions were involved in fostering and adopting their inmates into the community, in an effort to promote this sense of normalcy.

As this definition of normalcy was expanded, encompassing children once thought unsuited to foster care or adoption, the populations of these institutions did decline. However, the definition of degeneracy, of abnormality, became simultaneously sharper. Thus, while foster homes and adoptive placements were promoted as the best solution to the problem of dependency, they were suitable only for the *normal* dependent. The others – the abnormal, the emotionally disturbed – were those now in need of group care. And as the conflict between the institutions and Gwendolen Lantz demonstrated, the institutions themselves were active promoters of this vision of institutionalization. Their historic organization upon a foundation of division and careful segregation secured the continuation of institutional care itself, if only in a limited

form.(6)

The institutional histories in Halifax also demonstrate that their participation in these modern programmes of care was not simply an attempt to ensure that all children could attain a predefined ideal. The institutions participated because of their fears about religious or racial contamination. The programmes they devised were attempts to minimize the corrupting influences of immoral parents, and even the potential psychological damage which could occur from long periods of institutionalization. Institutional managers and executive boards established services, altered (or maintained) programmes, and shifted their focuses to a variety of therapeutic techniques in response to *context*. The adoption of supposedly modern innovations was not necessarily ideologically innovative or deliberately modernizing, but was part of a multifaceted political strategy carried on among institutions, and within a community beset by social turmoil and economic impotence, particularly in pre-World War Two period. This is evidenced no more clearly, perhaps, than by the persistence of the denominational/racial imperative into the 1950s, and its continued ability to influence and limit change within the system.

When, with historical hindsight, we can see the limitations imposed by religious

(6) In most cases, local institutions had changed their underlying philosophies and programmes by the late 1960s or early 1970s. In 1969, for example, the welfare services of the St. Paul's Home for Girls were deliberately phased out of the constitution. In 1970, it operated as a short-term residence for young women (aged 16 to 25), who were studying in Halifax. Two years later, it became a residence for the older female students from the Halifax School for the Blind. See Frank Kempster, "St. Paul's Alms House of Industry for Girls: Minutes in Time" (1983). St. Joseph's was closed in 1967 (and with it, the Home of the Guardian Angel), and in 1970, the Protestant Orphans' Home was transformed into the Veith Street community centre. See Appendix One.

and racial segregation, it can be tempting to define it as a flawed approach, and to place blame for current problems on these past imperatives. It is not clear, however, that any other approach would have been acceptable in the nineteenth century, given both the historic involvement of churches and religious organizations in the administration of charity, and the powerful sense of community identity which so often was derived from denominational association. It also is not clear that such an approach, in principle, would be undesirable today. If we see the nineteenth century's denominational identities as having similar social meanings to racial ones in the twentieth, this point may be clearer. When provincial governments undertook deliberately integrationist approaches to the fostering and adoption of aboriginal children in the 1960s, for example, they did so with the belief that differences of religion and race must not override the 'best interests of the child'. Between 1960 and 1990, it is estimated that over 11,000 aboriginal children were adopted, and that over ninety percent of these were placed with white families. Activists within the Aboriginal community refer to this as the "Big Scoop," and see it as one in a series of deliberate attempts to perpetrate cultural genocide. And while the project was halted after protests in the late 1980s, campaigns to "repatriate" these children continue. This is certainly a controversial effort,⁽⁷⁾ but one which Aboriginal leaders believe is necessary to the promotion and protection of their culture. They would have agreed with

(7)See, for example, Margaret Wentz, "The Best Interests of the Child?" *Globe and Mail*, 22 February 2003, A19; Suzanne Fournier and Ernie Crey, *Stolen From Our Embrace: the Abduction of First Nations Children and the Restoration of Aboriginal Communities* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1997). On 9 July 2003, CBC Radio One's *The Current* aired a short documentary on the issue of repatriation and the "Big Scoop." This programme can be accessed on-line at: <http://www.cbc.ca/thecurrent/2003/200307/20030709.html>

the concerns expressed in a 1971 report from the NSHCC. In September of that year, the Home's administrators expressed concern over the ability to uphold the principles of racially specific foster and adoptive placements. "[I]n order to counteract any psychological deprivation a child might experience while being in white foster or adoption homes," it was paramount that Black children be placed with Black families.(8)

In recent years, Canada's institutional history has entered the public consciousness in another – particularly distressing – way. The sexual and physical abuse of institutionalized children, the cultural genocide associated with the Residential schools, and the multi-million dollar lawsuits launched against church bodies, are the most common connections now made between child welfare and the nation's institutions.(9) The archival material produced by the managers and governing boards

(8) NSARM MG20 Vol. 705 #1 (NSHCC, 1917-1978), untitled report, September 1971.

(9) The 1924 Inquiry into the Industrial School is a notable, historic occurrence of the association between abuse and institutional care. Ironically, considering the graphic exposure of those conditions, the Industrial School is one of two local institutions that have recently come under investigation for abuse. In its incarnation as the Shelburne School for boys, the former industrial school has been associated with a number of lawsuits and accusations of physical and sexual abuse, as well as several (successful) counter-accusations launched by former staff members, that they were falsely accused. In 1999, an independent review of these accusations was made by retired Justice, Fred Kaufman. See, Kaufman, *Searching for Justice: An Independent Review of Nova Scotia's Response to Reports of Institutional Abuse* (N.S. Dept. of Justice: 2002).

The NSHCC also has come under scrutiny for alleged abuses, and in January of 2001, legal action was taken by former residents against staff at the Home. In the case of the latter, accusations have centred on physical abuse dating from the 1940s, and physical and sexual abuse dating from the 1960s and 1970s. See, for example, "Former resident of coloured children's home plans critical book," *Halifax Mail-Star*, 26 December 2000; and Michael Lightstone, "More Suits Allege Abuse at Orphanage," *The Halifax Herald*, 24 December 2002. At this date, 31 separate suits have been filed.

On the problems of abuse and the issue of cultural genocide at the Residential Schools, see for example, Jean Barman, "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls

of these Homes and asylums presents institutions as some of the country's earliest charitable endeavours, whose staffs were guided by religious principles, and who acted in what they believed were the best interests of the children under their care. Institutional managers, as demonstrated by this study of Halifax, were cognizant of the potential psychological damage which could occur within their walls. But, these Homes were part of a system of child welfare, including both institutions and other methods of care, which offered similar promises, and similar threats, to childhood. We risk misunderstanding their position when they are isolated from this wider context.

The ways that these current narratives of abuse and betrayal have altered our perceptions and coloured our memories of the meaning of institutional care are tremendous. This is an important reason why oral histories were *not* conducted as part of the research for this dissertation. This is not to say that such histories are without value. In many ways, oral research would provide vital information on the subject of institutional experience. They would offer a necessary corrective to any notion that the institutions' self-descriptions should be taken as accounts of their inmates' lives. They would offer vivid depictions of the repressive mechanisms of child welfare efforts, and expose the ways that these mechanisms were challenged and altered by the experiences

at All Hallows School, 1884-1920," in Strong-Boag and Fellman, eds, *Re-thinking Canada*, 215-233; Isobelle Knockwood, "My Childhood," in Hilary Thompson, ed., *Children's Voices in Atlantic Literature and Culture: Essays on Childhood* (Guelph, Ont: 1995), and *Out of the Depths: The Experience of Ni'kmaw at the Indian Residential School at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia* (Lockport, N. S., 1992); J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: 1996); John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999).

of the inmates themselves. But it is equally likely that through the filters of hindsight, particularly in the highly charged political atmosphere surrounding institutional care today, oral histories would not have contributed materially to the particular focus and intention of the current project. This is not a history of the institutional experience, but a history of institutional change, and of the active role which the directors of institutions themselves took in the shaping of our current child welfare system. As Joan Scott argues, "[e]xperience is not the origin of our explanation, but that which we want to explain."⁽¹⁰⁾ We know that abuses happened, that there were serious cracks and faults in the child welfare system (both past and present), but we have lacked an accurate picture of the ways that this system developed, how the practices and philosophies through which such abuses were perpetrated, came into being. Both religious and social scientific ideals of child welfare practices promised better conditions for dependent children. But it is clearly not the case that "bad" methods have been replaced with "good" ones.

(10) Scott, "Experience," 38.

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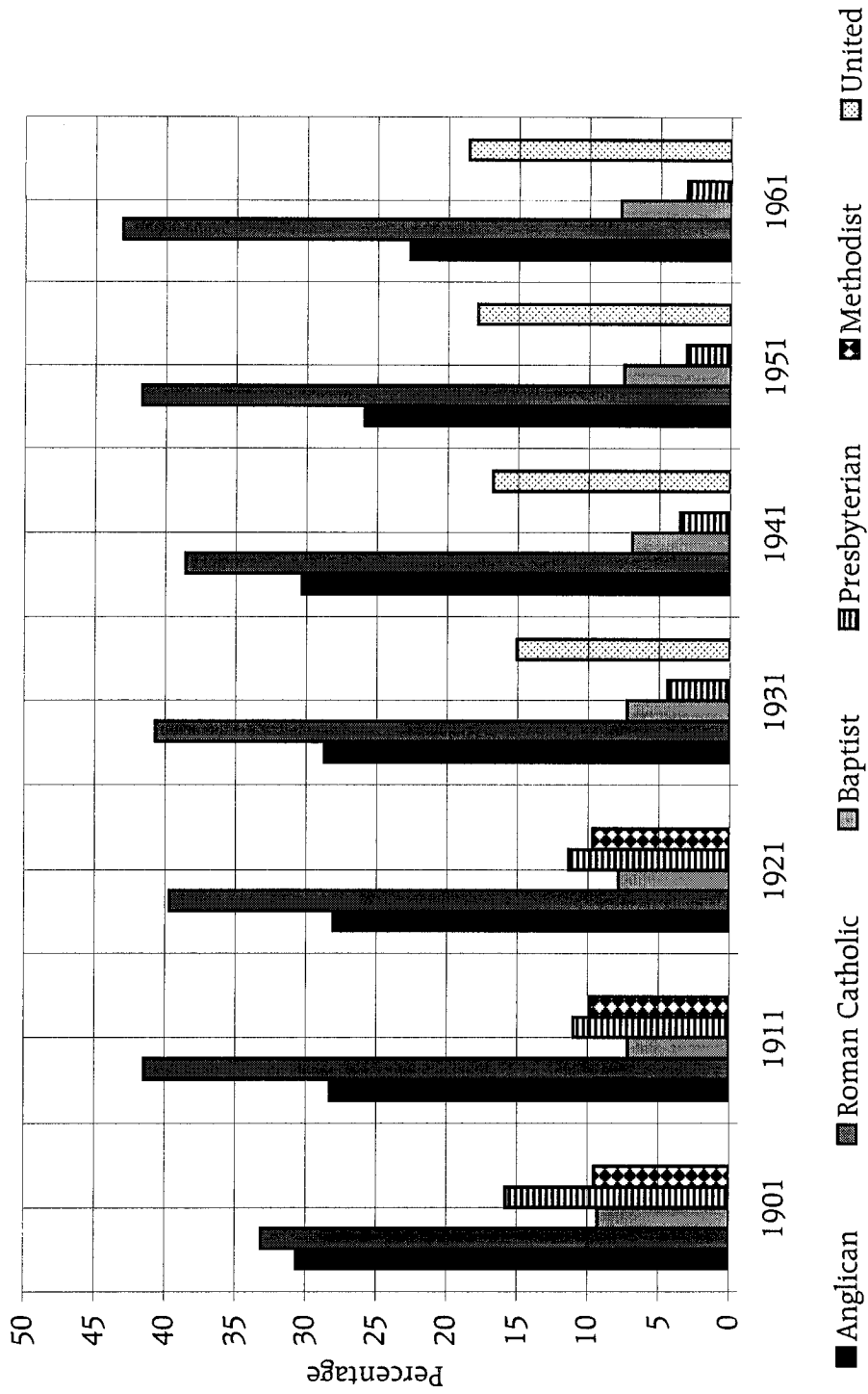
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APPENDIX ONE

NAMES, YEARS OF OPERATION, AND CAPACITIES OF INSTITUTIONS FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN
IN HALIFAX (INCLUDES NSHCC, PRESTON)

ORPHANAGES AND ASYLUMS:	DATES OF OPERATION	CAPACITY
College Street Home for Girls	1891-1921 (last report)	c. 10-12
Nova Scotia Home for Colored Children	1921 - present (no longer functions as residential facility)	50
Protestant Orphans' Home	1857 - 1970 (became Veith Street Community Centre)	46 (pre-1917) 50 (Veith St.)
St. Paul's Home for Girls	1867 - 1969/70 (became residence for female students from the Halifax School for the Blind)	30
St. Joseph's Orphanage	1868 - 1967 (replaced St. Mary's Convent Orphanage, which was open from 1849-68)	175
REFORMATORIES	DATES OF OPERATION	CAPACITY
Monastery of the Good Shepherd (after 1951/2 was known as St. Euphrasia's Training School)	1890 - 1971	250 (including adult women and religious)
Halifax Industrial School	1864 - 1947 (moved to Shelburne, Nova Scotia)	60
St. Patrick's Home for Boys	1885 - 1955	95
INFANTS HOMES	DATES OF OPERATION	CAPACITY
Halifax Infants' Home	1875- 1960	60
Home of the Guardian Angel	1888 - 1967 (closed with St. Joseph's Orphanage)	170
Salvation Army Home	1893 - c. 1922, re-opened 1955	c. 25-30, 1955: c. 30

Appendix Two:
 Percentage of Total Population for Selected Denominations in Halifax 1901-1961
 Source: Canada Census, 1901-1961



APPENDIX THREE

TOTAL NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONALIZED CHILDREN IN THE CITY 1914-1924

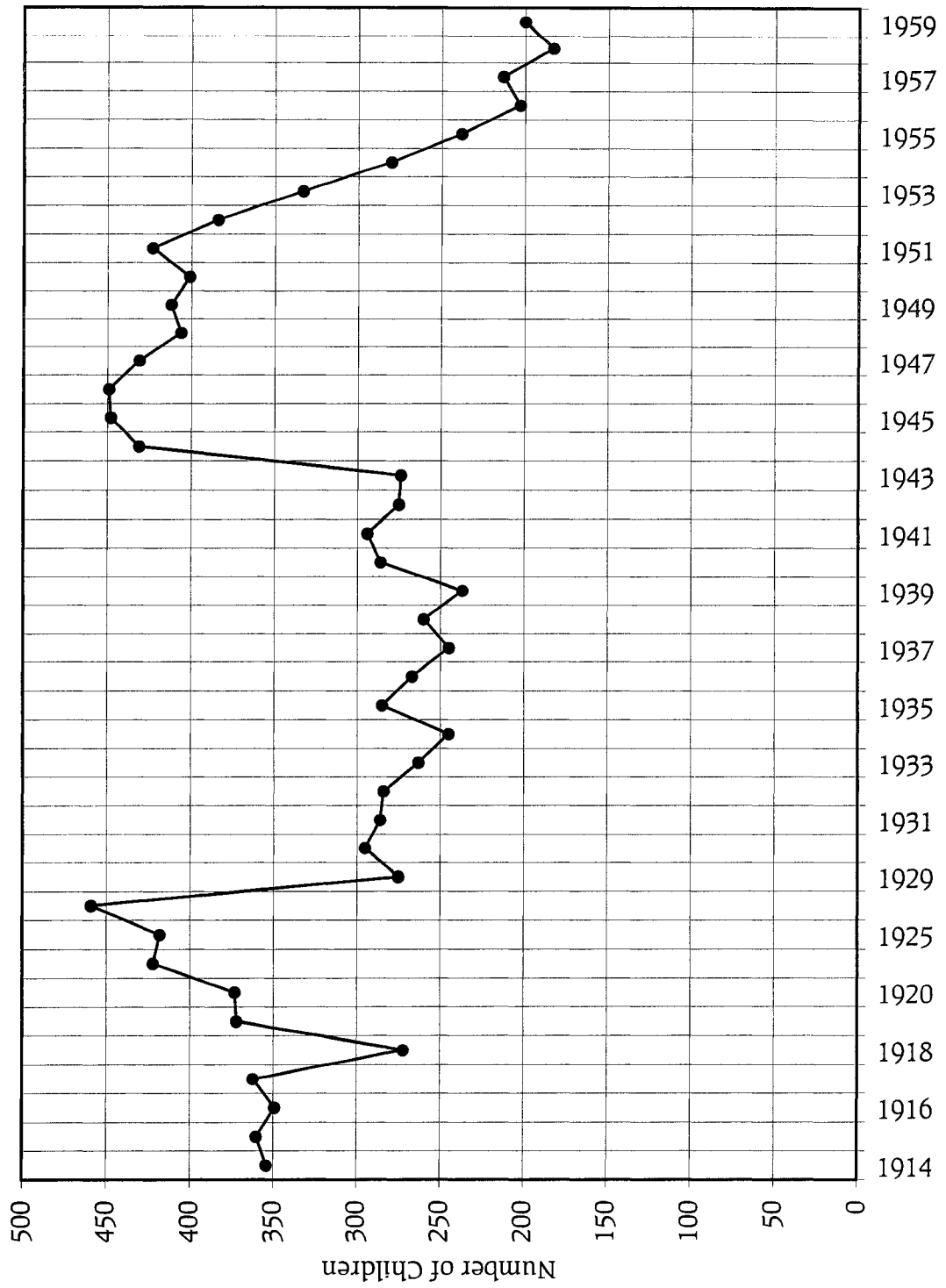
The following series of four graphs indicate the number of children living in the city's denominational institutions for the years 1914-1959. Data were not available for the years 1921-1923, and 1926-1927. Graph 3.1 depicts the total number for all of the city's Homes, excluding the Reformatories and the Monastery of the Good Shepherd. The latter housed dependent and delinquent children, but the proportion of each was never consistently reported. Thus, the data here refers to the Halifax Infants' Home, the Home of the Guardian Angel, the Halifax Protestant Orphans' Home, St. Joseph's Orphanage, St. Paul's Home for Girls, and (after 1921), the NSHCC.

Graphs 3.2 to 3.4 separate these returns by the major racial and denominational divisions within the city's Homes. Thus, 3.2 depicts the number of children housed in the Roman Catholic institutions (the Home of the Guardian Angel and St. Joseph's Orphanage), and graph 3.3 depicts the same for the Protestant Homes (including the Halifax Infants' Home, the Protestant Orphans' Home, and St. Paul's Home for Girls. 3.4 shows the population levels at the NSHCC. These graphs are followed by a table (3.5) containing the data for each individual institution.

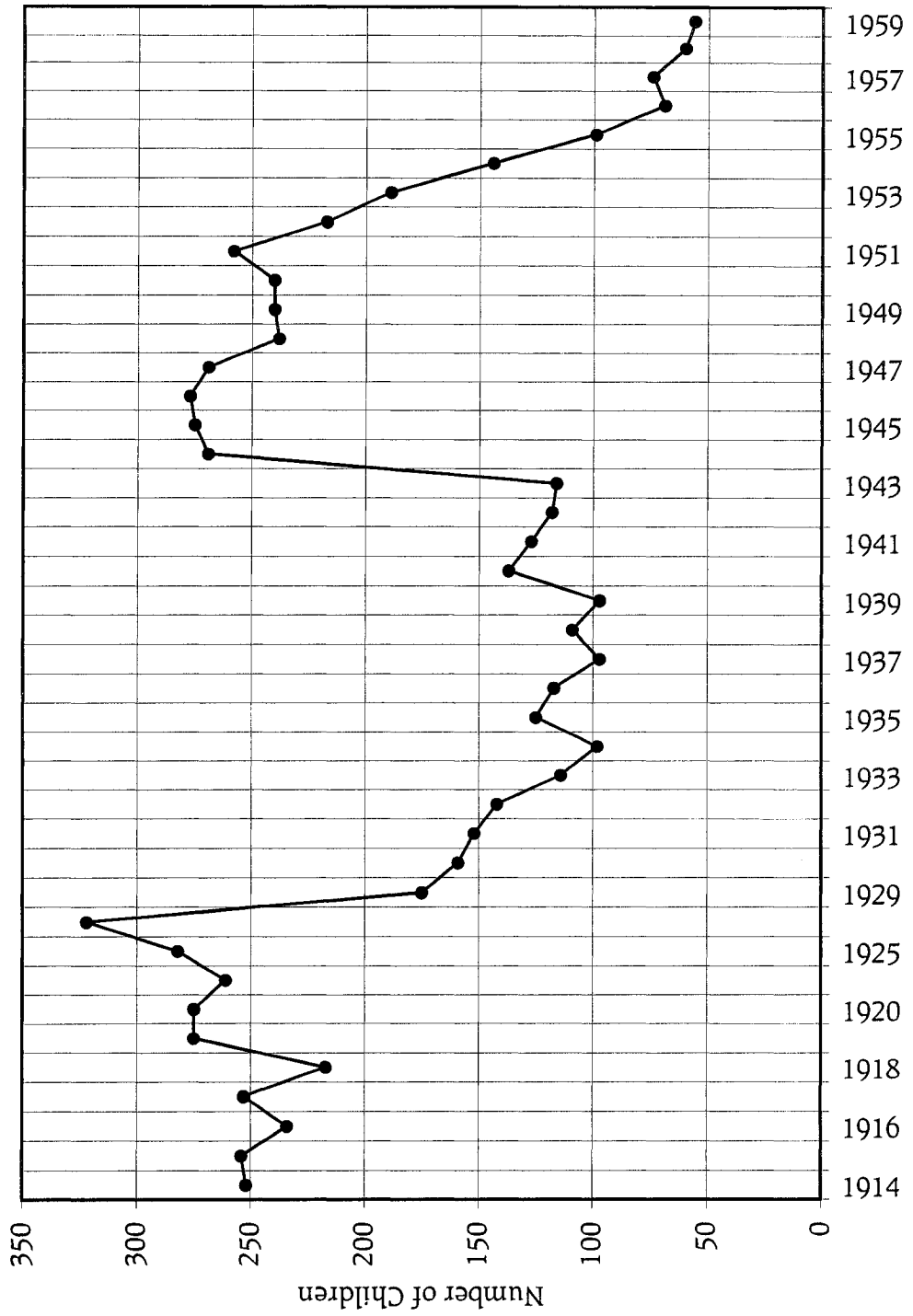
Of particular note are the rapid decline in institutional populations, for all institutions, during the Great Depression. During these years, it is probable that institutions were financially incapable of maintaining larger numbers of inmates. In

Graph 3.2, note in particular the dramatic drop in numbers after 1951, corresponding with the arrival of Sister Mary Clare. In Graph 3.3, note the dramatic downward spike in 1917, which corresponds with the destruction of the Protestant Orphans' Home at the time of the Explosion. All data were retrieved from the Annual Reports of the Provincial Superintendent, *JHA*, 1914-1961.

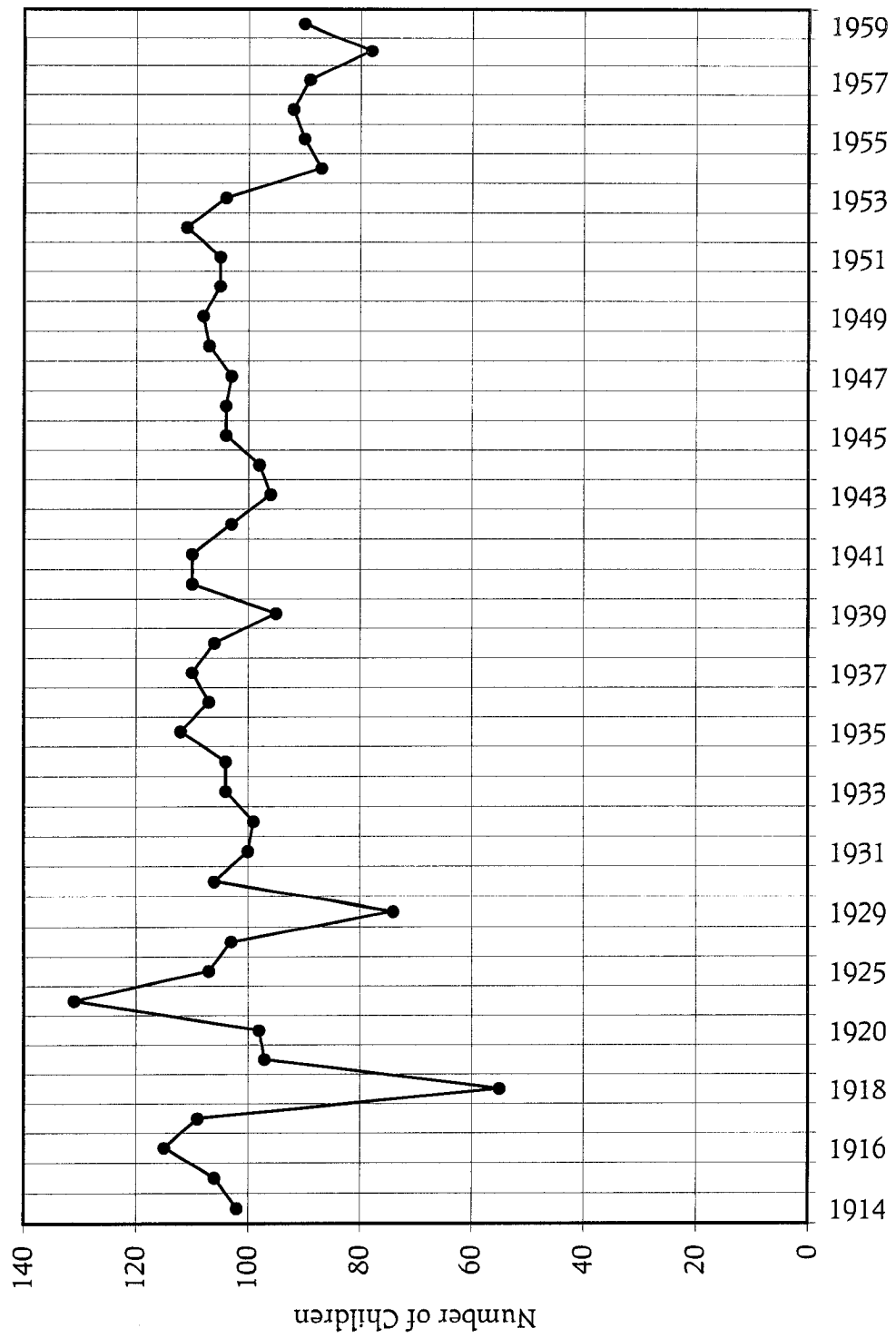
Graph 3.1: Total Number of Children Living in all Local Institutions, 1914-1959



Graph 3.2: Total Number of Children Living in the Roman Catholic Institutions, 1914-1959



Graph 3.3: Total Number of Children Housed in the Protestant Institutions, 1914-1959



Graph 3.4 Total Number of Children Living at the NSHCC, 1924-1959

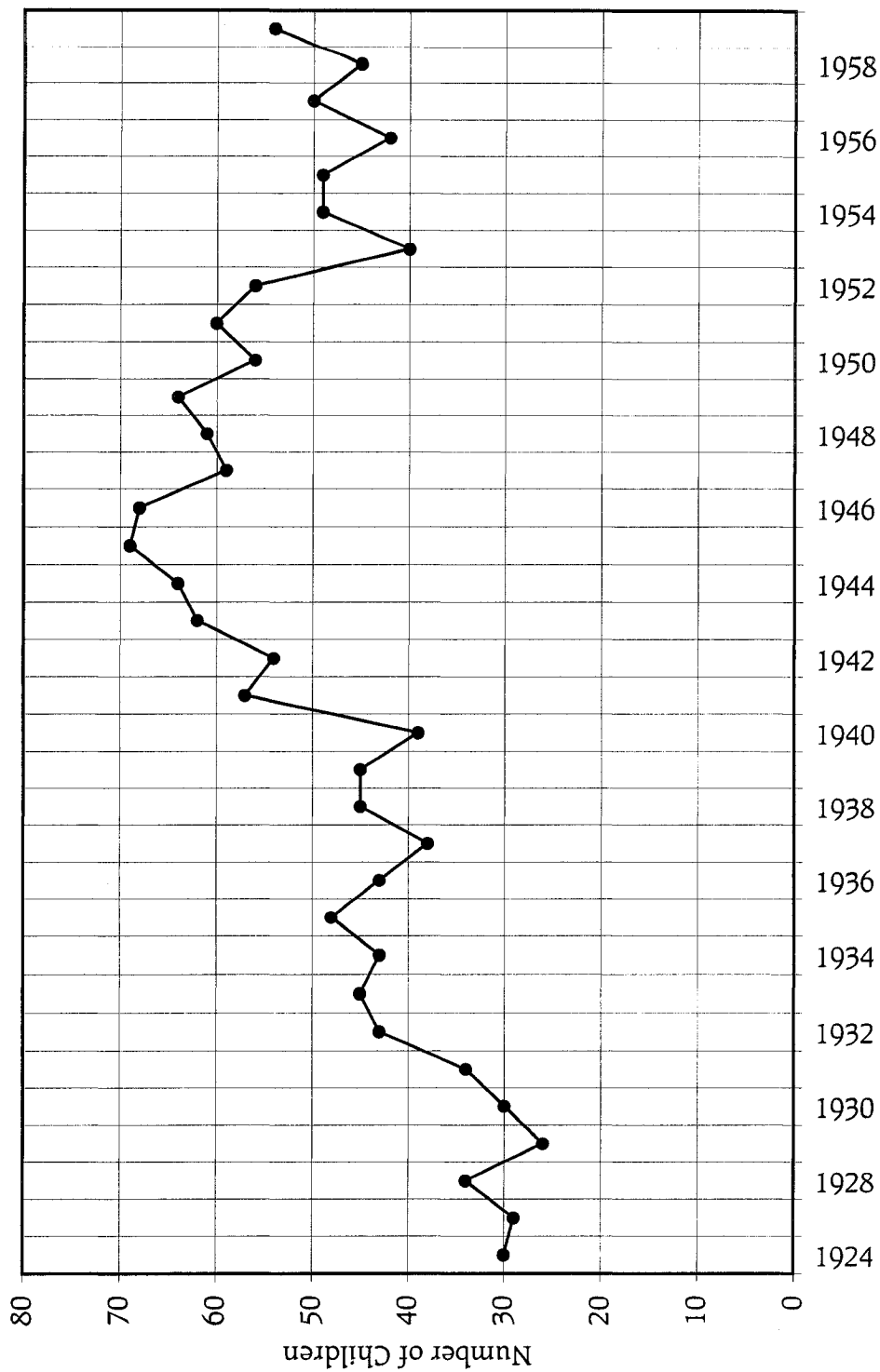


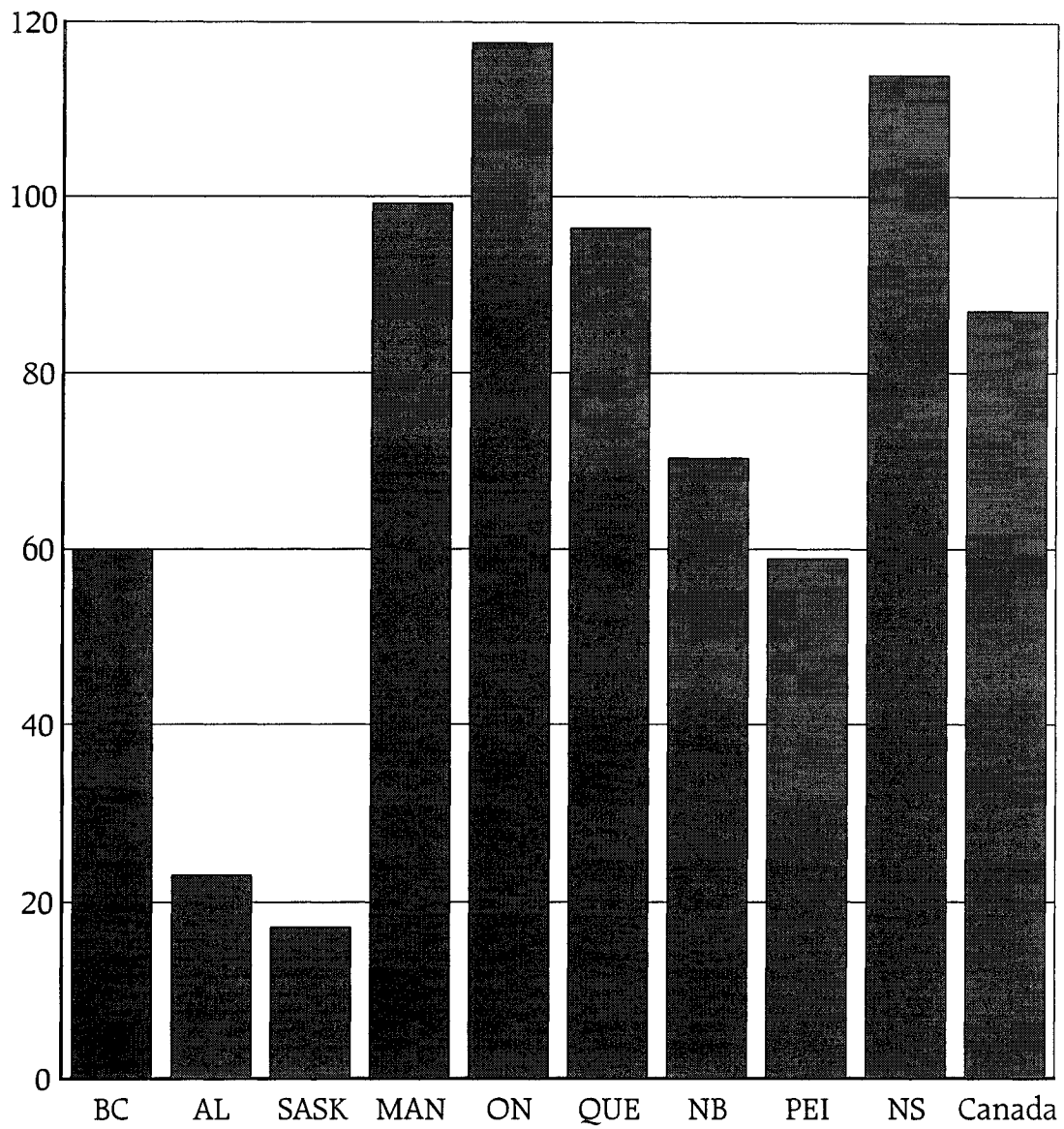
Table 3.5
Population Levels per Institution, 1915-1959

Year	HGA	St. J's	POH	HIH	SPHG	NSHCC
1914	87	165	43	38	21	
1915	88	166	38	45	23	
1916	79	155	40	53	22	
1917	82	171	43	45	21	
1918	57	160	0	32	23	
1919	103	172	33	39	25	
1920	101	174	31	42	25	
1924	101	160	40	71	20	30
1925	103	179	34	54	19	29
1928	99	223	44	40	19	34
1929	87	88	20	34	20	26
1930	89	70	38	47	21	30
1931	89	63	45	36	19	34
1932	76	66	37	40	22	43
1933	66	48	44	38	22	45
1934	61	37	42	43	19	43
1935	70	55	51	39	22	48
1936	59	58	47	38	22	43
1937	62	35	52	41	17	38
1938	62	47	48	41	17	45
1939	68	29	45	31	19	45
1940	63	74	51	37	22	39
1941	56	71	48	40	22	57
1942	60	58	46	38	19	54
1943	65	51	43	37	16	62
1944	87	182	38	43	17	64
1945	85	190	39	53	12	69
1946	99	178	43	50	11	68
1947	95	174	42	47	14	59
1948	84	154	42	48	17	61
1949	83	157	48	44	16	64
1950	83	157	49	40	16	56
1951	86	172	48	42	15	60
1952	78	139	44	53	14	56
1953	50	139	44	47	13	40

1954	32	112	38	43	6	49
1955	11	88	42	38	10	49
1956	6	63	37	40	15	42
1957	11	63	35	43	11	50
1958	6	54	37	27	14	45
1959	2	54	38	41	11	54

APPENDIX FOUR

TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE CARE OF INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES,
PER 10,000 OF THE GENERAL POPULATION, 1931



SOURCE: CENSUS OF CANADA, 1931, VOL. 9, PT. III, TABLE 18, 298-99.