RAISING JUVENILE DELINQUENTS.
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SASKATCHEWAN’S CHILD WELFARE LAWS, 1903-1990

KIMBERLY ANNE MARSHALL
2003
RAISING JUVENILE DELINQUENTS: 
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SASKATCHEWAN’S CHILD 
WELFARE LAWS, 1905-1930.

A Thesis Submitted to the College of 
Graduate Studies and Research 
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements 
For the Degree of Masters of Arts 
In the Department of History 
University of Saskatchewan 
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

By 
Kimberly Anne Marschall

©Copyright Kimberly Anne Marschall, April 2003. All rights reserved.
PERMISSION TO USE

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Masters of Arts Degree from the University of Saskatchewan, I agree that the Libraries of this University may make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for copying of this thesis in any manner, in whole or in part, for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor or professors who supervised my thesis work or, in their absence, by the Head of the Department or the Dean of the College in which my thesis work was done. It is understood that any copying, publication, or use of this thesis or parts thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of Saskatchewan in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my thesis.

Requests for permission to copy or to make other use of material in this thesis in whole or part should be addressed to:

Head of the Department of History
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, S7N 5A5
ABSTRACT

Hidden stories of child abuse and child neglect haunt Saskatchewan’s past. The inability of authorities to effectively and sympathetically help children in need of protection is also part of the province’s past. Between 1905 and 1930 the provincial government initiated its responsibility for child welfare through the Children’s Protection Act and subsequent legislation. The legislation established a Department of Neglected and Dependent Children and appointed officials who oversaw the administration of child welfare within the province. Although the legislation eventually eliminated discriminatory provisions for boys and girls and provided measures to ensure Catholic and Protestant children maintained their religion, its silence on the cultural diversity of children within the province allowed for middle-class goals of Canadianization to dominate child welfare policies. The government also failed to provide adequate provisions for provincial funding of the scheme. The legislation assigned financial responsibility to resource-stricken municipal governments and local organizations reliant on charitable donations, resulting in variable policies and the availability of resources in jurisdictions across the province. The incomprehensive child welfare scheme in Saskatchewan allowed for the inequitable treatment of children in Saskatchewan between 1905 and 1930.

Analysis of the treatment available for male and female juvenile delinquents reveals the discriminatory policies of Saskatchewan’s child welfare system based on middle-class goals of Canadianization and conformity to appropriate gender roles. Juvenile delinquents challenged middle-class ideals through the commission of illegal
acts under the Canadian Criminal Code. However, juvenile delinquents were only part of a larger group of children requiring special care and protection to preserve middle-class expectations for the future of the province. The "making" of children into good citizens meant moulding them to middle-class expectations regarding gender roles, ethnicity, religion, and class. Overall, English, middle-class ideals dominated the development of Saskatchewan's child welfare scheme. Although the government eliminated differential treatment under statute laws, unwritten policies and individual players created discrepancies in the treatment of boys and girls. The decentralized nature of Saskatchewan's child welfare system between 1905 and 1930 allowed inconsistent standards and the differential treatment of children.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I would like to acknowledge my supervisor Dr. D. De Brou, whose patience, guidance, and support have been the key to the completion of this thesis. Secondly, I would like to thank the other members of my graduate committee, Dr. L. Smith and Dr. D. Miquelon as well as the support of many other faculty members from the History Department at the University of Saskatchewan who have offered me guidance. Financial support from the University of Saskatchewan’s, College of Graduate Studies Scholarship has granted the monetary support enabling me to focus my attention on my thesis. I am grateful for the helpful advice of the staff of the Saskatchewan Archives in both Saskatoon and Regina, the University of Saskatchewan Archives, and the University of Saskatchewan Library Special Collections Department. Finally, I would like to thank Jeff Marschall, Greg Kelly, and Randi Kelly for all of their encouragement and support. To all the people who have aided me in some way or another on this project, thank you.
DEDICATIONS

This work is dedicated to all four generations of my family for their inspiration and unwavering support. I never would have finished this project without your continuous encouragement and gratuitous babysitting.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

PERMISSION TO USE...........................................................................................................i

ABSTRACT...........................................................................................................................ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS......................................................................................................iv

DEDICATIONS.....................................................................................................................v

TABLE OF CONTENTS.........................................................................................................vi

CHAPTER ONE......................................................................................................................1
INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF CHILD WELFARE.

CHAPTER TWO....................................................................................................................21
HARVESTING NEGLECTED AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN SASKATCHEWAN, 1905-1930.

CHAPTER THREE................................................................................................................61

CHAPTER FOUR...................................................................................................................87
THE LITTLE SISTERS OF MISFORTUNE: PROTECTING DELINQUENT GIRLS IN SASKATCHEWAN, 1905-1930.

CHAPTER FIVE....................................................................................................................113
CONCLUSION.

BIBLIOGRAPHY..................................................................................................................122

TABLES AND APPENDICES

TABLE 1.................................................................................................................................56
1923 INSPECTORS’ WORK

TABLE 2.................................................................................................................................65
NATIONALITY OF ALLEGED DELINQUENTS AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN, SASKATCHEWAN, 1920-1921

APPENDIX 1..........................................................................................................................118
PHOTOGRAPHS
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF CHILD WELFARE

One night in the fall of 1917 a train bound for Gainsborough, Saskatchewan left the Saskatoon railway station at 11:25 p.m. with a little girl on board. Although she was only eight-years-old, her parents felt she was capable of making the trip alone. The girl reached Pasqua at eight o’clock the following morning and arrived in Estevan at noon. She waited until nine o’clock the next morning for the final train. Just after lunch, the girl stepped off the train and reunited with her baby brother, her father, and her stepmother after a separation of four years. Records do not reveal her reaction to her family and their response to seeing her. The same is true of the fear and apprehension she experienced, not only on the long and lonely train ride, but also during the events leading up to that afternoon. The details of her feelings along her journey are missing, such as how she suffered emotionally and physically when her stepmother repeatedly abused her, and when the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children of Saskatchewan intervened and took her away from her family farm in a patrol wagon. Her interactions with other children while at the Children’s Aid Society of Saskatoon and her experiences in foster homes are also missing from records.

While her emotions are unknown, archival evidence reveals the path of her

---

journey, through some of the darkest times of her young life. Looking at correspondence between various government officials and her parents relates her individual story. In 1913, her stepmother used a leather strap from a horse harness to teach her disobedient daughter a lesson. The stepmother beat the girl’s face until it was black and blue. A hired man in the household reported the girl’s injuries to the police and the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children of Saskatchewan intervened. In a letter to child welfare workers, the stepmother defended her actions towards the girl, who at the time of the incident, was only two and a half years old:

Her father had idolized her so she needed a mother who could both love her and train her as well....her insubordination was great enough for an eighty year old person and as persuasion and gentle treatment would not always answer I had to resort to corporal punishment at times. [A]nd as she had such an extremely fine skin, and had never exercised herself whatever except to sock herself in a chair and run to and fro a little in the house, she could not be slapped without showing marks as my hands are not fleshy. [A]nd her father would be annoyed about it so occasionally she got a few slaps on the side of her head, but she had such a thin skull [that bruises] showed after a few days in a discoloration around one eye but she did not feel worse for it and even seemed brighter in intelligence.²

A.S. Wright of the Saskatoon Children’s Aid Society inspected the situation and immediately apprehended the child fearing that if he “left the child there an hour longer [he] would have been neglecting [his] duty.”³ However, Wright left an infant boy in the home and did not use available criminal measures against the stepmother. Four years later, the family petitioned for the girl’s return, and despite concern of the stepmother’s

² Ibid., 40403-4
³ Ibid., 40409
"mental deficiency," the members from the Children's Aid Society of Saskatoon granted the request. In their opinion, the girl was significantly older and her removal successfully taught the parents their lesson.⁴ Although the girl's story did not end after leaving the train's platform, the Saskatchewan government transferred all correspondence with her family to the Superintendent of Dependent Children in Manitoba because the family moved to that province. The train ride is the last record that the Saskatchewan child welfare workers have of her experiences.

Unfortunately, this girl's story is not unique. Although there were many unreported cases of children in need of protection, analysis of public government documents, child welfare workers' records, newspaper reports, and the papers of local organizations illustrates the history of children in need of protection in the province of Saskatchewan. Despite the availability of sources, a comprehensive historical study of child welfare in Saskatchewan does not exist. In Forging the Prairie West, historian John Herd Thompson pays little attention to children and does not mention child welfare.⁵ Likewise, Gerald Friesen ignores the important issue of child welfare in The Canadian Prairies: A History.⁶ There is much opportunity for historical inquiry into all aspects of childhood in Saskatchewan to provide a better understanding of society's perception of childhood and the role of children in society.

The history of childhood encompasses all aspects of children’s lives. Major areas of study include education, leisure, work, and child welfare. In the eighteenth

---

⁴ Ibid., 40422
⁵ John Herd Thompson, Forging the Prairie West (Don Mill, Ontario: Oxford University Press Canada, 1998)
century, philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau emphasized the need to understand children as children, undergoing certain developmental processes, and not just as miniature adults. Rousseau’s recognition of childhood as a unique stage of development is a notion that has endured to the present. However, it was not until the 1960s, with the publication of historian Philippe Ariès’s landmark book on childhood, that children became a serious topic of study for historians. Since then, a growing body of literature on the history of childhood has emerged internationally.

In Canada, historian Neil Sutherland’s groundbreaking work, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* lays the foundation for future work in Canadian childhood. He argues that nineteenth-century reformers redefined children as precious members of society requiring special care and attention as they attempted to improve conditions for children through public institutions. He looks at efforts to change childhood by “improving the conditions for good family life, establishing systems of child and family welfare, transforming the educational system, and organizing a pattern of child and family health care.” Sutherland focuses on institutions at the federal and provincial level and, although he looks at work done in all provinces, he pays substantial attention to Ontario. Since this

---


8 Philippe Ariès, *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1960). Ariès’s main argument is that increased attention to children raised the life expectancy of children, as well as the economic burden of having children. To limit the cost of a family, upper-class adults began limiting family size, and children were confined to the realm of the family, accounting for the changing attitudes in disposition towards the young.

9 Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001)

10 Ibid., 20
publication in 1976, the history of childhood has caught the attention of other Canadian historians, including Cynthia Comacchio, Bettina Bradbury, Mona Gleason, Suzanne Morton, Patricia Rooke, R.L. Schnell, Doug Owram, Joy Parr, and Veronica Strong-Boag. The history of childhood is now part of the mainstream of Canadian history.

Child welfare is a popular topic for Canadian historians. Many studies focus on child welfare within individual provinces or specific regions. Patricia Rooke and R.L. Schnell analyse the transition of child rescue to the emergence of the welfare state in English-Canada. Their examination of dependent child life focuses on children living outside of the traditional family setting, with particular emphasis on non-delinquent children. They rely mostly on government and institutional sources. The three main shifts that Rooke and Schnell discover are the move from philanthropy to scientific charity, voluntarism to professionalization, and professionalization to state welfarism. Rooke and Schnell view the study of child welfare not as a “eulogy to progress” because “the increasing incursion of the state into the privacies of everyday life and domestic affairs of average families represents an obtrusiveness with tendencies that are both

---


The authors trace changes in approaches to the welfare of dependent and neglected children in English Canada as reflected by Protestant and public institutions, primarily the orphan asylum. While Rooke and Schnell focus on Protestant child welfare workers, historian Frederick McEvoy discusses the role of the Roman Catholic Church in child welfare emigration in "These Treasures of the Church of God: Catholic Child Immigration to Canada." The influence of various religious organizations in providing moral training to children continuously appears as a theme common to many works on child welfare. This also applies to the situation in Saskatchewan where churches organized orphanages and children's shelters.

Historian Jane Ursel contributes to the historiography by looking at the growing intervention of government into the regulation of family life with child apprehension laws. For example, under 1913 Ontario welfare legislation the government could apprehend a child because of unacceptable parental behaviour, such as abandonment, neglect, immoral conduct, ill treatment or abuse of a child, permitting or encouraging a child to violate curfew, begging, vagrancy and labour laws. The approach to what officials viewed as undesirable home conditions was more regulatory than supportive, and the result was usually the removal of children from their home. Historical inquiry into abandonment of children and mothers who put their babies up for adoption

---

13 Ibid., 20-21
16 Ibid., 115
demonstrates society’s perception of a mother’s failure to provide for her child. In the absence of alternative solutions, a woman without any other choice often abandoned or put her baby up for adoption.

The influence of moral reformers on the lives of children is another common theme in childhood historiography. Historians Paul Bennett, Tamara Myers, Susan Houston, and Roy St. George Stubbs provide insight to the attempts of moral reformers to rehabilitate juvenile delinquents through the juvenile court system. The Age of Light, Soap, and Water by Mariana Valverde and Delivering Motherhood: Maternal Ideologies and Practices in the 19th and 20th Centuries, edited by Katherine Arnup, Andrée Lévesque and Ruth Roach Pierson examine the efforts of moral reformers and professionals to improve the conditions of childhood in Canada. Although the intrusive measures adopted had questionable effects on the overall health and well-being of mothers and their children, these works reveal the increased role of the state in the private lives of individuals. However, these studies reflect more about the impact of the policies on the lives of mothers than on the actual children who were the target of so

---

much concern. The moral regulation of mothers is a prevalent theme in existing Canadian historiography. Regulation occurs not just by the police, the courts and the prisons, but also in religious institutions, schools, factories, families, peer groups, and even illegal groups, such as gangs. The same influences apply to the moral regulation of children, and in particular to those judged as juvenile delinquents.

The efforts of reformers and later doctors, experts, state bureaucrats and politicians to educate mothers on proper techniques of childrearing have been the subject of a growing number of historical studies. Cynthia Comacchio looks at the "modernization" of motherhood by medical leaders and the state in Nations are Built of Babies: Saving Ontario's Mothers and Children. Comacchio’s main argument is that the campaign of Ontario physicians to reduce infant and maternal mortality was part of a conscious plan to revise Canadian childrearing to meet the needs of the new industrial society. Initially, middle-class women's groups organized the movement. Comacchio traces its transformation into the male-dominated realms of medicine and government.

The advice literature that experts disseminated focused on educating women on "modern" childrearing techniques and cleanliness. By ignoring the link between poverty, poor health and mortality rates, and emphasizing the shortcomings of mothers,

---


21 Carolyn Strange and Tina Loo look at these factors in Making Good: Law and Moral Regulation in Canada, 1897-1939 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).
the experts made the victims the problems. The solution to health problems was the creation of scientific mothering.\(^{22}\)

Historian Suzanne Morton’s study of working-class families provides insight to how women responded to middle-class concern with proper mothering. She argues that most women tried to live up to society’s expectations.\(^{23}\) Morton looks at working-class women’s participation in Baby Saving Week, Better Babies Contests, weekly prenatal clinics, the Little Mothers’ League, and a Mothers’ Club. She examines how the isolation of mothers and their responsibilities to small children limited their ability to visit the downtown vaccination offices and take advantage of the public health resources that were available.\(^{24}\)

Carolyn Strange discusses how single women in Toronto challenged middle-class notions of proper behaviour for young women who moved to the city in search of employment in *Toronto’s Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930*.\(^{25}\) While the focus of Strange’s monograph is on single women, many of the girls falling under the scope of her argument were under the age of eighteen. She found that reformers viewed the working girl not only as a threat to conventional standards, but also as vulnerable victims. The focus of reformers was to regulate the lives of young girls in


\(^{23}\) Suzanne Morton, *Ideal Surroundings: Domestic Life in a Working-Class Suburb in the 1920s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 75

\(^{24}\) Ibid., 76

an attempt to protect the morality of the city. In Saskatchewan, child welfare workers also believed boys and girls required strict regulation to ensure children's development into ideal citizens.

Despite the abundance of historiography on child welfare in Canada, a comprehensive study of the laws, policies, and attitudes in Saskatchewan does not exist. Historiography on child welfare focuses on the role of government and professionals in regulating the lives of families and individuals, including mothers, fathers and children. Major themes in Canadian child welfare historiography that contribute to an understanding of the unique situation in Saskatchewan include: the attempts of reformers to provide proper training to children for social benefit; the impact of middle-class values on the creation of welfare schemes; and the change of responsibility for child welfare from private individuals (including the family) to state sponsored organizations. Although analysis of Saskatchewan's child welfare system between 1905 and 1930 corresponds with the existing historiographical themes, regional conditions distinguish the situation in Saskatchewan from other provinces.

Contemporary issues in Saskatchewan between 1905 and 1930 that are relevant to the discussion of child welfare policies include the nativist response to Eastern European immigration, the rapid settlement of rural areas, and the boom in the wheat economy. During this period, open immigration policies allowed for massive immigration of people from eastern Canada, Great Britain, continental Europe, and the United States. Although immigration policies restricted African-American and South-

---

Asian migrants, the influx of people from a variety of European countries created a diverse and multicultural population within Saskatchewan. New arrivals to Saskatchewan established homesteads and participated in the phenomenal growth of the economy. Despite the rapid expansion of agriculture, the people encountered many difficulties during the formative years of the province. In addition to a harsh northern environment, rural isolation, and an underdeveloped infrastructure, the emergent proportion of Eastern-European immigrants threatened English-Protestant culture and social policies formulated by the political elite reflected these concerns.

Between 1905 and 1929, the Saskatchewan electorate consistently voted for Liberal governments in Regina, suggesting a tacit approval of government policies. The early years of provincehood saw the creation of an increasing number of government departments and a growing sophistication of government administration. Significantly, women obtained the right to vote in 1916, causing politicians to be more aware of women as potential voters. By the 1920s, rural settlement decreased and the trend towards urbanization began. Despite rapid expansion within the province, many people faced economic adversity as a result of agricultural drought, grasshopper infestations, the decline of settlement during World War One, and the lack of a manufacturing industry within the province.

Political, social, and economic conditions left many families without the ability

---

27 In the 1901 census, the North-West Territories and Manitoba had a combined population of 419,000 inhabitants. By the 1921 census, the population of Saskatchewan alone had reached 757,510 people. See, Thompson, Forging the Prairie West, 72-4.
28 See Thompson, Forging the Prairie West, Chapter 5.
29 Ibid.
30 Ibid., 86
to provide for themselves, especially in cases where one or both parents were dead. Concern with the hardships faced by children influenced the establishment of child welfare policies within the province. Investigation of available sources, from the Saskatchewan Archives Board, the University of Saskatchewan Archives, the University of Saskatchewan Library Special Collections, and official provincial government reports and publications, on child welfare in Saskatchewan, contributes to the historiography of child welfare in Canada by addressing the specific conditions in the province of Saskatchewan.

One of the largest obstacles for the historian of childhood is the availability of sources. Recovering the experiences of childhood from the child’s perspective is difficult because of the limited amount of primary sources from the children’s point of view. Restriction of access and lost files prevent analysis of official case files. For example, in a Report given by the Bureau of Child Protection in 1923, the Superintendent admitted his report was incomplete:

The cases coming within the provisions of the Dominion Juvenile Delinquents Act in the cities are taken care of by the City Police Magistrates who are ex-officio Juvenile Court Judges and of these cases we have no record. The only exception is that of Regina in which Miss Ethel MacLachlan, is by special appointment of the Lieutenant Governor in Council, constituted a Juvenile Court Judge.

Ethel MacLachlan’s case files are also restricted. However, the Annual Reports of the

---

31 "Listening to the winds of childhood" Neil Sutherland reveals the stories of childhood from the perspective of the child in *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), contributing significantly to the methodology regarding oral testimony and memory.

Juvenile Court and MacLachlan's personal journals from the University of Saskatchewan Library, Special Collections, provide an abundance of information as to the types of cases she handled, and the manner in which she approached children. Although police magistrates acted as Juvenile Court Judges, ex-officio, MacLachlan was the only person appointed to the position. Her court dealt exclusively with matters relating to children, and thus conveniently provides the largest number of juvenile delinquency cases.

By focusing on institutional developments and the ways in which adults responded to changing attitudes towards children, an abundance of source material becomes available. Government documents, newspapers, magazines, minutes from local meetings, and other such public discourses open the door to an analysis of adult attempts to define and improve the lives of children. The unique nature of children's lives, as dependent on adults, made them more vulnerable to the consequences of poverty, abandonment or loss of their caregivers.

Children, like adults, were not a monolithic group. The experiences of children varied, depending on their situation within the larger framework of society. While certain children experienced greater benefits or hardships than others, as a whole, children were the most subordinate of all social groups. Class, ethnicity, religion, and gender played important roles in determining childhood experiences. The history of child welfare is not only the history of children's experiences, or a history of the adults who at various levels, affected control over their lives. The history of child welfare reveals contemporary attitudes and expectations of youth, and hopes for future generations of Canadians in the making.
Between 1905 and 1930, charitable institutions played a pivotal role in providing care for destitute children in Saskatchewan. Archival collections from local groups such as the Canadian Red Cross Society, Saskatchewan Division, the Salvation Army, the Local Council of Women, Children's Aid Societies, the United Grain Growers Association, the Homemakers Clubs, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Young Men's Christian Association, as well as the local church organizations show the variety of groups involved in providing charity to children in Saskatchewan. These groups offer an important perspective in the history of child welfare as they often held the majority of responsibility for executing the policies established by the federal and provincial governments. As financial restraints increasingly hindered the ability of charities and local municipalities to improve children's lives, provincial government involvement reluctantly increased.

In 1908, the Government of Saskatchewan enhanced its role in the care of dependent children with the Children's Protection Act. This and subsequent legislation demonstrate the development of the rudimentary workings of the provincial system, and further analysis of the use of language within the legislation reveals the underlying values and attitudes of the lawmakers. Various aspects of other legislation, such as The Mother's Pensions Act and The Adoption of Children's Act, contributes to the history of child welfare. The dialogue between politicians, appointed officials, special interest groups, and the public surrounding the passage of legislation shows an increasing concern with the problem of "juvenile delinquency," and prevailing attitudes towards children. The term "juvenile delinquency" describes children whose conduct offended both the Canadian Criminal Code and provisions within provincial legislation that
regulated the behaviour of children. Some of these offences included truancy, theft, immorality, vandalism, and petty crimes. Politicians' decisions are an important part of social history. The same is true of the evolution of laws and the processes implemented in courts. Inserting individual examples of the application of the law illustrates the effectiveness of the law. While political and legal history may appear elitist, it provides the basis for understanding the system in place for individuals within society. The combination of legal, political, and social history work together to create a full picture of child welfare.

This thesis excludes a discussion of the health movement in child welfare, and provisions made for deaf, blind and physically disabled children. Since Saskatchewan lacked proper facilities, the provincial officials sent these children to other provinces. Analysis of their care would require a discussion of the policies of other provinces, thus falling beyond the scope of the paper's Saskatchewan focus. Furthermore, the discussion excludes First Nations children sent to Residential and Boarding Schools because their care fell under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government.

The analysis of this thesis focuses on underlying middle-class values regarding gender, with particular sensitivity to questions of religion, race, ethnicity and class when sources are available. Treatment of children varied depending on their ethnicity. "Non-preferred" immigrants from Central and Southern Europe posed a greater threat to

---

33 For the most part, members of Saskatchewan's middle class consisted of British, Protestant, educated professionals and their spouses, who believed in the superiority of their education system, culture and religion over those of other ethnic groups. For more on this topic, see Friesen, The Canadian Prairies, 344-55. Middle-class values emphasized the importance of gender roles within a strong nuclear family and clearly defined a public, masculine breadwinner role for males and a private, feminine moral provider role for females in the capacity of mother and wife. The political and social elite expected all parents to raise their children to conform to these gender roles.
middle-class ideals than the preferred immigrants from Great Britain, the United States, Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and the northern part of Europe, generally. The abundance of archival sources allows for a detailed discussion of Saskatchewan children, removed from the "normal family structure," either because of their delinquent acts, or through no fault of their own. Discussion of court proceedings centres around the Juvenile Court in Regina and the smaller rural centres visited by the Juvenile Court Judge. Analysis of institutional life for delinquent boys focuses on the Boys' Detention Home in Wolseley, and its predecessor, The Industrial School in Regina. The Home For Unfortunate Girls run by the Regina Local Council of Women, the Salvation Army Home and the Women's Christian Temperance Union Hospital in Saskatoon provide insight to the treatment of delinquent girls within the province.

It is important to remember that although many women's groups and religious organizations lobbied for change to various aspects of the child welfare system, the issue of child welfare never occupied an important part of election platforms. From 1905 to 1929, the Saskatchewan electorate consistently voted Liberal governments to power, suggesting either a general approval of the ruling government's provisions for child welfare, or the relative insignificance of child welfare issues for the majority of the population compared to other issues. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the opinions of key players in the child welfare system regulated the majority of policymaking. Aside from Premier Walter Scott, Premier William Melville Martin, and Premier Charles Avery Dunning, the main contributors to policy-making were the

34 See Thompson, Forging the Prairie West and Friesen, The Canadian Prairies.
Superintendents of Neglected and Dependent Children, Spencer Page, Thomas Mutrie, and F.J. Reynolds, and the Juvenile Court Judge, Ethel MacLachlan.

Hidden stories of child abuse and child neglect haunt Saskatchewan’s past. The inability of authorities to help children in need of protection effectively and sympathetically is also part of the province’s past. Between 1905 and 1930 the provincial government initiated its responsibility for child welfare through the Children’s Protection Act and subsequent legislation. The legislation established a Department of Neglected and Dependent Children and appointed officials who oversaw the administration of child welfare within the province. The authority of the Department overlapped with responsibilities designated to municipal governments and privately organized charities. Although the legislation eventually eliminated discriminatory provisions for boys and girls, and provided measures to ensure Catholic and Protestant children maintained their religion, its silence on the cultural diversity of children within the province allowed for middle-class goals of Canadianization to dominate child welfare policies. The government also failed to provide adequate provisions for provincial funding of the scheme. The legislation assigned financial responsibility to resource-stricken municipal governments and local organizations reliant on charitable donations, resulting in variable policies and the availability of resources in jurisdictions across the province. The inconsistent child welfare scheme in Saskatchewan allowed for the inequitable treatment of children in Saskatchewan between 1905 and 1930. Analysis of the treatment available for male and female juvenile delinquents reveals the discriminatory policies of Saskatchewan’s child welfare system based on middle-class goals of Canadianization and conformity to appropriate gender roles.
Juvenile delinquents challenged middle-class ideals through the commission of illegal acts under the Canadian Criminal Code and provincial legislation. However, juvenile delinquents were only part of a larger group of children requiring special care and protection to preserve middle-class expectations for the future of the province. Between 1905 and 1930 children endured hardships unique to the early years of Saskatchewan’s existence as a province. High rates of immigration, economic hardships, agricultural drought, British patriotism, rural isolation, and urban growth laid the foundation for children’s problems. As a result of neglect, abuse, and delinquent acts, children encountered the authority and influence of child welfare workers. Premiers, government ministers, social workers, church personnel, local organizations, and prominent individuals worked together and at odds with one another to “solve the problem” of children in Saskatchewan. The response of child welfare workers reflects contemporary middle-class concerns and attitudes about children and the role of children in building the province. The “making” of children into good citizens meant moulding them to middle-class expectations regarding gender roles, ethnicity, religion, and class. Overall, English, middle-class ideals dominated the development of Saskatchewan’s child welfare scheme. The history of Saskatchewan’s neglected, dependent, and delinquent children and the response of influential adults to their situation uncovers not just the lost stories of many children, it also reveals the underlying attitudes of society towards children.

As in the case in other studies, the situation in Saskatchewan reflects a change from individual responsibility for child welfare to state-sponsored organizations. Chapter Two establishes the system in place for dealing with children in need of
protection. Government reluctance to interfere in the private lives of families and children soon subsided as it became clear that adequate resources did not exist without the provincial government’s help. Child welfare workers viewed children as precious assets, requiring special care and education. This chapter outlines the implementation of laws regulating child welfare in the province of Saskatchewan as they pertained to neglected and abused children. This chapter illustrates that from 1905 to 1930 legislators began to eliminate discriminatory provisions based on the gender of the child. However, this is not to say that discrepancies in treatment of boys and girls did not exist. Although the government participated in the policy-making aspect of child welfare, local governments and organizations held the responsibility for implementing the plan. The modest amount of financing provided by the provincial government limited its ability to influence the implementation of policies.

Chapter Three and Chapter Four analyse the impact of the child welfare system on juvenile delinquents. They look at male and female juvenile delinquents respectively, the types of offences committed, the process of the Juvenile Court, the nature of punishment, and the attitudes of child welfare workers towards boys and girls. The prevention of juvenile delinquency was as important as providing children with stable and comfortable lives. These chapters make evident an inconsistency in the treatment of male and female children as they encountered the Juvenile Court. The thesis concludes that although the government eliminated differential treatment under statute laws, unwritten policies and individual players created discrepancies in the treatment of boys and girls. The main focus of discussion centres on the inconsistent treatment of children based on gender; other factors such as religion, race, ethnicity, class and rural or urban
surroundings contributed to the differential treatment of children. The decentralized nature of Saskatchewan’s child welfare system between 1905 and 1930 allowed inconsistent standards and the differential treatment of children.
CHAPTER TWO

HARVESTING NEGLECTED AND DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN SASKATCHEWAN, 1905-1930.

Parents, who sow the seed of laxity in watching over their children must expect to reap a harvest of tears...A field in order to produce a worthy harvest must be carefully tilled, and sown with good seed; and this, not late in summer, but early in spring. Otherwise the field will bring forth only weeds and thorns and thistles.¹

In 1926, Judge Ethel MacLachlan of the Saskatchewan Juvenile Court reported her belief that the main cause of delinquency was parental, community, and educational neglect. Raising respectable children, as opposed to juvenile delinquents, required the intervention of parents at an early stage to instil proper training and values in children. The absence of good parenting justified the intervention of child welfare workers. Essentially, authorities took children found in what they believed to be “diseased fields” and “transplanted” them where they felt the children would grow into a product worthy of “harvesting.” Authorities viewed children as the leaders of the future, playing an integral part in the province’s development.

Between 1905 and 1930 the provincial government expanded its responsibility in the area of child welfare. Although Saskatchewan lacked substantial child welfare legislation in 1905, from the initial passage of the Children’s Protection Act, and the Juvenile Court’s Act, to subsequent legislation, the provincial government increased

¹ University of Saskatchewan Library (USL), Special Collections, Prairie Manuscripts: Judge Ethel MacLachlan, 1904-1955. “Judge Ethel McLachlan’s Report,” St. Peters Messenger, 5 May 1926
both its responsibility for children in need of protection, and its demands on municipalities within the province. Despite a trend of increased spending by the provincial government, local governments and municipalities carried the majority of the financial responsibility for child welfare. Furthermore, private charities provided essential services in child welfare within the province when both the provincial and local governments failed to provide for children in need of protection. The provincial government, the municipal governments, and the private charities all played a role in providing aid to dependent and neglected children. Between 1905 and 1930, legislators, municipalities, and charities recognized the special needs of children. Policy-making occurred at all three levels of administration, thus resulting in unreliable child welfare provisions throughout the province. Although the legislation initially provided differential treatment for boys and girls, all children received equal treatment under the legislation by 1930. However, the local administration of child welfare allowed for inconsistencies in the treatment of children within the province, depending on the values of various policy-makers and the availability of resources.

This chapter examines various attempts by the government, local municipalities, charitable organizations, and individual reformers to deliver child welfare services in Saskatchewan. The chapter begins with an analysis of the dialogue surrounding the passage of child welfare legislation and the provisions within *The Children’s Protection Act, The Mothers’ Allowances Act, The Adoption of Children Act,* and *The Juvenile Courts Act.* Next, discussion of the services provided by local governments, charitable organizations, and individual reformers illuminates the importance of non-provincial institutions in executing child welfare measures. Finally, the chapter concludes that
despite legislative attempts to provide non-preferential treatment to boys and girls, the system’s reliance on non-governmental organizations allowed for the discriminatory treatment of children.

Saskatchewan inherited the laws of the North West Territories when it became a province in 1905. Unfortunately, legislation providing for neglected and dependent children was minimal. On 4 October 1883, the Council of the North West Territories passed An Ordinance for the Relief of Indigent Children which gave orphanages and schools the power to commit children to the institution’s care if the child was found destitute, “either being an orphan or having a surviving parent who is under going imprisonment, or who has deserted the said child” or a child with “no home or settled place of abode, or proper guardianship, or visible means of support.” The act authorized the activities of privately run, charitable organizations that exercised complete control over child care institutions. The religion of the child was a significant factor in determining child placement. The new legislation applied to any male child apparently under the age of sixteen years, or any female child apparently under the age of fourteen years as judged by an official authority. Once committed to the orphanage or school, the institution was responsible for providing proper nutriment, medical care, clothing and education to the child, until eighteen years of age if a boy, or twenty years of age if a girl, unless she married prior to reaching twenty. The different age requirements reflect the contemporary attitude that male children were better able to take care of themselves than their female counterparts. Essentially, the legislation did little

---

2 Ordinances of the North West Territories, An Ordinance of the Relief of Indigent Children, 1883, no. 5, ss. 2 (1-2)
more than authorize endeavours already in existence in the North West Territories.

Prior to the passage of *The Children’s Protection Act, 1908* the care of neglected and dependent children was out of the hands of the Saskatchewan government. Religious denominations organized orphanages and relied on both charitable donations and internally raised funds to support the children. The province also sent children out of the province to a home in Winnipeg or to foster parents, if available. In 1906, Premier Walter Scott received a letter from J.S. Coleman, who was a former officer of the Children’s Aid Society of Toronto. Ontario was the first province to establish a special department for child welfare within its Department of Health. Coleman petitioned Scott for the establishment of a Department of Neglected and Dependent children similar to the one in Ontario. Scott replied:

> In time no doubt the Government of Saskatchewan will find it advisable and necessary to organize a department to care for neglected and dependent children similar to that in operation in Ontario and with which you have been connected. No great immediate need, however, exists for such organisation in this Province. At all events no evidence of the existence of such need has been brought to the attention of the Government and I hardly think it likely that we will undertake the organization of a department for this purpose for some time to come.

Indeed, the government of Saskatchewan did not see an “immediate need” to help the province’s orphaned children. However, by 1906, the relief committee of the Local Council of Women of Regina requested the establishment of a children’s aid society and a children’s home. Mr. Trant, Regina’s city magistrate, agreed and said, “for many of the youthful offenders who come before me there is one place, worse than jail, to which I

---

3 Statutes of Saskatchewan, The Children’s Protection Act, 1908 Chapter 31
4 Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), Walter Scott Papers: Social Welfare, 55979-81
5 Ibid., 55982
can send them, that is their home." ⁶ The provincial government failed to provide adequate provisions for children in need of protection during the first years of its existence.

What few provisions were available for social welfare within the province were under the control of the Department of Agriculture. In 1906, the department refused a government grant to the St. Patrick's Orphan Home in Prince Albert, based on the decision that an orphanage did not fall under the heading of institutions, and was, therefore, not eligible for a government grant from this fund.⁷ However, by 1908, the Commissioner of Agriculture "lost" all previous correspondence with St. Patrick's Orphanage, commended the work done by the orphanage, and promised to bring the question to the attention of the premier as soon as possible.⁸ The government began to recognize its potential for regulating child welfare in the province.

By 26 May 1908, the Regina Standard reported that William Richard Motherwell, who was the Minister of Agriculture, presented a bill to provide for the care of neglected and dependent children to the legislature on the previous day. This bill allowed for the organization of children's aid societies and the appointment of a superintendent of neglected children. Frederick Haultain, the leader of the Opposition in the Legislature of Saskatchewan, said:

[T]he bill did not go far enough in that it placed all the work on the voluntary societies without any assistance from the state....the purpose of the bill he was glad enough to endorse, but he urged the government to get at the root of the evil by

---

⁷ SAB, William Richard Motherwell Papers: St. Patrick's Orphanage, 16095-6
⁸ Ibid., 16097-101
caring for the child when by reason of his surroundings he would be likely to develop into a criminal.⁹

The second reading of the bill brought the same response from Haultain regarding the lack of provisions for financial assistance from the government.¹⁰ Although the new legislation achieved some important goals, it did not provide comprehensive standards for child welfare across the province. The bill remained virtually unchanged upon its assent on June 12, of the same year, despite an announced government surplus of $328,788.08.¹¹

Regardless of its shortfalls, the legislation began to address the problems of neglected and dependent children. The Children’s Protection Act eliminated the discrepancy between the ages for committing boys and girls with regard to youthful offenders. An officer of the children’s aid society, a peace officer, constable or policeman could apprehend any child under the age of sixteen years without warrant and then surrender the child to a society, incorporated under the act. Incorporation of a children’s aid society required five or more British subjects, over twenty-one years old, and resident within any municipality in Saskatchewan. Legislators believed that undesirable immigrants from various backgrounds were not the proper citizens to care for the province’s children. The legislation guaranteed the adoption of middle-class British values in the children’s aid societies.

Although the provincial government began to regulate child welfare, it failed to

---

⁹ SAB, Newspaper Clippings: Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly (Newspaper Hansard): “Need A Home For Bad Juveniles.” Regina Standard, 26 May 1908
¹⁰ Ibid. “House Discussing the Estimates: Bill to Care for Neglected Children Read a Second Time.” Regina Leader, 27 May 1908
provide adequate resources for the administration of the provisions within the act. Municipalities held the burden of maintenance for neglected children committed to a temporary home, or a foster home until the child reached the age of twelve years in the case of a girl and fourteen years in the case of a boy. The shortage of domestic labourers in the province may account for the younger age requirement for girls. Presumably, young girls could find work as domestics more easily than boys could find work. In addition to discriminating between males and females, the provincial government overestimated the ability of local governments to provide for children within their jurisdiction.

The Act set out to protect children in a variety of circumstances including destitute orphans and deserted children. The majority of offences prohibited by the act aimed to prevent children at risk of developing criminal tendencies. The children most susceptible to delinquency were those found in undesirable surroundings, out late at night, during school hours, and associating with objectionable companions. The government recognized a difference between adults and children, thus justifying the differential treatment of children from adults. For example, the act gave officers the right to detain children without a warrant. In one instant where a constable apprehended a deserted mother’s children, he “took the children away [and] was unduly harsh at the time not letting the mother even wash their faces or change their clothes.”

Once apprehended, the child could be held for up to forty-eight hours prior to a judge examining the case. Specific rights conferred by the act on juvenile offenders

---

12 Statutes of Saskatchewan, The Children’s Protection Act, 1908. Chapter 31, s. 10 (1-7)
13 SAB, Scott Papers: Social Welfare, 56175
were as follows:

No child under fourteen years of age if a boy or sixteen years if a girl who is held for examination under the provisions of this Act shall be placed in the company of adult persons in any police lockup or common gaol but shall be kept in a separate room or building.\textsuperscript{14}

Legislators recognized that the difference between a child and an adult offender warranted the need to provide special treatment to children. However, this law suggests that young females were more vulnerable to corruption than young males. Examination by a judge resulting in a decision that the child was in a state of “habitual vagrancy” or “mendicancy” or “ill treated so as to be in peril of life, health or morality by continued personal injury or by grave misconduct or habitual intemperance of the parents or guardians” led to delivery of the child to a society.\textsuperscript{15} The society then had the responsibility of placing the child in a temporary home or shelter until it could arrange a foster home for the child. The religion of the father, when possible, determined the placement of the child. Although the municipalities financed foster children, the superintendent was responsible for the selection and inspection of foster homes under the legislation.

The people of Saskatchewan were quick to respond to the new legislation. The Children’s Aid Society of the City of Regina incorporated on 31 October 1908 and promptly requested that the government appoint a Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children as required by the act.\textsuperscript{16} The government appointed Spencer Page to the position in May 1909. J.J. Kelso, the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent

\textsuperscript{14} Statutes of Saskatchewan, The Children’s Protection Act, 1908. Chapter 31, s. 20
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., s. 11 (3)
\textsuperscript{16} SAB, Scott Papers: Social Welfare, 55988-9
Children of Ontario, visited the province to give social workers the "benefit of his experience" in 1909.\textsuperscript{17} He travelled throughout the province encouraging the establishment of children's aid societies. The campaign was largely successful as other children's aid societies organized in towns and cities across the province by the end of 1911.\textsuperscript{18} By 1917, only the Regina, Saskatoon, Moose Jaw, and Swift Current societies remained because of a perceived lack of need and financial inabilities. The societies committed 301 children to their care between May 1909 and December 1912. However, 662 cases came before the Superintendent during the same time period.\textsuperscript{19} Clearly there was a need for the care of homeless children.

Unfortunately, the measures taken by the government were not sufficient to meet the needs of organizations in charge of caring for the children. In January 1909, Reverend Bruck of the St. Patrick's Orphanage wrote to the government questioning whether the conditions of children in need improved substantially through the legislation.\textsuperscript{20} The reliance on municipalities for funding presented a problem in areas of the province where municipalities were not yet in existence. Even so, the inability of established municipalities to raise sufficient funds limited the amount of support they were practically able to provide.\textsuperscript{21} The provincial government failed to provide any

\textsuperscript{17} SAB, Clippings File, Children, Charities, Protection, Etc., Ethel MacLachlan, "History of Government and Departments: Neglected Children."
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid. Children's aid societies established in Moose Jaw, Saskatoon, Indian Head, Prince Albert, Humboldt, Kamsack, Moosomin, North Battleford, Qu'Appelle, Swift Current, Maple Creek, Weyburn, Yorkton, Melville and Carlyle by 1911.
\textsuperscript{19} SAB, Clippings File, Children, Charities, Protection, Etc., Ethel MacLachlan, "History of Government and Departments: Neglected Children."
\textsuperscript{20} SAB, Scott Papers: Social Welfare, 55990-1
\textsuperscript{21} In The Children's Protection Act, 1908 Chapter 31, s.1, R.S.S., 1909, Chapter 28 the definition of municipality was expanded to include cities, towns, villages, rural municipalities, or local improvement districts, but this did not really address the problem of the municipalities' ability to provide adequate
financial assistance to the orphanage, prompting Reverend W. Bruck to ask Premier Scott:

Would it not be far better if each individual case of destitution were directly reported to the Government which would have the matter judiciously investigated and then give to the parties interested in each case the attention and care required by placing them in Homes where they would be properly cared for at the expense of the Government?22

Bruck also complained that placing children of different religious denominations in the same shelter offended the morals of their parents. Scott replied that according to the wisdom of J.J. Kelso, public institutions destroyed the stamina and sense of responsibility of a child and “he is sent out into the world with no initiative and no real ability to do for himself.”23 Failure to provide financial support to child care organizations meant the individual orphanages and children’s aid societies had to raise their own funds. As a result, there was no way to guarantee a minimum standard of care.

However, the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children inspected foster homes, thus enabling a consistency of standards in foster homes. In the Neglected Children Department report of 1921, twenty-three children were in institutions, and 164 children were in foster homes in Saskatchewan.24 Samuel Spencer Page, the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, inspected 124 foster homes. It is not clear if the department assigned more than one child to each foster home. Page reported that nine boys ran away from foster homes and were not yet found. There were

---

22 SAB, Scott Papers: Social Welfare, 55990-1
23 Ibid., 55993-4
24 SAB, Motherwell Papers: Children, 3392
no reported cases of girls leaving. Out of all of the cases dealt with, fifty-two children were drawing wages of some sort. The Regina Shelter held seven children under its care, and the Moose Jaw Shelter and the Saskatoon shelter each held five. In total, seven children died since committal under the Superintendent. While there are no comparative reports on conditions within the shelters, it is likely that some provided better accommodations than others, depending on the resources available.

Although universal standards were not in place, evidence suggests that the government recognized the importance of its role in the welfare of children. On 4 February 1913, the Executive Council advised the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children to report to the Attorney General instead of the Minister of Agriculture.\textsuperscript{25} The prevention of juvenile delinquency was a major concern among legislators. Prevailing notions that neglected and dependent children were more susceptible to crime and immorality than children living within a secure family environment meant that the Attorney General, who was in charge with the administration of justice in the province, was a more logical choice for holding responsibility for children in need of protection than the Minister of Agriculture. Since \textit{The Children's Protection Act} included provisions regarding juvenile delinquents, William Turgeon of the Attorney's General Office became the minister in charge of the Department. Although the government viewed child welfare work in the province as important, its role remained minimal.

The involvement of private organizations countered the government's

\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., 3394
supervisory role in the welfare of children. The Regina Local Council of Women (RLCW) continued its involvement in the Regina Children's Aid society and opened a home for "unfortunate" girls in September 1913. The women in the RLCW planned a Christmas dinner for poor children in 1914, providing hundreds of children with food and souvenirs. In 1915, they opened and operated a Babies' Welfare Home in Regina. By 1920, the RLCW cared for 100 babies in the Babies' Welfare Home and adopted fifteen babies into "good" homes.26 Dr. Seymour, the Commissioner of Public Health, provided assistance to mothers and their babies for a limited time "to enable [the mother] to nurse her child, thereby giving it a chance to live, after which time, it is to be hoped a suitable home may be found for the baby."27 The RLCW exercised complete discretion with regard to adoption and care of the children.

Other organizations also influenced the care of government wards. The Regina Bureau of Public Welfare, headed by Trant, actively intervened to keep young offenders out of prison.28 The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) established its own Social Service Department in 1913 which dealt with public recreation, public health matters, sanitation, municipal research work, organized charity, care of neglected, dependent and delinquent children, and management of institutions.29 The Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire erected a Pavilion for Tubercular children at the Fort Qu'Appelle Sanatorium in 1919. All of these groups not only raised money and supplies

27 SAB, Regina Local Council of Women: Correspondence
28 SAB, Motherwell: Public Welfare, 13241-2
for the needy children of Saskatchewan; they also made policy decisions on how to distribute their resources.

The Sacred Heart Institution in Yorkton provided temporary guardianship for children committed under the department. The Institute cared for a total of thirty children, thirteen of whom the department paid for at the rate of $3.50 per week, with the remaining children paid for through charitable donations. Reverend Father DeCamp, a priest at the Sacred Heart Institution, wanted the superintendent to provide care for all of the children in his institution and to allow children to remain there for longer than three months. Turgeon’s reply to this illustrates the limited application of The Children’s Protection Act, 1908:

The children provided for therein, are boys and girls under the age of 16 years...[who] must come within one of the conditions set out in Section 10; that under Section 11, the matter must be tried by a Magistrate, who alone, has power, after examining all the circumstances and giving the parents an opportunity to be heard, to order that the child be taken from his parents and handed over to the Superintendent. Then, under section 25, it is provided that these children shall be detained only as long as is “absolutely necessary”, and, in any event, not more than 3 months, unless in very special cases, which, in the past has been interpreted to mean where the child himself is of such a perverse and vicious, or perhaps mentally defective nature, as not to be fit to place in a family....[I]f the child is of proper character to be placed in a family...the Government cannot hold itself responsible indefinitely for his maintenance.  

Turgeon cited the limited means of the government as the main reason for his refusal of funding to charitable institutions. Therefore, the government refused to expand responsibility for children in situations not anticipated by the provisions within the act.

---

Government officials did not believe they held the primary responsibility of helping children in need. However, by 1920, the orphanage received a government grant of $2000 to assist in the education of the eighty-seven children under its care.32

Growth within the Department of Neglected and Dependent Children occurred as a result of the efforts and successes of the charitable organizations within the province. Since the infrastructure existed to deal with the cases that came before the superintendent, the number of children sent to a Children’s Aid Society increased. The government committed 156 cases in 1913, 228 cases in 1914, 291 cases in 1915, and 254 cases in 1916. The increase was not necessarily due to the increase in needy children, but rather in the system’s ability to deal with more children. The Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children believed that World War One had no effect upon the availability of foster homes within the province, and there is no evidence to suggest otherwise. Investigations of suspect home conditions often resulted in a strict warning to the parents, and the removal of children from their homes was a last resort.33 In 1916, Page celebrated the success of the work done by the department because “six of the older girls have been married, all but one with the full consent of the Superintendent” and eighteen boys had enlisted in His Majesty’s Forces, “all of whom with the exception of one are doing well.”34 Page believed that it was an honour for a young man to serve the British Empire, and desirable for young girls to fulfill their role as a wife and mother.

The government viewed children as future citizens, therefore, the threat of non-compliance with middle-class expectations justified the apprehension of a child. For

32 SAB, Government of Saskatchewan, Department of Education: St. Patrick’s Orphanage, Prince Albert
33 “Superintendent of Neglected Children Tells of Conditions” The Saskatoon Star, 26 May 1917
34 SAB, Motherwell Papers: Children
example, immoral behaviour engaged in by either the mother or father, as decided by the department’s officials or society members, often resulted in the apprehension of the children. In one case, Ethel MacLachlan, in her capacity as superintendent, judged:

[the mother] is a filthy, lazy, sloven rankly immoral, surrounds herself with a bunch of jibbering foreigners from the Hungarian settlements with whom her conduct has become notorious in the community. Doctor Hilts of Kennedy knows this woman. He has been treating her and her family, and he declares that she is a moral degenerate.

MacLachlan is not alone in her judgement of the Hungarian settlers. The inspector’s report noted that the woman’s husband mysteriously died and members of their community suspected that she was responsible. However, there is no evidence to suggest the truth behind this accusation. A man from the community found her in bed with the hired man ten days after her husband’s death. One month later she married the hired man. The community disapproved of her actions and associations, and reported her activities to the authorities. Shortly after, the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children committed the children to the Roman Catholic Convent at Whitewood. The legislation provided that the religion of the father determined the religion of the institution of committal. In this case, the father was Catholic, but the mother was Protestant. She objected to their placement within the Convent, but the department refused to move the children.

The mother and her new husband moved from the town to Regina, established a home, and petitioned for the return of the children. Children’s aid societies and the

---

35 SAB, Martin Papers: Social Welfare: Child Welfare, 1916-1922, 40368-76. In this case, the children’s aid society decided the mother had “gone wrong” and her children were taken away from her.

Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children shared the responsibility of determining if a family could have an apprehended child returned. While the department returned children to their families, such as the case of the little girl beaten with the horse harness, other cases reported to the department resulted in the opposite conclusion. Ethel MacLachlan decided that “the mere fact that they have a clean home, is not sufficient evidence to prove...that it is a fit and proper home for the children.” Consequently, the superintendent refused to return the children to their mother. The decision that the mother’s actions were immoral was the result of underlying stereotypes regarding ethnicity and class.

The determination of the parent’s inability to care for their children was not limited to the behaviour of mothers. In one case, a man not living with his wife, left town with the wife of another man, and was “sending letters and cards of a nasty character to the neighbours of [the husband] laughing at him that he [still wanted] his wife back.” Trant, the Police Magistrate of Regina, committed the children to the Children’s Aid Society of Regina and based on the Society’s recommendations, Superintendent Spencer Page denied the father’s request for the return of the children. This case established the authority of the Department of Neglected and Dependent Children to deal with neglected children as the father attempted to override the authority of the provincial department by writing a letter to Canadian Prime Minister Robert Bordon. The Prime Minister’s Office turned the request back over to the provincial authorities.

---

37 Ibid., 40396
38 SAB, Scott Papers: Social Welfare, 56210
Although the Saskatchewan government held the power to apprehend children and place them in foster homes, it practiced this as a last resort. In a 1916 Memorandum to Motherwell, Spencer Page, the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, highlighted some of the department's policies, including the importance of keeping children with their relatives. The government introduced Mother's pensions for widows with children in 1917. However, the provisions were often not sufficient as illustrated in one case where the government told a mother that:

> the information that [the Department of Neglected Children] have led [child care workers] to the conclusion that [her] boys would be better off in foster homes on account of the fact that [she was] drawing assistance...[and] the situation might better be faced now than later.39

The provisions of the Mother's Pension did not provide sufficient support to keep the family together, indicating that the government allocated an insufficient amount to keep mothers with their children. The department not only separated the boys from their mother, but also from one another. The first legislation covered cases of widows and families where doctors committed husbands to an institution for health purposes. In 1920, Martin wrote to a deserted woman that although revisions to the mother's pensions were under consideration, he did not think they would "go as far as to include the case of women who are deserted by their husbands [because] such a law might lead to very serious results."40 Martin feared that including deserted women would encourage men in destitute families to leave their spouses, thus enabling their wife to receive the mother's pension. Legislation passed in 1911 created an action in law for deserted wives against

---

40 Ibid.: Mother’s Pensions, 41222

37
their husbands, but provided little help, especially when the husband’s whereabouts were unknown. Maintaining family ties ranked below financial inconveniences for the government.

However, new legislation introduced in 1922 extended government aid to any woman who by reason of poverty was unable to provide for her children if her husband was in a jail and to widowed or unmarried grandmothers, sisters, aunts, and foster mothers caring for orphans.\textsuperscript{41} The legislation provided for women who, through no perceived fault of their own, were in poverty. This change in attitude towards women occurred shortly after women began voting (1916 in Saskatchewan; 1921 in Canada) and the number of single mothers increased as a result of World War One. Legislators still feared the abuse of the allowance if they included deserted wives in the equation. Overall, the allowance provided aid for several families in need, but this was often not sufficient to keep children with their mothers.\textsuperscript{42}

The superintendent played an important role in developing and enforcing policies, such as keeping children with their parents. Ethel MacLachlan succeeded Spencer Page after his unexpected death in October 1916. Prior to her appointment, she was Page’s assistant. MacLachlan was the first woman in Canada to hold the position of Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children. Born in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, of Scottish parentage, she received her education at the provincial Normal School in Truro, Nova Scotia, and taught for fifteen years at the Lunenburg Academy. In September 1909 she moved to Regina to take a business course. On 28 April 1910, the

\textsuperscript{41} Statutes of Saskatchewan, The Mothers’ Allowance Act, 1922

\textsuperscript{42} SAB, Dunning Papers: Attorney-General: Child Protection, 6175. In 1924, the government granted 387 women an allowance.
Department of Neglected Children hired her for clerical work. However, within a year she inspected homes of adopted children, and eventually became the superintendent's assistant.

By 31 August 1917, the department handled 3,710 cases and committed 1,363 children under its care. The duties of the superintendent included the organization and establishment of societies for the care of neglected and abandoned children in temporary homes or shelters, and the placement of children in foster homes. Effectually, the superintendent acted as a third party standing between the parents and the societies, thus protecting those who accepted the care of the child:

First [the involvement of a third party] entirely prevents those who are caring for the child from being interfered with by the blood parent, who has been proved in open court to have failed in his duty, although in many cases that failing is due to no fault of his own. The Superintendent remains the real guardian of the child.

Second if the home where one of these children is placed is broken up, either by ill health, death or financial ruin, the child need not be a burden on those no longer able to adequately support it, for as the guardianship of the child is still with the Superintendent, it is only necessary for the facts to be made known, and the child is again taken care of by him. From the point of view of the child's interest also this is better, for it has thus a permanent protector, whatever misfortune may occur in its foster home.

MacLachlan believed that all children had the right to a "happy" life and the most important function of the superintendent was to ensure she placed children in secure foster home environments, often moving the child through four or five different foster

---

43 "Miss McLachlan is Named Children's Superintendent," Regina Daily Post, 17 November 1916
44 SAB, Clippings File: Children, Charities, Protection, Etc.: Ethel MacLachlan, "History of Government and Departments: Neglected Children"
homes until a satisfactory situation existed.

Unfortunately, the lack of adoption legislation limited foster children’s rights. For example, in one situation authorities placed a boy with foster parents where he grew up as an only child. The parents died without a will, leaving the succession of the estate to other relatives and the child without an inheritance. The boy had no action in law because of an 1870 English law. Since the law prohibited parents from entering into a legally binding agreement that deprived them of the custody and control of their children, adoption was illegal and, therefore, did not give adopted children the same rights as biological children. The law remained in force in Saskatchewan until the province passed The Adoption of Children Act, 1922 which created rights and obligations for adopted children and parents. For the first time in Saskatchewan, adoptions were a legally binding arrangement. Prior to the 1922 legislation, many children inherited from their foster parents who provided for them in their wills, and supplied them with money to take up land grants and to become farmers. A 1923 report of the Bureau of Child Protection explained the application of The Adoption of Children Act as operating completely independent of The Children’s Protection Act:

The term “ADOPTION” is used by child caring agencies only in connection with children who are transferred by legal process so the family adopting and the child adopted assumes all the obligations and rights of the natural parent and child respectively.

The Process has no relation to the system employed under the provisions of The Children’s Protection Act where children are

---

47 SAB, Regina Local Council of Women: Correspondence
48 USL, Special Collections, Prairie Manuscripts: Judge Ethel MacLachlan, 1904-1955. Montreal newspaper clipping.
placed in foster homes on a contract between foster parents and the Bureau, or Children’s Aid Societies.49

Until the passage of the adoption legislation, people used the term “adoption” interchangeably with children placed in foster homes.

The Juvenile Courts Act, 1917 established a process to hear and determine complaints against juvenile offenders. This act was a delayed response to the passage of the federal government’s act on Juvenile Delinquents in 1908. The federal statute required young offenders to be tried in juvenile courts under the jurisdiction of the provinces. Recognized for her exceptional work in the matter of child welfare, her sympathetic nature, and the respect she received from children, the government appointed Ethel MacLachlan as the first Juvenile Court Judge in the province. She was also the first woman to become a judge in the province. The Juvenile Court aimed to treat young offenders differently than criminals and “it was soon found that neglected children and delinquent children were so closely related, that it was not possible to separate them, hence...the neglected child [came] into the Juvenile Court as well as the delinquent child.”50

Upon MacLachlan’s appointment as Juvenile Court Judge, Thomas Murtrie became Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children. “Due to bad nerves” he resigned in 1917 and F.J. Reynolds took over the position, which he held until 1930. Throughout their careers, the superintendents, inspectors, and juvenile court judges participated in national discussions regarding children needing special care. Reynolds

50 Ethel MacLachlan, “Work of Juvenile Court and Problem of Delinquent Child Exhaustively Dealt With” The Yorkton Enterprise, 3 January 1919
criticized conferences organized by Helen MacMurchy, Chief of the federal Child Welfare Division, as too academic and "dominated by representatives from societies and associations that made Child Welfare a side issue [and] those of us who are working at the business every day in the year did not get very much benefit." Upon this criticism, MacMurchy organized a conference attended only by professionals actively involved in the care of neglected, dependent, or delinquent children.

By the mid 1910s, the Saskatchewan government’s policies aligned with those in other jurisdictions. In 1922, Winston Churchill, a member of the Joint Select Committee on the Guardianship of Infants’ Bill (House of Lords), valued the work performed in Saskatchewan enough to request copies of legislation and correspondence with officers regarding the province’s policies. A five-year program introduced in October 1925 by the Canadian Council on Child Welfare outlined the direction of child welfare for the country. The Saskatchewan government adopted these resolutions in so far as was possible. It called for the care of dependent children in “normal family homes,” with a father and a mother, it discouraged the use of institutions, and encouraged the employment of professionals with proper training in child psychology, social principles, and technique.

Another addition to the social welfare scheme on 15 December 1917 when the government of Saskatchewan came out with more comprehensive legislation for children.

---

52 SAB, Saskatchewan Records of the Provincial Secretary: Correspondence of the Lieutenant Governor 1880-1960: Guardianship of Infant Children
in *The Children's Protection Act, 1917.* The new act expanded the powers of the superintendent to account for problems with overlapping responsibilities with the Children's Aid Societies. The 1917 Act did away with the discrepancies between age limits for boys and girls, and applied to children the court found to be actually or apparently under the age of sixteen. The government could not apprehend a child over the age of sixteen years of age. However, once turned over to the department, the superintendent was responsible for the child until he or she reached the age of twenty-one.

The application of the act worked as follows. Any authorized officer could, without a warrant, inspect a suspicious case. Often concerned neighbours requested help from the department. When, in 1921, a neighbour wrote the government regarding the case of a boy without parents, Inspector Noseworthy found on the farm:

a shack about 16 by 18 [feet], made up of one ply of boards, some paper and a car roof. One can see the sky from the inside and I do not think since I have been in this work I have ever seen a more filthy and dirty place. There is a bed, a stove and table, etc., but is a sight to behold....There is no possible chance of this boy to get anywhere living on this place....he begged me to let him stay till he could get word from his mother....the older brother is not a fit person for this younger boy to be with for he is in the habit of using very bad language....I don't think the bedding has ever been washed....It is beyond description, so you can figure that the place is nothing but a dirty hovel.

The boy attended school regularly and participated in the community, therefore, the neighbour offered to let the boy live with him. The department found this solution to be
in the best interests of the boy.

Following the inspection of a complaint, any officer, peace officer, probation officer, constable or policeman could apprehend a child for the reasons outlined in section 8 of the act. The new legislation increased state intervention into the lives of children. Use of the genderless term “it” when referring to children may reflect attempts by the legislators to apply the act equally to boys and girls. Ironically, it objectifies the children it aims to help through the requirement of personal and sensitive treatment. The act always referred to the judge and the superintendent as “he” although Ethel MacLachlan held both positions. The language in the act demonstrates legislators’ attitudes toward both the nature of children and the government officials.

Once a child fell under one of the definitions listed in section 8 and an officer exercised the power to apprehend, the child went to a temporary home or shelter. The new legislation ordered every city with a population over 10,000 people to provide and maintain one or more places of refuge for children in need. By 1920, the only children’s shelters in the province were the children’s aid homes in Regina, Moose Jaw, and Saskatoon, and they were usually full. Specific provisions for children’s shelters disallowed the placement of children in penal or pauper institutions and contact with paupers or convicts because of their undesirable influences on the children. The act allowed for the use of orphanages and children’s homes as temporary homes and when economically beneficial, private family homes. Despite the demands the legislation placed on municipalities and urban centres, it did not require financial assistance from

56 Statutes of Saskatchewan, The Children’s Protection Act, 1917, Chapter 13, s. 5 (1)
58 Statutes of Saskatchewan, The Children’s Protection Act, 1917. Chapter 13, s. 5
the provincial government. Again, the financial capabilities of different regions allowed for inconsistent conditions across the province.

However, the legislation formalized certain procedures that applied in all jurisdictions. The section dealing with the examination of the child extended the time of apprehension from forty-eight hours to a week prior to coming before a judge.59 The duty of the judge was to investigate the facts of the case, the child’s age, name, residence and religion, and ascertain whether the child met the act’s definition of "neglected." The judge was also responsible for calling witnesses and notifying the parents or official guardian. If the judge found the child to fall under the act, she ordered the delivery of the child to the children’s aid society, and the society arranged for a temporary home or shelter to care for the child. Depending on the nature of the incident, the act authorized placement of a child in a foster home, or an industrial school or refuge for boys and girls, although the preferred course of action was to return the children to their home with regular inspections.

Foster homes existed in both rural and urban areas. It is unclear whether the government placed rural children in rural foster homes and urban children in urban foster homes. Specific guidelines for selection of foster homes included written contracts providing for the education of the child, for teaching some useful occupation, and for kind and proper treatment as a member of the family.60 If, upon inspection, the foster parents violated the terms of the contract, the department relocated the child. MacLachlan described one such case in an article written by her in the Saskatoon Star on

59 Ibid., s. 9
60 Ibid., ss. 12 (1-3)
26 May 1917:

A great many farmers are using the war as an excuse to keep children out of school and to help on the farms – not only in the busy seasons, but throughout the whole year. I have a case in mind now of a boy of 13 years, whom I lately removed from his foster home for this reason. During the year 1916, the school in that district was open 205 days, and the lad attended 47 days....This action of mine in removing the boy from this home, not only brought down the wrath of the foster mother on my head, but also of the minister in the district....I may say that in other respects this home was a very good one....there is a tendency for them to think they are hired men, instead of growing boys, so in this matter we have to exercise very careful judgment and careful inspection.61

Placing a child in a foster home was primarily for the benefit of the child and not the economic benefit of the family. In a Regina Leader article, “Children Who Are Wards of Provincial Government Have More Care Than Many Others,” extracts from letters received by the department suggests the success of many child placements. One woman commented that her “darling baby is fine and is such a comfort to us all;” another remarked that her children were “so smart and loved by everyone;” and yet another that her child was “doing splendidly and is the joy of our home.”62 Inspectors investigated children placed in homes to ensure the well-being of the child persisted.

Unless a judge ordered the municipality otherwise, municipalities were responsible for the maintenance of children in foster homes or institutions until a child reached the age of twenty-one. The municipalities collected money from the parents for the care of the child. Regardless of their intentions, the parents of a child committed to the care of the department lost all authority over the child. If the temporary illness of

---

61 “Superintendent of Neglected Children Tells of Conditions,” The Saskatoon Star, 26 May 1917
62 “Children Who Are Wards of Provincial Government Have More Care Than Many Others,” Regina Leader, 5 May 1917
one of the parents motivated them to surrender their children to a children’s aid society, they abandoned all control and authority over the children. Application procedures for return of the children to the parents were stringent. Furthermore, it was impossible to obtain a change in provincial jurisdiction over a child’s care. In 1918, Reynolds refused to transfer a ward of the Saskatchewan Department to a Children’s Aid Society in Winnipeg since he found no provision in law for such a transfer. Reversal of an order depended on whether the parent satisfied the court that it was in the best interests of the child. The court held the power to consider the wishes of the child in making an order for return to the parents.

In February 1917, the courts convicted a mother of drunkenness, resulting in the apprehension of her three small children, aged fourteen, twelve, and nine, by the Moose Jaw Children’s Aid Society. At the end of her treatment, she believed her children would be returned to her care. The Moose Jaw society denied her request. The Great War Veterans’ Association intervened on her behalf when her husband was killed in action. They wrote to the Lieutenant Governor, the Honourable Richard Lake, for sympathy: “We are moved, yes deeply moved, on her behalf and are unanimously of the opinion that it is the greatest injustice to keep from this poor, unfortunate woman her only solace in life during these dark, dark days of her existence.” Lake forwarded the request to Superintendent Mutrie, who in turn responded that the decision regarding the return of the children laid in the hands of the Children’s Aid Society in Moose Jaw. Unfortunately for the widow, Mr. Hitchcock, the President of the society, refused to

---

64 Ibid., 40437-44
65 Ibid., 40439
return the children, and it was not deemed possible for the Department of Neglected Children to interfere in the decision of the society.

If a parent surrendered children to the department, the act required a full investigation prior to the return of the children. The court regarded the best interests of the child on a case by case basis. In another Moose Jaw case, a mother surrendered her children to the Children’s Aid Society and the Society cared for the children while she was in the hospital. Upon her release from the hospital, the superintendent granted her request to have her children returned.66 In a similar case, a farmer and widowed father was unable to support his four children (ten, eight, four and one years old). He could not find work without leaving the farm and he did not have anyone who could look after the children if he left. Reynolds committed the children to the Shelter at Moose Jaw, where they awaited placement in foster homes. The legislation required the father to follow the act’s procedures for their return if his financial situation improved. Reynolds expressed his regret that a system was not in place providing temporary care to children without the government committing them as wards. A temporary shelter would enable the children to return to their parents without following the complicated provisions set out in the act. Reynolds remarked: “This is not an isolated case, as I am frequently asked by parents for some place to temporarily provide for their children.”67

While the act allowed some parents to regain custody of their children, provisions in the legislation penalized abusive caregivers. The act imposed penalties for “any person who, having the care, custody, control or charge of a boy under the age of 14

---

66 SAB, Martin Papers: Social Welfare: Mother’s Pensions, 41171
years, or a girl under the age of 16 years, ill-treats, neglects, abandons or exposes such child, or causes or procures such child to be ill-treated, neglected, abandoned or exposed in a manner likely to cause such child unnecessary suffering, or serious injury to its health" of up to one hundred dollars and one year in jail. The penalties under the act were in addition to any penalties available under The Criminal Code. For example, the Regina Leader reported the following quote from Ethel MacLachlan:

A little girl of 10 years, [her] mother a widow, came from the Old Country with a family of three or four. Her eldest boy goes to work and her two little ones she takes with her where she finds employment. Her little ten year old daughter she entrusted to a man and his wife temporarily, only to find that the stronger has taken advantage of the weak, and the little girl, when out in the hay field helping him with his work, is ruined possible for life. This man...got two years’ imprisonment and 14 lashes. Was it what he deserved?

Other actions prohibited by the act were causing a child to beg, perform or sell in a public place after 10 p.m., to be in a circus or place of public amusement for the purpose of performing for profit, or wilfully neglecting a child either through an act or an omission, or interfering with children who are wards of the province.

Despite the clauses set out for the protection of wards, the superintendent did not always exercise his power to prosecute abusive foster parents. In one example, members from a community complained about a respected Reverend’s treatment of his foster child. The Reverend noted:

At different times, to properly train this girl, it has been

---

68 Statutes of Saskatchewan, The Children’s Protection Act, 1917, Chapter 13, s. 21
69 “Children Who Are Wards of Provincial Government Have More Care Than Many Others,” Regina Leader, 5 May 1917
70 Statutes of Saskatchewan, The Children’s Protection Act, 1917, Chapter 13, ss. 22, 24. Provisions were also made for juvenile offenders, as will be discussed in chapters three and four.
necessary to punish her. I may say now that she has, or at least until quite recently, she has greatly improved. She has attended school regularly and made considerable progress in her studies and she was becoming more obedient and generally improving. When I punished her some months ago she talked about it among the other children and as a result the Provincial Police called at my house.\textsuperscript{71}

After repeated complaints by the girl, and subsequent investigations by the police, the superintendent decided to remove the girl from the Reverend's home. Although the situation was bad enough to warrant her removal, Reynolds did not prosecute the man, perhaps because of his status as a church official. Punishment for abusing a government ward depended on the nature of the offender. Although it was not mentioned in the above case, the cost of an investigation may also account for the government's unwillingness to prosecute.

Limiting the expenses of the child welfare system often resulted in inadequate provisions. In 1921, the Social Service Council of Saskatchewan petitioned the government to increase the age of juvenile delinquents from sixteen to eighteen years of age. In response to this, Premier Martin replied that if the government raised the age of children in The Juvenile Delinquents Act it would also have to raise it in The Children's Protection Act, "substantially increasing the number of children of that age who will continue to be wards of the Province, and would mean the appointment, I am afraid, of other officials and the expenditure of considerable sums of public money."\textsuperscript{72} The question of funding for wards of the province remained an issue as municipalities were unable or unwilling to provide financial support. Dunning, the Provincial Treasurer,

\textsuperscript{71} SAB, Martin Papers: Social Welfare: Child Welfare, 1916-1922, 40550
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.: Mother's Pensions, 41258-9
realized the problem and attempted to rectify it with the Attorney General by passing on a suggestion from a town secretary:

That in cases where the parents or guardians are sentenced to prison on a charge laid by Provincial Authorities, that the said Provincial Authorities be responsible for the welfare of young children or dependents of said parents or guardians. Some time ago, a charge was laid by police against an old Galician lady resident in this village. She was found guilty, fined $200 or six months imprisonment. Being unable to pay the fine, magistrate wrote [the] Attorney-General asking him to advise what provision would be made for the 5 young children that would be left without food or clothing. In response to this letter, [the] town secretary] had a visit last Saturday from an Inspector, from the Neglected Children's Department who informed me, as Secretary of the village that these children would be cared for by his Department till the mother served her sentence, but that all costs of the matter would be charged to the village council. [The town council] refused to have anything to do with it, nor could we afford to pay out one cent on that account, as we are already loaded up with responsibilities of our own. If the Government wishes us to provide for cases like this, then we can only demand the fines that have been forwarded to the Government in like cases. Is this fair? I presume that had she paid the fine, we would have had no say in the disposition of the money.73

The Attorney General replied that the case was rare because normally the court allowed the children to return to the mother after she served her sentence. Usually, he argued, the children became wards of the superintendent, pursuant to The Children's Protection Act, and placed in foster homes. Ultimately however, the responsibility for maintenance still fell on the municipality as it collected money from the parents. In many cases, government intervention resulted from the parents' inability to support their child. Therefore, parents were also unable to pay the municipality for someone else to care for

73 SAB, Dunning Papers: Attorney General: Child Protection, 6140-1
them.

In the 1919 Budget Speech, C.A. Dunning, in his role as the Provincial Treasurer, made no reference of money spent or required for child welfare in Saskatchewan.\textsuperscript{74} In 1920, he commented on the matter of neglected children, "happily this docs not cost a great deal at present" as the government only spent 1.818 per cent of total expenditures on child welfare.\textsuperscript{75} In the proposed expenditures for the upcoming year he made no mention of child welfare. When Dunning presented the budget in 1922, he noted that despite a bad year, because of grasshoppers, the costs of an election, an increase in unemployment relief and government loans to rural schools, the amount of money spent by the government on child welfare was $229,610.38. The amount authorized for the Bureau of Child Protection for the upcoming year was $295,000 and he did "not think it is [an amount] that any member of the house would desire us to reduce."\textsuperscript{76} In 1922 the provincial government established a Bureau of Child Protection and appointed a Commissioner of Child Protection. The Bureau replaced the Department of Neglected and Dependent Children and the superintendent. The Commissioner administered \textit{The Children's Protection Act}, \textit{The Juvenile Courts Act}, and \textit{The Mothers' Allowances Act}.

Despite the increasing involvement of the provincial government in child welfare, private organizations continued to provide care to children in need of protection. The Orange Benevolent Society of Saskatchewan opened a Protestant Home for children in 1923. The only Protestant home in the province, it received funding from charitable contributions and proceeds raised on the Society's farm. In a commemorative brochure,\textsuperscript{77}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{74} Government of Saskatchewan Budget Speech, 1919 (Regina: J.W. Reid, King's Printer, 1919)
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid., 12
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., 19
\end{flushleft}
the administrators boasted the family spirit in the home and that "none of the children have that repressed and apprehensive manner so often associated with public institutions. They have bright, open, cheerful countenances to prove they are not ruled by threats or fear." Although their opinion of other Homes has an underlying bias, it illustrates some of the negative aspects of institutional life. Furthermore, their matron had "the instincts of a good mother, the patience of Job, the wisdom of Solomon, the firmness of a sergeant major and administrative genius of a captain of industry." This reveals the types of qualities the Orange Benevolent Society deemed important for raising children.

Whether the conditions within the Home were typical of other institutions is unknown. However, the ideals governing the children reflect that particular orphanage’s aspirations for children. According to the brochure, "25 Years of Guarding Canada’s Greatest Asset," the Home taught the children skills to help them assume the responsibilities of adult life:

The older girls learn various sorts of housewifely skills, and leave the Home with valuable home-making ability.

Boys learn much of horticulture and many technical skills. They have a small building on the grounds where they can exercise their hobbies and craftsmanship.

For older boys, of an age at which they are embarrassed if treated as children among younger children, the Downing Memorial Farm has proved a valuable auxiliary to the central Home...they are doing men’s work which develops their natural pride and independence.

It can thus be seen that the aim of the Orange Home is not merely to provide shelter to unfortunate children during their

77 SAB, Pamphlet File: Children, Institutional Care, "25 Years of Protecting Canada’s Greatest Asset," 9
78 Ibid., 10
dependent years, but to turn out boys and girls of fine character and habits who can play a useful role in the world.79

The Home trained children to enter an adult world where females stayed at home among the young, and men went out to work. The policy not only assumed that interacting with young children embarrassed boys and not girls, it also encouraged this attitude.

Despite the belief in the natural inclinations of young girls to small children, society stigmatized and marginalized unmarried mothers. In 1923, the government rescinded a grant promised to the Beulah Home in Moose Jaw for unmarried mothers, and forwarded it to a Salvation Army Home in Regina. An advisory committee of citizens ran the Beulah Home which provided medical care for unmarried, pregnant girls. The committee organized adoptions at the mother’s request. During 1922, the home cared for two government wards out of a total eighteen admissions and sixteen babies. The government withdrew funding because the majority of the girls in the home were not from Moose Jaw, and there was an insufficient number of government wards. The department did not believe the remaining girls’ cases were worthy of government assistance because of their limited numbers and the expense of operating the home.80

In 1923, the government changed its policy “to so adjust the home conditions that children will not be committed or surrendered to us without due cause.”81 It believed:

the rights of parent [were] sacred and ought not be lightly interfered with, but they may be forfeited by abuse. By some act of omission or commission on the part of the parent, it may be necessary to deprive them of their children. The Court steps

79 Ibid., 12
80 SAB, Dunning Papers: Public Health, 26386-91
in and acts as a real parent.\textsuperscript{82}

Although the goal of prevention seemed honourable, in large part, the government took this attitude because of an inability to deal with the number of cases before them with greater economy. From 1922 to 1924 Reynolds committed 96 males, 96 females, 47 Roman Catholic, and 145 non-Catholic children, bringing the number of children under his care to 2186 children.\textsuperscript{83} Of these children, he placed 1508 in foster homes, 108 in shelters or orphanages, 409 with parents or relatives, 43 in correctional institutions and 29 in the Defective Home and Sanatorium.\textsuperscript{84} During 1923, 192 children became wards of the government. Reynolds noted in the Annual Report that the department dealt with far more cases than the numbers implied. Since the goal of the government was to empty institutions rather than to fill them, the number of children committed did not illustrate the extent of the work the department performed. An analysis of the data from Table 1 reveals the nature and quantity of inspectors’ work.

The Saskatchewan government amended \textit{The Children’s Protection Act} in 1924 in many important ways. The act included the addition of new sections dealing with maternity, nursing, and other homes in the cities and towns, and intended to prevent the practice of baby farming by allowing the commissioner to monitor children under his supervision. The act ordered any society or home with the custody of a child under the age of seven years old to notify the commissioner of the fact within one week after

\textsuperscript{82} Ethel MacLachlan, “Work of Juvenile Court and Problem of Delinquent Child Exhaustively Dealt With,” \textit{The Yorkton Enterprise}, 3 January 1919


\textsuperscript{84} Ibid.
Table 1 1923 Inspectors’ Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domestic trouble in child’s home</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruelty of parents</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immoral surroundings</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleged wilful neglect</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents Deserted</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents Dead</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents Insane</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegitimate children</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trouble between child and foster parents</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special visit to troublesome children</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escorting children</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children committed as wards by government inspectors</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children not committed but removed to better surroundings</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspection of wards in foster homes</td>
<td>910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal Code prosecutions</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspecting prospective homes</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile Court cases arranged</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


receiving the child. The amendment also prevented parents from surrendering the custody of a child to a children’s aid society without having first obtained the consent of the superintendent in writing. Legislators included this provision to prevent parents from indiscriminately handing children over to the care of the government.

The Saskatchewan government continued to increase spending in the area of child welfare. In 1924, it allocated $337,108.66 to child protection; in 1925, 377,345.30; in 1926, $396,739.64; in 1927, 458,451.81; in 1928, $529,327.97; in 1929, $532,369.14; and in 1930, $883,965.59. In 1925, Dunning responded to “anonymous paid advertisements...describing [him] as having been on a drunken bat of expenditure during the last eight years.” He maintained the government’s position on keeping families together despite hard times:

In 1916 we had no Mothers’ Allowances in Saskatchewan. We had not embarked on that scheme and it is a part of our so-called “drunken bat” of expenditure that we paid $219,480 to mothers in order that they might keep their children with them instead of turning them over to the Superintendent of Neglected Children.

However, despite the government’s “drunken bat of spending” for mothers and children, the government made no provisions for fathers. Possibly due to the opinion that men were better able to earn a living than women, single fathers were not eligible for government pensions. Another instance of a father of five children who was not able to

---

86 Statutes of Saskatchewan, The Children’s Protection Act, 1924, Chapter 44, ss. 19-20
87 SAB, Dunning Papers: Attorney General, 9767
88 Government of Saskatchewan, Government of Saskatchewan Budget Speeches, 1924-1930 (Regina: J.W. Reid, King’s Printer)
89 Government of Saskatchewan, Government of Saskatchewan Budget Speech, 1925 (Regina: J.W. Reid, King’s Printer, 1925), 14
90 Government of Saskatchewan Budget Speech, 15
supply food or clothes for his children indicates the dilemma faced by single fathers. He wrote to Reynolds requesting temporary care for his children until he could get on his "feet again."\(^{91}\) Although the provincial government did not provide temporary care to children, Regina, Saskatoon and Moose Jaw offered short-term care if space was available within their shelters. In a letter to Martin, Reynolds requested the establishment of a Government Home for the purpose of boarding children temporarily, without making them wards of the state. Reynolds believed that it would cost the government between five and ten thousand dollars a year to provide this service. Martin refused to acknowledge Reynold’s request and told him that it was “simply impossible for [Reynolds] to take charge of such children.”\(^{92}\) By the time Dunning became Premier, Reynolds believed in the “economic unsoundness of….housing children for long periods in large congregate institutions.”\(^{93}\)

Despite the increased government spending in the late 1920s, local organizations and municipalities maintained a significant portion of the responsibility for administering child welfare. The Regina Local Council of Women (RLCW), continued its work administrating and fundraising for the Babies’ Welfare Home. By 1929, the RLCW provided a significant service:

during the past year there has been an increase in the daily average which now stands at a little over 23. As the capacity of the Babies’ Welfare is only 24 it will be seen that the welfare has been practically full during the year. There have been 78 babies cared for and owing to the fact that a large percentage admitted are suffering from malnutrition, rickets, anaemia and other infantile disorders some of the babies have to remain a

---

\(^{92}\) Ibid., 40560
\(^{93}\) SAB, Dunning Papers: Attorney General: Child Protection, 6172
considerable length of time before they are in a proper physical condition for adoption. No baby is released for adoption till it is pronounced physically fit by a specialist.\footnote{SAB, Regina Local Council of Women, Annual Reports, 1929}

The home was a city institution, and received a monthly grant from the City of Regina, along with donations from women’s and men’s clubs in Regina and private gifts. The matron of the home was a graduate nurse and physicians volunteered their services to the home. The home was for infants under two years, but it also accepted children too young for the children’s shelter or under school age.\footnote{SAB, Telford Papers: Gertrude Telford: Local Council of Women, “The Local Council of Women of Regina: Commemorating Golden Jubilee, 1895-1945,” 29} The Commissioner of Child Protection arranged adoptions.

The RLCW often worked in conjunction with other organizations. The Red Cross donated clothing and bedding to the Babies’ Welfare as well as to other needy children.\footnote{SAB, Canadian Red Cross Society, Saskatchewan Division: History 1915-1922} The Regina Catholic Women’s League “taught catechism, prepared and outfitted children for First Communion and supplied other clothing and help when necessary” to the children at the Regina Children’s Shelter.\footnote{SAB, Regina Archdiocesan Council Catholic Women’s League of Canada Records: Regina Council: Histories, 1919-1976, 8} It also arranged for the baptism of babies from a home run by the Salvation Army and participated in finding foster homes for Catholic children. The Women’s Christian Temperance Union operated a hospital in Saskatoon where it kept and cared for the babies of unmarried mothers until an adoption or foster home could be arranged. The city of Saskatoon funded the hospital, along with charitable donations.

Premier J.G. Gardiner delivered the budget speech in 1927, and he asserted his
belief that “a Government can best be judged by the way it cares for its children and its sick.”

Although the government increased its involvement in providing care to children in need of protection, by 1927 the child welfare system in Saskatchewan remained fragmented and inconsistent. For example, Protestant children placed in the Orange Home encountered different conditions than Catholic children placed in the Sacred Heart Institution, because of the lack of universal standards for child care institutions. The failure of the government to provide adequate financing, institutions, administrators, and policies meant non-elected organizations controlled important aspects of child welfare measures.

Consequently, inconsistent efforts by individuals created a system lacking universal guidelines and policies. Furthermore, the government did not secure equal treatment for boys and girls simply through the passage of legislation providing equal application of child welfare laws to male and female children. The discriminatory treatment for girls and boys becomes more apparent in the following two chapters. Despite efforts to instil middle-class values by providing children with safe and prosperous home environments, many children rejected convention, and earned the title of “juvenile delinquent.”

---

98 Government of Saskatchewan, Government of Saskatchewan Budget Speech, 1927 (Regina: J.W. Reid, King’s Printer, 1927), 7
CHAPTER THREE

THE NEIGHBOURHOOD BAD BOY:
THE CANADIANIZATION OF DELINQUENT BOYS IN
SASKATCHEWAN, 1905-1930.

One cannot be in this work very long before being struck with the great responsibility of trying to make citizens out of some pretty badly twisted material. After all, if we are going to cut down lawlessness we must start at the root of the trouble — which is the boy.¹

In the annual report for the Industrial School for boys, W. Houston, the superintendent of the school, emphasized the primary goal of reforming delinquent boys into respectable citizens. Although Ethel MacLachlan believed that “boys would not be much good without some mischief in their make up,” juvenile delinquency threatened middle-class ideals in Saskatchewan in a period when nativism was at its peak.² Reformers focused their efforts on the “Canadianization” of immigrants through measures such as compulsory attendance laws at English-speaking schools. Child welfare laws also played a role in the Canadianization of children. Although not immediately apparent in the legislation, analysis of the administration and application of laws for juvenile delinquents demonstrates how underlying nativist attitudes regarding religion and culture determined the quality of treatment available. Neither The

¹ Government of Saskatchewan, Department of Public Works, Annual Report, 1928-1929, 41
Children's Protection Act nor The Juvenile Delinquents Act provided differential treatment to boys and girls. However, the offences committed and the subsequent "treatment" varied considerably. The annual reports of the Juvenile Court reveal both the types of offences committed by delinquent boys and the perceived underlying causes. Analysis of the management of boys illustrates middle-class notions of ideal masculinity. The ideal boy was physically strong and quick, well-dressed and possessed good manners. He received intellectual and manual training that provided him with the opportunity to find respectable employment within the province. Review of the annual reports for the Detention Home for boys and the Boys Industrial School illustrates the standards of care and training available for delinquent boys. Despite the diverse backgrounds of delinquent boys, provincial policies attempted to conform all boys to a singular ideal. Deviation from the middle-class model resulted in discriminatory treatment.

This chapter begins with an examination of authorities’ perceptions of “New Canadians” and the alleged link between nationality, gender, religion, poverty and juvenile delinquency. Next it analyses provisions for young offenders in both federal legislation (The Trial and Punishment of Juvenile Offenders Act, 1869; and The Juvenile Delinquents Act, 1908) and provincial legislation (The Children’s Protection Act, 1908; The Juvenile Courts Act, 1917; The Children’s Protection Act, 1917). This includes a discussion of the role of the Juvenile Court Judge in the administration of juvenile justice. The investigation then leads into the perceived causes of delinquency, the types of offences committed, the nature of offenders, and the appropriate remedies for male juvenile delinquency. The chapter then discusses provisions for the rehabilitation of
delinquent boys, including the establishment of a probation system and an Industrial School. An examination of the conditions within the Industrial School make up the final part of the chapter. This chapter concludes that the rehabilitation of delinquent boys demanded conformity to the middle-class ideal of a masculine breadwinner.

In a 1920 Annual Report for the Juvenile Court MacLachlan outlined the gender of juvenile offenders. Out of the total number of cases dealt with (this includes neglected and dependent children cases, in addition to juvenile delinquency), 277 were male, and 37 were female. These disproportionate numbers also appear in the data exclusive to Regina where 84 were boys and 17 were girls. Analysis of these statistics, reveals that the majority of juvenile delinquents were boys.

Ethel MacLachlan also warned that “The New Canadian will play an important part in future generations either for good or bad” and cautioned that while 234 delinquent children were born in Canada, only 84 were of Canadian nationality. However, those of Canadian nationality committed the most offences (84), followed by 33 Austrians, 26 Americans, 23 Germans, 22 Hungarians, 20 Ruthenians and 14 Russians. Other nationalities listed were Assyrian (1), Bukowinian (1), Doukabor (2), Danish (1), English (14), Finlander (1), French (7), French Canadian (6), Galician (5), Half Breed (11), Irish (1), Jew (1), Norwegian (1), Polish (5), Roumanian (7), Russian German (1), Scotch (10), Serbian (8), Swedish (2), and unknown (5). Although these statistics fail to show a clear indication of any correlation between “nationality” and committing offences, MacLachlan believed that “the assimilation of the New Canadian

---

3 Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), Martin Papers: Attorney General: Juvenile Courts, 13062
4 Ibid., 13064
in our midst will do much to prevent juvenile delinquency.\textsuperscript{15} Analysis of the annual reports demonstrates that a significant number of children committed to the department were of Eastern European nationality, thus contributing to MacLachlan’s belief that delinquency was greater among this class of New Canadians (See Table 2). Although she viewed the assimilation of New Canadians as important, Judge MacLachlan suggested it had to take place carefully:

These children are more to be pitied than blamed...They live really a double life – in the school, on the street and other places, they see Canadian ways. While naturally, in their own home they keep to European principles and practises. Particularly boys and girls who work in Canadian homes become dissatisfied with their own miserable and unattractive homes and they get rebellious and run away, all love lost between parents and children and the end is generally the Juvenile Court.\textsuperscript{6}

Despite the distinctions made in the Annual Report for 1921, MacLachlan stated, “that as far as possible all boys, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, Canadian and New Canadian, will be treated alike.”\textsuperscript{7}

MacLachlan defined juvenile delinquents as “misdirected and misguided children in need of aid, encouragement, help and assistance.”\textsuperscript{8} Although there was recognition of the role poverty played in contributing to juvenile delinquency, in the 1923 Annual Report of the Bureau of Child Protection, Superintendent Reynolds viewed the home conditions surrounding the more fortunate families as actually encouraging

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{5} Ibid., 13132
\item \textsuperscript{6} University of Saskatchewan Library (USL), Special Collections, Prairie Manuscripts: Judge Ethel MacLachlan, 1904-1955. Statement recorded in an article called “Woman Judge Big Traveller” from the \textit{Toronto Globe}, 30 September 1919
\item \textsuperscript{7} SAB, Martin Papers: Attorney General: Juvenile Courts, 13142
\item \textsuperscript{8} Ibid., 13050
\end{itemize}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1921</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>26.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Canadian</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-Breed</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Canadian</strong></td>
<td>101</td>
<td>32.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotch</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>British</strong></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austrian</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buckowinian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doukabor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galician</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roumanian</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian German</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruthenian</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Eastern European</strong></td>
<td>118</td>
<td>37.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assyrian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jew</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>312</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

delinquency:

[Delinquency] can be laid direct[ly] at the door of the parents who regard their responsibility too lightly or for some reason have drifted into loose and immoral living.

Domestic relations of the father and mother who are not living happily together and who have lost the desire to ever tolerate each other also allows for insufficient supervision and restraint on child life to keep it out of mischief and encourages vicious and criminal tendencies.\(^9\)

MacLachlan blamed “delinquent parents” for their children’s misadventures throughout her writings.\(^10\) She professed: “Perhaps the part of my work I enjoy most...is punishing adults for contributing to the delinquency of a child or neglecting it. No punishment is too great for them, and I deal out heavy fines.”\(^11\) Delinquent parents created juvenile delinquents, so, first and foremost, the prevention of delinquency had to start in the home.

However, MacLachlan also recognized the impact of community resources on juvenile delinquency. In her view, different communities presented different opportunities for delinquency, and it was the role of each community to prevent the conditions that encouraged delinquency. For example:

The large city, with the open seaport or the centre of a network of railways, a big foreign population, slum conditions, crowded housing and business sections, over crowded public schools, is vastly different from the smaller inland city with practically no foreign population, sufficient school facilities and good housing conditions. Then we have the small country village or town, almost wholly detached from large centers, but itself being the

---


\(^10\) USL, Special Collections, Prairie Manuscripts: Judge Ethel MacLachlan, 1904-1955

\(^11\) Ibid. Statement recorded in an article called “Woman Judge Big Traveller” from the Toronto Globe, 30 September 1919.
center of a large rural population. We have the small progressive city, representing to the surrounding community a "metropolis."

We have the factory town, the manufacturing town, the mining town, the fishing town; the community made up of the poor and uneducated and the community of the rich and educated. We also have the isolated rural communities. In all these communities delinquencies occur and in general may be alike, but yet each community presents its own problems and particularly in regard to the causes and the opportunities both for committing, and for not committing these delinquencies, and therefore arises a different problem in the necessary means to prevent.12

MacLachlan delivered this lecture before the Canadian Association of Child Protection Officers' Conference at Ottawa in 1925. Despite the differences among communities, MacLachlan viewed the main causes of juvenile delinquency as poor housing conditions (crowded city slums and one-roomed rural shacks), inefficient education (failure to enforce truancy laws), child labour (especially night work), unemployment, gambling and improper use of spare time (unsupervised children and lack of recreation facilities).

She noted:

If you were privileged, like myself, to travel constantly all over a vast, rather sparsely popular area, visiting the small towns and rural districts, travelling something like 2,000 miles each month of the years, you would then be in a position to ask and wonder "What do the boys and girls do in their spare time, that is, the time between after school in the afternoon and bed time?" In many places the pool room and the Chinese restaurant are the only centres of attraction. Every boy and girl longs and dreams for companionship, joy and recreation, fun, and we not only fail them in not providing what is good, but allow other interests in our communities to meet their cravings with what may be most

---

vicious and detrimental.\textsuperscript{13}

The dangers within the “exotic,” and unknown Chinese restaurant, and the immoral conditions, such as gambling and smoking cigarettes, present in poolrooms were clearly community problems. MacLachlan proposed not to prohibit these areas, but to co-operate with the owners of poolrooms, theatres, dance halls, moving picture houses, and restaurants to create “clean” places of recreation.

The Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) feared that substance abuse amongst Canada’s youth was creating “drug slaves, forever marred for virtue.”\textsuperscript{14} It reported that youth in small towns and villages were as vulnerable as youth in the city to the drug ring:

there is no doubt that young men who formerly carried a flask to dances and parties are now carrying morphine, heroin, or cocaine, inducing girls to take it from them. They do it in a spirit of bravado if you like, but some, I am sorry to say do it for worse motives...the cocaine habit must be stamped out in Canada. It is undermining our boyhood and cutting away the moral fibre of our girls.\textsuperscript{15}

MacLachlan also noted that cigarette smoking was very common among young boys who appeared in the Juvenile Court and often boys as young as eight years were “able to smoke two or three cigarettes without becoming sick.”\textsuperscript{16} No statistics exist for the age of offenders brought before the court, but, the discussion of cigarette smoking shows that very young children were prosecuted in the Juvenile Court. Having a special forum for young offenders allowed for sensitive and discretionary treatment of individuals on a

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., 252
\textsuperscript{14} SAB, Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU): Annual Conventions: Reports and Proceedings, Report of the Ninth Annual Convention, 1922
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 37
\textsuperscript{16} SAB, Martin Papers: Attorney General: Juvenile Courts, 13054
case by case basis.

Passed by the Canadian government in 1869, *An Act Respecting the Trial and Punishment of Juvenile Offenders* treated children under the age of sixteen years old in the same manner as adult criminals. The act authorized the sentencing of children to a common gaol with or without hard labour for up to three months.17 Specific laws for the province of Quebec authorized the sentencing of children to reformatory schools. However, the act applied exclusively to the province of Quebec.18 At this time, the government of the North West Territories did not have a law that authorized the commitment of young offenders to schools or orphanages.19 Despite the establishment of institutions in Britain, and other parts of Canada, an 1896 memo from the Lieutenant Governor of the North West Territories reported it had not passed any Territorial Ordinances dealing with the “disposal of juvenile and vagrant children” nor had it established any schools for the reception of children after commitment or conviction.20

However, by 1908, both the provincial government of Saskatchewan and the federal government of Canada recognized the need for differential treatment of children accused and convicted of crimes. *The Regina Standard* reported a debate of the Saskatchewan legislature on the establishment of a home for juvenile delinquents on 26 May 1908. Unfortunately, the newspaper account is the only record of the debate, as it

---

17 Statutes of Canada, An Act Respecting the Trial and Punishment of Juvenile Offenders, 1869, Chapter 33
18 Statutes of Canada, An Act Respecting Juvenile Offenders within the Province of Quebec, 1869, Chapter 34
19 Ordinances of the NorthWest Territories, An Ordinance for the Relief of Indigent Children, 1883, no. 5, provided for orphanages or schools to commit destitute or children without a home, proper guardianship or means of support but not young offenders to their care.
20 SAB, Saskatchewan Records of the Provincial Secretary: Correspondence of the Lieutenant Governor, 1880-1960: Children
occurred prior to the publication of the *Hansard*. Provincial police courts reported the
necessity of a home for young offenders as the decision to send a child back to his home
was often “as bad or worse than if placed in a jail.”\(^{21}\) General sentiments of childhood
as a unique stage of development correspond with the campaign to keep young
offenders out of the jails and penitentiaries.\(^{22}\)

The result of government debates and proceedings was *The Children’s Protection Act, 1908*. Under the act, a neglected child included any child under the age of sixteen who was found guilty of petty crimes and was likely to develop criminal
tendencies.\(^ {23}\) One month after the passage of the Saskatchewan act, the federal
government passed *The Juvenile Delinquents Act, 1908*. The act defined a “juvenile
delinquent” as:

\[
\text{any child who violates any provision of *The Criminal Code*,}
\text{chapter 146 of the Revised Statutes, 1906, or of any Dominion or provincial statute, or of any by-law or ordinance of any municipality, for which violation punishment by fine or imprisonment may be awarded; or, who is liable by reason of any other act to be committed to an industrial school or juvenile reformatory under the provisions of any Dominion or provincial statute.}^{24}\]

The federal act also gave the provinces authority to establish juvenile courts, appoint a
juvenile court judge, and direct all child cases to the juvenile court. However, the act
gave the juvenile court the power to transfer cases involving children over the age of

---

\(^{21}\) “Need For a Home For Bad Juveniles”, *The Regina Standard*, May 26, 1908


\(^{23}\) Statutes of Saskatchewan, *The Children’s Protection Act, 1908*, Chapter 31, s. 10 (6). According to the regulations previously discussed in Chapter Two the court handled this class of neglected child.

\(^{24}\) Statutes of Canada, *The Juvenile Delinquents Act, 1908*, Chapter 40, s. 2 (c)
fourteen and charged with indictable offences to the regular adult court. Section Ten ordered that juvenile court proceedings be closed to the public, and restricted the publication of names of young offenders. In accordance with the principle of keeping children away from adult criminals, the act set up provisions for detaining children in a detention home or shelter exclusive to children. However, the judge had discretion to detain the child in a lock-up or jail if the child was over the age of fourteen and posed a threat to society. The judge held the power to hold informal proceedings in the case of juvenile offenders. Overall, the new federal legislation allowed the judge to use more discretion with young offenders.

The act allowed the child to remain at home while awaiting trial and upon conviction. In these cases, the child reported to a probation officer or court. However, provisions in the act also provided for committal of the child to a probation officer, or other suitable person, or placement in a foster home, a children’s aid society, under the care of a Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, or to an industrial school or refuge. The child remained a ward of the court while awaiting trial, and if found delinquent, the child remained a ward until discharged by the court, or obtaining the age of twenty-one. In Saskatchewan, the court transferred custody of the child to the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children as provided for in Section 17. Placement of a child in an industrial school was a last resort, unless “the best interests of the child and the welfare of the community [required] such commitment.” The religion of the child determined the institution where the court sent the child. Protestant

---

25 Indictable offences included manslaughter and murder.
26 Statutes of Canada, The Juvenile Delinquents Act, 1908, Chapter 40, s. 16
27 Ibid., s. 21
children went to Protestant settings, and Roman Catholic children went to a Roman Catholic location. The act outlined the duties of probation officers, which included the powers of a constable to investigate, and to take charge of any child before or after trial as directed by the court. Most importantly, the court was to interpret the act liberally:

That the care and custody and discipline of a juvenile delinquent shall approximate as nearly as may be that which should be given by its parents, and that as far as practicable every juvenile delinquent shall be treated, not as a criminal, but as a misdirected and misguided child, and one needing aid, encouragement, help and assistance.

Although the federal act included important provisions for providing special treatment to young offenders, it did not come into effect within the provinces until each provincial legislature passed its own legislation for the establishment of provincial Juvenile Courts, or the designation of existing courts as Juvenile Courts, and the establishment of detention homes. Saskatchewan did not take action until 1917. In a personal letter, Premier Martin confessed that the reason for the delay was the expense involved.

The Juvenile Courts Act, 1917 finally established a separate justice system for young offenders. Ethel MacLachlan’s appointment as Juvenile Court Judge enhanced her ability to influence the lives of children. In 1920 she saw 265 alleged cases of delinquency in the Juvenile Court and found 228 guilty. Out of an estimated nine thousand children in the city of Regina, she found sixty-four guilty and reported that juvenile delinquency was not increasing. During the three years of the court’s existence, she saw only twenty-three repeat offenders and noted that the majority were

---

28 Ibid., ss. 25-28
29 Ibid., s. 31
30 SAB, Martin Papers: Attorney General: Juvenile Courts, 13045
31 Ibid, 13048
newsboys. The problem of “newsboys” prompted the request for a by-law regulating the sale of newspapers. On 1 March 1921, Regina City Council passed a law allowing boys between twelve and eighteen years of age to sell papers between six in the morning and nine at night. Ethel MacLachlan attributed the high proportion of offences committed by newsboys to the following:

Some parents in their greed for money, took every cent earned by the boys, with the result that the boys, having learned to like money and to handle it, have then stolen it. Others of the boys have been on the streets at all hours of the night selling newspapers, with the result that they go to school the next day tired, and without their lessons studied. They then fall behind the other pupils, and therefore dislike school, and truancy follows.

Often, MacLachlan found a reasonable explanation for the offences committed by boys. MacLachlan noted that although she did not like calling boys “criminals,” many of the offences that came before her were of a serious nature. The 1920 Annual Report listed 196 charges out of the total 265 as theft. Stolen items included money (from five cents up), watches, jewellery, wheat, tools, clothing, coal, bicycles, automobiles, boots, sleighs, skates, fountain pens, candy, gum, cigarettes, books, guns, shells, horse and buggy, and baseballs. According to MacLachlan, one of the most serious offences brought before the Juvenile Court was sexual immorality. MacLachlan believed these offenders needed strict discipline and sent most of them to the Industrial School for rehabilitation. She described how a whole village of small children became immoral through one man:

Several little boys and girls, none older than nine and some as

---

32 Ibid., 13053
33 Ibid.
young as five years appeared in the court for immorality. In going into the history of their case, it was found that a hired man some four years ago, taught a little boy of four years bad habits. Worse even than this, he also acted in an undescrivable way with the little sister of seven years. Instead of having this ----- (shall we call him a man?) punished, the father of the children simply gave him one day to leave the place. Whether he continued his wrong doings in other localities is an unanswered question. The taint remained with the little folks, and through it, one by one, in three or four years, almost all the school children in that village became contaminated.34

Other offences included shopbreaking, housebreaking, damage to property and mischief, incorrigible behaviour beyond parental control, immorality, forgery, vagrancy, obstructing a railway, assault, indecent assault, receiving stolen goods, drunkenness, shooting a horse, purchasing cigarettes, arson, shooting out of season, selling liquor illegally, placing stones in wheat sheaves, placing shells and shot in school stoves, wilfully shooting a dog, fishing out of season, interfering with pounded cattle, attempt to poison parents, attempted rape, incest, and using profane language.35 The court sometimes committed the child under The Children’s Protection Act, making the child a ward of the government, if The Juvenile Delinquent’s Act did not provide adequate provisions.36

The majority of juvenile offenders coming into the court were boys. MacLachlan described the apparent causes of delinquency as attributable to outside influences on the boys. She believed the majority of boys before the court lacked parental control and received an inappropriate upbringing. “Bad” home conditions included families where the mother or father were dead, both parents were dead, there

34 Ibid., 13054
35 Ibid., 13064
36 SAB, Martin Papers: Social Welfare, 40097
was a drunken father, or divorced parents. MacLachlan found that boys committed many offences on Sundays or late at night and blamed parents for allowing their boys out unsupervised. She also blamed old grudges and family quarrels between the complainant and the parents of accused (causing theft, damage or assault), immorality, cruelty of the father, greediness of the father (taking boy's complete earnings causing theft), and poverty (theft of clothes). MacLachlan believed that some children's delinquent acts resulted because they were visibly feeble minded or mentally deficient. She assumed that theft was a result of not receiving proper training in self-denial and respect for other people's property, in addition to a simple love for money, candy, ice-cream, cigarettes, jewellery and picture shows. Other bad influences included the selling of newspapers and associating with gangs. While laziness (stealing coal instead of sawing wood) caused some offences, MacLachlan believed that other offenders simply had unfulfilled needs such as having a poor teacher, wanting food for camping, wanting to joy ride, having a roving spirit (running away from home), and wanting a rifle to shoot gophers and rabbits. Another cause of delinquency, according to MacLachlan, was community neglect, which included limited leisure activities for children. Few children were delinquent through their own fault.37

The province opened the Boys' Detention Home in 1915 as a result of both the federal act and pressure from within the province.38 Prior to this, boys went to an industrial school in Portage la Prairie, Manitoba. The first home was in the old Court House in Wolseley, Saskatchewan. The Detention Home remained in Wolseley until 2

37 SAB, Martin Papers: Attorney General: Juvenile Courts, 13066
38 SAB, Scott Papers: Social Welfare, 56162-8
January 1919 when the need for more space and accommodations necessitated a move to a larger space. The government selected the Indian School in Regina as the new location.

Although the province oversaw the administration of the Detention Home, the responsibility for providing funding fell to local governments, causing considerable strain on the municipalities. In Melville, the Town Council passed a motion that ordered the Chief of Police not to lay any charges against Juveniles without first referring the matter to the Council. This order outraged many of the people in the town, including several lawyers who solicited the help of the province. 39 In response to the lawyers' complaints, Martin considered transferring maintenance costs to the provincial government. However, Reynolds, the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, discouraged provincial responsibility for maintenance. Reynolds believed the probation system, whereby children returned to their home or community under the supervision of a court appointed probation officer, was far more efficient for rehabilitating delinquents than the practice of sending children to an industrial school. He argued that some local authorities were already too quick to send problem children to the industrial schools, and by taking the financial burden off local governments, the number of children committed to industrial schools would increase substantially, whereas the number of children under the probation system would diminish. 40

However, despite the praise given to the probation system, a perceived need for a detention home remained. At the opening of the Detention Home in 1915, there were

---

39 SAB, Martin Papers: Attorney General: Juvenile Court, 13107-19
40 Ibid., 13115-9
360 boys admitted to the school, with an average of thirty boys per month. The principal, J.C. Robinson, released fifty-eight boys.\textsuperscript{41} In 1920, there was an average of forty-five boys confined per month and during the year the Detention Home released twenty-seven boys.\textsuperscript{42} By 1928, this average increased to sixty boys living at the institution per month but with only thirty-six discharges in the year.\textsuperscript{43}

In 1923, The Industrial School Act enabled the establishment of the Industrial School for Boys “for the custody and detention, with a view to their education, industrial training and moral reclamation of such boys as shall be lawfully committed for detention therein.”\textsuperscript{44} In addition to youthful offenders, any boy between the ages of twelve and sixteen was eligible for committal upon the request of the parent or guardian if the boy exhibited incorrigible, immoral, or vicious conduct.\textsuperscript{45} The establishment of a detention home within Saskatchewan’s jurisdiction required the provincial government to formulate policies regarding delinquent boys.

Sending boys to the detention home for an indefinite time period evolved as an acceptable policy prior to The Industrial School Act, 1923. The school detained boys until they illustrated good behaviour for an acceptable duration, and for a period not exceeding five years. Occasionally, certain boys escaped from the institution, and the Royal North West Mounted Police participated in bringing them back. This act could extend their sentence. W. Houston, the Industrial School’s superintendent, complained that ordering detainment for a specified number of months was detrimental to the boy:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{41} Government of Saskatchewan, Department of Public Works, Annual Report, 1915-1916, 54
\item \textsuperscript{42} Ibid., Annual Report, 1920-1921, 69
\item \textsuperscript{43} Ibid., Annual Report, 1927-1928, 34
\item \textsuperscript{44} Statutes of Saskatchewan, The Industrial School Act, 1923, Chapter 62, s. 4
\item \textsuperscript{45} Ibid., s. 14 (1)
\end{itemize}
[A predetermined sentence] does not give us a chance at making a boy ambitious to get himself released by his own good behaviour. Not only so but it prevents us from sending him to collegiate or even teaching him the shoe trade or any other industrial trade which may be installed at the institution in future. One other thing to consider is that at least seventy-five per cent of the boys who are committed here have some pretty bad kinks in them and these cannot be ironed out in a few days or a few months.\(^6\)

Houston assumed that boys could learn "good behaviour," and it would follow the boy upon his release from the Industrial School; therefore, a boy must not be released until he demonstrated good behaviour.

The Juvenile Court Judge, the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, and the administrators of the Industrial School conferred to determine the release of boys from the school. Often, parents petitioned the authorities for the discharge of their son. In one case, a mother petitioned Premier Martin to send her son home in the spring to help out on the farm. Martin recommended school officials should deny his return based on the facts of the case when he handed the request over to Ethel MacLachlan:

He was committed in Regina in 1916, owing to the inability of the parents to control him, and he was growing up without proper salutary parental control and in circumstances exposing such child to an idle or dissolute life.\(^7\)

Overall, the court placed him in the Industrial School on three occasions, and he attempted to escape at least twice (one time he travelled as far as Brandon). The Court placed him in several foster homes, and on one occasion, the mother stole him away from the foster parents. The Court charged her under the provisions of The Children's

---


\(^7\) SAB, Martin Papers: Attorney General: Juvenile Courts, 13120-6
Protection Act. Reynolds sympathized with the boy’s circumstances and noted that “the people have made a fool of him, and I consider putting the boy in the institution for a few months at a time has also made a fool of him.” He denied the family’s request and noted:

It is quite a common thing for foreigners to represent that they are leaving the city and going on farms, and appealing for the children to be allowed to come out of the institution on this account, but before paying any attention to such appeals I make them show me their railway tickets before I allow any children to go to them, and needless to say very few ever leave town.

Reynolds stereotyped “foreigners” as devious and untrustworthy. The ethnicity of a child’s parents was a factor in determining how long Reynolds committed a delinquent boy to a facility. Ethel MacLachlan professed that the “aim of the court is not to fill Institutions, but to empty them.” Sheldon Williams, a teacher at the Detention Home, aimed to correct the “poor erring Sons of God” by detaining them in the Industrial Home for longer periods. The indeterminate term of commitment to the Home caused difficulty in providing the boys with a proper education. Dependent upon good behaviour, the school could release a boy after three months. The lack of continuity in school attendance gave little chance for advancement. Sheldon William stressed the importance of detaining boys for a prolonged period of time, and argued that the teachers in the school could provide a better education than what the boys would receive if they went back to their communities. She wrote, “To most [teachers] he is [an industrial school] “home boy”, to some of us, at least, he is a future citizen, who will be

48 Ibid., 13124
49 Ibid.
50 Ibid., 13141
51 SAB. Martin Papers: Social Welfare, Juveniles, 40621
a credit or a menace to the state, according to the chances he gets during these very impressionable years."

The school principal or superintendent determined many of the policies regulating the treatment of boys deemed to be juvenile delinquents. An analysis of the Annual Reports from the school to the Department of Public Works demonstrates how the government attempted to reconstruct delinquent boys into ideal citizens. Once within the confines of the home, the school principal regulated the boys' lives in the areas of education, industrial training, leisure activities, employment, clothing and physical appearance, manners, discipline, correction, punishment, and reward.

From 1915 to 1923 the institution for boys was the Boys' Detention Home. Upon the passage of the new act in 1923, the government renamed it the Industrial School for Boys. The rehabilitation of boys depended on a proper education that equipped them with the important life skills and values, and "the main object to be attained was the making of good citizens of the boys." Although the government emphasized the importance of properly educating the inmates, the education of the boys was under the authority of the Department of Public Works. The problems associated with educating delinquent boys fell outside the responsibilities and capabilities of the mainstream educational system. The inconsistent treatment of delinquent boys with other children is reflective of a government in its infancy without sophisticated interdepartmental infrastructures. Despite the lack of involvement by the Department of Education, the education provided to the boys satisfied provincial standards. However,

---

52 Ibid., 40611
53 Government of Saskatchewan, Department of Public Works, Annual Report, 1919-1920, 64
by 1930, the government transferred responsibility of the boys’ education, both academic and industrial, and all other matters pertaining to the institution’s internal organization, control, and supervision to the jurisdiction of the Department of Education. The Department of Public Works maintained responsibility for all matters pertaining to the building, maintenance, material, and furnishings in the Industrial School. This change is significant in that it illustrates how the government created specialized Departments with established areas of expertise.

The boys attended school five days a week, except when they were on a rotation for housekeeping, laundry, and gardening. Nativist attitudes created stereotypes of the types of boys in the Industrial School as illustrated by Houston’s 1924-1925 annual report:

The majority of the boys come from homes of parents of the foreign born, and many of them make very clever students. It is a common thing, however, to receive boys of thirteen and even fourteen years of age in grades two and three. It must not be expected that the deportment of this class will be anything but crude and even vulgar, but they soon fall in line when they take note of the way the other boys’ conduct themselves.54

The superintendent of the school viewed “foreign born” boys as uneducated, crude, and vulgar. The superintendent argued that the boys had a positive influence on one another, rather than further encouraging bad habits. Since the release of the boys was dependent upon their good behaviour, “old” boys were unlikely to mislead the newcomers, and even counselled the newcomer on how he must conduct himself in order to earn his own release. In this manner, the boys played a role in propagating the

54 Ibid., Annual Report, 1924-1925, 38
adoption of middle-class, Canadian standards.

The school's superintendent believed that enforcing discipline in the school "was almost an impossible task for a lady teacher on account of there being so many big boys" and so he hired a Mr. Hogg.55 Following the employment of the male teacher, the superintendent noticed a marked improvement in the boys' writing and spelling. The school taught high school subjects and encouraged the boys to attend high school upon their release from the Home. The older boys attended Scott Collegiate Institute where they took either commercial or academic training. Overall, education "civilized" otherwise restless boys:

Sixty stirring boys with very little to do but play is altogether too much for one Guard to handle and besides the majority of the boys who are committed here require an education above all else, as they seldom ever have another opportunity of attending school after leaving here.56

Despite the emphasis placed on schooling, this statement shows the reality of boys once released from the Home. The annual reports suggest that many boys received high school education while in the Home, and the Boys Detention Home made arrangements for boys to attend normal school and to obtain funding for university.57

In addition to the traditional school subjects, the boys received manual training in areas such as carpentry and leather work, including shoe repair. While the school also required the boys to participate in gardening, cooking, laundering, and sewing, which administrators viewed as female jobs, the school employed women to do the

55 Ibid., Annual Report, 1920-1921, 68
56 Ibid., Annual Report, 1926-1927, 37
57 Ibid., Annual Report, 1927-1928, 34. Private clubs donated money to individual boys who showed promise in academic endeavours. One boy went to Queen's University.
majority of this work. The Detention Home was almost totally self-sufficient in many areas and the young boys provided the labour to maintain the Home. Authorities justified having the boys provide the upkeep of the Home on the basis that training in maintenance trained them to survive in the world upon their release. The boys repaired their shoes, washed, ironed, and darned their own clothing. Manual training allowed the boys to become stenographers, shoemakers, garage mechanics, and carpenters. Significant to the Saskatchewan situation was the training of delinquent boys in agriculture. The boys grew potatoes and vegetables for the Home. They harvested apple trees, plum trees, strawberries, currants, gooseberries, and rhubarb plants. J.C. Robinson, the school principal in 1918, considered practical farming and general livestock raising training essential for the boys’ education:

[This training gives] these boys the knowledge of what this country is ever calling for. Out of the number of boys committed, there are always about twelve good-sized fellows who would be an asset to the farm, and could be arranged to work alternate days in school. The work is interesting and appeals to a boy more than most of the manual training that could be taught.58

The Home soon acquired horses for ploughing, cows for milking, chickens for egg production and hatching, and pigs for raising and sale. However, the schooling fell short of offering complete agricultural education as providing sustenance for the Home was one of the main advantages of training. Therefore grain production was not taught.

A typical day in the Home consisted of waking up at 6:30 a.m. and retiring at 9:30 p.m. during the summer months, and at 8:30 p.m. during the winter months.59 In

58 Government of Saskatchewan, Department of Public Works, Annual Report, 1918-1919, 61
59 Ibid., Annual Report, 1916-1917, 52
addition to making school mandatory, the Home also regulated the boys’ leisure time. The boys participated in daily physical drills to develop muscles and quickness. The superintendent viewed skating, hockey, baseball, football, and swimming as having a positive influence on the making of good men. An attendant supervised athletics to ensure the boys played fairly and to “correct any unduly rough tactics or bad language which may occur in the excitement of play.” Self-restraint and consideration for the other players were important character building factors. In addition to sports, a library, a carpenter’s bench, and a radio were available to the boys during their recreation hours. The administrators encouraged boys to spend their free time productively, and for the most part, this meant participating in activities that were physically challenging. The image of the athletic and fit boy appealed to the policy makers.

Policies providing for the moral and spiritual welfare of the delinquent boys included attending church and Sunday school. The Home accommodated boys of both Catholic and Protestant backgrounds. However, Catholic boys only attended church once a month, whereas the institution made greater efforts for Protestants. Discipline and respect were important to the boys’ moral training and the officials demanded politeness and obedience from the boys. Although a 1921 Annual Report testifies to the use of corporal punishment, no other report mentions it. However, this is not to say that officials did not use corporal punishment as a means of discipline.

Appearance was important to the construction of juvenile delinquents into respectable citizens. Clothing had both a practical and a symbolic function. Boys sent

---

50 Ibid., Annual Report, 1919-1920, 64
61 Ibid., Annual Report, 1924-1925, 38
to work on farms in the winter wore warm underwear and outer garments out of necessity. Warm clothing gave an outward appearance of an institution that cared for the children under its care properly. In the classroom, the boys wore overalls and shirts. Respectable citizens dressed appropriately, according to the occasion, and thus justified the expense of appropriate clothing. The superintendent thanked the government for providing the boys with new clothes in an annual report:

The matter of outer garments, such as suits for the boys for Sunday wear and other dress occasions, was one which demanded almost immediate attention...I have to thank you for at once seeing the advisability of having the boys decently clothed. This was, as you know, no light expense, as nearly half of the number of boys in the school required men's suits. While this has entailed quite a considerable outlay in money, yet I am convinced that it has gone a long way in improving the self respect which the boys since have shown in themselves.\(^{62}\)

A boy could not be reformed in his behaviour without also conforming outwardly to contemporary dressing etiquette. Efforts to promote cleanliness, personal hygiene, and health also reflect the importance of outward appearance.

The Annual reports provide evidence that the boys developed close emotional ties to the officials and inmates at the institution:

Nearly all of the boys who have been released make it a practice to write us regularly, or if they come in to the city, they come out to the school to see us. I try to encourage this attitude toward the school. Whether it be the love of their freedom or the fear of the discipline of the school, we have not had one "repeater."\(^ {63}\)

The superintendent's remarks attempt to convince the government that the boys were happy in the institution, but the implication of his statement is misleading. Likely, the

\(^{62}\) Ibid., Annual Report, 1919-1920, 63
\(^{63}\) Ibid., Annual Report, 1921-1922, 29-30
probation system required the boys to write and visit the school following their release. Despite the superintendent’s pride at the “fear” created in the school, there is no evidence to suggest physical, sexual, or emotional abuse in the annual reports. The practice of boys writing or visiting the school appears throughout the reports and in letters written by Sheldon Williams. Overall, the Annual Reports celebrate the work done rehabilitating delinquent boys and note that the progress of the boys “can only be answered by the product (the released boy) as he takes his place alongside the manhood of the world.”

Government officials aimed to reconstruct delinquent boys into ideal citizens of Saskatchewan.

The middle-class ideal of a masculine breadwinner dominated the goals of child welfare workers in the rehabilitation of delinquent boys. The reformed boy was physically strong and quick. He possessed both intellectual knowledge and manual skills that made him eligible for gainful employment. Both peer pressure and the influence of authorities emphasized the importance of Canadianization. Those boys labelled “foreigners” existed as scapegoats for the underlying problems of poverty, abuse, neglect, lack of opportunity, social stigma, and nativist attitudes. Despite the various backgrounds of the boys, the government attempted to conform all boys to a single vision of an ideal citizen. Discriminatory goals resulted in unfair treatment of those who fell the farthest from the mould. Nevertheless, the government established universal standards that applied to all delinquent boys in the province.

---

64 Ibid., Annual Report, 1929-1930, 33
CHAPTER FOUR

THE LITTLE SISTERS OF MISFORTUNE: PROTECTING DELINQUENT GIRLS IN SASKATCHEWAN, 1905-1930.

"I take boys as well as girls in the Juvenile Courts," said Judge MacLachlan, "and I get just as good results with boys as girls. In fact," she added, with a smile, "I prefer to deal with boys."

MacLachlan's preference for boys is grounded on the assumption that boys were easier to deal with than girls because of their complicated sexuality. Whether her personal biases influenced her disposition towards girls before they even set foot in the Juvenile Court is unknown. However, it is clear that she distinguished between female and male juvenile delinquents, and she was not alone. The decentralized and underfunded child welfare system in Saskatchewan between 1905 and 1930 allowed for distinct and often discriminatory treatment of delinquent girls. Some of the concerns relevant to the discussion of delinquent girls were immorality, pregnancy, venereal diseases, prostitution, and feeblemindedness. To deal with these problems, and to prevent further occurrences, reformers pushed for the assignment of Big Sisters, female probation officers, and police magistrates, raising the age of sexual consent to sixteen years, and the age of juvenile delinquents to eighteen years, the establishment of maternity homes for unmarried girls, and an Industrial School for girls within the

---

1 University of Saskatchewan Library (USL), Special Collections, Prairie Manuscripts: Judge Ethel MacLachlan, 1904-1955
province. Analysis of MacLachlan’s personal papers, government correspondence, and the records of local organizations provides contemporary attitudes of the vulnerability of young girls, the nature and causes of female delinquency, as well as the appropriate remedies.

This chapter outlines the approach of reformers to female delinquents. It begins with a comparison of middle-class attitudes toward the rehabilitation of boys and girls. The discussion continues with an examination of reformers’ perceptions of the nature of girls, including girls’ vulnerability to immoral behaviour and the complexity of sexuality in girls. This leads to a discussion of experts’ opinions of feeblemindedness, venereal diseases, and prostitution. Next, the chapter discusses the efforts of the provincial government to rehabilitate delinquent girls through probation, and includes an analysis of issues surrounding the gender of probation officers and the specific needs of female delinquents. The discussion examines the problems specific to individual cities and municipalities and the role of the Big Sisters Organization in providing counsellors to young girls. The chapter then considers alternatives to the probation system, including out-of-province institutions for Protestant and Catholic girls and the impact of the government’s failure to provide a girls’ home within the province. The chapter concludes that Saskatchewan lacked adequate resources to provide equitable treatment to boys and girls. However, the universal goal of making delinquent girls morally pure, and therefore suitable to fulfill their roles as mothers and wives, dominated child welfare workers’ efforts.

The goals of the middle class varied depending on whether they pertained to delinquent boys or delinquent girls. For boys, rehabilitation focused on education,
whereas for girls, protection was the key issue. Education for delinquent girls consisted of teaching values and goals consistent with those exhibited in outstanding middle-class citizens. To solve the problem of delinquency amongst boys, the government needed to reform boys of their old ways and give them the education they previously failed to receive. Education and training equipped boys with the necessary skills to become successful citizens. However, delinquent girls needed to be returned to a state of purity and morality and guarded against the inherent evils of the world.

Although the majority of children sent to the Juvenile Court were boys, public concern with delinquent girls equalled, if not exceeded, its concern with delinquent boys. In 1921, only fifteen girls came before the court, with ten of them from Regina. MacLachlan was sceptical as to whether the number of girls brought before the court reflected the actual number of girls in need of the court’s protection:

For the full year of 1919 I have had before me in the city of Regina 89 boys and 15 girls. Again I ask the question, are all our young girls in Regina acting properly except these few? Have we no others who need looking after?

During this time, there was an overall push towards extending the age of those classified as “children” under various pieces of legislation. For example, under The Juvenile Delinquents Act, 1921 the federal government raised the age of juvenile delinquents from sixteen to eighteen years of age. However, implementation required the passage of provincial legislation. Increasing the age limit resulted in an increase in the number of children falling under the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court. Proponents for the change

---

2 Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), Martin Papers: Attorney General: Juvenile Courts, 13130
3 USL, Special Collections, Prairie Manuscripts: Judge Ethel MacLachlan, 1904-1955. “Juvenile Court Judge Tells of Her Work Here,” The Regina Leader, 7 February 1920

89
viewed an increase as necessary, especially in the case of young girls who left home between the ages of fourteen and sixteen for employment as domestics. Believed to be alone and vulnerable, young girls required the protection of the juvenile system. However, Saskatchewan did not alter the corresponding provincial statutes because of the costs involved. Premier Martin believed that he could not increase the age of juvenile delinquents without increasing the age of all children falling under the scope of The Children's Protection Act.4

Judge Farrell of Saskatoon wrote to Martin to show his disapproval of changing the age of juvenile delinquents to eighteen years. Farrell thought the court should treat girls and boys between the ages of sixteen and eighteen as adults because by that age people no longer held the innocence of childhood. Many had already become hardened criminals, on the one hand, or pillars of the community, such as teachers, on the other.5 He recognized that he most likely stood alone in this opinion; however, in light of the extensive lobbying done by women’s organizations and the Saskatchewan Social Service, he wanted his opinion on the record. Proponents for the increase in age argued that at the very least, the government should extend the age for girls. Farrell also opposed singling out female offenders. Although Martin did not agree with Farrell in this respect, he did not disagree either. The government did not increase the age of juvenile delinquents in Saskatchewan.

Pressure also existed to change the age of consent to sexual intercourse from fourteen to sixteen, and the age at which girls of previous chaste character have

---

5 SAB, Martin Papers: Attorney General: Juvenile Courts, 13093-7
protection against seduction from sixteen to eighteen:

If a little girl, such as I have in mind, is abused by her own depraved father or brother, at home, and goes out to work at 14 years and is led astray by some other man, this man cannot now be punished, under the law existing, because the girl was of tarnished character. It is not under the age of fourteen years that most of our girls get led astray, but it is between 14 and 18, and as the Criminal Code now stands they have very little protection.6

These issues fell under the jurisdiction of the federal government, so the provincial government had no responsibility in these matters. Nevertheless, child welfare workers within the province concerned themselves with the extension of age limits and laws aimed at protecting young girls. MacLachlan believed the penalties for “ruining a girl” were incongruent with the crime:

If an employer steals a girl’s honor the maximum penalty is two years, but if an employee steals an employer’s property the penalty is fourteen years; if the captain of a ship leads a girl astray, the penalty is one year; If anyone steals anything off a ship the penalty is fourteen years. If a man ruins a girl under 16 years, whose reputation is untarnished, the penalty is two years, but if he steals a sheep or a goat it is fourteen years. If he steals oysters it is seven years. If he takes driftwood which apparently belongs to no one else he can be given three years. If he steals a tree the penalty is two years. Is a young girl’s honour of less value than a goat, an oyster or a tree?7

All of the lobbying for raising age limits reflects the desire to protect children, especially girls, from the ills of society. Expanding legislative provisions served both to protect the girls, and to protect society in general.

The underlying disposition and circumstance of being “female” created a need

---

6 USL, Special Collections, Prairie Manuscripts: Judge Ethel MacLachlan, 1904-1955. “Juvenile Court Works With Idea of Making Over Culprit Into Good and Useful Citizen,” The Regina Leader, 1 February 1919
7 Ibid.
for special treatment. MacLachlan noted that in considering the welfare of a delinquent girl, child care workers should not place her in a home with men of questionable characters as “the girl of this type is easily tempted and easily falls.” MacLachlan clearly distinguished between the problems associated with delinquent boys and girls:

I find that girls of this age [14-20 years old] are much harder to handle than boys. Of course, boys may be doing many wrong things at the same time, but are never found out, but unfortunately girls cannot hide their wrong doings so easily and they are more often found out. Just simply to put a girl in an institution for a time, and then find her a position, is not half enough...I would like to see every girl of this age, who has come under our care, have a kind lady interested in her, and prove to be a big sister to her. This, to my mind, is the only effectual way of working out this problem of saving our girls from a life of shame.

The visibility of pregnancy enhanced the concern with immorality by girls. Despite MacLachlan’s preference for dealing with boys, there is no evidence to suggest her disposition towards delinquent girls was more hostile than towards boys. Her observations reflect several of the policies that evolved during the years of her involvement in child welfare and the juvenile court.

MacLachlan’s policies did not always reflect public attitudes regarding delinquency in girls. Although not exclusive to delinquent girls, public concern resonated around the problems resulting from the commission of sexually immoral acts. While many people blamed sexual content in movies for delinquent acts, MacLachlan did not concur. She reported that movies had affected none of the girls who came before

---

9 USL, Special Collections, Prairie Manuscripts: Judge Ethel MacLachlan, 1904-1955. This is an excerpt from an address given in Saskatoon by MacLachlan on November 1916.
her in the Juvenile Court. MacLachlan also believed that late night public dances were in themselves harmless and emphatically wrote, "THE DANCE IS HERE TO STAY AND IT IS USELESS TO PROHIBIT IT." However, many people held that public dances and movies bred trouble for young girls. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) reported of one girl cared for at its hospital in Saskatoon:

She had been taken advantage of by a married man, who represented himself to be single. She met him at a dance. Her mother was also at the dance. This girl had been allowed to have her own way considerably; was very fond of picture shows. She told us she scarcely ever missed any picture that came to town. After spending several weeks with us her mother came and took Winnie and her babe home.

Although girls from all classes attended dances and movies, expression of female sexuality in the dance halls and movie theatres threatened middle-class values of proper behaviour for young girls. The middle class expected girls to be virgins when they married and believed premarital sexual relations corrupted traditional family values and contributed to the degradation of society.

Most reported cases of immorality in girls attributed the cause of sexual expression to a corrupting agent. Most typically, a man or boy seduced the girl into a compromising situation. MacLachlan supported this view in a speech presented to an audience of the Regina Local Council of Women (RLCW) and the University Women's club:
From the poverty stricken home also comes the young girl of 14 years, leaving her home of necessity to seek employment. Very often she goes to the city and does not earn enough to keep body and soul together. She is easily led. She has no one to be interested in her. She sees the gay and attractive dresses of others, and her downfall soon follows.

One of the most terrible cases I have dealt with in my experience was that of a girl of fifteen years being led astray by a young man. He married her to escape punishment, but made her support him by leading an immoral life...

Another was a young girl of thirteen years going to town to work and who was brutally led astray by the man of the house. This man held an important position in the town. This little girl at that age became a mother.¹³

Class played a role in the vulnerability of young girls, since economic need often forced girls to go out in search of employment on their own.

Many cases also reveal that drunkenness was the cause of degraded home conditions, and “that fathers and brothers were the cause of a young girl’s downward fall.”¹⁴ However, there are instances where a female corrupted the offender:

A 15-year-old girl who came up for court was put on probation after having come under the influence of a young married woman through whom she was led to behave improperly with young men.¹⁵

Overall, the young girl was not safe anywhere without proper chaperonage. However, some activities, such as unsupervised dances, and riding in automobiles alone with men, were more dangerous than others.

---

¹⁴ Ibid., “Miss MacLachlan Outlines Attitude Toward Juvenile Delinquents and Correction,” Saskatoon Daily Star, 2 April 1919
¹⁵ Ibid., “Judge MacLachlan Asks Appointment of Woman Officer,” Post, 26 June 1919
Concern with immoral behaviour increased as the spread of venereal diseases became an issue in Saskatchewan. The result was the passage of legislation in 1919 to establish a Venereal Disease Division under the Department of Health, that oversaw the reporting, treatment and control of venereal diseases. The department required every person suffering from syphilis, gonorrhoea, and chancroid to report to a registered physician for treatment.\textsuperscript{16} The government prohibited infected people from employment as barbers, waiters, butchers, teachers, or handlers of food or milk. Experts believed the spread of venereal disease was "eating into the national life."\textsuperscript{17} The Annual Report shows that doctors gave the majority of treatments to men (almost double); however, this is not necessarily indicative that the majority of infection existed in men. It only shows that men received treatment. No statistics give the number of children under the age of eighteen infected with venereal disease; however, the Division of Venereal Diseases reported that among the females reported with gonorrhoea, 49 per cent were between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one.\textsuperscript{18} In one instance, a seventeen-year-old girl contracted both gonorrhoea and syphilis and after examination by the department's social worker her father praised the work of the department and thanked it for the free treatment.\textsuperscript{19} Interestingly, MacLachlan called for an obliteration of the "social curse of the double standard of morals" by making men responsible for infecting girls with venereal diseases.\textsuperscript{20} Based on unfounded opinions, medical experts found a correlation between

\textsuperscript{16} Government of Saskatchewan, Department of Health, \textit{Annual Report, 1917-1918}, 29-30
\textsuperscript{17} USL, Special Collections, Prairie Manuscripts: Judge Ethel MacLachlan, 1904-1955. "Social Servants Are Summoned to Annual Meeting," newspaper clipping from February, 1919
\textsuperscript{18} Government of Saskatchewan, Department of Public Health, \textit{Annual Report, 1929}, n.p.
\textsuperscript{19} Government of Saskatchewan, Department of Public Health, \textit{Annual Report, 1923}, 40-41
\textsuperscript{20} USL, Special Collections, Prairie Manuscripts: Judge Ethel MacLachlan, 1904-1955. "Juvenile Court
venereal disease, prostitution, and feeblemindedness.

Mental hygiene was a major concern for child welfare workers. In a 1924 report on Public Health, the Women’s Section of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association defined “feeblemindedness” as “a condition of slight mental defectiveness, capable of much improvement by special attention in educational methods.”\(^{21}\) The report explained that “under favourable circumstances, the backward individual may ultimately find his place in the world and become self-supporting.”\(^{22}\) Ultimately, the prevention of immorality amongst feebleminded girls served the greater needs of the community as experts believed feeblemindedness to be hereditary. Experts often cited the example of the Jukes family from New York to illustrate the genetic pattern of feeblemindedness:

Statistics show in the case of the notorious Jukes family that .... out of a total of 1200 identified descendants, [there were] 300 professional paupers, 440 physical wrecks from debauchery, 50 prostitutes, 60 habitual thieves, 7 murderers, and 130 other convicts. This family had cost the state of New York more than one million dollars for the care of its criminal defectives and immoral members, who go on multiplying.\(^{23}\)

Feeblemindedness offended middle-class ideals and many of the responses to it were harsh. Experts believed feebleminded girls were more promiscuous and, therefore, more prone to contracting and spreading venereal diseases. Feebleminded girls went to the Weyburn Mental Hospital, where they were taught housework, including laundering, ironing, sewing, preparing and serving food. The Mental Hospital employed

---


\(^{22}\) Ibid.

\(^{23}\) Ibid.
feebleminded girls as waitresses and in the laundry. MacLachlan reported a case where a young girl, whom she judged as distinctly feebleminded and dumb, became a mother as a result of an incestuous relationship with her brother. MacLachlan sympathized that fortunately the baby died four days after birth, because, “who could estimate the misery, cost and degradation this one unfortunate child might have brought upon the nation, with such a heritage.” MacLachlan sent the young mother to the Mental Hospital in Weyburn and the brother to the Industrial School. While she blamed the girl for her feeblemindedness, MacLachlan reported that “the boy was not sent there because he was bad, simply because he had a home unfit for him to remain in.” MacLachlan explained the immoral behaviour of many young girls through a ruling of feeblemindedness. Viewing sexually active girls as feebleminded further established the middle-class belief that sexuality in young girls was abnormal.

Reformers considered prostitution to be a major cause of spreading venereal disease. MacLachlan blamed parents, once again, for their daughters entering prostitution: “I have known parents, either through poverty or avarice, urging their young girls of 13 years and less to earn money by selling their souls and bodies.” MacLachlan’s tendency to blame parents for their children’s wrongdoings assumes that they had parents. Some girls who resorted to prostitution for money had no living

---

25 SAB, Martin Papers, Attorney General: Juvenile Court, 13138-9
26 Ibid., 13139
27 This is consistent with Carolyn Strange’s analysis in Toronto’s Girl Problem: The Peril’s and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).
28 USL, Special Collections, Prairie Manuscripts: Judge Ethel MacLachlan, 1904-1955. “Juvenile Court Works With Idea of Making Over Culprit Into Good and Useful Citizen,” The Regina Leader, 1 February 1919
parents at all. For example, in 1917 Moose Jaw police arrested two girls because “so many soldiers [visited] their room” and they spent late hours “on the streets with different soldiers.”

One girl’s parents were both dead by the time she was eight. The other girl’s dad died when she was two, and her mother lived in Austria. Both girls worked as domestics and in restaurants prior to becoming prostitutes. The circumstances surrounding their situations suggest that they resorted to prostitution out of financial need, a lack of alternatives and the availability of so many soldiers willing to pay for sex.

Experts also believed many prostitutes were feebleminded, and they produced mentally deficient offspring. MacLachlan reported that “a large percentage of the girls who came before the court were feebleminded.”

MacLachlan labelled girls as feebleminded to rationalize their “abnormal” female actions. In most cases, MacLachlan believed that the best method of intervention was the probation system, whereby the court appointed a probation officer to the child as outlined in The Children’s Protection Act. The court placed a child found guilty of his or her first offence under the care of a probation officer, instead of institutionalizing the child. However, she did not believe that probation was appropriate for feebleminded girls:

[Feebleminded girls] need institutional care and should be segregated. No institution is more needed in our Western Provinces today than is a Feeble Minded Institution. More girls come into the Juvenile Court through feeblemindedness than anything else. Then back of the feebleminded question we must go to the marriage question, for until we prevent feebleminded people and diseased people from being married we must expect the world to be populated with their...

---

29 SAB, Martin: Social Welfare, Juveniles, 40571-4
30 USL, Special Collections, Prairie Manuscripts: Judge Ethel MacLachlan, 1904-1955. “Juvenile Court is the Friend of Parents as well as Their Children,” Regina Post, 28 January 1919
undesirable offspring.\textsuperscript{31}

Diagnosing young women as feebleminded provided a convenient explanation for their sexual behaviour. Although experts believed mentally healthy girls should repress their sexuality, they expected feebleminded women to be sexually deviant. MacLachlan supported experts' opinions, since she blamed the corruption of young girls on poor parenting above all else. Parents had to watch and protect their girls and if they could not, they should not be parents.

The Juvenile Court held the rights of the parents to be sacred, but when the parents failed to fulfill their obligations to their children, the Court intervened. Options available to the court were sending the girl back to her home (provided conditions were desirable), placing the girl in a foster home, or in an institutional setting. The court appointed probation officers to girls returned to their homes or set up in foster homes. The best candidates for the job of probation officer were:

men and women of the very highest character, personality and ability, with their whole heart in the work. They should be trained, sympathetic and experienced men and women – something of the teacher type, or the Y.M.C.A. [Young Men's Christian Association] or Y.W.C.A. [Young Women's Christian Association] worker or the Social Service worker. They must know child life, the problems of the family, local social condition, and the use of social agencies. The probation officer must bring home to every child a feeling of the directing forces of probation...the work of probation is such a delicate and continuous service, that only persons who give their whole time to it, can be expected to influence effectually the lives of the children entrusted to their care.\textsuperscript{32}

Although the position required “outstanding” qualities, probation officers did not need to

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., “Work of Juvenile Court and Problem of Delinquent Child Exhaustively Dealt With,” Yorkton Enterprise, 13 January 1919

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., “Juvenile Court Judge Tells of Her Work Here,” The Regina Leader, 7 February 1920

99
be professionals. Probation officers received salaries for their work, and operated in an official capacity under *The Children's Protection Act*. Although Saskatoon and Moose Jaw employed female probation officers, Regina could not justify hiring two probation officers. Since the court handled more delinquent boy cases than delinquent girls, Regina officials believed that a male probation officer best served the needs of the community. Despite MacLachlan's influential position within the child welfare system, she had no control over the appointment of probation officers. The legislation appointed this responsibility to the Children's Aid Society within each city. Although an overlap in legislation enabled the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children to override the Children's Aid Society's decision, Premier Martin believed this to be inadvisable as the Society paid for the probation officer's salary, and not the province.33

Reynolds disapproved of Regina's probation officer, stating that he was "not sufficiently qualified to meet the conditions necessary for the taking care of the girl end of the work."34 Reynolds described the probation officer as an old gentleman with about thirty years experience with the Irish Constabulary, and while he was quite qualified for police duty, he had "too much to unlearn to ever make a successful Probation Officer."35 Mrs. MacNutt, a female inspector for the Department of Neglected and Dependent Children, handled the sensitive cases regarding delinquent girls. Reynolds feared:

The fact that so many boys are being dealt with and so few girls coming to our notice and the notice of the Juvenile Court and the Children's Aid Society officials themselves leads me to believe that the girls are very much overlooked in Regina when it comes to keeping them straight, not because we want police

33 SAB, Martin Papers, Social Welfare, 40112-20
34 Ibid., 40126
35 Ibid., 40127
duty in connection with this matter but because we want some woman who can [work] with parents in connection with their girls, keep them off the streets, supervise public dances and advise with girls as to their mode of living and the characters with which they should associate.\textsuperscript{36}

In the original copy of the 1921 Annual Report of the Juvenile Court, MacLachlan reported that Regina was one of the only cities in the whole country that did not employ a female probation officer or social worker, but crossed out the critical statement that “apparently [the Children’s Aid Society] do not seem to see the wisdom of asking for such an appointment.”\textsuperscript{37} Resumes submitted to MacLachlan showed an availability of qualified women for the position.\textsuperscript{38} Many women’s and men’s groups disapproved of the situation in Regina, since they did not consider it appropriate for a girl to tell her indiscretions to a man. They worried that this confidence would embarrass both the girl and the male probation officer.\textsuperscript{39}

Not all individuals involved with juvenile delinquents believed the probation system was the best option. For example, the Chief of Police in Regina believed that “the attitude of a great many in dealing with juvenile offenders [was] far too sentimental and may be responsible for some of them becoming habitual criminals.”\textsuperscript{40} He reported an increase in juvenile delinquency since the coming into force of The Juvenile Courts Act, 1917 and attributed this mostly to MacLachlan’s interpretation and application of the act. This was the same man who recommended the probation officer in Regina. He

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., 40127-8
\textsuperscript{37} SAB, Martin Papers, Attorney General: Juvenile Court, 13138
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.: Social Welfare, 40064 and 40081-95
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., 40137-50
\textsuperscript{40} USL, Special Collections, Prairie Manuscripts: Judge Ethel MacLachlan, 1904-1955. “Juvenile Court Judge Defends Probation Case,” Saskatoon Phoenix, 9 January 1919
believed that punishment was the best means of preventing delinquency, whereas, MacLachlan preferred to "right a wrong" (for example, making a child who stole money repay it). The Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, Reynolds, supported MacLachlan's views on the probation system, and he was not alone.

To further the argument for the appointment of a female probation officer in Regina, Judge MacLachlan requested the views and support from every Juvenile Court in Canada, as well as those in Chicago, St. Paul and Minneapolis. Judge Emile Murphy of Edmonton responded:

It is, in my opinion, unthinkable that little girls should be interrogated by male officers concerning their sexual misdemeanors, unless there is a woman present. Besides, if a woman takes a girl, and treats her as she would her own daughter—kindly and even affectionately—she can nearly always get the whole story, as well as being able to follow up the work of her redemption afterwards....I notice that when their own little girls are in question, people are horrified about their being dealt with by males, but for some reason or other they lose this sense where the girls of other families are concerned.41

Montreal employed a Catholic, a Protestant, and a Jewish probation officer. Judge Choquette of Quebec, replied that most of the cases of young girls involved immorality and believed it was "impossible for a man to get the confidence of these girls, and to get their history from them, or to deal with them at all satisfactorily when on probation."42 Choquette assumed that there were things that girls would tell a woman that they would never tell a man and that a woman could give advice that would never be proper coming from a man. The secretary for the Winnipeg Children's Aid Society believed that it was

---

41 SAB, Martin Papers: Social Welfare, 40138
42 Ibid., 40143
not "just or fair from the girls’ point of view" nor was it "just or fair to expect a male officer to enter into the delicate discussion which must necessarily arise among the female cases." Judge Shaw of the Vancouver Juvenile Court echoed the position that "a man probation officer cannot talk to a girl on delicate subjects as a woman can."

During this period there was wide-sweeping movement in Canada, the United States, and Western Europe against the institutionalization of children and in favour of the probation system. Since Reynolds and MacLachlan regularly consulted with the international community of child welfare workers, the probation system was not unique to Saskatchewan, but was part of a broader trend in juvenile justice. The national and international community affected the development of child welfare policy in Saskatchewan. The Federal Department of Social Welfare, under Helen MacMurchy’s control, facilitated discussion between child welfare workers across the country on a regular basis through child welfare conferences, visits to the provinces, and the dissemination of educational literature.

In Toronto, the Big Sister Association helped delinquent girls when probation officers were not available. Since the Regina Children’s Aid Society failed to provide female probation officers, women’s groups and the provincial government advocated the establishment of a Big Sisters Association in Regina. MacLachlan also recognized the unique nature of rural communities:

It will not be possible to have paid probation officers in every small town of our province, as very often a town has only one or two cases to attend to, so in these isolated cases we need

---

43 Ibid., 40145
44 Ibid., 40148
voluntary Big Brothers and Big Sisters.\textsuperscript{45}

Therefore, this movement accommodated not only the situation in Regina with a lack of female probation officers, but also served the situation of smaller rural areas which often lacked both male and female probation officers. Regardless of the actual effectiveness of the Big Brothers and Big Sisters, inconsistency existed not just between the services provided for boys and girls in Regina, but also between the services available in rural and urban settings.

The role of the Big Sister was to develop a close relationship with the girl, thus providing her with someone she could trust and consult. MacLachlan believed that it was inappropriate in many cases for a man to council a young girl as illustrated in the following story:

She was only a child, but one day she was brought into court. She would have had a pretty face if she had been happy, but how could she ever be happy again, when she was to be a mother by her 16\textsuperscript{th} birthday, with no one with whom to share the responsibility. The judge was a man, and he needed a woman, so he asked a Big Sister to care for this little sister of misfortune. A sheltered place was found where the months of waiting could be spent. Material was bought and while teaching the little sister how to make the little garments the Big Sister taught many lessons. Lessons about the sacredness of life, the seriousness of sin and the happiness of right living. When she was a mother, work was found for her of such a character that the saving grace of motherhood would have time to blossom and grow and accomplish its redeeming work in this child mother.\textsuperscript{46}

Big Sisters provided delinquent girls with the moral education and practical skills necessary for “blossoming” into future mothers. In the absence of a female probation

\textsuperscript{45} USL, Special Collections, Prairie Manuscripts: Judge Ethel MacLachlan, 1904-1955. “Juvenile Court Judge Tells of Her Work Here,” \textit{The Regina Leader, 7 February 1920}

\textsuperscript{46} Ibid.
officer, many thought the Big Sister best served the needs of a delinquent girl.

Although MacLachlan used institutions as a last resort for delinquent children, it was also not a very practical solution in Saskatchewan for girls. In 1916, seventy-six girls from Saskatchewan lived in institutions.\(^47\) Despite considerable pressure from various groups within the public and private sector, the province did not operate either an industrial school or a detention home for girls.\(^48\) Sheldon-Williams, a teacher at the Wolseley Detention Home for Boys, requested the establishment of an Industrial School for girls, and her appointment as the Superintendent. Martin evaded the issue by telling Sheldon-Williams that it was “a subject for future consideration,” requiring no immediate action.\(^49\) If the Juvenile Court decided a girl needed to be detained in a home, the judge or magistrate sent her out of the province.

The Convent of the Good Shepherd in Winnipeg accepted “wayward” Catholic girls, although it sent unmarried mothers to the Miseracordia Hospital in Winnipeg. The nuns sent the babies to the Asile Richot Hospital at St. Norbert, Manitoba immediately after the birth, and reported that almost all of the babies died.\(^50\) This strange and unfortunate result was considerably different than the low infant mortality rate of babies born to girls in Protestant homes. The aim of the institute was “nothing less than the rescue of the poor fallen girls and, as a consequence, the uplifting of the Christian

\(^{47}\) SAB, Martin Papers: Social Welfare, Juveniles, 40568

\(^{48}\) Ibid., 40586-602. In these papers, Martin receives pressure from the Social Service Council of the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, the Salvation Army, the Y.W.C.A. and the Local Council of Women.

\(^{49}\) SAB, Martin Papers: Social Welfare, Juveniles, 40091-5

\(^{50}\) SAB, Scott Papers: Social Welfare, 56137
morality.”51 The youngest reported age of a girl sent to the Winnipeg home was twelve. The Saskatchewan government then arranged employment for the delinquent girl. Policy regarding the placement of a girl in private homes reveals concerns with delinquent girls’ sexuality. For instance, MacLachlan advised against placing a sexually delinquent girl in a home where there were boys and girls, particularly of her own age, for fear she might “contaminate” the other children.52

The government sent Protestant girls to the Calgary Social Service Home run by the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, or to the Women’s Industrial Home in Winnipeg. On her arrival at the Calgary Home, a girl received a medical examination, and remained confined until her baby was born and reached the age of four or five months. The government of Saskatchewan then arranged employment for the mother, and a permanent foster home for the baby.53 Girls placed under the care of the Calgary home received training in “household science, the ordinary branches of learning, gardening, and such other indoor and out-door work as opportunity presents” as well as non-sectarian Christian teaching of “the highest and broadest character.”54 The lack of a provincially run system meant girls and their babies received different levels of care, depending on their religion. The Equal Franchise League of North Battleford petitioned the government to establish a home for girls, along with the following recommendations:

that medical inspections be given to the girls upon entering the home as well as constant medical care, that vocational training include sewing, cooking, gardening, laundering, dressmaking,

51 Ibid.
53 SAB, Martin Papers: Social Welfare: Juveniles, 40561-70
54 SAB, Martin Papers: Social Welfare, 39908
millinery, dairying and agriculture, and that a woman with a
strong religious personality and experience with the care of
delinquents or social work should be in charge.\textsuperscript{55}

The Salvation Army Industrial Home in Winnipeg also received Protestant girls
who required a more controlled atmosphere than the Calgary Home offered. For
example, the Saskatchewan Juvenile Court sent one Lutheran girl to the Industrial Home
for being “incorrigible and beyond control of parents.”\textsuperscript{56} The girl’s sister reported her to
a probation officer because she would not listen to her parents or any other member of
her family. Prior to the report, she left school, but “her great trouble however, [was] that
she [was] just about crazy after boys, and fine dress. For example, she never [wore] a
petticoat, summer or winter” because she claimed it interfered with her walking.\textsuperscript{57}
MacLachlan reported that the girl wore a pair of silk stockings in court that her boyfriend
bought her, and she refused to wear the clothing that her mother and sisters made and
chose for her. The girl, “if given a respectable skirt or dress [would] slash it up with a
scissors and make it into some ridiculous style. She [was] handy and smart with a
sewing machine.”\textsuperscript{58} The girl told MacLachlan that she stayed out at all hours of the night
with her boyfriend, going to the roller rink and restaurants, driving in the boy’s
automobile, and parking it so they could talk. McLachlan reported the girl had marks all
over her neck where the boy kissed her, and the kissing was apparently mutual as the boy
had marks all over his neck. Furthermore, she was “very saucy and [called] her mother

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{55} Ibid.: Juveniles, 40580
\bibitem{56} SAB, Martin Papers: Social Welfare, 40044
\bibitem{57} Ibid., 40045
\bibitem{58} Ibid.
\end{thebibliography}
and sister all kinds of names...swearing terribly." MacLachlan also noted that the girl was "very filthy and dirty in her habits," accused of stealing money from her father, and her school, conducted herself in a nasty and unladylike manner (by putting her arms around boys’ necks in the halls at school), and threatened to commit suicide if not able to visit her boyfriend. Despite the criticism of her improper attitude and behaviour, the school principal said, "regarding her intelligence, she [was] bright, in fact almost brilliant." Whether his opinion influenced the girl’s placement is difficult to tell. However, a poor academic record could result in a finding of feeblemindedness, and her committal to the Weyburn Mental Hospital. Dr. Roberts reported that she was “not sure if she has been tampered with or not [but] will give her the benefit of the doubt” as she was not diseased. MacLachlan did not think it advisable to send the girl to Calgary since she posed a high risk for running away. Once committed to the Industrial school, one of the sisters complained that the girl was going “backwards” since she did not get any training, any use of a typewriter, or practice of shorthand, and the School Matron allowed the girl to sleep in the afternoons. Despite petitions from the family for the girl’s return, MacLachlan refused to approve her discharge until the girl exhibited some improvement.

The government cited the expense of operating a home for girls, the availability of homes in Manitoba and Alberta, and the limited number of delinquent girls requiring

---

59 Ibid.
60 Ibid., 40047
61 Ibid.
62 Ibid., 40048
63 Ibid., 40049
detention as reasons for not establishing a home within Saskatchewan. Although MacLachlan and Reynolds did not agree with the government, the reasons given by the provincial government accommodated MacLachlan's and Reynold's views that probation was the most effective method of rehabilitation.

In 1913, the Regina Local Council of Women opened a home for “unfortunate young women,” where the girls spent their confinement, receiving both medical and spiritual care, through charitable grants. Often, the Saskatchewan government gave grants to the girls' home. For example, in 1918, the Provincial Government gave the Girls' Home in Regina a grant for the amount of $1,000 because “it was forcibly brought to our attention that unless the money were forthcoming, the institution would have to be closed.” The Regina Local Council of Women organized and administered the home, and the government did not establish any provincial standards. For the most part, girls sent to the home for “Unfortunate Girls” remained until the baby had been breastfed for an acceptable amount of time. Volunteer doctors examined the girls, and released them only upon finding the girl free of venereal diseases. Although some girls took their babies with them, the majority of babies stayed in the home, awaiting adoption. The infant mortality rate was very low within the home, unlike the situation in Asile Richot Hospital at St. Norbert, Manitoba where almost all of the babies died. Many women's groups sympathized with the cases of unmarried, pregnant girls, not only organizing and operating the homes, but also lobbying for changes in laws to increase the rights of both

---

64 Ibid., 40095
66 SAB, Martin Papers: Social Welfare: Mothers' Pensions, 41297
mothers and illegitimate children.

The WCTU Hospital in Saskatoon operated entirely through grants from the City of Saskatoon and private donations. In 1917, Saskatoon City Council granted $1,000 to the Hospital, private donations equalled $81, the WCTU Rummage sale raised $146.70 and patients paid fees of $565, equalling a total of $1,792.70 in receipts. In the same year, their expenditures included $600 for rent, $222.55 for fuel, $26.19 for water, $23.87 for light, $25 for phone, $826.38 for groceries and supplies, and $96 for a maid's salary, totalling $1,819.99 with a total deficit of $27.29.\(^67\) The standard of conditions within the hospital relied on charity and was, therefore, unable to secure a guaranteed minimum level of care at the facility from year to year.

The WCTU accepted all girls needing aid; however, it also cared for delinquent girls under the justice system:

Surrounded by evil and with practically no religious background, three young girls were reported to [the WCTU] by the local Probation Officer. By befriending them and arousing the interest of a friend in them, at least one girl has been saved from an evil life and is now in a respectable position and is ambitious to rise to higher things.\(^68\)

Eva Sproule, the Matron of the hospital, or “rest home,” accompanied young girls on trial, and kept them in the WCTU home throughout the proceedings. The WCTU helped girls of all ages, religion and nationalities, and often set them up with employment prior to leaving the home. However, many younger girls returned to their parents. For example, the father of one fourteen-year-old Ukrainian girl wept that his daughter was

\(^67\) SAB, Martin Papers: Social Welfare: Juveniles, 40602
\(^68\) SAB, WCTU: Annual Conventions: Reports and Proceedings, “Report of the Fourteenth Annual Convention, 1927,” 81
“disgraced forever” as he took her back home to his community. Services provided by the WCTU home included training in housework and leading the girls to “see life in a different light...and accept Christ as their personal Saviour.” Eva Sproule lamented for the girls helped at the home:

How little we dream or know the suffering, breaking hearts all about us. We jostle them in the streets, we meet them in the stores, in the homes, but they are encased behind a smile and light words.

But we must meet those souls alone, in their rooms at night; see them lie on their faces crying in agony. Watch them tossing their hands in despair, in darkness too thick and black for human help; and your own soul will cry out to God for help and aid for them.

There is no evidence indicating whether the girls appreciated the help provided by the WCTU. Many girls arrived there against their will.

Despite the increasing involvement of the provincial government in child welfare, provisions for delinquent girls were inadequate. The decentralized provincial system allowed inconsistent treatment of delinquent children depending on whether they were male or female, in addition to questions of race, ethnicity, culture, class and habitation within the province. Saskatchewan lacked a stable and secure system for dealing with girls judged as delinquent. Without government sponsored institutions, there was no way to ensure the quality of treatment for delinquent girls. By leaving policy-making and implementation up to local organizations, unaccountable and resource-stricken individuals controlled the fate of individual girls. Furthermore, the

69 Ibid., “Report of the Fifteenth Annual Convention, 1928,” 73
70 Ibid., “Report of the Fourth Annual Convention, 1917,” 49
71 Ibid., “Report of the Eleventh Annual Convention, 1924, 74
government's failure to provide for the needs specific to female delinquents also hindered the quality of care. The belief that girls were best cared for by older, morally sound, women meant child welfare workers denied girls the services of male probation officers. However, evidence suggests that the girls were not really any worse off than their male counterparts. While the focus on the reformation of boys centred on education, girls needed to be morally cleansed of their sins and returned to a pure state, thus making them desirable for marriage. Through marriage and children, a delinquent girl could fulfill her role in society as a mother and wife.
CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

In 1930 the League of Nations gave its members a questionnaire to submit, detailing any children's courts and institutions in existence, and asked “what results have been attained up to the present and what conclusions can be drawn therefrom?” To this last question, F.J. Reynolds replied that the system in place in Saskatchewan “has the effect of keeping juvenile offenders out of the adult court and out of jails.” Whether Reynolds believed this to be the only accomplishment of the Province with regard to young offenders is impossible to know with any certainty. However, Reynolds' commitment to child welfare within the province suggests that his hopes extended beyond the segregation of juvenile offenders from adults. While many of the people involved in child welfare within Saskatchewan allowed personal biases and agendas to influence their approach to law and policy-making, there is no evidence to suggest that their intentions were not well-founded.

So, how did Saskatchewan measure up? By the end of the decade, the province still relied on the help of independently run organizations. Municipalities voiced their inability to provide maintenance to wards under their jurisdiction. Government Ministers privately debated the need to increase support. Despite the passage of The Child Welfare Act, 1927, which consolidated several laws regarding children, the lack of

---

1 Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), Saskatchewan Records of the Provincial Secretary: Correspondence of the Lieutenant Governor, 1880-1960: Juvenile Court
a centralized power for financing government wards would put the effectiveness of the Bureau of Child Protection to the test in the hard years to follow. As Saskatchewan entered one of the most trying decades of its existence, the provincial child welfare scheme was not ready. Its focus on prevention, and the reliance on non-governmental organizations created instability as the private sector encountered financial hardship. Conditions in the 1930s tested the child welfare scheme in Saskatchewan, and the provincial infrastructure failed. The creation of the Department of Social Welfare occurred in the 1940s as a result of changing expectations on governments to provide certain services to the people. However, the 1930s cannot claim full responsibility for the creation of the more comprehensive system. This development started in the early years of provincial existence, and continued right up until the 1930s. The people of Saskatchewan became increasingly concerned with providing for their needy children from 1905 to 1930, and as long as the economy was stable, the system appeared to work.

However, the lack of a comprehensive system of child welfare resulted in the inconsistent treatment of children. Despite legislative attempts to create universal standards for the treatment of boys and girls, implementation of child welfare measures did not achieve this goal. There is also evidence that in addition to gender, children’s class, religion, race, and ethnicity influenced their experiences and their treatment by child welfare workers. In many cases, the government realized that if it did not provide funding for specific programs, it could not enforce universal policies. For neglected and

---

dependent children, poverty played the greatest role in distinguishing treatment. Many children made wards of the province came from financially unstable homes, single parent families, or without any parents. Child welfare workers made greater efforts to keep children in financially independent families, than in families relying on government support. While there are no statistics regarding the number of immigrant families in poverty, further investigation might reveal that the government apprehended children from economically borderline homes more often when the parents were eastern European immigrants than Canadians. Although the majority of juvenile offenders were Canadians, child welfare workers regarded the Canadianization of immigrant children as a way to prevent juvenile delinquency.

The inconsistent treatment of delinquent boys and girls resulted from their perceived differences. To begin, the number of male delinquents greatly exceeded the number of female delinquents. For government officials, the proportional number of boys to girls legitimized the establishment of a Detention Home and an Industrial School for boys, and not for girls. If the government had unlimited resources at its disposal, there is nothing to suggest it would not have established a similar home for girls. However, despite the pressure by women's groups and religious organizations for the establishment of an Industrial School for Girls, Judge MacLachlan and Superintendent Reynolds did not believe that institutions provided the best care for children. Since they exerted considerable influence over government policies, it is unlikely an institution for girls would have been established even if funding was available. On the other hand, if MacLachlan and Reynolds had more power over the Children's Aid Societies, it is certain they would have appointed a female probation officer. For Regina officials, the
discrepancy in numbers justified the appointment of a male probation officer, and not a female probation officer. The lack of a female probation officer in Regina resulted in delinquent girls receiving unprofessional help (Big Sisters), whereas delinquent boys were guaranteed the assistance of a qualified probation officer. Despite the Big Sisters’ lack of credentials, however, it is difficult to judge whether the girls really were any worse off than the boys.

Since municipal authorities controlled the implementation of child welfare provisions, inconsistencies existed not just between urban and rural centres, but also between the major cities (Regina, Moose Jaw, and Saskatoon). Furthermore, rural municipalities across the province varied in their treatment of children. Children of various religions also experienced the child welfare system differently. The decentralized system of child welfare failed to provide equally for all Saskatchewan children in need. Despite the good intentions and efforts of non-governmental organizations, the lack of a provincially guided and funded scheme discriminated against children depending on their gender.

Overall, the findings of this study are consistent with Canadian historiography on child welfare. Despite increasing participation in providing child welfare services, Saskatchewan’s provincial government continued to rely on private charities and local governments at the end of the 1920s. Although the move away from privately organized child welfare schemes corresponds with studies by historians such as Jane Ursel, Patricia Rooke, and R.L. Schnell, the Saskatchewan government increased its involvement several years after federal measures were in place. In Saskatchewan, underlying middle-class notions of gender, class, race, ethnicity, culture, religion and nationality dominated
the development of child welfare measures. Historians Carolyn Strange, Mariana Valverde, Katherine Arnup, Andrée Lévesque, and Ruth Roach Pierson agree that middle-class values impacted the development of child welfare in Canada. However, the development of Saskatchewan's child welfare scheme reveals the unique nature of middle-class concerns and responses in the province of Saskatchewan. The goals of Saskatchewan's middle-class reformers (to use child welfare measures to create ideal future citizens) are compatible with studies by historians Cynthia Comacchio and Suzanne Morton who argue that middle-class reformers provided training and education for social benefit. In Saskatchewan, middle-class reformers used the child welfare scheme to educate juvenile delinquents on English, middle-class notions of proper gender roles. Canadian child welfare historiography lacks a discussion of the situation in Saskatchewan. Examination of the development of child welfare in Saskatchewan fills the gap in the existing historiography. However, more thorough examinations of the impact of religion, race, ethnicity, culture, class, and location within the province on the experiences of children in need of protection provide future avenues of historical inquiry.
APPENDIX 1 - PHOTOGRAPHS

Regina Children’s Aid Society Shelter, Regina, Saskatchewan
Saskatchewan Archives Board, Photograph No. R-A1886

Regina Local Council of Women Babies Welfare Home, Regina, Saskatchewan
Saskatchewan Archives Board, Photograph No. R-B1388
The Juvenile Court was inside the Regina Court House.
Saskatchewan Archives Board, Photograph No. R-A5534

Juvenile Court Judge Ethel MacLachlan
Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A12842
Child welfare workers viewed pool halls as contributing to delinquency. Two small children are seated on the right side of the room.
Saskatchewan Archives Board, Photograph No. R-A17314

Newspaper boys
Saskatchewan Archives Board, Photograph No. R-A4106
Cigarette advertisement from the 1920s
Saskatchewan Archives Board, Photograph No. R-A19757-3

The Industrial School For Boys, Regina Saskatchewan
Saskatchewan Archives Board, Photograph No. R-A6487-1
BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Government of Saskatchewan.
   Budget Speeches, 1919-1930.
   Department of Health Annual Reports.
   Department of Public Works Annual Reports.

Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Saskatchewan.
   Department of Agriculture Annual Reports.

Ordinances of the Northwest Territories 1878-1904.


Statutes of Canada 1867-1930.

Statutes of Saskatchewan 1905-1930.

Saskatchewan Archives Board.
   Canadian Red Cross Society, Saskatchewan Division Papers
   Council of Women, Regina Papers.
   Charles Avery Dunning.
   James Garfield Gardiner Papers.
   Government of Saskatchewan, Department of Education Papers.
   Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire Papers.
   Violet McNaughton Papers.
   William Melville Martin Papers.
   William Richard Motherwell Papers.
   Newspaper Clippings: Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly (Newspaper Hansard).
   Regina Archdiocesan Council Catholic Women's League Of Canada Records.
   Regina Local Council of Women Papers.
   Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association Papers.
   Saskatchewan Records of the Provincial Secretary.
   Walter Scott Papers.
   Gertrude S. Telford Papers.
   Women's Christian Temperance Union Papers.

University of Saskatchewan Archives: Pamphlet Collection: Welfare.

University of Saskatchewan Library, Special Collections: Prairie Manuscripts: Judge Ethel MacLachlan vols. 1-3, 1904-1955.
SECONDARY SOURCES

BOOKS


ARTICLES


Sutherland, Neil. “‘We always had things to do’: The Paid and Unpaid Work of Anglophone Children Between the 1920s and the 1960s.” Labour/Le Travail 25 (Spring 1990): 105-141.


UNPUBLISHED THeses


