FOR THE GLORY OF THE NATION: EUGENICS, CHILD-SAVING AND THE

SEGREGATION OF THE 'FEEBLE-MINDED'

FOR THE GLORY OF THE NATION: EUGENICS, CHILD-SAVING AND THE

SEGREGATION OF THE 'FEEBLE-MINDED'

By GILLIAN MARTEL B.S.W.

A THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

For the Degree

Master of Social Work

McMaster University

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK   McMaster University

(2016)   Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: FOR THE GLORY OF THE NATION: EUGENICS, CHILD-

SAVING AND THE SEGREGATION OF THE 'FEEBLE-

MINDED'

AUTHOR: GILLIAN MARTEL, B.S.W. (Carleton University, Ottawa, ON.)

SUERVISOR: Dr. Ameil Joseph

NUMBER OF PAGES: vi, 114

ABSTRACT

Throughout the early 20th century, eugenics discourse came to colour many facets of social policy making across Canada. The purpose of this thesis is to explore the ways by which eugenics and the mental hygiene movement impacted the practice of child protection during the early 20th century. I argue that the construction and propagation of the term and classification of 'feeble-mindedness' was used by child protection workers to exclude an increasing number of children from both care and society. During this period, social workers were complicit in the sorting, classifying and segregating of children deemed 'feeble-minded' with the expressed purpose of eradicating certain classes of people from society and moreover the gene pool. Women shouldered the burden of the social reform movement, as they were considered both the solution to, and the cause, of social ills. Controlling women's reproduction was seen as the best way to ensure 'race betterment'. Women at the intersection of race, class and ability were often constructed as 'feeble-minded' and segregated for fear that they would reproduce 'their kind'. Initially, the child protection system blatantly excluded those deemed 'unworthy' or 'unreformable'. Under the rubric of eugenics, however, child protection's role shifted and the system became complicit in the application of eugenic principle to child and family life and women's reproduction under the auspice of 'race betterment' and nation building. Through this exploratory study, it is evident that the normative structures of child protection policy remain unchanged. Extricating children from troubled environments at the least possible cost continues to trump a more insightful look at how policy and resources should engage with structural concerns, such as poverty.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION

In the early 20th century, eugenics discourse came to colour child protection sentiments in Ontario. Whereas the early child savers were able to sell children as an asset to the nation state and as a cure to criminality and pauperism; scientific reform and social anxieties concerning the fitness of the nation gave rise to a new brand of reform rooted in eugenics and the mental hygiene movement. As noted by Richardson: "The mental hygiene movement combined 19th century child-saving with the idea that scientific promotion of well-being in childhood could prevent adult dysfunction" (1998, p.2). At the same time, proponents of eugenics, such as Charlotte Whitton and prominent public health activist Helen McMurchy, proposed the sterilization and segregation of 'feebleminded', 'unworthy', 'undesirable', and 'unfit' children and mothers. Those deemed unable to acquire 'normal' mental health or to adapt to 'normal family life' were cast as threats to the stability of the nation.

During the early half of the 20th century, child protection underwent a paradigm shift (Reid, 2008; Rooke & Schnell, 1983). Initially, child-saving was characterized as transplanting 'worthy' children into foster or adoptive homes based on perceived ability to be reformed and desirability in the eyes of prospective foster parents (Rooke & Schnell, 1983). It was commonly held that through environment betterment, children could be transformed into industrious citizens. With the emergence of eugenics, the child protection paradigm shifted and child-savers became intimately involved in the sorting and classifying of the nation's most vulnerable children, and this taxonomy was based on

notions of heredity and genetic contamination. New knowledge created through the rubric

of eugenics changed the way social reformers viewed the causes of 'undesirable' traits

and therefore social problems. Controlling women's reproduction became a main focus of

social reformers during this period (Comacchio, 1993).

Changes to the composition and structure of Canadian society coupled with the

birth of the scientific era created an information vacuum that new professionals and fields

of study attempted to fill (Comacchio, 1993, p.93). During this period the

professionalization of social work emerged in tandem with the broader social and mental

hygiene movements, as well as eugenics measures intended to curb the proliferation of

undesirability in the name of nation building (Pon, Gosin & Philips, 2011; Swain &

Hillel, 2010; Thobani, 2007; McLaren, 1990). Prominent figures and social reformers

echoed eugenics rhetoric about the proliferation of the 'feeble-minded', establishing them

as a threat or potential taint on the nation. The concept of 'feeble-mindedness' was

deployed by eugenicists with great success; the term was, at best, a loosely defined

umbrella concept, or catch-all, for various 'unwanted' traits. For example, traits

associated with a lack of civilization building skills—being 'untrainable' or

'uneducable'—as well as morally defined traits, such as sexual promiscuity and

pauperism (Stubblefield, 2007; McLaren, 1990). At worst, the term was a vehicle for

state-sanctioned racism and 'othering' (Subblefield, 2007; McLaren, 2009). Indeed,

Stubblefield (2007) argues that the concept of 'feeble-mindedness' was deployed by

white elites "to link the different versions of white impurity—off-whiteness, poverty, and

lack of civilization-building skill—together" (p. 163).

Essential to the proliferation of the classification of 'feeble-minded' was the social construction of cognitive disability and racialized concepts of intelligence (Stubblefield, 2007). Child and family life increasingly became the battlefield upon which the nation fought its war on undesirable traits, of which race was a large component. Eugenicists believed that by regulating family life and by segregating those constructed as 'feeble-minded' or 'mentally-defective', traits such as prostitution, sexual promiscuity, illegitimacy, immorality, vice, and crime could be eliminated (Dyke, 2013; Bartley, 2000; Richardson, 1993; McLaren, 1990; Rooke & Schnell, 1983). I argue that, under the guise of science, the act of child-saving underwent a paradigm shift that furthered the professional social worker's power as an agent of social reform. Social Worker became increasingly focus on individualized and pathologizing methods of reform, under the guise of science, which acted as a diversion from considerations of social, historical and political factors. Throughout this period, child-savers became increasingly institutionalized as government funding and oversight increased.

Drawing on archival records, I will explore the ways in which eugenics discourse came to colour child protection practice in the first half of the 20th century. My project thus seeks to explore how eugenics and its offshoot project, the mental hygiene movement—prominent in the 1920s—sought to further embed politics of exclusion through a national project designed to promote the ideal Canadian citizen. To this end, this thesis will consider: what can be learnt by tracing the historical roots of child protection? Moreover, what mechanisms and technologies emerged (as a result of the eugenics movement) to shape and inform the existing structure of child protection?

Further, I will consider how this history can help us understand current day fissures in the child protection system.

Child welfare services have continued to face criticism for having a disproportionately high number of Indigenous and black children residing in state care. In 2010, Aboriginal children constituted 14% of the in-care population, although they only represent 2.5% of the total child population in Ontario (Future Directions 2010). Furthermore, Pon, Gosine and Phillips found that in Toronto, black youth represent 65% of youth in care (2011). Across Canada, Aboriginal children represent 40% to 80% of all children in foster care, group homes or institutional care despite the fact that they constitute only 6% of the total child population (Gillespie, Whitford & Abel. 2010; Trocmé, Knoke & Blackstock, 2004). Despite the awareness of this phenomenon, the number of Aboriginal children in care now supersedes numbers in the 1960s (Pon, Gosine & Phillips, 2011). Moreover, "children reported to child welfare are disproportionately drawn from the population of Indigenous, colonized and immigrant people" (Swift and Callahan, 2009, p. 138). A study conducted by Gillespie, Whitford & Abel (2010) found that 16% of investigations regarding Aboriginal children result in apprehension, whereas the number is 7% for non-Aboriginal children. In addition, higher numbers of Aboriginal children are apprehended because of neglect when compared to non-Aboriginal children. Marginalized communities are under increased scrutiny and surveillance, additionally, these communities are often socioeconomically disadvantaged. In these circumstances, the confluence of gender, class and race create challenging circumstances for individuals

and families. It is these most vulnerable children and families that are often subject to pathologizing child welfare policies.

Swift and Callahan (2009) note that 39% of parents reported to child welfare are single mothers; moreover, they are disproportionately poor, and furthermore it is "poverty and its attending circumstances [that] put[s]those who live in disadvantaged situations under increased scrutiny and surveillance by nature of their being poor" (p. 137). The differential treatment by race in child welfare is clearly documented; however once variables (such as poverty) are controlled for, studies vary as to whether race is statistically significant (Trocmé, Knoke and Blacksock, 2004). For example, Jones and McCurdy (1992) found that once poverty is controlled for, race is no longer statistically significant. However, studies such as these fail to address the interplay of poverty and race. As pointed out by O'Connell (2013), race is always a factor in poverty and class divisions which can be traced through history. In Trocmé, Knoke and Blackstock's 2004 study looking at the overrepresentation of Aboriginal children in Canada's child welfare system, they found that "the disproportionate presence of risk factors among Aboriginal families contributes significantly to decisions regarding case substantiation and out-of-home placements" (p. 594). This study shows that "worker decisions are not strongly influenced by ethnoracial status" (p. 594), but rather "factors that reflect the multiple disadvantages experienced by Aboriginal families" (p. 595). These disadvantages are at least in part informed by socioeconomic disadvantage as well as historical oppression and systemic abuse instituted through the residential school system. The act of statistically controlling for poverty as though it can be disconnected form race can be viewed as more

of a discursive maneuver that has the effect of silencing the interaction between race,

gender and poverty in child welfare. These arguments further expose child protections

role in participating in and reproducing a system of social control and management, based

on historically instituted racial hierarchies.

Additionally, over the last decade more attention has been paid to the outcomes of

youth who have aged-out of in-care services with CAS, the result has been disheartening.

In general, studies have shown that these youth experience "poor outcomes", such as low

self-esteem, mental health issues, homelessness, involvement with the justice system, low

employment outcomes, low educational outcomes, reliance on social assistance,

substance abuse and (for women) single motherhood (Ferguson & Wolkow 2012;

Tweddle 2005; Rutman et al. 2001). One Toronto study on homeless youth found that

68% of the 700 youth surveyed were previously in foster care (*Raising the Roof*, 2009).

Additionally, youth in care have a high school graduation rate of 44% (Child Welfare

Report 2011). Ferguson and Wolkow (2012) note that "school failure is one of the more

serious negative outcomes for young people in the care of social services" (p. 1).

It is my hope that the following thesis will contribute to our understanding of the

failures of the child protection system, and moreover, shed light on the historical

underpinning of policy and practice. I will explore the influence of the eugenics and

mental hygiene movements on child protection, and the practices and policies it produced.

The classification and segregation of the 'unfit'—those considered unable to provide for

themselves—was an integral part of this national project. Subsequently, the problem of

the 'feeble-minded'—an umbrella termed deployed and created to capture all and any

undesirable traits or characteristics an individual might possess—emerged as a pressing

issue, the solution to which the fledgling field of social work was eager to be a part of

(Pon, Gosin & Philips, 2011; Swain & Hillel, 2010; Thobani, 2007; McLaren, 1990). The

interplay between the system of selective reform and exclusion established by early child

savers, and the knowledge produced as a result of the eugenics movement and propagated

by new professional social workers is fundamental for understanding the fissures in

modern child protection.

Eugenics and Mental Hygiene

Advocates of eugenics discourse in Canada promoted the notion that those

deemed mentally and physically subnormal were to blame for social distress and

degradation. Thus, the paradigm shift that occurred in this period was a shift from

attempting to control behaviour to controlling genetics. New regimes designed to

discipline the bodies of those deemed unworthy or indicative of vice, crime and other

immoral traits emerged in Canada throughout this period. Joseph (2015) writes:

> The project of eugenics was identified and rendered out through the tracing of the
> processes of dehumanization that had particular benefits to colonization, nation
> building and the establishment of professional and human hierarchies and
> authorities (p. 91).

Darwinian Theory, which was popular in the 19th century, advanced a view that

natural selection would correct for weakness in the human condition—the sentiment was

simple: the 'unfit' of the species would fail to reproduce (McLaren, 1990). Darwinian

logic was embraced by social reformers such as J. J. Kelso, who believed that the

'unworthy' poor should be given little public assistance or charitable relief (Jones &

Rutman, 1981). In Kelso's writings he lamented that in earlier times, defectives "received

scant encouragement to live…but the tendency of modern times tends to be towards

encouragement and procreation of the unfit"[1]. It was generally felt that to give charity to

the 'undeserving' poor was in fact encouraging reliance on the state which would weaken

society and encourage pauperism. The jump to eugenic thinking was thus an easy one for

many social reformers. Jones and Rutman note, Kelso believed that "the feeble-minded

constituted a major threat to Canadian society" and advocated for their segregation and

sterilization (1981, p. 170).

However, around the end of the 19th century, Francis Galton, British scientist and

father of eugenics, suggested that the "process of selection could be controlled in order to

breed morally and physically superior human beings" (Comacchio, 1993, p. 18).

Eugenicists called for a halt in society's trust in the Darwinian "struggle for existence"

and challenged the notion of nurture over nature on grounds that the 'unfit' were not

being eliminated, in fact they found that it was the 'fit' that were failing to reproduce

(McLaren, 1990, p 18). Galton adamantly promoted the notions that "mental qualities

were always determined more by nature than nurture" and that "intelligence was a

scientifically meaningful concept and that it was inheritable" (McLaren, 1990, p. 14).

Galton's theories took hold in the late nineteenth century as discourse about the chronic

ill health and physical weakness of the working class fuelled increased anxiety, acting as

fodder for social reformers. Further, fears about the quality of the British race took hold

---

[1] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d."

as middle and upper class family sizes began to decrease. Social commentators claimed

that the nation faced "race suicide" and that "if a healthy demographic balance were to be

maintained…it would be necessary to entice the 'fit' to breed and to take measures to

restrict the births of the 'unfit'" (McLaren, 1990, p15). Canadian Doctors, reformers and

other 'experts' began to adopt a eugenic perspective even before Galton's work was

popularized. McLaren notes that in 1908, Canada's first eugenic movement emerged in

Nova Scotia—'*The League for the Care and Protection of the Feeble-minded'*. The

eugenics movement was also in full swing in the U.S.A. by this time, at the American

Charities and Corrections Conference of 1897, papers on 'The Care of the Feeble-

Minded'[2] were presented by 'experts' in the field. For example, the model and findings

from an Indiana-based colony for the feeble-minded were presented.

In Reid's (2008) study of child-savers in the pre-professional era, he found race

was employed as a marker of difference and that those with racialized attributes (such as

skin colour) were increasingly placed outside CAS purview based on their being deemed

hard to place in foster homes. To this end, during at the turn of the 19th century racial

discourse within the realm of child protection focused mainly the ranks of southern and

eastern European immigrants (McLaren, 1990; Strong-Boag, 2011). However, social

reformers consistently judged "non-mainstream households among poor and racialized

populations … negatively" (Strange & Loo, 1997, p. 69). Although discourse around race

was not as prevalent as was disability discourse within child welfare (Reid, 2008), the

---

[2] Archives of Ontario, R.G. 29-75-0-1, J.J. Kelso Scrapbooks on Child Welfare Issues, Vol 1 (MS 876), Tile "National Aid – Canadian Conferences, 1897 – [190-]," ('Last day of the Charities and Corrections Conference" – " Papers on care of the Feeble-Minded", p.31

emergence of eugenics brought new ways of conceptualizing and excluding 'others' based on racialized concepts of intelligence and heredity (McLaren, 1990; Rooke & Schnell, 1983). Those of Native, Black and Asian decent were more often than not subject to racist and discriminatory laws policies and practices under the guise of nation building. For example, immigration policy during the interwar period increasing excluded, deported and restricted from entry those deemed a threat to the making of the ideal Canadian citizen. Non-British and non-white people were excluded on racial grounds; Europeans based on their perceived potential for anarchy and "Bolshevism," Black and Chinese people based on their perceived moral threat (Strange & Loo, 1997).

Today there is still debate about the validity of the term race; weather it is considered as a valid biological way of grouping people or as a social construct. However, most biologist discredit the classifying humans based on physical traits such as skin colour, ancestry or perceived genetic difference because of the evidence showing that there is more genetic variation within groups than between them. The term race is not used consistently (Keita et al. 2004), but the historically perpetuated and socially constructed conception of race—based on physical characteristics and geographic origin—remains today. As a result of colonial conquest scientist became more interested in studying difference between different groups—then considered separate races. "By the 1800s, the term race had become commonplace and for the first time in human history, racial classifications were used to create and maintain discriminatory social hierarchies" (Reading, 2013, p. 2). Based on pre-existing Eurocentric racial hierarchies, eugenicists attempted to add a scientific gloss to existing racialized classifications through the use of

intelligence testing and rigours campaigns promoting racial betterment and purification (McLaren, 1990; Larson, 1995; Stubblefeild, 2007). Although, eugenicists often made reference to improving the race without being specific, it is commonly understood as implicitly racist. To this end, eugenicists were concerned with both "protecting and purifying the Caucasian race" (Larson 1995, p.2).

Vital to the proliferation of eugenics theory was the establishment of certain people as inferior. Intelligence tests were essential to the creation and classification of 'feeble-mindedness'. Starting in the mid-nineteenth century, a research agenda emerged in the U.S.A. focusing on how to measure intelligence. Stubblefeild notes that:

> …because scientists already believed that the white race was intellectually superior to other races, they used this presumed white intellectual superiority as a standard to test the accuracy of hypotheses about how to measure intelligence (2007, p. 169).

Stubblefield (2007) writes that cognitive ability was constructed as a racialized conception of intelligence, whereby white people supposedly had normal or above normal intelligence and members of other races were constructed as having subnormal cognitive ability. Tests were thus devised to ensure the superiority of white intelligence and resulted in the validation of the concept of 'feeble-mindedness' (Stubblefeild, 2007). Essential to the construction of the superiority of the white race was the concept that 'feeble-mindedness' was hereditary—US eugenicist Henry Herbert Goddard was the key architect of this theory (Stubblefield, 2007)). Goddard insisted that "if intellect and intellectual deficiency distinguished different races, then they must be hereditary, passed

down through generations with race itself" (Stubblefeild, 2007, p. 169). This finding was echoed in Canada by Peter Sandiford at the University of Toronto (McLaren, 1990).

Intelligence came to be defined by eugenics as the ability to create "civilization". Cognitive ability was directly linked to one's ability to "make a contribution, in a manner appropriate to one's gender, to the building of civilization" (Stubblefield, 2007, p. 163). In this way, the term 'feebleminded' was linked to one's inability to become economically independent and compete in a capitalist society. Bartley (2000) writes that the classification of feeble-mindedness was so broad, it was loosely defined as "someone unable to sustain themselves economically, compete on equal terms with others, or to manage their affairs with 'ordinary prudence'" (p. 123). Indeed, as notes by McLaren, hereditarians often "equated financial success with intelligence" (1990, p. 62).

Sandiford's intelligence test, conducted in British Columbia in the early 1920s, while not always reflecting accurately the results, produced conclusions that reflected the aims of eugenics. For example, the Japanese scored highest on the intelligence test; despite this, however, it was rationalized that only the exceptionally clever Japanese had immigrated. Further, "when such tests did not confirm the superiority of the white race a 'problem' was said to exist that required the intervention of government" (McLaren, 1990, p. 62). As a result, Sandiford called for the "government to protect native Canadians from the competition of immigrants by subjecting them all to stringent mental, physical and possibly even moral tests" (McLaren, 1990, p. 62). Fear of the immigrant was also espoused by social workers and social reformers who claimed that unchecked juvenile immigration was responsible for the spread of "filth, disease, criminality,

immorality and vice" (Whitton as cited in McLaren, 1990, p. 64). Over the course of the early 20th century, a number of social reform groups campaigned for the inspection of immigrants in order to "weed-out mental defectives" (McLaren, 1990, p. 63). Immigrant children were thus cast as 'degenerates' and 'feeble-minded' and the ensuing campaign led to the overseas medical examination of potential British immigrants. "Inspection was only compulsory for specific categories of immigrant—unaccompanied women, children on private immigration schemes, and those on government-assisted passage" (McLaren, 1990, p. 64). Efforts to curb immigration never met the degree advocated for by social reformers because of the power of business interests that relied on the cheap labour provided by immigrants. However, as noted by McLaren, "the hereditarians' success lay in popularizing biological arguments to perpetuate the argument—so beloved by the anxious—that the nation's problems were largely the product of the outsider" (1990, p. 63)—which remains a product in today's society.

Eugenics espoused the notion that 'feeble-mindedness' constituted crime, pauperism, prostitution, insanity, epilepsy, alcoholism, as well as "other conditions that diminished mental or bodily vigour" (Bartley, 2000, p. 123). The term 'feeble-minded' was deployed by prominent social reformers and eugenicists, such as Clarence Hincks, Helen McMurchy and Charlotte Whitton, who claimed that immigrants carried defective traits and 'feeble-mindedness'. The introduction of 'prohibited classes' in immigration legislation reflected this view (Strange & Loo, 1997; McLaren, 1990).

From this new science of intelligence testing, emerged classifications "that generically referred to a sliding scale of mental deficiency and lowered or defective

intelligence" (Dyck, 2013, p. 3). Children and adults who were thought to be 'feeble-minded' or 'mentally defective' were categorized by psychologists and medical officials as "imbecilic," "idiot," and "moron". Goddard coined the term 'moron' as a 'high-grade' feebleminded person (Stubblefield 2007). The 'moron', Goddard insisted, "could pass as someone with normal intelligence" (Stubblefield, 2007, p. 172). This classification was troubling as it was the most flexible classification that, in effect, left the door wide-open as to who could be committed to this category. Dyck (2013) writes that "morons were often considered the most dangerous because they could pass at times for individuals of 'normal' intelligence, but, according to eugenicists, they made poor parents and were likely to pass on both genetic and social defects to their children" (p. 4). Stubblefield notes that in the U.S.A., "by the 1920s, eugenics arguments had become standard fare in popular publications like *Good Housekeeping*" (2007, p. 165). Those deemed 'feeble-minded' were cast as an expense and a danger to the community (Bartley, 2000). Further, Stubblefield notes that in the United States (US) the fledgling field of family studies (that emerged in 1921) was quick to adopt eugenic thought—linking 'feeble-mindedness' and morality. The classification of 'moron' gave fodder to those that equated low intelligence with low social class; arming 'professionals' with a broadly defined category which they could apply to anyone. Strongly influenced by American and European thinking on the subject, Canadian 'professionals'—including social workers—were not immune from eugenic preoccupations.

In Canada, the proliferation of eugenic theory gave reformers a "scientific gloss to anxieties about social degeneration" (Comacchio, 1993, p. 18). Indeed, McLaren (1990)

states that eugenics coloured Canadian discourse and practices around intelligence

testing, social welfare, education, immigration and birth control. A growing concern was

being propagated by eugenicists that "industrialization was not only undermining the

physical and mental health of Canadians, but allowing the 'unfit' to reproduce, thus

perpetuating their unfitness at an escalating cost" (Comacchio, 1993, p. 18). The eugenics

project was easily accepted by middle-class Canadians, as it fuelled the notion that

poverty was the result of individual failings, not a faulty economic, political and social

system. Moreover, the elite saw the benefit of eugenics, as its anti-egalitarian principles

would maintain an exploitable class of workers (McLaren, 1990).

In Canada, eugenicists believed that the best way to control for defective traits lay

in controlling for both environmental and hereditary factors (McLaren, 1990). If one was

a degenerate, it was reasoned, there could be one of two causes: environment or heredity.

If it was determined that environment was the cause then a social program could be

produced to cure the individual through behavioural intervention; if it was due to

heredity, only the restricting of breeding, by means of forced sterilization and/or

segregation, could eliminate the problem (McLaren, 1990). Thus, the goal of eugenics

and its band of self-proclaimed 'enlightened reformers', became "both a science for

measuring society's hereditary make-up and a movement to lobby for progressive policies

to ensure better breeding" (McLaren, 1990, p19). In fact, the practice of child protection

became increasingly focused on 'weeding-out', 'treating' and/or segregating 'defective'

children from the general population (Chen, 2003; McLaren, 1990; Richardson, 1989;

Rooke & Schnell, 1983).

Eugenic thought followed two particular strains. Negative eugenics sought to decrease reproduction of the unfit through sterilization and segregation—these policies were more difficult to enact; however, British Columbia and Alberta had active sterilization programs that ran from 1929 to 1972 (Grenkul, Krahn & Odynak, 2004). Positive eugenics, on the other hand, was designed to encourage the 'fit' to reproduce and was more pervasive, especially in Canada.

> Positive eugenics was enacted through laws and public policy, such as the baby bonus, tax policies favouring married couples with children, and legal restrictions on birth control or abortion. However, the most effective positive eugenics measures aimed to persuade rather than compel: marriage counseling, fitter family contests, TV shows promoting suburban domesticity during the 1950s baby boom, and shrill warnings about professional women's' 'biological clock' (Ladd-Taylor, 2014, n.p.).

Tenants of positive eugenics, in part, sought to encourage the propagation of the best members of society through the increased application of scientific principles to mothering, child birth and child rearing. To this end, the goal of positive eugenics was to transform and modernize family relations based on the application of scientific knowledge to family life in order to reproduce and bolster the bourgeois nuclear family (Richardson, 1998). As noted by Rooke and Schnell (1983):

> The earliest efforts of the middle-classes to ensure a childhood for their children stressed the need to protect them from the vulgarities and contamination of public life….As legislation and social convention sought to impose notions of good order and discipline on society, reformers confronted dependant and pauper classes who failed to conform to the new social norms. (p. 240)

Essential to this project was the proliferation of norms around parenting and family life. Comacchio notes that "physicians charged that ignorance was endemic among Canadian mothers, and working-class mothers and those of immigrant origin were especially ignorant" (p. 13). It was therefore essential for reformers to "persuade middle-class mothers to take an interest in cultivating their own children in order to preserve and bolster the better class" (Comacchio, 1993, p. 13). By focusing their efforts, rhetoric, mothering advice and literature on all mothers, child welfare reformers were able to set up a dichotomy between the working and middle class. Through the establishment of norms created under the gloss of science and medicine, reformers were better situated in their efforts for the working-class (Comaccio, 1993).

As noted by Comacchio, the science of mothering and the individualization of parental responsibility acted to shape our understanding of and responses to social problems. Doctors conceded that ill health was "largely due to poor choices, ignorance, incorrect behaviour…and deficiency," (Comacchio, 1993, p. 10) rather than poverty and poor working conditions. It follows that "state responsibility for public health meant emphasizing personal responsibility" as a means of ensuring "that all might be efficient and contribute to national vigour and responsibility" (Comacchio, 1993, p. 10). The role of the state therefore evolved to reflect the needs of a capitalist economy by way of ensuring the proper management of the family (Comacchio, 1993). To this end, "ideas of nationalism gradually intertwined concern with proper development of children with the state's interest in the making of good citizens" (Rooke & Schnell, 1983, p. 241). The goal

of producing and sustaining a workforce was to be attained by concentrating on the nation's children and ensuring their proper upbringing.

In addition, social hygienists maintained that through the application of "sex education, marriage counselling, the campaign against venereal disease, and birth control they could improve social management" in the name of racial betterment (McLaren, 1990, p. 87). The mental hygiene movement, on the other hand, promoted the application of scientific study, and later, principles of prevention, to the problems of mental health and mental illness; these principles were seen as best serving children, as early as possible (Dickinson, 1993). The definition of good mental health was more ambiguous however, as it was "defined in terms of the personal capacities and interpersonal skills essential for individuals to successfully adjust" (Dickinson, 1993, p. 138).

The mental hygiene movement originated in the U.S.A. in 1909 then expanded to Canada in 1918, and its army of doctors, nurses, psychiatrists, psychologists, and those from the emerging social sciences, as well as the fledgling field of social work, were paramount for amassing evidence in support of new technologies of control and social management. By the 1930s, over 50 countries participated in the "First International Congress on Mental Hygiene" (Richardson, 1989). Richardson notes that child policy related to mental hygiene was dominated in the 1920s and 30s by Rockefeller-related philanthropy in child study research and the Common Wealth fund in child guidance. Indeed, money from across the border was poured into Canadian universities in support of "the studies of preschool children…parent training and the establishment of standards in child-directed services in public agencies" (Richardson, 1989, p. 117). This relationship

was brokered by one of Canada's leading eugenicists, Clarence Hincks. Hincks was a

driving force behind the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene (CNCMH),

which was founded in 1918 (Dickinson, 1993). Initially established to develop and apply

preventative programs for mental hygiene in institutional settings such as jails, asylums

and juvenile courts, the movement expanded its scope to include younger children.

Through child study, Mental Hygienists developed knowledge around what constituted

'normal development' and 'healthy adjustment' in children. This knowledge, if passed on

to parents through parent education, would lead to the attainment and promotion of good

mental health in children (Richardson, 1989; Dickinson, 1993). The movement also

promoted the institutionalization and classification of a growing array of children based

on the construction of 'mental deficiencies' that were applied through increasing reliance

on taxonomies and knowledge produced within the rubric of eugenics (Richardson,

1989).

In the 1920s, mental hygiene became an international movement of great

significance and consequence for Canadian social policy especially relating to children

and families (Dyck, 2013; Comacchio, 1993; McLaren, 1990; Richardson, 1989). While

racial discrimination is evident in many facets of Canadian history, the influence of the

mental hygiene movement, its link to colonial projects, and the subsequent knowledge it

produced are central for understanding the entrenchment of eugenic ideas in social

policies regarding children and families during the first half of the twentieth century

(Comacchio, 1993; Richardson, 1998). The eugenics paradigm opened the floodgates for

the scientific study of heredity and causes of mental deficiencies, placing children at the

center of scientific study; yet its influence on child welfare policies has sparsely been

referred to in child welfare histories. It is only occasionally glossed over as part of

broader conversations on eugenics (see: McLaren 1990; Strange & Loo, 1997; Rooke &

Schnell, 1983), but never interrogated for its full influence in shaping early child

protection policies. Richardson (1989) notes in her book "*The Century of the Child*" that

the mental hygiene movement's effect and influence on Canadian social policy has had

very little scholarly attention.

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Foucault's postmodern position is concerned with rejecting the basic assumptions,

truths and values that arose out the enlightenment period (Neuman, 1997). While

modernism relies exclusively on logical reason and the idea that there are universal truths

to be found, postmodernists such as Foucault believe that knowledge is not generalizable,

doesn't appear in a linear fashion (as thought of in ideas about development of modernity)

and instead see knowledge as specific to particular people, contexts and locales

(Neauman, 1997).

In my research I draw on the work of Foucault, in particular I borrow from his

genealogical method. Genealogies have the potential to uncover issues of gender, class

and race. In particular, given its focus on the enlightenment period, genealogies have the

potential to provide insight into the racialized and colonial practices in Canadian settler

society, which have had alarming impact on indigenous and racial minority groups in

Canada (Pon, Gosine & Phillips, 2011). The genealogical method has the ability to trace

the propagation of colonial practices through time and space through its emphasis on power as introduced through a 'history of the present' (Joseph, 2015; Kendal & Wickman, 1999).

Schmid (2015) found that the dominant discourse employed in child welfare-related literature published in international journals from 2005-2010, reflected Western individualism and thus neglected structural determinants of child abuse, as well as ignoring globally relevant issues. William (2001) states that the "dominance of Eurocentric experience is constructed and perpetuated through the dissemination of its modes" (p. 240), which is central to the inability of dominant research practice to address issues of race and racism. Schmidt postulates that research needs to focus more on the forces that have constructed child welfare and advocates for there to be a greater use of the genealogical method in child welfare research.

According to Foucault, the first step in conducting genealogies is to establish the particular problem and to focus on its historical dimensions (Tamboukou, 1999). A genealogist would want to know how things happen (Scott, 2009), and would use archival material such as: records, rules and notes related to the problem; the social and governmental structures that operate on and through it; and the kinds of power and knowledge that are constructed and perpetuated (Kendal & Wickman, 1999). Fook (2012) points out the importance of utilizing written or visual documents in research as they may provide another interpretation of a situation.

Genealogists are concerned with finding and following descents that form our taken for granted realities. Importantly, genealogists strive to create knowledge "that is

not under the jurisdiction of the force and powers that shape various modern disciplines"
(Scott, 2009, p. 357). This methodology has the potential to give voice to those who have
historically been silenced through oppressive practices (racism, ableism, sexism and
classism, sanism, etc.) and authoritative systems and people "by analysing what is
oppressed or restrained by categorization in normative literature" (Scott, 2009,p. 357).
Scott (2009) writes:

> Genealogical thought maximizes the production of new options for knowing,
> affirming, and critiquing and thus requires alertness to values—the valences, the
> organizing forces—that operate powerfully in the ways we recognize, structure,
> and connect with ourselves, other people and things (p. 353).

In producing genealogies one must consider that 'truth phenomena' and the
procedures and apparatuses by which knowledge—therefore truth—is produced is the
subject of the concern (Tamboukou, 1999, p, 202). A Foucauldian analysis shows us that
systems of power aren't instituted by openly coercive or repressive state agencies, rather
by an assortment of civil institutions that are instilled into everyday practices (Penna, p.
15). These modes of power arose from the time of society's epistemic shift into
modernity and the accompanying development of the social sciences relationship with
political and social administration since the nineteenth century (Penna 2005).

A Foucauldian analysis is useful for breaking down sites of knowledge and its
subjects. According to Hewitt (1983), the use of a Foucauldian analysis is particularly
helpful for uncovering the rules that have led to the formation of a particular discourse,
often at the expense of another. Further, it is a way of uncovering the boundaries that

divide discourses and the connections that link them, which constitute a discursive

formation (Hewitt, p. 68). Discursive formations are groups of statements that, by their

very nature of being statements, are functions that can be thought of as practices (Garrity,

2010). The very act of writing, speaking, reading and hearing are all part of discursive

formations which act to determine the "position the subject must occupy to be its

enunciator (or audience)" (Gattrity, 2010, p. 202). Because my project is historical in

nature, the use of a Foucauldian framework is apt because of the genealogy's ability to

trace the discursive process in a way that brings attention to our understanding of

presently constituted knowledge; thus providing a history of the present. Further, this lens

opens up possibilities for exposing historically oppressive practices and authoritative

systems of power through the analysis of how and why particular discourses have

prevailed over others (Scott, 2009).

The concept of *normalization* is a central component of Foucauldian analysis.

Relations of power are sustained through a "complex network of seemingly natural

interactions, presences, and absences" (Todd & Burns, 2007, p. 26). Through language

subjects are produced as "marginal or mainstream" and maintained relative to each other

(Todd & Burns 2007). What we consider to be normal or neutral is undeniably infused

with "a history of competing discourses that reflect the power inequalities of our society"

(Todd and Burns 2007, p. 26). Normalizing acts to regulate and organize social life,

whereby "power becomes embedded in the everyday routines of institutions, agencies and

actors" (Penna, 2005, p. 15). By combining the elements of observation,

individualization, and classification, one can begin to alter the behaviour of the

individual—it is the idea of being watched that affects behaviours (Bell, 2011). Society

becomes self-disciplining through a process referred to a subjectification, whereby

individuals become self-governing. The pervasive nature of morals, norms and rules

become normalized through dominant discourses and experiences of every-day life; to

this end, individuals self-regulate and perpetuate the norm in order to fit in with the

homogenous body. State surveillance is easier and more efficient if individuals are self-

regulating based on dominant discourse concerning what is constructed as normal versus

abnormal (Bell, 2011). Those who fall outside of the norm are then cast as threats to

social order and become subject to surveillance through what Foucault calls dividing

practices (Webber, 2002).

Foucault's concept of *governmentality* offers a lot in terms of its ability to "draw

attention to the range of mechanisms whereby different groups and forms of knowledge

regulate, and thereby construct and constitute the lives of individuals, families and the

community" (Parton, 1998, p. 8). Foucault finds that governmentality has been a major

focus of politics since the eighteenth century with the major concern being the regulation

of the population (Parton 1998, p. 8). In this thesis I draw on the concept of

governmentality to inform my analysis of child protection discourse. McLaughlin (2005)

writes that Foucault helps us see both the "power of discourse and the controlling aspect

of the helping profession" (p. 284). The profession of social work then operates from an

"intermediary space, charged with translating state power to individuals, families, groups

and communities" (Pollack, 2010, p. 1264). The creation of social work thus provided an

avenue for the state to intervene in the health, wellbeing and rights of individual family

members without intervening with all families—which would contradict liberal ideals of

the autonomy of the private sphere (Parton, 1998). Knowledge developed through

emerging taxonomies on child-rearing and through psychology and medicine began to

shape and 'normalize' family as a way of maintaining dominant values that were seen to

uphold society (Parton 1998). The concept of governmentality provides a form of analysis

required for uncovering the relationship between the profession of social work and the

goal of the state.

Where controlling family life became a goal of early 20th century governing, the

profession of social work operated to both perpetuate and produce knowledge with the

effect of normalizing certain aspects of family life at the expense of others. A

Foucauldian analysis shows us that systems of power aren't simply instituted by openly

coercive or repressive state agencies, policies or statutes (Penna, 2005). Systems of power

which arose from the time of societies' epistemic shift into modernity and the

accompanying development of social science's relationship with political and social

administration since the nineteenth century (Penna 2005). This shift has seen increasing

surveillance, tracking and monitoring of populations. One of Foucault's primary concerns

was the way that "modern societies regulate and discipline their population" (Parton,

1998, p.8). The practices and knowledge claims produced by the new human services—

which emerged in the early twentieth century in Canada—produced what Foucault refers

to as the 'psy-complex'(see: Parton, 1998), which acted to institute a "regime of power

exercised through disciplinary mechanisms and stipulations of norms for human

behaviour" (Parton, 1998, p. 8). The creation of new knowledge "increasing colonized old

powers….transforming traditional forms of sovereign law and judicial rights" (Parton, 1998, p. 8). Judicial rights, decided in the courtroom, came to be replaced by "the hospital, the clinic or the welfare office, according to the criteria of normalization" (Foucault as seen in Parton, 1998, p. 8). In this research I rely on the concept of *power-knowledge* to understand how the proliferation of eugenics discourse and the knowledge it produced acted upon the psyche of the nation and how knowledge became institutionalized and normalized through policy and practice.

In addition to theory influenced by the work of Foucault, I draw from critical theories. A feminist lens was essential for a critical examination of the lives and experience of women during the early 20th century as it has the potential to "correct the male-oriented perspective that has predominated in the development of the social-science" (Neuman, 1997, p. 80). Women were either celebrated as 'mothers of the nation' or demonised as the reproducers of vice and sin. Child savers espoused the view that the 'feeble-minded' women were the most dangerous class; therefore, women were most often subject to segregation and sterilization. This was most harshly experienced by women at the intersection of race, class and (dis)ability. I draw in tenants of Critical Race to inform my analysis of racially motivated policies that arose from the eugenic movement and to explore the way race was socially constructed to "order and constrain …beyond the black and white paradigm and race essentialism" (Treviño, Harris & Wallace, 2008, p. 7). Critical theories are essential for understanding how those at the margins—occupying minority status—were constructed, constrained and oppressed under liberal regimes (Devlin & Pothier, 2006; Treviño, Harris & Wallace, 2008). Critical

disability theory furthermore, has the potential to challenge ableist "assumptions which privileged normality over the abnormal" (Devlin & Pothier, 2006, p. 2). Under the rubric of eugenics, disciplinary techniques are imposed on those unable to become wage-earners, the 'feeble-minded', the physically and mentally disabled and the 'deviant', are doomed to the asylum, sterilized and segregated. Critical theories are essential to understanding how certain people and groups were constructed and therefore operationalized by social reformers, child-savers and eugenicist as worthy versus unworthy, moral versus immoral, or an asset to or a drain on the nation.

Method

In the following thesis, I used documents gathered from *Library and Archives Canada* and the *Archives of Ontario*. I focus on the writings and discourse created by J.J. Kelso, who's Fonds were accessed through *Library and Archives of Canada*. Kelso, produced numerous documents on the subject of 'feeble-mindedness'. Although many documents were not dated, they were filed they were produced between 1873 and 1935. It is safe to assume that many of these documents were produced as part of his role as *Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children—*from 1893 to 1935. I reviewed archival documents created by the *Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies* (OACAS) that were available through the *Ontario Archives*. Through the *Archives of Ontario*, I was able to review more documents, such as J.J. Kelso's "Scrapbooks on Child Welfare Issues" and documents created by the *Eugenics Society of Canada*. It proved to be difficult to access the full scope of documents in the CAS Fonds due to access to information restrictions. Much of what was accessible in the OACAS files were speeches

given at annual meetings and annual general meeting notes. As noted by Reid (2008),

"child-savers chose what stories to tell and which facts to relate" and their case work was

often "ad hoc, intermittent and therefore rarely written down" (p. 87). Indeed, much of the

literature produced was designed to educate audiences and garner support for the child-

saving movement (Reid, 2008). Annual general meeting notes created by the OACAS,

however, provided insight into the concerns and debates happening within individual

societies.

I chose to focus on the archival material associated J. J. Kelso due to his influence

on child protection practice, the prolific nature of his writing, and his influence on child

welfare and child protection discourse during the period under study. The theme of nation

building and the more masculine notions of creating productive and industrious citizenry

through ideals that promoted of habit of industry were employed by J. J. Kelso (Reid,

2008). Child-saving was premised on the notion that 'saving' wayward and abandon

children from the fate of their kin would, at the same time, 'save' the nation from a

dependent citizenry (Reid 2008; Bullin, 1986; Rooke & Schnell 1983). The result of this

was the first well-defined and mandated model of foster care in Canada initiated by J.J.

Kelso—the man responsible for seeing through the first child protection legislation in

Ontario and establishing the first Children's Aid Society in Toronto in 1891. Kelso's

thinking dominated social reform and child protection discourse throughout his career as

president of the Toronto CAS then as the first provincial *Superintendent of Neglected and*

Dependent Children from 1893 to 1934 (Jones & Rutman, 1981). Kelso is often

celebrated and even lauded for his pioneering efforts to rescue children and modernise

child welfare in Canada (Jones and Rutman, 1981), indeed, he is considered the founder

of modern child protection (OACAS, 2015). Many authors make links between today

system and that of early child protection, linking modes of child-saving with effort to

establish and protect a dominant social order (See: Pon, Gosine & Phillips, 2011; Strong-

Boag, 2011; Swift & Callahan, 2009; Dumbrill, 2003; Swift 1995). This study therefore,

seeks to uncover some of the hidden realities behind the sometimes sentimentalized

vision of early child-saving in Ontario, in particular by focusing on the interplay of the

eugenics movement and child protection during the early 20th century.

The following section (section 2) of this thesis will engage with historical

dimensions of child protection dating back to the late 19th century, in order to uncover the

foundation of the above mentioned policy responses within the context of Ontario.

Stepping back further into history will reveal an historical project designed to sort, order

and eliminate certain individuals from the mainstream of social life. While not the first

legislation governing child and family life, the emergence of child protection legislation

under the influence of J.J. Kelso, marks an increase in government interference into the

lives of families, and is imperative for understanding the founding rationale of the child

protection system.

Section 3 represents the primary focus of this paper, in which I concentrate on the

discourse that emerged within child protection as a result of the eugenics and it's

attending projects. This period is marked by the proliferation of eugenics thinking as

promoted in the mental hygiene movement and the emergence of new 'scientific'

knowledge designed to sort and categorize humans based on racialized, able-ist, gendered

and class-based notions of deficit. Essential to the project of eugenics was the enactment of the term 'feeble-minded'. Social workers, especially those working from within the realm of child protection, were eager to apply this knowledge and apply the label 'feeble-minded'.

The belief that the white Anglo-Celtic race was superior was dominant in this period (McLaren, 1990). Under the rubric of eugenics however, policies designed to promote "race betterment" supported the notion that deficit could be controlled for by the sterilization and segregation (McLaren, 1990). The notion that poverty, crime, prostitution and physical and mental disabilities were the result of defective genes became the *raison d'etre* for the segregation and sterilization of children. Child protection workers were active in the classification of children based on these eugenic principles (Rooke & Schnell, 1983). I will explore social work discourse surrounding the concept of 'feeble-mindedness' and how it was deployed by social workers in the realm of child-protection.

In the final section of this thesis, I will attempt to draw lines between the history I have unfolded and today's child protection system. Evidence of child protection's role as part of a project designed to civilize, exclude or treat the 'unfit', based on what eugenics considered the rational science of heredity can be traced to the present day and is evident in the failing child protection system.

LAYING THE FOUNDATION: INSTITUTIONALIZING SOCIAL REFORM

History is not linear, it shows conflicting practices and thought that cannot be organized neatly and chronologically (Rooke & Schnell, 1983). Indeed, while most social work textbooks acknowledge the moral reform era and the scientific era (See: Hicks, 2010) as crucial to the development of modern social work, the more insidious motives driving the paradigm are conveniently ignored. In this way, dominant discourse around child protection prioritizes a historical account that celebrates and sanitizes through a benevolent notion of progress. Dumbrill (2003) notes that while there was a brutality in ancient times, effort to protect children from harm goes back as far a recorded history. The trouble with contrasting ancient against modern sentiments and practice aimed at children, according to Dumbrill, does "not provide a basis for understanding the past but an oversimplified binary opposite against which modern child welfare characterizes itself as 'advanced'" (2003, p. 105) . The following, however, is not a comprehensive history; the scope of this paper would not permit an undertaking of that size. Various chasms of history, legislative changes, demographic shifts and changing social attitudes, profound or seemingly insignificant, have, in their own way, influenced the unfolding of the history of child protection in Canada. However, the entry point for this particular historical discussion begins in the mid-19th century in the context of the newly emerging Nation state and increasing government oversite of poor-relief in Ontario.

Key to this history is society's shifting relationship to children and the subsequent change in the value of children in Canadian society. People have been concerned about children throughout history. Aries, for example writes that modern conceptions of age

related categories of childhood differ from ancient times, where he states that there was a level of indifference towards children (Aries, 1962as seen in Lavalette & Cunningham, 2002). Up until the turn of the 19th century working-class children were punished, controlled and contained alongside their adult counterparts, while middle-class children were afforded the luxury of a childhood (Lavalette & Cunningham, 2002; Rooke & Schnell, 1983). By the turn of the 19th century however, "a more recognizable 'modern' conception of childhood had been imposed on working-class children" (Lavalette and Cunningham 2002, p. 20).

In the early 20th century, the project of family reform was re-envisioned taking on a new form that saw increased focus on the governance of children (Lavalette & Cunningham, 2002; Richardson, 1989; Rooke & Schnell, 1983). With increased provision of welfare in the province, came increased scrutiny on children and families and placed "particular expectations on working class children" (Lavalette & Cunningham, 2002, p. 21). The foundation of child protection in Ontario reveals how child-savers, and later social workers, were situated as essential to the project of social reform and social management. The policies, laws and ideologies produced around the turn of the 19th century are fundamental to understanding the confluence of race, class, gender and (dis)ability in social policy (Joseph, 2015) and child protection, specifically in Ontario. The following history is essential to understanding the uptake of the eugenics movement.

The Move to "Responsible Government"

Neff (2008) writes that during the early 19th century, "the colonial government incurred substantial public expenditure on immigrant relief and public works" (p. 184).

As a result of various epidemics, however, the government assumed "significant responsibility for health care for the poor" (p.184). O'Connell (2013) writes that this period "is marked a significant move from individual voluntary relief to institutional support" (p.). Toronto's first house of industry, established in 1837, was the first to serve the needs of children (Neff, 2008; Rooke & Schnell, 1983). These institutions, as pointed out by O'Connell (2013) enacted "disciplinary techniques to observe, monitor, shape and control the behaviour of individuals" (p, 11), Further, they refused admission from the "idle and disorderly," and "the apprentice of children and the sorting out of the deserving from the "pretend" poor was increasingly rigorous" (O'Connell, 2013, p. 11).

In a move toward "responsible government" and with the uniting of Upper and Lower Canada under the *British North America Act* (BNA) in 1867, a new political entity emerged representing a major step toward colonial self-government (O'Connell, 2013). Under the BNA, local powers were established through newly formed municipalities. Municipalities now had the responsibility of providing solutions for increasing social welfare problems; as a result, more institutions were built for the provision of outdoor relief (O'Connell, 2013; Rooke & Schnell, 1983). Rooke and Schnell (1983) write that "voluntary philanthropic societies were aided by public grants and worked side-by-side with the system of municipal relief" (p. 37). This came "hand-in-hand with new forms of power to punish, control and improve the poor", subsequently "social conditions for black and native communities deteriorated" (O'Connell, 2013, p. 12). This period was marked by an increase in both poor white immigrant settlers, as well as black 'fugitive' settlers

who fled to Canada as a result of the *Emancipation act of 1833* in Britain and those

escaping the horrors of *United States Fugitive Slave Act of 1850*.

The passing of the *Municipal Corporation Act of 1849* established government at

the local level, forming municipalities. The municipalities were tasked with providing

relief in their designated areas (Brade, 2007). Previous to 1849, relief was strictly

provided by charity organizations or through extended families, churches or other

religious bodies and was generally given in a residual fashion or 'in-kind'. It was felt that

need was caused by personal failing and therefore charity was given in the form of food,

firewood, etc. as opposed to monetary hand-outs (Brade, 2007). Indeed, numerous

communities, such as the emerging black communities, had established their own

churches and charitable systems in order to provide for their communities prior to the

Municipalities Act (O'Connell, 2013).

The institutionalization of social welfare in the form of poor-relief came with

heavy moral and racialized tones. Relief, if given at all, was provided only to those

worthy or deserving of assistance, those of British heritage were therefore considered

more worthy of relief as compared to the racialized "other". O'Connell points out that "as

white settlers gained new powers in the colony, racial thinking and the politics of

conquest intensified" (2013, p. 12). Native populations where often depicted as a 'dying

race'. It was believed that through competition the 'weaker' indigenous race would fail

while the dominant white settler would flourish. O'Connell writes that moral ratings used

to classify the deserving from the undeserving have always interacted with concepts of

race, and that race is always a factor in poverty and class divisions which can be traced

through history (O'Connell, 2013). Although a common language was used to describe

working class and Indigenous people, Swain and Hillel (2010) note that they were not

thought of as the same. Racialized language was used to locate the racialized 'other' or

the 'Indian' and there was an assumption that "Anglo-Saxons were marked by their blood

and racial instincts as a people that would conquer and propagate in the name of their

superior civilization and protestant religion" (Swain & Hillel, 2010, p. 81).

By the 1850s many black settlers left Canada, mainly as a result of racial hostility

and white dominance, "exacerbated by political debates over the extradition of fugitive

slaves" (O'Connell, 2013 p, 13), economic depression and the war, but also to see family

in the United States and regain lost property. The protection in Canada for black settlers

and fugitives of slavery promised by the *Emancipation Act* was short-lived as racial

tensions shored up support for the enactment of extradition laws and vigilante style

efforts to extradite fugitive slaves (O'Connell, 2013). At the same, Native communities

tried to resist formal reserve policies, forced relocations and massive land losses that

intensified as a result of the struggle for self-government that was occurring in the colony

(O'Connell, 2013). The institutionalization of Indigenous children in residential

(boarding) schools was becoming the accepted policy of forced assimilation. The Catholic

Church espoused the notion that Indigenous children could and should be 'civilized'

(Lawrence, 2002). Although various religious denominations operated residential schools

pre confederation, it was the passing of the *Indian Act* in 1874 which set out a state

sponsored compulsory (education) institutionalization of all Indian children (O'Connell,

2013).

An examination of social welfare policies "sheds light on the early racial and

civilizing project of promoting the habits of industry" (O'Connell, 2013, p 12). As a

result of the move toward 'responsible government' and the increased role of the

municipalities for the provision of aid, a new and pervasive form of racialized social

hierarchy was formed. State intervention brought about a need to sort the 'worthy' from

the 'unworthy' poor (Brade, 2007; O'Connell, 2013). These first steps toward the

institutionalization of social welfare represented a new paradigm whereby the newly

established nation of Canada became increasingly concerned with the quality of its

citizenry. During this period, children were seen as no different from adults and were

provided no special place in society; they were the property of their fathers.

The history of Native people and black settlers in Canada has shaped the way we

understand social welfare policy today. This history reveals the nature of Canada's

modernization project, which established the exclusion of the racialized "other" in the

19th century through the institutionalization of poor-relief. The subsequent classification

of the racialized other as an 'unworthy' class of poor set the foundation for the

perpetuation of exclusionary and racialized policy. This history is fundamental to

understanding the direction of social reform and welfare efforts throughout the latter half

of the 19th century. Furthermore, as argued by O'Connell, in order to historicize

contemporary concerns around the racialization of poverty it is vital to understand that

"race is always a component of poverty and class divisions" (2013, p, 2). Contemporary

child protection practice is focused on the likes of the poor and marginalized. Linking the

disproportionate numbers of Native and black youth in the care of child protection, I

would argue, is historically tied to the classification of the racialized 'other' as 'unworthy'.

Apprenticeships and Indenture

The Pauper Apprenticeship Act of 1799 -1874 and its later version *The Apprentice of Minors Act of 1851* represented the first official legislation passed in Ontario allowing public authorities to make provisions for children without parents or a home. The 1799 Act only provided for children "to whom the restriction of patriarchal authority didn't apply because their fathers were dead or had deserted them" (Neff, 2008, p.173). Mothers could not be granted custody or legal guardianship at the time. Furthermore, there was no state interference in the family life with regard to treatment of children, except in extreme cases. Likewise, indentured children had no protection with regard to their treatment. In 1855 legislation changed, permitting judges to grant the mother custody of children under the age of 12; however courts were slow to implement this legislation (Neff, 2008, p. 171).

As pointed out by Neff, during this time there was no rule that obligated authorities to seek out or intervene in these matters; only when a child was brought to their attention did the authorities arrange for apprenticeship. It wasn't just under apprenticeship legislation that indenture occurred; children's institutions also had the authority to 'board-out' or place in roles of indentured children under their care (Neff, 2008). It was routine that girls at the age of twelve be placed in domestic roles, and boys of fourteen as labour on farms. By this time, Canada had a well-established system of juvenile indenture. Indeed, more than 100,000 poor British children were imported to

Canada throughout the mid-18th to mid-20th century as apprentices and indentured as domestic servants and agricultural labourers (Jones, n.d.).

The Charity Aid Act of 1874 is another marker of increased governmental oversight of social welfare services that permitted the incorporation for any home with "benevolent or provident purposes" (Neff, 2008, p. 206), specifically for those institutions endorsing habits of industry (Neff, 2008; Jones & Rutman, 1981). A provincial funding scheme was established, new standards were set, and a government body tasked with inspecting incorporated intuitions was established. As a result of new funding schemes, there was an upsurge in new institutions and services, making government-supported private institutions a mainstay of social welfare programing in Ontario by the 1890s (Rooke & Schnell, 1983; Jones & Rutman,1981).

Up until this period, it was common for children to be housed with adult paupers; they were expected to work to earn their keep like their adult counterparts. Through incorporation, managers of institutions were granted status of guardian for all children under their care giving them the authority to apprentice children at any age (Neff 2008; Rooke & Schnell, 1983). With new powers of guardianship given to wardens, they had the ability to essentially adopt-out children through apprenticeships; they could now do so without any interference from parents. Under the Common Law, parents were now required to obtain a court order to regain custody of their children. By this time courts where beginning to recognize both the interests of the child and the fitness of the parent in making these rulings (Neff, 2008).

What incorporation achieved through this newly devised scheme was a means by which to assume total authority over children. As a result, a new paradigm emerged along with legal parameters reflecting a new understanding that children were to be protected from their parents (Neff, 2008; Rooke & Schnell, 1983).

The Separating of Children

Throughout the latter half of the 19th century, society saw an ideological and practical shift from the notion of 'poor relief' to that of 'child rescue'. The idea that pauperism, vice, and crime could be eliminated through the act of saving or reforming and that the transplanting of children into foster homes would eradicate unwanted qualities from society, gained momentum in the public realm.

The *Industrial Schools Act of 1874,* which authorized the separation of 'delinquent', 'orphaned' and otherwise 'unworthy' children from their peers in the common school system, represents a milestone with regard to how the government viewed its responsibility toward neglected children. The act in effect provided the first framework for how we view parental neglect and endorsed the idea that 'worthy' and 'unworthy' children should be separated for the benefit of the worthy. The Act was also the first to endorse state intrusion into the family home and to challenge parental authority (Neff, 2008).

In 1871 compulsory schooling was established in Ontario. Social reformers argued that "better education would make a better society" and that "children would learn the skills needed to be good workers and good citizens" (TC2, n.d., p. 1). Compulsory

schooling gave rise to increased concern about the mixing of 'desirable' versus

'undesirable' children. As a result, industrial schools were established as a way of

containing and reforming children that didn't fit into the common education system.

However, admission to industrial schools was premised on a number of loosely defined

categories; any child deemed "neglected" or "injurious to others" could be presented, by

any adult, before the magistrate (Neff, 2008). It was often the behaviour of the child that

justified removal to an industrial school, where any children under 14 could be kept until

the age of 16 upon order of the magistrate (Neff, 2008). Even though parental neglect and

drunkenness was stipulated as a basis for removal, decisions revolved around the fact that

parents were unable to provide for their child's education. The term 'neglect' was not

defined (Neff, 2008), but applied loosely in moralistic terms premised on the

development of industriousness. Furthermore, parents had to prove that they had

reformed themselves and that they could provide for their children's education and

employment in order to have their child returned to them. Abandoned, orphaned and

otherwise destitute children were also categorized and separated through the use of

industrial schools. Neff (2008) writes that in practice, industrial schools operated as

reformatories focusing of the "wrongdoing of children rather than that of their parents"

(p. 183).

Indian residential schools had been operating for some time in Canada under the

auspice of the church. The passing of the *Indian Act* in 1876, however, set out a federally-

funded residential school system. Although, education in Canada was under the

jurisdiction of the provincial government, the sentiment driving both paradigms is similar;

however, the consequences for Indigenous children were strikingly more deplorable. It was believed that without intervention, native children and 'half-breeds' were destined to form a part of the criminal underclass (Swain & Hillel, 2010). In its most benign terms, the children, it was believed, could be educated and assimilated into Canadian culture. This applied mostly to "mix-breed" children initially (Lawrence, 2002). It was thought that children with white fathers were worthy of intervention/reform or civilizing. It was not until after confederation, and shadow to the rise of industrial schools for wayward youth that Indian residential schools took hold in a systematic state-sponsored project that reached its peak in the 1930s (Swain & Hillel, 2010).

The industrial schools act provided a foundation for the establishment of the 1888 *Act for the Protection and Reformation of Neglected Children,* which served as the precursor to the 1893 *Children's Protection Act*. The concept of neglect was carried through and developed by these acts and made easier the removal of children to reformatories and other children's institutions, which were becoming increasingly prevalent during this period. The nullifying of the concept of parental authority was essential for the uptake of child protection legislation (Neff, 2008). For Rooke and Schnell, the emergence of the specialized facilities for children that were a result of piecemeal legislative advancements, signified a "crucial shift in sentiment and ideas about the care of dependent children" (1983, p. 74). This societal shift represented a new era in society and in fact the government's response to dependent children. The establishment of the children's institution represented a new model of care—one that embraced the notion that rescue involved the control, removal and segregation of children (Rooke & Schnell,

1983). The notion of protection from immoral and degenerate environments and the understanding of the malleability and educability of kids were central to this new understanding. Indeed, the understanding of children as an essential national resource was the key to this shift.

Intrusion, for the first time, was justified in the name of "rescuing children from pauperism and its natural companions, misery and crime," and the interest of promoting "industry and virtue" (Neff, 2008, p. 180). "The institution was therefore seen as the most efficient and effective means of training" (Rooke & Schnelle, 1983, p. 75). New concepts of children's rights emerged as children were increasingly framed as a national asset. Swain and Hillel (2010) note that the discourse employed by early child savers was that of fear; they espoused the notion that if left unchecked, children 'at risk' had the potential to bring about the ruin of the nation. For this reason, early child saving concentrated on solutions that "contained rather than liberated children 'at risk'" as they were viewed as "victims of others but threats in and of themselves" (Swain & Hillel, 2010, p. 71).

In 1890, prominent social reformer and child saver J.J. Kelso writes in celebration of philanthropic progress. Kelso notes that the focus of the philanthropy is on the "eradication of causes, rather than effect, in things that pertain to evil," noting that "man have learned that if the sources of wrong can be controlled, society has the mastery of the dangers that threaten its well-being."[3] He writes that "the only solution to the problem can be found in the application of radical remedies in the period of childhood," noting that

---

[3] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, series C 97, Volume 4, File "Children's Aid Society, Toronto 1891-1926", "Child Saving, Purpose and Method of a Boys and Girls Club" (Kelso, 1890)

"we must begin at the beginning of evil; that we must take the child and educate him, and take him away from demoralizing influences if we should make of him a worthy citizen …education is a more potent force than punishment."[4] Kelso's support for the compulsory education and the specialized treatment of children lay in his understanding of it as the solution to the causes of criminality and vice, but he is also piggybacking on the ideas espoused in education legislation in order to promote his fledgling Children's Aid Society. In fact, only a few years later Kelso writes that reform school actually prevents children from "responding from moral influence."[5]

Bullin (1986) writes that children were viewed as both an economic asset as well as a liability; therefore childhood training was seen as a way of ensuring long-term social gains. However, it was commonly held that only certain children were worthy of reform and that this was mediated upon highly charged moral, racial and class based tones that were indicative of early child savers. Indeed, Rooke and Schnell (1983) write that as the middle class gained strength and prominence in the late 19th century it was the "assiduous inculcation" of the values of child savers that dominated (p. 67). Made up of bourgeois women seeking to assert their class interest, rescue was based on the restraint of the common, and "restless poor or the totally destitute" (Rooke & Schnell, 1983, p. 67). They note that environments were often described as vice-ridden, profane, irreligious and turgid, rather than brutalized or impoverished.

---

[4] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Volume 4, File "Conferences United States (B) 1893-1924", "Methods of Reforming Children" (Kelso, 1902)
[5] ibid

The introduction of orphan asylums and other specialized institutions for children did not mean that children were no longer found in poor houses and houses of industry. Criteria for entry into children's institutions was very restrictive, indeed they were reserved for those classes of children deemed 'worthy' and 'reform-able', and to those who would one day realize their station in life and provide for themselves. Restricted from entry were often children from the least desirable classes of poor, such as paupers, criminals and prostitutes—people of these classes came to be referred to as the "lumpen proletariat" (Rooke & Schnell, 1983). Other groups who were often prohibited entry were children of colour, epileptics, bastard children, defective children, delinquents, and infants—infants were soon to be provided for in separate institutions (Rooke and Schnell, 1983)

Vital for the resocialization of dependent children was first, the physical removal from environments of want and neglect; second, the successful induction and training for industry and thirdly, daily instruction of a religious and secular nature (Rooke and Schnell, 1983). Finally, Rooke and Schnell highlight how a major component of reform in children's institutions was to separate the "incorrigible" from the "dependant". For successful rescue to occur, it was felt that children had to be separated based on the various classes of inmate and their varying degrees of offence (Rooke & Schnell, 1983). Therefore, reform was dependant not only on their removal from parents, relatives and environments of depravity, but a subsequent removal from other inmates that may be deemed a negative influence for their overall resocialization. Total separation from what were considered negative traits was thus essential for child rescue.

Legislating Child Protection

      With the passing of the first child protection legislation in 1888, the first

Children's Aid Society was established in Toronto in 1891. Children's aid relied heavily

on the voluntary acts of child savers. For the first time child savers were, under the

auspice of the Children's Aid Society, given a legal mandate to remove children from

their families without warrant, and the status of legal guardianship of those under their

care (Brade 2007; OACAS, 2007). Under the authority of the Act, the work done by child

savers fundamentally "transformed the relationship between children, families, charities

and the state' (Reid, 2008, p. 157). Of importance was the expansion of the concept of

'needy children' and the expanded role of the state; however, the goal of child saving

remained unchanged (Bullin, 1986). Now able to apprehend without warrant, early child-

savers' justified their power by relating their work or mission to the "destiny of Canada as

a whole" (Reid, 2008, p. 157).

      Reid (2008) writes that much of the political sway garnered by child savers of this

time was due to their ability to connect their work with the glory of nation building

through the strong masculine tone embodied by the founder of the first CAS, J.J. Kelso.

Kelso was able to frame young boys as an "essential national resource", therefore,

"…working in their interests was not necessarily private and womanly, but could instead

be patriotic and manly" (Reid, 2008, p. 55). In addition, wooed by the child savers'

claims that they could cut costs by doing away with institutionalized care; the use of

foster care became established and supported as the best means for reforming children

(Reid, 2008, p. 53). Bullin (1986) writes that the major selling-point was the idea that by

transforming children into law-abiding workers, governments would "avoid present and future expenditure on public welfare…a guarantee of public peace and stability" (p. 7).

Reid notes that child savers attempted to evaluate humans based on a "single, linear, moral scale on which almost all good and bad attributes could be arranged" (2008, p. 129). Toward the top were "respectable" citizens (happy, sober, Christian, etc.) and toward the bottom "the worthless" (living in poverty, drunken, a danger to the nation, etc.). The goal of child saving at this time was not to "bring equity or independence" but to "explicitly differentiate between the bases of working class male and female citizenship, and to exclude those deemed unworthy of participation in Canadian society" (Adamonski, 2002, p. 332). Reid's study of children's aid in Ontario from 1893-1912, in the pre-professional context, outlines how "child savers" characterised their work as "a heroic moral struggle for national and racial progress" (2008, p. 157).

During this time foster care emerged as the gold standard for the placement and treatment of children in need. Kelso writes that "the family home is preferable to the institution for the homeless or dependent children", however, he notes, "this has not extended to delinquents to any great extent, owing probably to the lack of faith in the boy or girl who has transgressed the laws and to that extent given evidence of deficient moral training."[6] Those selected for care in foster homes were deemed reform-able and able to adapt to the dominant ideals of bourgeoisie society; "the potential Canadian citizens of the future" (Reid, 2008, p. 139). Children of white Christian heredity were selected for

---

[6] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Volume 4, File "Conferences United States (B) 1893-1924", "Methods of Reforming Children" (Kelso, 1902)

reform in foster homes, while residential schools and other institutions were reserved for

the "unworthy," that is, hard to place children—those "denigrates as less than normal"

(Reid, 2008, p. 139; Rooke & Schnell, 1983). Reid writes that CAS "increasingly sought

to concentrate their resources on children for whom it was easy to find homes" (p. 139).

Children with cognitive or physical disabilities were commonly excluded from foster care

as they were deemed unable to contribute economically in the family home—"the labour

market seemed to be the major determinant for success in finding placement for wards"

(Reid, 2008, p. 135). Distinction was also drawn along racial lines. Despite the fact that

there was little discourse on the treatment of black children in child protection, unlike that

of children with disabilities, Reid notes that there was "persistent racial discourse" (p.

140). Undesirable behaviour was often attributed to racial background as child-savers and

foster parents "believed that racial traits were causal in personality and behaviour" (Reid,

2008, p. 139).

Much like the children's institutions before them, the selective transplantation of

dependent children was the key to the success of this project. Still influenced by the

protestant rural ethic, commonly held belief was that rural homes, far from the vice and

crime of the urban centres, were the best environment for reform; further that "the

Christian family home life" was the ideal site for restoring "right lines of thought and

normal living"[7]. It was believed that swift removal from vice-ridden environments was

essential for proper rescue (Rooke & Schnell, 1983). Indeed, Kelso embraced the notion

that "children who were thought to be incorrigible [had] been completely restored to good

---

[7] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Volume 4, File "Conferences United
States (B) 1893-1924", "Methods of Reforming Children" (Kelso, 1902)

citizenship by a simple change of abode and a breaking off entirely from their former

life"[8]. Although the concept of foster care was in no way novel, its emergence in the late

19th century represented a new era in child protection.

The Decline of the Institution

Tensions grew between the female-driven model of institutional care and the

Children's Aid, headed by J.J. Kelso, as foster care became the accepted method for

placing "desirable" children. Kelso's beliefs about patriarchal family relations conflicted

with the feminine care ethic of the institution. The appeal of the male bread winner, two-

parent family, was the key to the argument against institution and for the use of foster

care (Strong-Boag, 2011). The emergence of the CAS brought to bear new understanding

and sensibilities towards needy and neglected children as well as increased governmental

support towards such children, which would have vastly improved the lives of a select

few under the care of CAS. In institutions children were thought to lead idle existences

without the influence of a male role-model. However, feminist scholars relate the decline

of the institution to concept of care espoused by male elites which favoured the male

bread winner model of care over that of the female lay care provided in institutions (See:

Strong-Boag, 2011, Swift & Callahan, 2009; Swift, 1995; Rooke & Schnell, 1982).

Strong-Boag writes that the "muscular Christian ideal embodied by men such as Naylor

[founder of CASs in Nova Scotia] and Kelso incorporated women into new arrangements

as hand-maidens to male ministers, deputy ministers and directors" (2011, p. 71).

Therefore, it is argued that the support garnered for CASs foster care model lay in its

---

[8] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Volume 4, File "Conferences United States (B) 1893-1924", "Methods of Reforming Children" (Kelso, 1902)

ability to conjure up masculine ideals about "the autonomous patriarchal family in which both men and women fulfil their proper roles" (Strong-Boag, 2011, p. 68).

As the CAS model took hold, institutions were forced to accept government oversite and provide specialized are to children deemed 'less desirable', or risk closure (Rooke & Schnell, 1982). However, the institution continued to be a mainstay of child protection work as the availability of foster homes never quite met the needs of a mushrooming child transplantation practice (Jones & Rutman, 1981). Child-savers relied on congregate care institutions, sustained through fundraising, charity and the occasional governmental grant, to house children that became dependents of the state. Children that were considered difficult to place—those with disabilities or otherwise considered undesirable to foster parents—"could remain in limbo in a shelter or orphanage for months at a time" (Reid, 2008, p. 124). CAS increasingly relied on these institutions that they sought to replace, for the placing of undesirable children, especially those with physical disabilities (Rooke & Schnell, 1983).

A New Era

The number of CASs operating in Ontario and indeed across the country increased substantially in the first decade of the 20th century. Workers were mainly volunteers and were untrained until the move toward professionalization and regulation that took place throughout the 20s and 30s when government became increasingly involved in social welfare. As governmental control over CAS functions increased, the strong moral tones associated with white middle class Christian values persisted (Reid, 2008).

In 1916, the CAS received public criticism regarding the quality of care that children were receiving. A Provincial grand jury investigated and absolved CAS of any wrongdoing; however, over the next several years numerous changes to the structure and funding of CAS took place. In 1923, a new board of directors made up of 'experts' in child welfare took over and the CAS received an increase in public funding (Brade, 2007).

In 1929 a royal commission on public welfare was appointed, which recommended the establishment of a department of public welfare that would oversee the formally separate branches of government. This included a child welfare branch that was responsible for Children's Aid Societies, orphanages, infants' homes, work with unwed parents, and adoptions. Under the auspices of this new public welfare branch, several recommendations and subsequent legislative changes were made that saw increased provincial funding for Children's Aid Societies, an increase in trained social workers for child protection work, and a greater degree of control over the direction of child welfare work by the province (Jones & Rutman, 1981). The enactment of these changes was brought about by several allegations of mismanagement at a number of Children's Aid Societies. As a result, Kelso was blamed for his lax attitude in overseeing the societies across the province (Jones & Rutman, 1981).

Child protection was established and taken up by the state as a way of curbing pauperism. Child-savers at the time, influenced by Kelso, believed that their model would eventually eliminate pauperism and the need for alms-giving—which they thought would encourage people to rely on the system instead of themselves. Therefore, the aims of

foster care were more in line with 'saving the nation' than they were of 'saving the child'. This train of thought established a system of surveillance and reform instead of an examination of causes and consequences of poverty. Established was an ideology, policy and practice landscape that viewed poverty as a result of personal failing, and the poor as 'unfit' for having children and raising families. In this way, an exploration of the work of early child-savers helps us understand the shift to eugenics and the role that social workers embraced as agents of social control and management.

Foster care had initially been sold as the best means of reform for neglected and abandoned children. Based heavily on the indenture system, its predecessor, and the idea that in order to become industrious and useful citizens, these children needed to be indoctrinated into the values and habits of the middle class, the rural male breadwinner model of family life was championed. Foster care relied heavily on the voluntary work of women, championed as 'mothers of the nation'. However, in its early days, the system was never able to meet the goals that Kelso so adamantly advocated. Children were often viewed as labourers and were treated as second class to the family. Indeed, the system, so ill equipped, was not able to keep track of many of the children it placed (Reid, 2008) and the supply of people willing to take on children never met desired levels and dwindled during the era of the depression.

From the 1920s to the 1930s, significant changes to the structure and funding of CASs occurred. The government's increased provincial oversight, scrutiny and funding for foster care and institutions. Furthermore, in 1921, adoption legislation was introduced making easier the intrusion, removal, and adoption of infants. In the following section, I

discuss the institutionalization of child saving practices that occurred as part of a larger

project connected to eugenics and the mental hygiene movement, the intent of which was

to promote a more efficient and orderly society. Throughout this period social reformers

continued to focus their attention on children and families (Comacchio, 1993). Coinciding

with this movement was the professionalization of social work; Rooke and Schnell (1982)
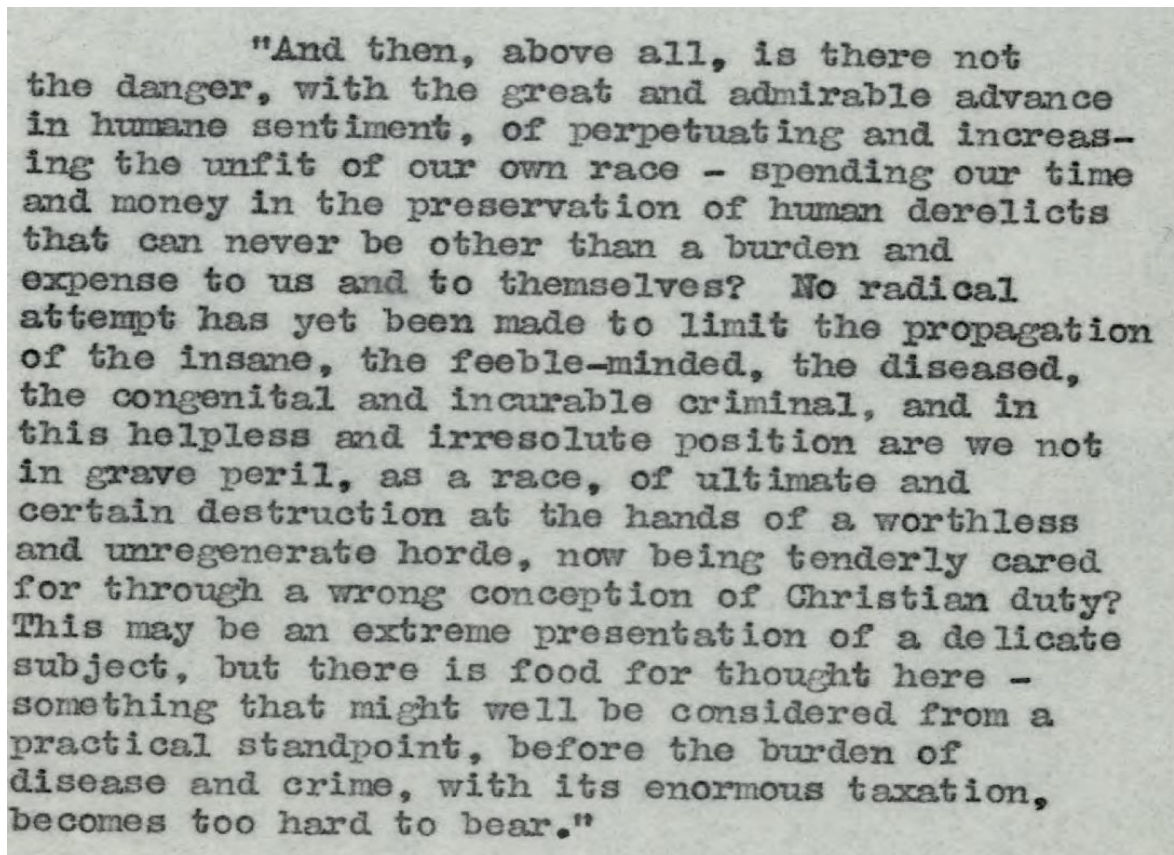
point out that:

> Such professionalizers, mixing personal ambition and humanitarian sentiment,
> apprehended the possibilities of expanding their domain within newly created areas
> of social work. Child welfare experts subjecting child and family life to more
> sophisticated analysis created increasing demands for professional care, counselling
> and administration (p. 33).

Throughout the early part of the 20th century, new knowledge and dominant

understandings of parenting, mental hygiene and alms-giving began to shift and new

classifications of 'worthy' and 'unworthy' emerged with 'scientific' backing. The state's

response to child welfare issues and the professionalization of child protection took child

welfare to a new level. While Kelso's role diminished around this period, he remained

outspoken and influential and his role in the institutionalization of child protection and

foster care is not to be understated. In Canada, under the rubric of eugenics, medicine,

psychology and social work became involved in examination and categorization of the

population in the name of nation building (Thobani, 2007). These new state apparatuses

or "technologies of power" further defined what was 'normal' so that the 'abnormal'

could be treated, documented and even excluded from society through the denial of

certain social or individual rights (Bell, 2011; Thobani, 2007). This was a critical

formative period of government in the modern Era that relied on the coproduction of

scientific knowledge to legitimate eugenic projects based on fear and ignorance, which

was novel to this period.

CHILD PROTECTION DISCOURSE: THE PROBLEM OF THE 'FEEBLE-MINDED'

Throughout the early 20th century, child protection workers became increasingly preoccupied with what was commonly referred to as the propagation of the 'feeble-minded'. Over the course of his career Kelso became intimately concerned with the problem of the feeble-minded, writing and speaking on the matter. The excerpt below (figure 1) illustrates the direction of Kelso's thinking and the rhetoric propagated during the early 20th century.

Figure 1: Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d." - "Perpetuating the Unfit", an address made by Kelso (n.d.)

The above (figure 1) exemplifies the tone of child protection during this period. As pointed out in Jones and Rutman (1981), Kelso's thinking dominated social reform and child protection discourse throughout his career as president of the Toronto CAS then as the first provincial *Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children* until 1934. Dickinson (1993) notes that social reformers, and other professionals increasingly felt that something should be done to manage a "growing array of social and personal 'pathologies', including poverty, crime, juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, insanity, feeblemindedness, prostitution, and venereal disease" (p.387). In a report prepared by the *National Association for Promoting the welfare of the Feeble-minded* in the UK, it was noted that children of the feeble-minded, "if left to themselves, would infallibly add to the vice, crime and misery of our race, and pass on another generation of the ills they have brought on their own" (Bartley, 2000, p 123). In the US the tone was the same; at the American *Charities and Correction Conference* in 1897, Alexander Johnston, president of the conference, stated that "the imbeciles must be placed under state care in order to prevent propagation and thus continue and ever-increasing source of expense."[9]

In 1925 prominent social worker and head of the *Canadian Counsel on Child and Family Welfare*, Charlotte Whitton was, in public addresses, spouting the claims of proponents of eugenics in her charismatic way. While it appeared that child welfare agencies were struggling to come to terms with the 'problem of the feeble-minded', Whitton proclaimed proudly at a Canada Day address that "Canada was making a

---

[9] Archives of Ontario, R.G. 29-75-0-1, J.J. Kelso Scrapbooks on Child Welfare Issues, Vol 1 (MS 876), Tile "National Aid – Canadian Conferences, 1897 – [190-]," – The Session Closes - Last day of the Charities and Corrections Conference, "Papers on Care of the Feeble-Minded" in The new Orleans Times, Sunday May 7, 1987
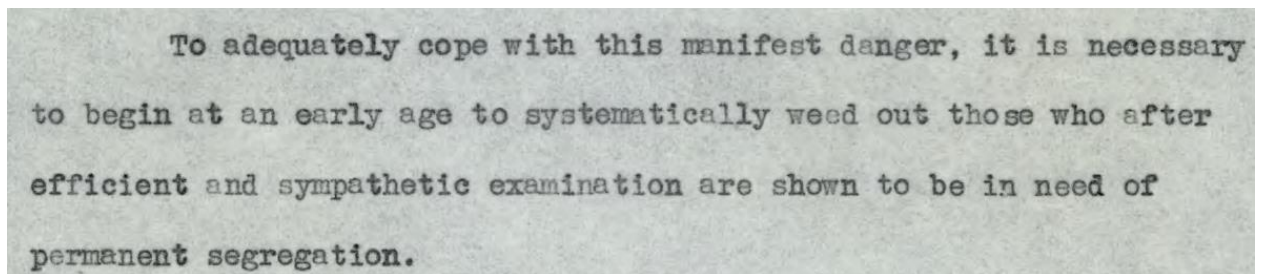
determined effort to rid her youthful blood of this poison of mental deficiency with its

attendant social evils, and to this end is taking every precaution against its national

reproduction" (Whitton, 1925, p 72). Kelso also believed that the best way to prevent the

spread of immorality and its attending 'evils' was to sort and separate certain children

from the general population.

We will never make much headway in the prevention
of crime said J. J. Kelso to The Star yesterday, until
we definitely weed out once for all the defective and
degenerate youths who have not the ability to direct
their own lives and in consequence drift naturally into
the criminal class.   Yesterday the arrest was mentioned

Figure 2: Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d." -

The imagery of 'weeding out', was used repeatedly by Kelso in his writing. In

fact, gardening metaphors such as "weeding", "transplanting" and "cultivating" were

commonly used in child-saving rhetoric during this period, referred to by Chen (2003) as

'the gardening governmentality' (see: Chen, 2003). One could argue that this language is

symptomatic of a perspective whereby the subject is seen as in need of fixing and of not

being fully human.

To adequately cope with this manifest danger, it is necessary
to begin at an early age to systematically weed out those who after
efficient and sympathetic examination are shown to be in need of
permanent segregation.

Figure 3: Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d."

Kelso laments the 'heavy burden' of the feeble minded; he states: "we have spent time

and strength and money in making the degenerate class healthier and better equipped to

propagate their kind". In the paper "Costly Neglect," [10] Kelso gives the example of a boy

"turned out by his worthless parents" and committed to a public training school, "fed,

clothed, but not educated" as he had no capacity for it. The boy was hired out as a

labourer and soon married a 'slatternly girl,' they soon had five children. Kelso states that

"the golden opportunity for sterilization was lost" and that each of their children were

destined to "spread disease, crime, immorality and week mentality". The discourse used

by child savers' during the eugenics era was that of fear; fear of the degenerate and fear

of the spread of vice and disease via racial contamination and social contamination.

Central to the remedy was the idea that by stopping the propagation of the degenerate or

the 'unfit', vice, crime, disease and so called immoral living would and could be

eliminated. To accomplish this goal, social reformers took a two-pronged approach; their

task was to sort and classify children based on their perceived ability to be reformed—a

key technology of difference-making. Children who were deemed able and worthy were

to be treated and given useful tasks in society; the others, it was advocated, would be

sterilized and or segregated from society. In Kelso's writings on "Unplaceable

Children"[11] he writes that "our hope" (the hope of child protection workers) "is in a

central institution and in the expert social doctor whose diagnosis will form the basis of

action." Part of the 'weeding out' processes that Kelso in concerned with is therefore

---

[10] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d."
"Costly Neglect" (Kelso, n.d.)
[11] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d."
"Unplaceable Children" (Kelso, n.d.)

reliant on the 'expert' for making decision about who is able to be treated and who was best suited for institutionalization.
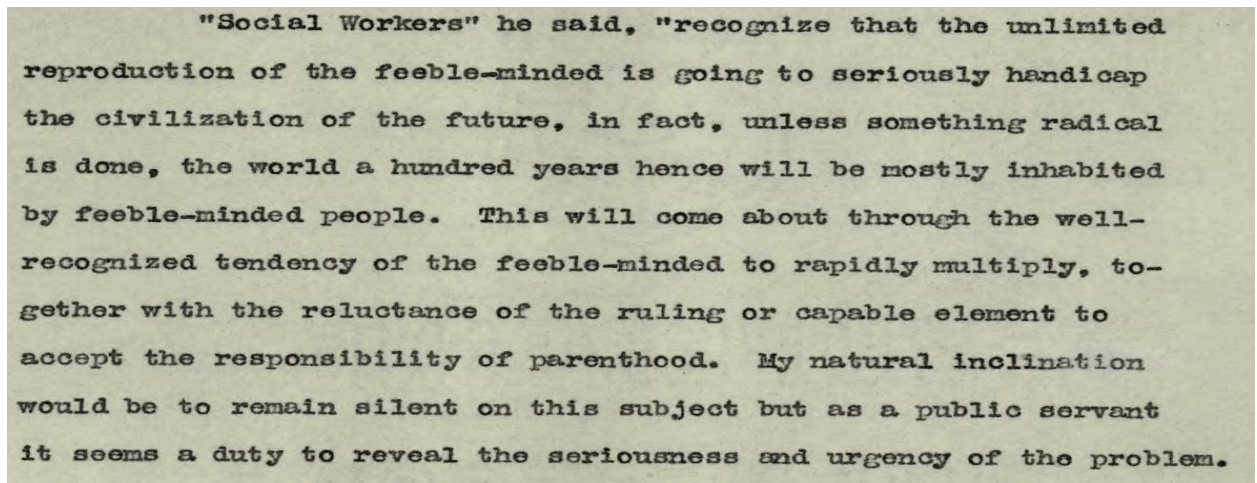
As pointed out by Rooke and Schnell (1982) the new 'professional' child welfare experts were increasingly "subjecting child and family life to more sophisticated analysis" creating "…increasing demands for professional care, counselling and administration" (p. 33). Children's Aid Societies were eager for some plan to be brought forth with regard to the care of the 'feeble-minded'. By the 1930s, psychiatric clinics had been established in several Ontario cities and were authorized to "advise and assist with the problem of mentally defective children."[12] At the 18th Annual Conference of the Children's Aid Societies of the Province of Ontario, Superintendent of the Orillia Asylum, Dr. T.B. McGhie, notes that these clinics will be available to schools, juvenile courts and CASs and will be able to give "valuable assistance in deciding the care and treatment required."[13]

Kelso, still active as the *Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children*, clearly espoused the notion that 'feeble-mindedness' was a grave matter that needed government attention. The following excerpt (Image 4) from Kelso's private files indicates the eugenic tone of, not only Kelso's thought and writing at the time, but the tone of social work more generally.

---

[12] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 9, Volume 4, File "Children's Aid Society, Ontario Notes, Historical 1893-1933 (Eighteenth Annual Conference of Association of Children's Aid Societies of the Province of Ontario, Toronto, May 14-15th, 1930)

[13] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 9, Volume 4, File "Children's Aid Society, Ontario Notes, Historical 1893-1933 (Eighteenth Annual Conference of Association of Children's Aid Societies of the Province of Ontario, Toronto, May 14-15th, 1930)

"Social Workers" he said, "recognize that the unlimited reproduction of the feeble-minded is going to seriously handicap the civilization of the future. In fact, unless something radical is done, the world a hundred years hence will be mostly inhabited by feeble-minded people. This will come about through the well-recognized tendency of the feeble-minded to rapidly multiply, together with the reluctance of the ruling or capable element to accept the responsibility of parenthood. My natural inclination would be to remain silent on this subject but as a public servant it seems a duty to reveal the seriousness and urgency of the problem.

Figure 4: Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d."

Members of the Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies (OACAS) were keen for government action to be taken with regard to this problem. At a 1929 meeting one member stated: "Let it be brought to the attention of the government and make them listen to our protest against the increase of insane and unfit people in our country bringing up families."[14] OACAS members went so far as to state that "before people are allowed to bring children into this world they should be examined as to their fitness."[15]

In an Ontario study, commissioned by the Eugenics Society of Canada and prepared by Dr. Madge Thurlow A.B., M.D., in 1934, titled '*Increase In Mental Defect in the Province of Ontario since 1871*'[16] stated that despite how we deplore the presence of
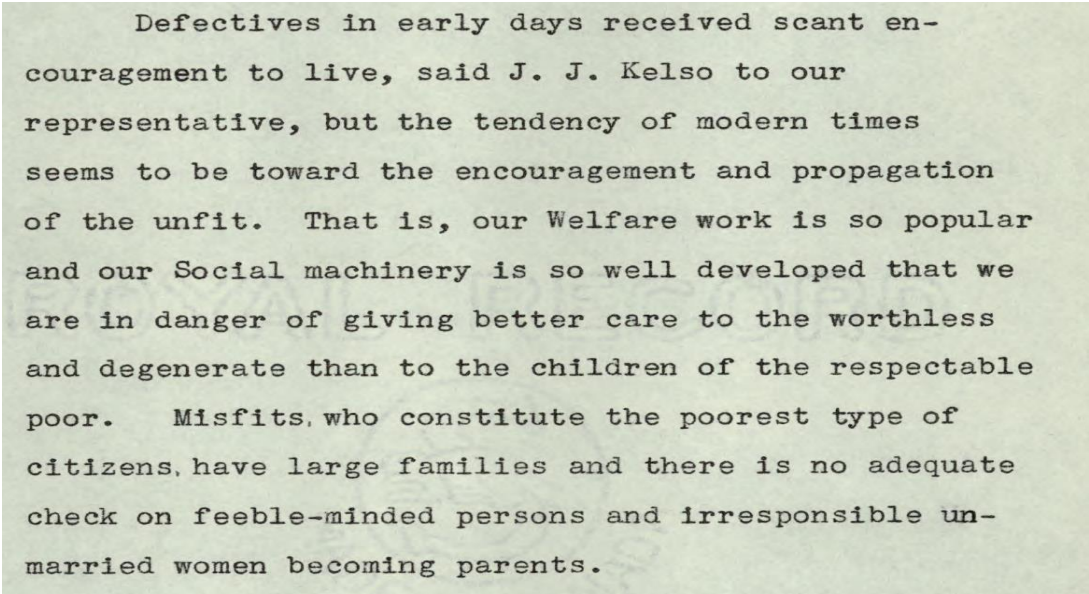
---

[14] Archives of Ontario, F 819-MU5087, Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies Box 16, First Meeting & Constitutions to Executive Secretary 1945, 1947, File 1929 (minutes AGM)
[15] Archives of Ontario, F 819-MU5087, Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies Box 16, First Meeting & Constitutions to Executive Secretary 1945, 1947, File 1929 (minutes AGM)
[16] Archives of Ontario, RG 3-9-0-134, Eugenics Society of Canada, Title "[131:134] Premier Mitchell, P. Hepburn, Public Correspondence Records – Education Dept. General (Report: "Increase in Mental Defect in the Province of Ontario Since 1871", Madge Thurlow Macklin, A.B., M.D., reprinted from Eugenics News, Vol. XIX, No. 4, July-August 1934)

the "mentally defective and the mentally ill …we do nothing to stop the influx of more

defectives." The report states that from 1871 and 1911 the population of the mentally ill

increased by 12 percent in the first 20 years of study and 26 percent in the following 20

years. Further, the author states that "the great increase in mental cases can be ascribed

to…our preventive medicine and public health measures which inadvertently must save

the poor stock along with the good." The second reason stated for the increase in 'mental

cases' is the "differential birth-rate, which is in favour of the mentally defective class."

Further, The author concluded that the decline in birthrate in the "intelligent classes' and

'the greater fecundity of the classes producing the mental defectives" will eventually lead

to "complete submersion and disappearance of the normal stock". This sentiment of

eugenic rhetoric is propagated further in Kelso's writing; he states:

> Defectives in early days received scant en-
> couragement to live, said J. J. Kelso to our
> representative, but the tendency of modern times
> seems to be toward the encouragement and propagation
> of the unfit. That is, our Welfare work is so popular
> and our Social machinery is so well developed that we
> are in danger of giving better care to the worthless
> and degenerate than to the children of the respectable
> poor. Misfits, who constitute the poorest type of
> citizens, have large families and there is no adequate
> check on feeble-minded persons and irresponsible un-
> married women becoming parents.

Figure 5: Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d."

The alarm bells sounded by the eugenics society were readily accepted by social reformers and social workers alike. In fact, The Canadian Association of Social Workers (CASW) produced a set of charts (See figure 6) for the Eugenics Society which attempt to illustrate that mental deficiency is hereditary.
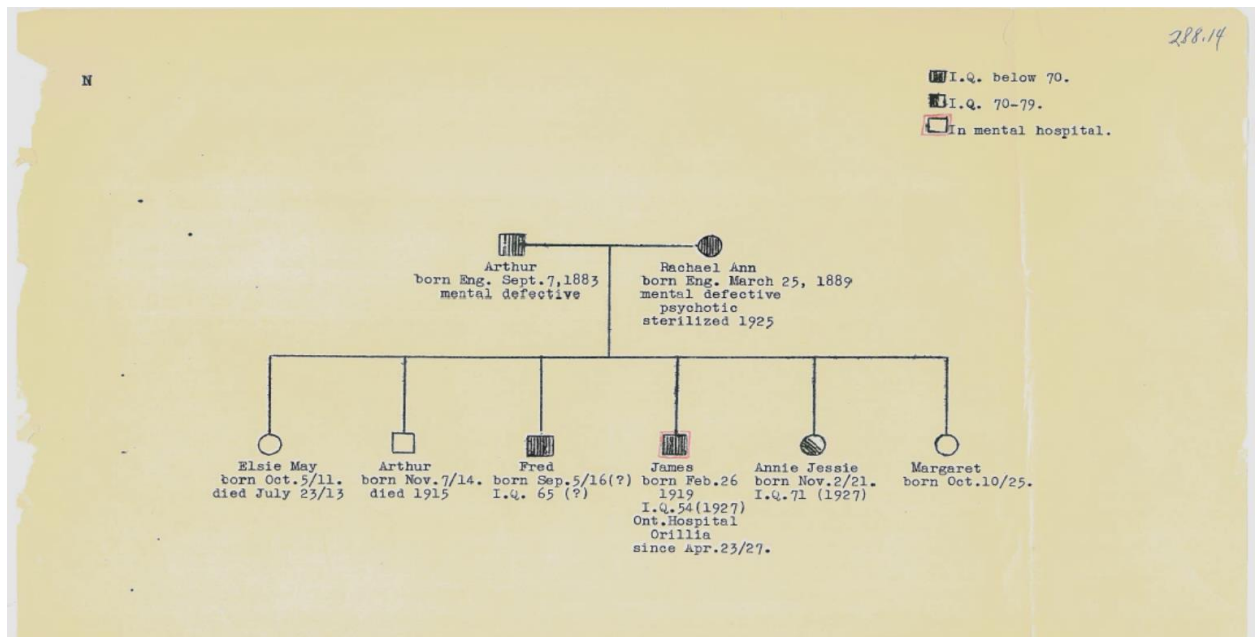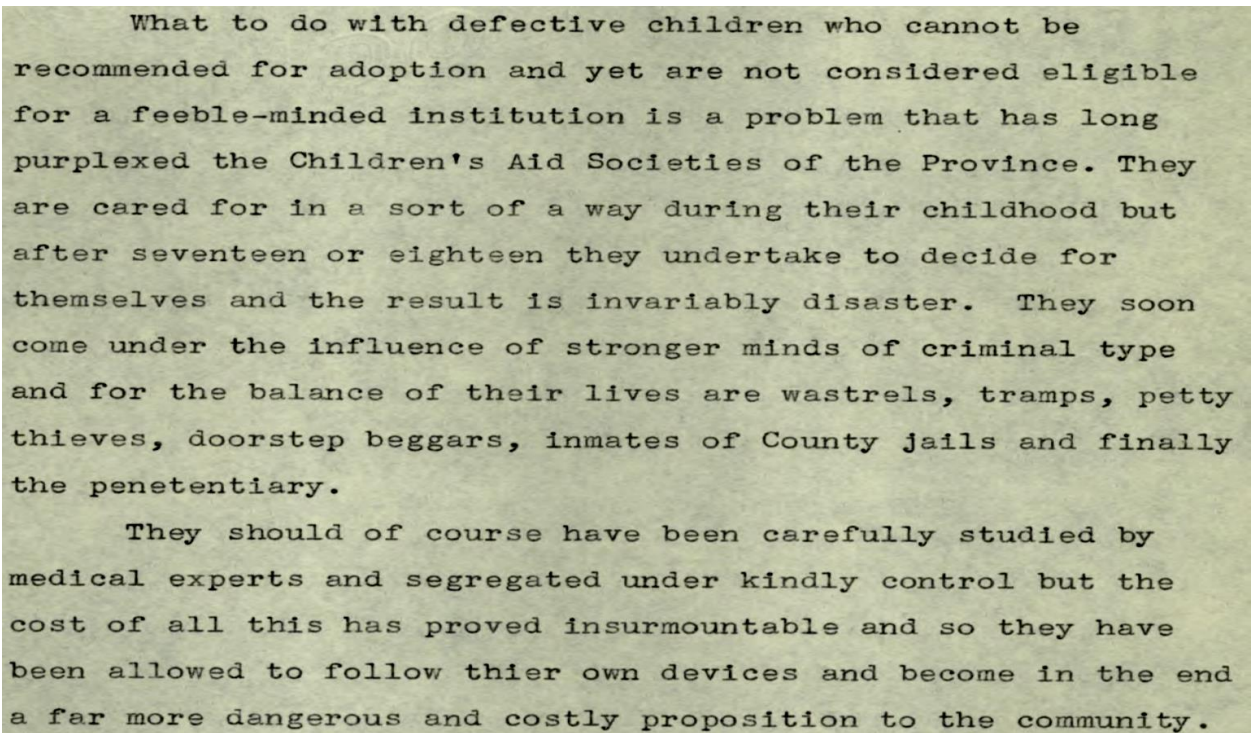
In a letter form Dr. Frank Walker of the Eugenics Society, to Premier Mitchell Hepburn[17], Dr. Walker notes that the evidence collected by the CASW, "...constitutes a telling argument in favour of an Ontario Sterilization Act". It is noted that the CASW had

---

[17] Archives of Ontario, RG 3-9-0-134, Eugenics Society of Canada, Title "[131:134] Premier Mitchell, P. Hepburn, Public Correspondence Records – Education Dept. General (Correspondence: Eugenics Society of Canada [Dr. Frank Walker] to Premier Mitchell F. Hepburn, re: evidence regarding the inheritance of mental defect…, June 6th, 1935)

produced the family histories in the "interest of truth only" and that they had done so

"without drawing any conclusions". Be that as it may, the fact that the CASW produced

evidence for use by the Eugenic Society is telling of their position on the matter.

A Failing Foster Care System: The Segregation and Sterilization of Un-placeable

Children

What to do with defective children who cannot be recommended for adoption and yet are not considered eligible for a feeble-minded institution is a problem that has long purplexed the Children's Aid Societies of the Province. They are cared for in a sort of a way during their childhood but after seventeen or eighteen they undertake to decide for themselves and the result is invariably disaster. They soon come under the influence of stronger minds of criminal type and for the balance of their lives are wastrels, tramps, petty thieves, doorstep beggars, inmates of County jails and finally the penetentiary.

They should of course have been carefully studied by medical experts and segregated under kindly control but the cost of all this has proved insurmountable and so they have been allowed to follow thier own devices and become in the end a far more dangerous and costly proposition to the community.

Figure 7: Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d."

From its inception the foster care system failed to live up to the expectations of early

child savers. It was seen to be falling short on promises by costing government too much.

The issue of foster parent recruitment and retention plagued the system from its inception

as it was felt there were not enough "worthy" foster parents (Strong-Boag, 2011; Reid,

2008). Ironically, Reid found that foster parents were given a considerable degree of latitude when dealing with the wards (children) in their care; sometimes only inquiring once a year as to their well-being. In an article written by Kelso in 1907, titled "Supervision of Children Placed in Foster Homes", he laments that "there are undoubtedly many children who are ill-treated and neglected in foster homes simply because no one looks out for them."[18] In this paper, Kelso is advocating that the government establish a system of visitors to supervise foster homes. This comes as a response to what he refers to as a condemnation of home-finding on the grounds that children are not looked-out-for once they are placed and societies do not have the scope to provide such a service.

Adamoski (2002) points out that work placements were more often than not the means through which foster care was enacted in the early days. Those deemed unworthy or undesirable for adoption where generally sent to foster families to fill requests for labour—placements were based on a gendered division of labour, in line with the era— and wards often complained of being overworked (Adamoski 2002). Bullin (1986) notes that while some children benefited from the foster care system, many found themselves stuck in the working class world with few prospects. Despite CAS workers' genuine concern for children under their care, they believed fervently that hard work and discipline developed "upstanding and industrious citizenship" (Bullin, 1986, p.180). The general sentiment remained, well into the 1930s, that if children were not trained in the habit of industry they would inevitably fall into criminal behaviour. Ideas about work and

---

[18] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 4, Title "Conferences, United States (A) 1893 – 1924, " Supervision of Children Placed in Foster Homes (Kelso, 1907)

training continued to inform social workers' conception of neglect and when considering

environmental factors, the work habit of parents was of great importance. Dr. T.B.

McGhie of the Orillia Asylum states that "…if the defective child has not been instructed

to like work before the adolescent period there is likely to be trouble."[19] Kelso's reports

likewise frequently make reference to the home environment's importance for the

creation of good citizenship. Kelso states that "the future of the country largely depends

on the training of youth, and home surroundings either make or break him."[20]

Reproducing generations of workers and industrious citizens remained a key component

of child-rescue work throughout the early and mid-20th century. The role of foster care

was to provide an environment more indicative of work and industry.

In this way, the system acted to maintain class and social divisions. The general

feeling was that children should know their place in society; social mobility was only for

certain classes, from which foster children did not come (Rooke and Schnell, 1983). It

was commonly held that the best way to save the child was through imprinting into the

lower classes of workers (Rooke & Schnell, 1983). Foster care in its early days acted

more to maintain class divisions through the systematic transplantation of children, than it

did to dissolve them. Moreover, early child savers naively believed that child

transplantation would eventual rid society of vice and crime. Kelso believed that moral

decline among the underclass was due to their own shortcomings; he stated at a charities

---

[19] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 9, Volume 4, File "Children's Aid Society, Ontario Notes, Historical 1893-1933 (Eighteenth Annual Conference of Association of Children's Aid Societies of the Province of Ontario, Toronto, May 14-15th, 1930)

[20] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d."

conference in 1899 that "if all charitable relief was done away with, pauperism would

disappear" and that "impulsive and misapplied philanthropy was an unquestioned evil'.[21]

Kelso hoped that his friendly visitor system would encourage parents to reform

themselves—selected families were instructed how to change their lifestyle and behaviour

in order to keep custody of their children (Jones & Rutman, 1981).

> One of the important duties of the social worker…was to check for the
> development of conditions that are likely to lead to child-wastage. If a child is to
> be saved by the state, his early life must be guided into the proper channel so he
> may grow up into manhood with a true conception of his value in the community.
> To accomplish this, his home must be adjusted to meet the conditions required of
> good citizenship.[22]

Kelso believed that the timely intervention of the Children's Aid visitor "usually

had the effect of adjusting the trouble...unless they [the parent] are of the degenerate or

mental type [they] will try to raise equal to the occasion and make the home a fit and

proper place."[23] The belief behind child saving was that within a couple of generations

undesirable traits associated with pauperism could be 'reformed' out of the population,

beginning with children. Later in his career however, Kelso abandoned preventative

efforts and took a more drastic view that separation was the best course of action if there

was at all any doubt as to the quality of the parenting or parent (Jones & Rutman, 1981).

Kelso generally espoused the notion that children's rights were paramount; he advocated

---

[21] Archives of Ontario, R.G. 29-75-0-1, J.J. Kelso Scrapbooks on Child Welfare Issues, Vol 1 (MS 876),
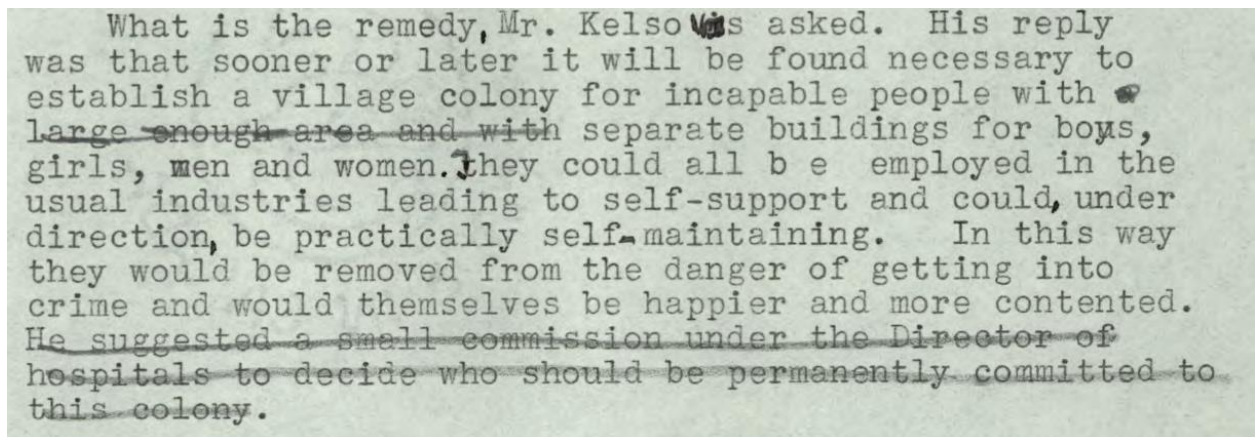Tile "National Aid – Canadian Conferences, 1897 – [190-]," (Unwise Charity, 1899)
[22] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d."
[23] ibid

for the discretionary powers of workers, and that separation from parents should be decisive and absolute—this required a complete severing of the rights of natural parents (Jones & Rutman, 1981).

Eugenics discourse came to dominate many facets of social work during the early 20th century. Subject to the agenda at OACAS annual general meetings, was the care of the 'feeble-minded.' [24] Members were arguing that societies could not keep up with the demands of an increasing population of 'feeble-minded' children that were unplaceable. Representatives on various CASs across the province were eager for an institutionalized solution to the 'problem of the feeble-minded', stating that the issues had been "before the public for years and practically nothing has been done."

Figure 8: Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d."

---

[24] Archives of Ontario, F 819-MU5087, Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies Box 16, First Meeting & Constitutions to Executive Secretary 1945, 1947, File 1929 (minutes AGM)
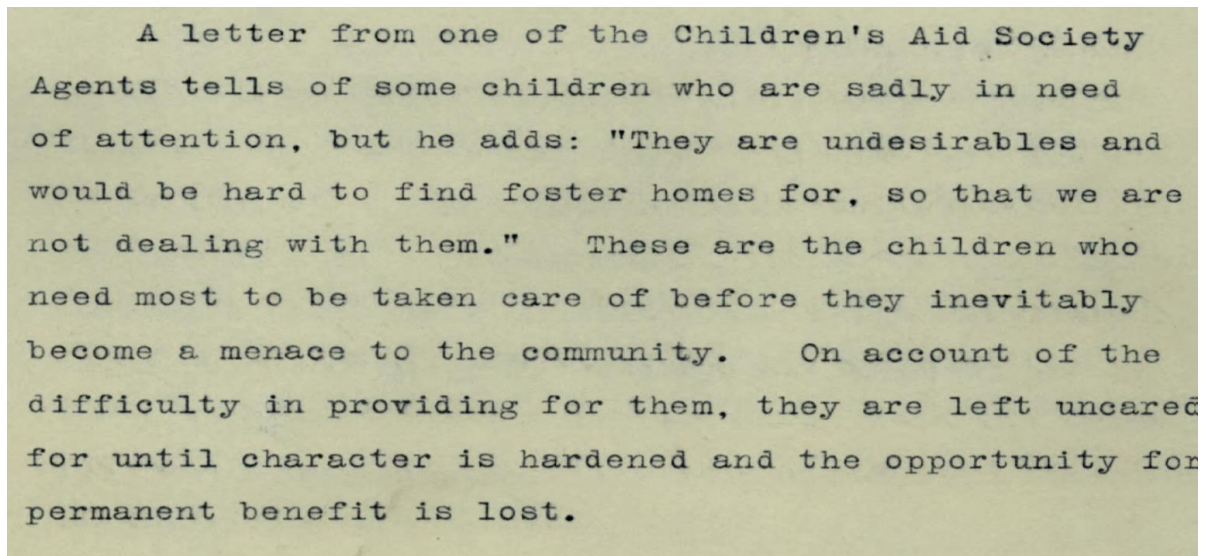
It is clear that while Kelso advocated for 'feeble-minded' children to be placed in

custodial care, his belief that all citizens should be made to work for their keep shone

through in his thinking. Kelso felt that while under institutionalized care, children could

perform valuable work. For certain classes of the feeble-minded or 'mental-defectives',

he proposed that because 'mental defective' are often strong and physically fit, they could

be made to perform physical labour like clearing land of rocks and stumps or performing

agricultural work.[25] For girls, Kelso advocated for the establishment of small facilities in

towns and villages, whereby girls could work in local homes performing domestic tasks

like laundry.[26]

      The placing of 'defective children' became an issue of concern for members of the

OACAS. What most OACAS members were putting forth at the time was that the

government should provide institutions for 'subnormal' or 'mentally defective' children.

They hoped that eventually every municipality would have an institution for the

placement of feeble-minded children. Many members lamented that their agencies were

overrun with feeble-minded children for whom they did not have homes. Kelso notes that

he increasingly receives notices from societies concerning the influx of "unplaceable"

children, for example he writes:

---

[25] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d." Boys Kelso states "boy are strong ad active and ell adapt at some purely physical and mechanical task"
[26] Ibid – "Care of the Feeble-Minded" Kelso proposes that feeble-minded girls be found employment "feminine and domestic in nature" while in institutional care.

A letter from one of the Children's Aid Society Agents tells of some children who are sadly in need of attention, but he adds: "They are undesirables and would be hard to find foster homes for, so that we are not dealing with them." These are the children who need most to be taken care of before they inevitably become a menace to the community. On account of the difficulty in providing for them, they are left uncared for until character is hardened and the opportunity for permanent benefit is lost.

Figure 9: Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d." "Unplaceable Children" (Kelso, n.d.)
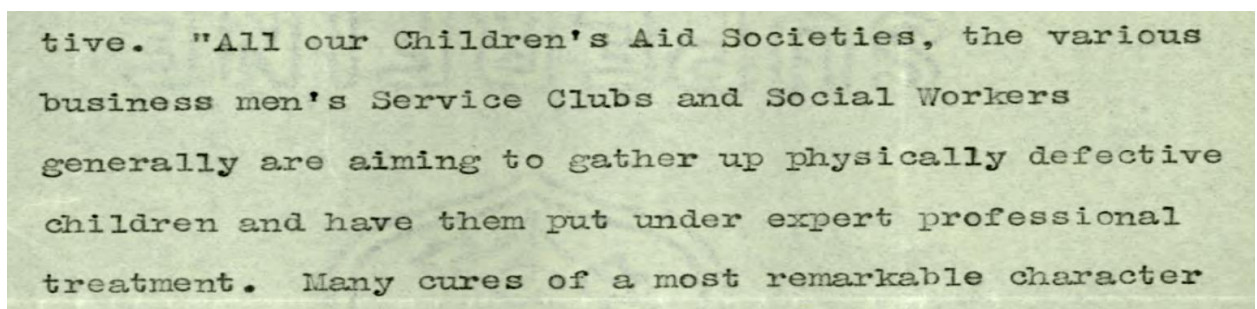
In addition, children with physical disabilities were cast as part of this 'undesirable' class of children not suited to their attention, meaning foster care placement. Kelso, advocates for the institutionalization of children "who cannot be readily placed because of physical deformities or mental peculiarities."[27] Kelso espouses the view that institutionalization, study and treatment of this class of child is the best means of dealing with them, stating that at least the unfortunate will be saved from the "buffetings of a world in which he is not fit to compete."[28] While the institutionalization of disabled children was not compulsory (or forced) in Canada, beginning in the 1900s it was common practice for doctors to forcibly convince parents to place children in

---

[27] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d." ("Unplaceable Children", n.d.)
[28] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d." ("Unplaceable Children", n.d.)

"specialized" institutions. Wheatley points out that "mothers who gave birth to a '*Mongoloid'* (today called Down's syndrome) in particular, were urged to give over the child at birth; if the child was born ill, he was left to die*"(2013, part 3).* Poor parents, with little support and money faced even harder decisions as their ability to care for their disabled child would most likely be curtailed by poverty. For some, the availability of institutions would have been a relief (Strong-Boag, 2011), as pointed out by Wheatley, however, eugenics discourse brought shame and stigma to both children with disabilities and their parents as they "were regarded as a '*taint upon the nation*'" (2013, part 3). Echoing eugenic rhetoric, Kelso advocates for the institutionalization of children with physical (dis)abilities (see figure 7). Child protection workers would have insisted that their clients give up (dis)abled, 'subnormal', or otherwise classified as 'feeble-minded' children to institutions as they felt that these children were 'unplaceable'.

Figure 10: Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d."

In May of 1939, in an OACAS report of the *Legislation and Resolutions Committee*[29]*,* concerns from the Association were being brought forward regarding

---

[29] Archives of Ontario, F 819-MU5081, Ontario association of Children's Aid Societies Box 10, Conferences 1922-1947-48-49 (Association of Children's Aid Societies of Ontario Annual Conference – Toronto, May 5, 1939, Report of the Legislation and Resolution Committee)

"accommodation of feeble-minded wards." The OACAS was planning to petition the

minister on Public Health to respond to their requests for assistance with the feeble

minded problem, stating that they required "relief from the burden that is impeding them

[CAS] from fulfilling their true function". The committee noted,

> …sufficient evidence is at hand to show that too large a percentage of children in
> care are so feebleminded as to be absolutely unsuitable for the kind of care
> provided…a very large number are quite unfit for, and are impossible to care for in
> the private boarding home…many are not acceptable for foster care at any possible
> remuneration….as long as preventative measures lag, there must be further
> additions to facilities for institutional care….the CAS must, in all fairness from the
> point of view of economy itself, be relieved of burden which properly does not
> belong to them.[30]

Further, the Committee noted that CASs felt that it was unfair for them to pay

maintenance for the children that fall outside of their spectrum of care. The example

given was of one society with 200 children in care, 50 of which they stated had reports

from a mental clinic showing that they ranged from "moron" to "imbecile." They stated

that the financial burden created by these children was at the expense of children who

"rightfully belonged to their sphere of activity and needed their care". It was also felt that

there was a danger of association and that the undesirable children would taint the

desirable and reform-able children, the worthy children.

---

[30] Archives of Ontario, F 819-MU5081, Ontario association of Children's Aid Societies Box 10,
Conferences 1922-1947-48-49 (Association of Children's Aid Societies of Ontario Annual Conference –
Toronto, May 5, 1939, Report of the Legislation and Resolution Committee)

Was there really an increase in the population of 'defective' children? In the early days of child protection, workers selected certain children, those deemed worthy and desirable for reform in foster homes. With the creation of new taxonomies of care, neglect and deviance, more children were coming under the gaze of CAS. While it is unlikely that there was a drastic increase in the number of 'mentally defective' children, it is more likely that new taxonomies created through the boundaries of eugenics discourse informed workers subjectivities around who was normal and desirable and who was dangerous and in need of segregation.

While the OACAS '*Committee on the Feeble-Minded'* did not go so far as to advocate for sterilization, noting that "as long as some opposition to this drastic method prevails, [they] believe that institutionalized care must be provided", many Societies were keen to advocate for the use of sterilization. A newspaper article found in Kelso's files states that the Lennox and Addington Children's Aid Society passed a resolution in support of sterilization which was passed along to the Minister of Social Welfare. The resolution reads:
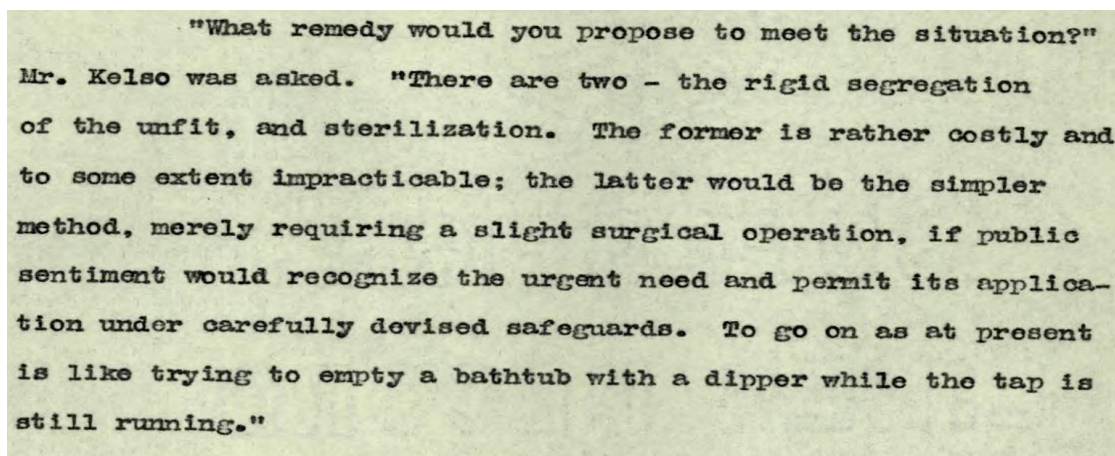
> …solicitous of the well-being of the manhood and womanhood of the county and particularly of the moral and mental welfare of child life, we place ourselves on record as heartily endorsing the policy of sterilization of the unfit.[31]

Indeed, child protection workers were generally in support of sterilization. In the OACAS general meeting notes[32], one member remarked that they would go so far as to say: "this

---

[31] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d." ("Society Passes Resolution Favouring Sterilization – n.d.)

society recommends sterilization and stop the feebleminded from coming into the world

and then we can use the institutions for another and better purpose." Not all members

went so far as to promote the use of sterilization, a minority cautioned against "taking up

something of this nature" cautioning that they may "get into trouble and possible create a

lot of prejudice." Kelso, clearly advocated for the segregation and sterilization of certain

children (see excerpt below).

"What remedy would you propose to meet the situation?" Mr. Kelso was asked. "There are two – the rigid segregation of the unfit, and sterilization. The former is rather costly and to some extent impracticable; the latter would be the simpler method, merely requiring a slight surgical operation, if public sentiment would recognize the urgent need and permit its application under carefully devised safeguards. To go on as at present is like trying to empty a bathtub with a dipper while the tap is still running."

Figure 11: Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d."

At the 18th annual conference of the Ontario association of children's aid societies in

1930[33], plans for the better care of the 'feeble-minded' are discussed. In an address by the

superintendent of the Ontario Hospital at Orillia, Dr. T. B. McGhie notes:

---

[32] Archives of Ontario, F 819-MU5087, Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies Box 16, First Meeting & Constitutions to Executive Secretary 1945, 1947, File 1929 (minutes AGM)

[33] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 9, Volume 4, File "Children's Aid Society, Ontario Notes, Historical 1893-1933 (Eighteenth Annual Conference of Association of Children's Aid Societies of the Province of Ontario, Toronto, May 14-15th, 1930)

In 1911, the American research commission on eugenics recommended, among
other remedies, for purging from the blood of the race defective traits, life
segregation, restrictive marriage laws, eugenics education of the public, a system of
marriage purporting to remove defective traits, general environment betterment…as
for restrictive marriage, eugenics education and controlling choice of mate, the state
has never been able to produce a Mussolini sufficiently interested to accomplish
this end.

Dr T. B. McGhie laments to his audience of child protection workers, that more has not

been accomplished in this field; that no suitable Mussolini has been found to enact more

change. He notes that in Ontario, the "chief aims have been segregation, general

environment betterment and sterilization". In fact, changes to marriage laws did become

more prohibitive as eugenics discourse was normalized throughout society.

It is worth noting that The Orillia asylum (about which Dr. McGhie spoke) was

the first of its kind dedicated to the care of "mental defectives" in Ontario. At the height

of the eugenics movement, the Orillia Asylum became the primary institution for the

segregation of the feebleminded; previous to that it was primarily used as a training

facility that took in pauper children from other prisons and institutions to be educated and

trained then sent back into the community. Wheatley (2013) writes that in the early 1900s

the eugenicists and political parties such as the Patrons of Industry put an end to the

training of pauper children in institutions. It was commonly held that to educate the

'feeble-minded' was to 'waste' tax-payers' money. Wheatley notes that the eugenicist

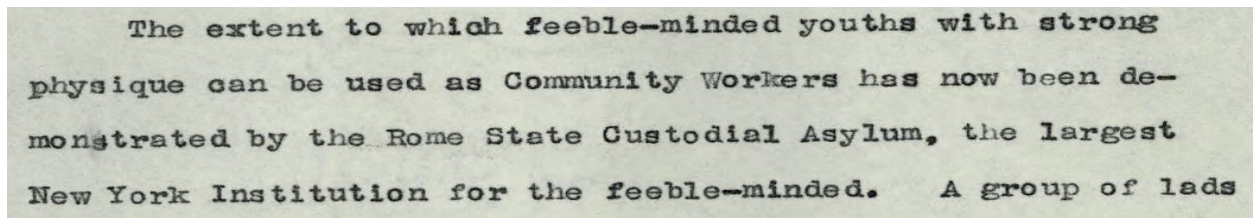wanted those with "intellectual handicaps – the 'idiots', 'imbeciles', 'epileptics',

'morons', and so-called 'feeble-minded' – to be segregated and confined to the institution for life, called 'custodial' care" (Wheatley 2013).

Found in many of Kelso's documents on the 'feeble-minded' are references to the need for 'custodial' care for this class of child. Indeed, Whitton writes that asylums were being converted into Hospitals for the treatment of mental diseases. She writes that other methods for the treatment and care of defectives and feeble minded are being introduced, such as the proposal of legislation that would prohibit the marriage of mental defectives, the commitment of such children to State Homes and the permanent segregation, "in happy home colonies" for those deemed unable to live in the community (Whitton, 1925, p 72). Kelso writes that "the ordinary institution with its restraint and artificiality, its heavy costs and aimlessness, is not the solution."[34] His disdain for the institution is carried through to this period. Where in the past he advocated the use of foster care and the abolishment of institutional care on grounds that institutions were costly and children led idle lives within them, he now found himself arguing in favour of the institution for the care of 'feeble-minded' children. Kelso however, remained steadfast in his belief that society should not bear the cost of care for such children and advocated that they perform work where and when they could in order to contribute to their upkeep.

---

[34] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Volume 4, File "Conferences United States (B) 1893-1924", ("Methods of Reforming Children" Kelso, 1902)

In a paper titled "*Care of the Feeble-Minded*"[35] Kelso noted that CASs 'would

give valuable assistance' to any plan "formulated for the housing of this unfortunate

class." He notes that CASs are prepared "on a week's notice to round up about 200

children and young people who are ready for custodial care." He notes that in CAS-run

children shelters there are a number of children "not sufficiently normal to be placed in

foster homes" taking up valuable space. Kelso advocates that a cottage system might be

established in various towns and avoiding large cities. These institutions, he imagined,

might accommodate 50 to 100 children who could then, as they age, be transferred to

other places "more suitable for their age and capacity." Kelso strongly believed, perhaps

influenced by the America model of care, that many of these children could be made to

earn their keep and even contribute to society. The following excerpt comes from Kelso's

file.

Figure 12: Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d."

("Defective Lads Self-Supporting" n.d.)

---

[35] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d."
(Care of the Feeble-Minded, n.d.)

Colonies for the 'feeble-minded' were already in use in the US by the turn of the

19th century[36]. The model was that of economic rationale. It was thought that by placing

'feeble-minded' people in custodial (forever) care, you could decrease the cost of care by

forcing them to work at various occupations, while at the same time keeping them

segregated from the population and eliminate their opportunity to reproduce. Kelso, also

concerned with public expenditure on the lower classes and 'undesirables', advocated that

suitable occupations and institutions be created for 'feeble-minded' children. Indeed, as

noted in Thelma Wheatley's study of the Orillia Asylum[37], Kelso's proposals in some

way became a reality. The Asylum in fact trained and educated the patients to perform

tasks based on their gender and their I.Q. with a view to making the institution self-

sufficient. 'High-grades', those with an I.Q. over 50, were highly desirable. Boys of this

class performed farm labour and were segregated from the general institution; they were

made to work long hours, lived in deplorable conditions, received poor treatment and in

fact generated revenue for the institution. Boys were also made to work in a shoe-making

shop, a tailor shop, at furniture repair, and some boys worked as night monitors in wards.

Low-grade boys were also made to do menial tasks like shovelling coal and snow. High

grade girls preformed domestic chores, such as cleaning, food preparation and laundry;

some also worked as nurses aids. Colony Houses were also a feature of the care of the

'feeble-minded', much like that advocated for by Kelso. Many women and girls,

---

[36] See: Archives of Ontario, R.G. 29-75-0-1, J.J. Kelso Scrapbooks on Child Welfare Issues, Vol 1 (MS 876), Tile "National Aid – Canadian Conferences, 1897 – [190-]," (The Session Closes - Last day of the Charities and Corrections Conference, "Papers on the care of the Feeble-Minded," in The new Orleans Times, Sunday May 7, 1987)
[37] Wheatley, T. (2013). The Asylum For Idiots and Feebleminded, Orillia, 1876. Retrieved from: http://www.thelmawheatley.com/the-asylum-for-idiots-and-feeble-minded-orillia-1876

Wheatley (2013) notes, were trained as domestic servants; they lived in Colony Houses in

town and worked in local homes where they made a wage, half of which the institution

kept. Further, Wheatley notes that many of the institutionalized girls and were of normal

intelligence (2013).

Race and Nation: Ensuring the Purity of the Population

The language of race was used often in social work discourse. Both Kelso and

Whitton invoke the language of race in their rhetoric. Kelso notes the danger of allowing

'the unfit of our own race' to perpetuate, stating, 'are we not in grave peril, as a race, of

ultimate and certain destruction at the hands of a worthless and unregenerate horde' (See

figure 1). Whitton stated that "regulating family life was the most important means of

passing on British values and ensuring the 'purity' of the (Anglo-Celtic) race" (Whitton,

as seen in Strange & Loo, 1997, p. 108). Further, Whitton spearheaded anti-immigration

campaigns in an effort to curb immigration of what she called the "feeble minded".

Whitton's quest to ensure the 'purity' of the population, led to a survey of immigrant

children conducted by the *Canadian Council on Child Welfare,* where it was reported that

"immigrant feeble-mindedness, spreading with 'cancerous tenacity,' was responsible for

'filth, disease, criminality and vice'" (in McLaren 1990p. 64).

Swain and Hillel (2010) note that in England, social workers were celebrated as

"champions of [the] race," by Churchill. The colonies drew their distinction along similar

racial lines, as children's rights were "mediated in practice if not in principle, by race"

(Swain & Hillel, 2010, p. 93). Kelso believed that Canada had a responsibility first and

foremost to protect her own wanton children. In Kelso's time 'other' was represented by

eastern European immigrants and even the children brought over from Britton—

commonly referred to as Bernardo's children—who were brought over in the thousands to

work as domestic and farm labourers since the early eighteenth century (Jones, n.d.).

During this period, the threat of the 'alien other' was equal to that of vice, crime and

alcohol.

In 1897 the Ontario government established the *Act to Regulate the Immigration*

into Ontario of Certain Classes of Children. The act stipulated that emigration agencies

were to maintain proper homes for their children, and forbade from entry any child who

was intellectually or physically defective or had been convicted of a crime. The act also

stipulated that "no child whose parents have been defective constitutionally, or confirmed

paupers shall be brought into the province".[38] As Secretary of Neglected and Dependent

Children, Kelso was responsible for reporting on the status of immigrant children. He

noted that more often than not, it was immigrant children before the courts (Swain &

Hillel, 2010). Kelso was critical of the juvenile emigration system and its encroachment

on the rights of *his* Canadian born children (Rooke & Schnell, 1983).

Adamoski's (2002) study of the first wards of the Vancouver Children's Aid

Society in British Columbia during the early 1900s illustrates the way child protection

services were framed in a way that exemplified ideologically driven xenophobic

sentiments designed to bolster moral reform and nation-building discourse and practice.

Adamonski writes that early child savers saw themselves as "shepherding the coming

---

[38] Archives of Ontario, R.G. 29-75-0-1, J.J. Kelso Scrapbooks on Child Welfare Issues, Vol 1 (MS 876), Tile "National Aid – Canadian Conferences, 1897 – [190-]," ("The Children Heaven", Organ of the Boys & Girls' Refuges & Home, Strangeways, Manchester, n.d.)

generation of Canadian Citizens, and their policies and practices reflected and defined the

class, gender and racial parameters of the categories" (2002, p. 316). The aim of child

savers at this time was not to create a leveling of social relations in society, but rather to

perpetuate and maintain a "non-antagonistic capitalist class structure, not erase class

difference" (Adamonski, 2002, p. 316).

Exclusionary laws and policies were evident in Canada's immigration and social

welfare system throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and had the

effect of 'casting out' non-white and Aboriginal women through not only policy but also

through pervasive discourse that constructed non-whites as "the other," "deviant,"

"immoral" and "feeble-minded" (Pon, Gosine & Phillips, 2011; Thobani, 2007;

McLaren,1990). The subsequent moral panic related to the proliferation of the

"feebleminded" and the rise of scientific thought further entrenched and made legitimate

the categorization of children.

Constructing Women: Mother of the Race or Threat to the Nation

Under the purview of positive eugenics, new policies and sensibilities were

created at this time and were directed at governing family life through the creation of new

knowledge concerning the best practices for rearing children. The movement established

the scientific lexicon of mothering and childrearing and facilitated popular acceptance of

the medical understanding of the child welfare problem, which "pointed to mothers as

both primary cause and remedy" (Comacchio, 1993, p. 95). Child rearing advice created

during the 20s and 30s was unique in that it represented a never-before-seen relationship

between the state and the medical community. Material was authored by the medical

community, which was then produced and distributed by the government. This new

relationship created a paradigm depicting the "ideal mother, the ideal child and the ideal

family relationship" (Commachio, 1993, p. 95).

During this period, the *Children of Unmarried Parents act 1921* was passed, as

was the first adoption legislation. These acts set out new terms for the apprehension and

easier adoption of infants. The children of unmarried parents act set out parameters for

child support. Workers were tasked with collecting child support from fathers for the

maintenance of children in their care. The adoption act was devised to make it easier for

foster parents to adopt children in their care. In the wake of WWI, however, there was an

increase in women having 'illegitimate' babies, and infant orphanages were filling up

(Jones & Rutman, 1981). In fact, having a child out of wedlock was classed as

'delinquency'. Moreover, in the 1948 amendments to the *Maintenance of Unmarried*

Parents Act, the definition of 'illegitimacy' came to include children born to widowed

women and women living apart from their husband. Also noted, was the classification of

unmarried mothers as 'juvenile delinquents' under the *1948 Industrial Home for Girls Act*

(Stregga, Callahan, Rutman & Dominelli, 2002).

More often than not, CAS agents were directed to convince unmarried and single

mothers to give their babies up for adoption, convincing them that their babies would be

better off with a respectable family (Jones & Rutman, 1981). Adoption "tapped the desire

of middle-class Canadians to remake youngsters in their own image" (Strong-Boag, 2011,

p, 80). Strong-Boag (2011) notes that the "unremunerated duties would be assumed by
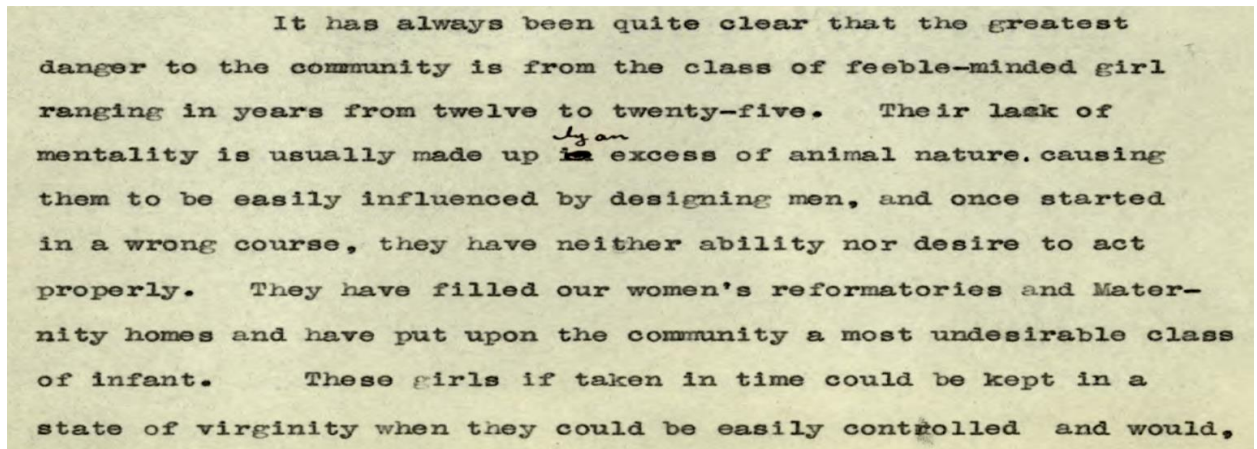
would-be parents, the respectable substitutes for damaged original families" (p. 80).

Moreover, adoption took the pressure off the foster care, as it was "burdened by financial

and time-limited obligations" (Strong-Boag, 2011, p. 80). Kelso notes that he has "rarely

found that young mothers are balanced women, able to make their way in the world" (as

see in Jones & Rutman 1981, p. 156).

The gendered nature of eugenics discourse is evident in Kelso's writing on

feeblemindedness. Although Kelso did advocate for the custodial care of boys who were

classified as being a danger to society, it was girls who more often than not, were subject

to eugenic measures. As noted by Stregga et al. (2002), "while neglected children were

among the few groups characterized as deserving in early social policy development, the

mothers who produced them were viewed with suspicion" (p. 176). The classification of

illegitimacy and indeed the classification of poor unwed mothers as 'feeble-minded' was

a major component in curbing the proliferation of degenerates in society. The production

of knowledge around parenting made easier the casting of certain women as ill equipped

or unable to care for their children. The following excerpt (figure 13) illustrates the

discourse produced around women and young girls constructed as deviant or feeble-

minded'

Figure 13: Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d."
("Care of the Feeble-Minded", n.d.)

Bartley (2000) notes that around the turn of the century "the term feeble minded was added to the list of reasons why women were sexually active" (p. 127). She notes that 'feeble-mindedness' was constructed in women to be the cause of sexual promiscuity, illegitimacy and prostitution. The label of feeble-mindedness therefore "attracted a moral as well as mental stigma", further that "…it was common for this sort of sexual behaviour to be used as evidence for rather than the consequence of mental defect" (Bartley, 2000, p. 127). Kelso, states above (figure 13) that the most dangerous class of 'feeble-minded' is the girl aged 12 to 25. Indeed, the quote below illustrates the use of the term 'moron' when classifying girls that possess so called 'undesirable' traits.

> Here is a Psychiatric description of a young woman that might apply to many others:
>
> "This girl is a typical High Grade Moron, with a mental age of about 10 or 12 years. She has very little reasoning ability, very faulty judgment, and is hypersuggestible. While not a vicious type, the fact that she is easily led will make it difficult for her to get along without strict supervision".

Figure 14: Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d."

The notion that 'feeble-mindedness' was hereditary was perpetuated in social work discourse and is evidenced in social policy. For example, Whitton's *Canadian Council on Child Welfare*, pressed for the enforcement of eugenic measures such as sterilization and provisions designed to prevent procreation by "those physically or mentally incapable of leading a normal family life, and producing a normal, healthy family group" (Whitton, as seen in McLaren, 1990, p. 75). Women were central to concerns about spreading disease and being a 'deadly bad influence' and, of course, propagating these traits. Women were constructed as either the mothers of the race or as reproducing degenerates—much mental hygiene work was aimed at women, mothers and mothering practices. Women were the subject of much social control and scrutiny. Kelso writes:

> of the unfit. At the present time women who are undoubtedly feeble-minded and incapable of bearing normal children are permitted to marry without restraint. Without placing too much restriction on marriage it might be possible to require in special and extreme cases the approval of the local health officer. This should be secured before the clergyman could

As well as proposing sterilization and segregation of women, marriage laws were enacted in order to prevent the union of feeble-minded women and men. According to Wheatley (2013):

> Ontario Statutes of 1896 imposed a $500 penalty on anyone issuing a marriage license to idiotic or insane persons. The eugenicists wanted this extended to include the *"feeble-minded"*. In 1911, a prison sentence was added of not more than twelve months for issuing a license.

Marriage laws and other prohibitive policies, such as the *Children of Unmarried Parents act 1921* represented increased state intervention into the reproductive lives of women. Sutherland (1976) notes that while legislative changes made life easier for some children in the 1920s, as compared to earlier generations, this only applied to certain classes of children. The *Children of Unmarried Parents Act* made it easier for some unwed mothers to collect maintenance from fathers; however, women had to prove that they were worthy of state intervention in such matters (Stregga et al. 2002). Those who were not deemed worthy fell under the purview of child protection. In fact, as noted by Stregga et al. (2002), those that had children out of wedlock were unlikely to be considered for support through the act.

While the issue of birth control was on the table during this period, social reformers were worried that the middle class or the fit would have greater access to it than the less desirable classes. Kelso writes that 'it is doubtful that the right class of people

would be reached by instruction of this kind' and that it is more readily taken up by 'educated people who, instead of avoiding paternity, are the very ones who should seek to perpetuate the best physical and mental characteristics of our race.'[39] Efforts to both curb the proliferation of the unfit and encourage the proliferation of the fit were bound to the reproductive powers of women. In order to sell the more punitive aspects of eugenics, certain women were thus constructed as immoral and unable to control the 'animal nature' (see Image 13).

Restrictive laws and policies were designed as preventative measures; more punitive measures were also enacted. More often than not, it was women who were subject to institutionalization based on their being women; this was felt most harshly for women at the intersection of gender, race, class and (dis)ability. Women were subjected to more forced sterilizations than that of their male counterparts (Dyck 2013; Stubblefeild, 2007) and were more likely to be segregated and institutionalized. For example, Kelso writes 'the larger number of young people requiring care will be females…'[40]

Stubblefield (2007) writes that cognitive ability was constructed as a racialized conception of intelligence, whereby white people supposedly had normal or above normal intelligence and members of other races were constructed as having subnormal cognitive ability. The concept of race was employed in social work discourse in a way that acted to reproduce the supremacy of the white, middle-class Canadian. Stubblefield argues that

---

[39] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d."
[40] Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-Minded, n.d." ("Care of the Feeble-Minded")

the key to regulating reproduction of whiteness was the construction of gender, race, class

and disability used to classify, mostly white women, as feeble-minded. To this end, "the

sterilization of supposedly mentally deficient white people gave way to widespread

coercive sterilization of black, Puerto Rican, Mexican and American Indian women" in

the US (Stubblefeild, 2007, p. 164).

In the Canadian context, while not all provinces passed sterilization laws, other

less coercive measures were enacted in social policy, such as segregation. Alberta and

British Columbia however, were the only two provinces in Canada to pass forced sexual

sterilization laws. However, Wheatley notes: "In a letter to Dr. Atkinson, the Medical

Superintendent of the Manitoba institution, Portage La Prairie, in 1935, Horne inferred

that sterilizations were done 'on the quiet' in Ontario" (2013, *Sexual abuse at Huronia*).

From 1929 to 1972, over 2800 people were subject to forced sterilization in Alberta—ten

times more than in British Columbia. Dyck (2013) notes that race did not "emerge as a

specific criteria" in Alberta's program and that "initial reports from the Eugenics Board

did not suggest that racial considerations….were motivation factors" (p. 68). However, as

pointed out by Stote (2015) "Aboriginal people were those to whom legislation was most

applied as compared to their numerical significance in the general population (p. 5).

McLaren (1990) points out that the CNCMH called for "native and immigrant

populations to be tested [intelligence tests] if their true potential was going to be

determined" (p. 59). Stubblefield's argument highlights how classifications of race did

not have to be explicitly sanctioned, as white superiority was fundamental to, or written

into, intelligence testing. Indeed, eugenics ideology played a primary role in the

construction of the racialized 'other'; and, in the case of Aboriginal people, intervention

was often justified by the view that they were "less evolved" and therefore a "threat to

society" (Stote, 2015, p. 5). While the official reasons for forced sterilization did not

involve race, it is clear that the decision was based on constructed racial attributes. In fact,

Hincks and Clark were quick to make links between child delinquency and child

immigration in Canada and recommended their permanent institutionalization to prevent

spread of immoral behaviour (Richardson, 1998).

DISCUSSION: PROTECTING CHILDREN OR PROTECTING THE NATION?

Underpinning the above story of child protection and social reform is a history of colonization and racialized violence. Early child saving work was for all intents and purposes exclusionary in practice and in nature—only the most worthy of reform, those of white Christian heredity where chosen for the civilizing project of early institutionalized care, later foster care followed by adoption. The institutionalization of white middle-class values was essential to the nation building project throughout the 19th and 20th century. However, the eugenics project lent a scientific gloss to nation building in the 20th century through the instituting of new human hierarchies that further defined the desirable citizen based on racialized, gendered, ableist and economic lines. Not only were racialized "others" viewed as a threat to the sanctity of the white settler, but also as a contagion that if left unchecked would spread. Essential to this process of 'othering' was the categorization of deserving versus undeserving Canadian citizens. By casting certain white people as 'deviant' or 'feeble-minded', a new category of 'tainted-whiteness' was created (Stubblefield, 2007); this new category gives way to the creation of new human hierarchies that go beyond the categorization of 'worthy' and 'unworthy'. Where before the 'unworthy' or the racialized other was excluded from society, increasingly they became subject to the technologies and modes of power associated with the civilizing process.

Eugenics theory resonated with social work and social reformers who, historically, had been driven by strong moral tones. Eugenics discourse was able to draw lines between concepts of sin and evils, vice and crime; and established a scientific response to

eliminating unwanted traits from Canadian society. Social reformers and child savers

were of the belief that their actions were in the interests of both the nation and the

individuals they served, as the science of eugenics was sold as an 'objective' system. Not

only backing this view, but actively participating in its production and response were

social workers, eager to carve out their position in the new-era-science of social

management. The *Canadian Association of Social Workers*, the *Canadian Counsel for*

Child and Family Welfare, many members of the *Ontario Association of Children's Aid*

Societies, and Kelso, Superintendent of the *Department of Neglected and Dependent*

Children (probably the most influential child protection advocate at the time) were all

complicit in the production and dissemination of eugenic views. "The emergence of

philanthropy and subsequently social work in the area of child welfare provided a

particular set of policies and practices which contributed to what Jacques Donzelot[41] has

referred to as the 'social'" (Parton, 1998, p. 9). The 'social', which emerged in the mid-

nineteenth century, represented increasing and intersecting "concerns and anxieties about

the family and community more generally" (Parton, p. 9). These anxieties and subsequent

policies and practices concerning the social resulted in a "hybrid in the space identified

between the private sphere of the household and the public sphere of the state and

society" (p. 9). Social work evolved in such a way as to contribute to the creation of the

social through acting as a mediator between state and society. The development of social

casework in the early twentieth century is "one of many mechanisms of surveillance and

intervention into the organization of social life" (Penna 2005, p. 16) and the lives of

---

[41] See: Jacques Donzelot (1980). The Policing of Families: Welfare versus the State, London, Hutcinson.

individuals and families, by "aiming at preventative, transformative work by focusing on the character and behaviour of individuals" (p. 16).

The mental hygiene movement had the effect of further enshrining the moral views of earlier social workers into a legitimatized and institutionalized system of social management and control. As noted by Struthers (1976), this period saw a strengthening of the middle class and resulted in some improvements in the overall health of the nation's families. However, those that fell outside the norm of society, or constituted 'unwanted' elements, suffered as a result. The goal of the movement was two-fold; it was not only to make the nation healthier and encourage reproduction of the 'fit', but also to rid the nation of what were deemed 'unhealthy' or 'undesirable' traits. Therefore, the knowledge that was created during this period, which was expansive, was in part designed to sort people based on racial, gendered, ableist and class based notions of 'desirability.'

The taxonomies and knowledge produced through professional discourse were institutionalized through the process of normalization. In this way, the discourse and knowledge produced as a result of the eugenics and mental hygiene movements had the effect of creating a self-governing body. The individualization of social problems perpetuated through the professional fields had the effect of erasing structural and systemic factors as the causes of individual struggles. The response to individual failings promoted by child protection was that of removal and segregation from what were considered negative influences, as well as the removal of those who possessed negative or undesirable characteristics from society, moreover from the gene pool.

The Expanding Scope: Controlling Women's Reproduction

This historical backdrop tells a story of a system that believes that certain types of children are inherently unable to conform to the ideals of citizenship. Central to the task of child protection during the early 20th century was the removal of unwanted traits from the population through systems of surveillance, removal, treatment, segregation, and in some instances sexual sterilization. The new professional social worker, armed with a new scientifically backed social reform agenda, had the task of sorting the worthy from the unworthy, the desirable from the undesirable and the reform-able form the unreform-able. Where historically only the 'deserving' would be considered for CAS attention, the new eugenics agenda brought more children under the microscope of child protection. Along with medical doctors and psychologists, social workers formed part of the state's machinery designed to sort, categorize and 'treat' those deemed a risk to the health and welfare of the nation. Subject to a disproportionate degree of interference were women, especially those at the intersection of race, class and (dis)ability. Controlling the nation's reproduction became a central initiative of the state, with child protection social workers at the helm.

With the onset of Eugenics and the rise of the scientific era in the early 20th century, the role of child protection shifted. Social reformers embraced eugenic concepts and believed that they could 'rid the nation's blood of vice and crime' through the active sifting and sorting of the nation's children. A major element of the eugenics project, in its most simplistic sense, was to classify and sort children. The child-savers of the past were replaced by new professional social workers already positioned in society to perform this

role and eager to assert themselves as worthy professionals. New technologies and laws were enacted to aid in the sorting and classifying of children and families. Various technologies designed to control the reproductive powers of women were enacted; adoption legislation and the *Children of Unmarried Parents Act* made it easier for workers to remove babies from mothers deemed unworthy based on racialized and ablest human hierarchies. The removal of children into adoption, foster care or institutions was part of a project designed to remove unwanted traits, behaviours or diseases from society. Through adoption, selected children, usually the 'illegitimate' babies of young single mothers, could grow up with more worthy middle class families; foster care was reserved for the older child, less desirable for adoption, able to contribute to the economy of the foster family but was usually temporary and more costly than adoption; and institutionalization, which was reserved for the segregation of 'delinquents', 'feebleminded', 'diseased' and 'immoral'.

Child protection discourse throughout this period is telling of a system that was ill-equipped to serve children in need, but well fashioned for their sorting and ordering. The increased pressures of an already burdened system are evident in the discourse. Many agencies felt over burdened with a class of children they felt unsuitable for foster care, as there was a lack of suitable homes at the best of times. The scientific zeal that influenced social work at the time most likely made easier the classification of some children as 'feeble-minded', those difficult to place or manage in foster care, let alone adoption, could more easily be excluded and placed in institutions. Social workers actively

advocated for the sterilization and segregation of the 'unfit', the 'feeble-minded' and the 'deviant'.

Controlling the nation's reproduction in the early 20th century became a central concern of the eugenics project, placing increasing pressure on young impoverished mothers and girls. Women were either celebrated as 'mothers of the nation' or demonised as the reproducers of vice and sin. Child savers espoused the view that the 'feeble-minded' women were the most dangerous class; therefore, women were most often subject to segregation and sterilization. This was most harshly experienced by women at the intersection of race, class and (dis)ability. The control of women's reproduction became a central role for child protection during this period. Still today, young mothers find it difficult to escape the *gaze* of child protection once under their purview, and young mothers in or from care become locked into a system of surveillance and control (Stregga et al. 2002).

Policies and practices established under the rubric of eugenics have left a legacy of discriminatory practice, especially with regard to poor, marginalized women. Swift and Callahan (2009) note that 39% of parents reported to child welfare are single mothers; moreover, they are disproportionately poor, and furthermore it is "poverty and its attending circumstances [that] put[s]those who live in disadvantaged situations under increased scrutiny and surveillance by nature of their being poor" (p. 137). More often than not, it is women who are subject to powerful administrative discourses and technologies that permeate the everyday lives of mothers who are the subject of risk reduction strategies in child welfare (Brown, 2006). In these cases, based on risk

appraisals and risk reduction plans, mothers are expected to produce changes to

caregiving, personal behaviour and home environment or they face having their children

removed (Brown 2006). Because of the limiting aspects of risk assessments, social

workers hands are often tied with respect to considering mitigating circumstances that

may affect a mother's ability to parent to a certain standard. Neoliberal restructuring has

contributed to women's poverty world-wide, bringing women under the gaze of social

services and bringing them into contact with child protection (Pollack 2010, p. 1264). As

outlined by Lister (2006), a Status of Women Canada report highlighted the fact that the

discourse surrounding child poverty in Canada effectively acts to make the structural

causes of poverty less visible; displacing women's issues generally and women's poverty

more specifically. The ability and efforts of agencies to respond to the needs of mothers

involved with the system has been curtailed by spending cuts as government strategies

have been framed in terms of neoliberal agendas favouring individualization and

deregulation which are limited to fiscally prudent solutions (Brown, 2006, p. 354). Faced

with the fact that there are limited resources for assessing family goals and providing

service to help alleviate tensions, social workers are faced with the dilemma of removing

the child, despite the fact that it is often structural issues causing tensions.

To this day the organization of the child protection system is biased in favour of

removal (Brodkin, 2006) despite the fact that foster home care or group home care has

shown to produce poor outcomes for youth. This is undoubtedly owing to the fact that

child protection was founded as a response to poverty rather than child maltreatment;

therefore it established a system of removal over a system of relief or support to the poor.

The conflation of the eugenics movement with the existing system of removal thus altered the role of child protection, bringing increasing numbers of children under their gaze. Moreover, under the rubric of eugenics, the confluence of gender, class, race and (dis)ability became interwoven with broader conceptions of 'worthy' and 'unworthy' children and parents. Child protection workers clearly embraced the notion that certain children were not worthy of their intervention based on eugenic principles and constructions of 'feeble-mindedness'. The sorting and classification of an increasing array of children came to represent child protection work during this period. Fundamental to the goal of child protection was thus to reproduce and create an industrious citizenry through the use of foster care or adoption, whereby the child would be indoctrinated into the ideal family. Those constructed as unable to be reformed or to adopt the habits of industry were to be dealt with through segregation and sterilization based on eugenic principles.

Governmentality: More than Just Child Protection

The term 'neglect', coined and deployed in the mid-19th century to define a child in need of state intervention and or placement in industrial schools, was used to classify children not being sufficiently indoctrinated to the habits of industry. State intervention was therefore reserved and enacted for the purpose of preventing cost associated with pauperism, vice and crime, and as a means by which to intervene in the private family in order to ensure proper training of the nation's youth. Furthermore, the deployment of the term 'neglect' rationalized state intervention into the lives of those that live in poverty.

The category of neglect is preserved for poor, marginalized, racial minorities and often single-mother-led families. Locating people in the neglect category "preforms clear

social control functions" (Swift, 1995, p. 12), providing legitimate means by which

authorities can gain access into the private affairs of individuals and families (Swift

1995). In this way, child protection serves a social function other than its stated intention

of protecting children. Swift notes that "frequently, children do not benefit and in fact

often suffer in spite of or directly as a result of child welfare investigations into their

families" (1995, p. 12). The economic rationale underpinning child protection

intervention to this day operates along similar principles. Contemporary literature on

neglect focuses mainly on the problems, incidences, and factors associated with neglect

and the efficiency of various treatment programs (Swift, 1995). Neglect, to this day,

constitutes a large area of child welfare practice.

It is important to view child protection as part of a larger system of social

management that emerged during the late 19th and early 20th century. I assert that

historically speaking, the project of child protection had little to do with protection of

children and more to do with managing the underclass, pauperism and crime and the

racialized 'other'. The profession of social work was increasingly institutionalized

through the 20th century; increasingly, workers operated from an "intermediary space,

charged with translating state power to individuals, families, groups and communities"

(Pollack, 2010, p. 1264). Child protection can be viewed as part of a larger process of

nation building which involved protecting the 'exalted national subject' from the

immigrant 'other' (Thobani, 2007).

Further, the project served to contribute to an individualistic view of poverty,

which supports the notion that poverty is the result of personal failing. The normalization

of poverty ensured a self-disciplining citizen, one that views poverty as an individual

issue, not as the result of an inequitable economic system. Therefore, citizens must fit into

and reproduce a capitalist economy. While the system relies on the poor, it only includes

those that are not considered a 'drain on the system.' In this way, the preservation of an

impoverished class maintains social relation and social order that befit the ruling class.

Child protection thus reproduces a system designed to clean-up the mess of an inequitable

and discriminatory economic system. Those unable to become wage-earners, the 'feeble-

minded', the dis/abled and the 'deviant', are doomed to the asylum, sterilized and

segregated under eugenic regimes designed to discipline the body.

        Child protection fulfils its role within the broader system of social management

and governmentality by reproducing the notion that the only solution to poverty is

through personal agency. Therefore, through a system of surveillance, reform, and

removal, child protection acts to manage the human collateral damage of a capitalist

economic system. Moreover, this established child welfare responses to child neglect and

maltreatment in terms of individual failings over tertiary modes of relief to the poor.

Literature in the area of poverty and child welfare suggests that there is a positive

correlation between poverty, child abuse and neglect (Fallon et al. 2010; Hughes, 1995;

Trocme, 2005). A recent empirical study, conducted in the US, was able to establish that

additional income given to mothers on social assistance made them 10% less likely to be

involved in child protection investigation (see: Cancian, Yang, & Slack, 2013). Research

from the United States and New Zealand has shown that when poverty rates increase, so

do child protection investigations (Hughes, 1995). Hughes (1995) writes that social

service organizations function simply to treat the consequences of poverty, essentially

ignoring its roots, which consist of a confluence of factors including unemployment,

inadequate income, housing, child care, recreation and so on.

In its earliest phase, child protection was focused on the transplanting of

'deserving' children—those neglected through no fault of their own. Child-savers

believed that their system of child saving was the remedy to poverty and pauperism based

on Darwinian notions that the 'unfit' would simply fail to survive. In this way, the project

of child protection was about making certain children and mothers worthy of death

through policies that favoured exclusion and a lack of support in order to ensure the

survival of the fittest. Eugenics discourse furthered the project of exclusion by providing

a means by which individuals, unable to provide for themselves economically for a host

of constructed reasons, could be extracted from society and from the gene pool. To this

end, child protection played a vital role in the policing of 'undesirability' and the sorting

and classifying of the underclass.

Underpinning all child protection discourse throughout history is the idea of

producing economically independent and self-regulating citizens. For this reason, only

those deemed reform-able, able to fit with industry and capitalism, were selected for

foster care. The goal of the foster care system was to reproduce workers through

indoctrination into the bourgeois family. Foster children, it was hoped, would adopt the

ideals and values desirable and indicative of good citizenship. While some children may

have fared well as a result, foster care did not live up to its expectations. The escalating

costs and demands created by an increasing population and poverty caused by

industrialization crippled agencies from the beginning. Children, once placed in foster care, were forgotten about and often served as cheap exploitable labour. While social workers may have believed that their actions were in the best interests of the child, the project itself was designed with the interests of the nation and of eugenics in mind. This new role however, further complicated the already struggling system of care and transplantation employed in child-saving work. This system still remains today. Guided by the incentive of economic savings created by an informal and voluntary care sector, the state has increasingly formalized the administration of foster care, while the dynamics of care, its ideology and the economic appeal of voluntary foster parenting today have persisted to a significant degree (Strong-Boag, 2011).

Recent studies into the 'outcomes' experienced by foster children and 'wards' have also illustrated the negative implications of the child protection system (See: Lamb & McLennan, 2009; Burge, 2007; Tweddle, 2007; Raychaba, 1989). Considering the evidence suggesting that foster care in general leads to poor outcomes for youth, policy responses remain focused on strengthening the foster care system through recruitment and retention strategies (See: CWLC, n.d.; Smith, 2014). To this end, the general tone of research into foster care has focused on an interest in why people choose to become foster parents and why they choose to stop (for example see: MacGreggor et al. 2016; Daniel, 2011; Roger, Cummings & Leschied 2006; Baum, Crase & Crase, 2001). A focus on education and employability through the piecemeal introduction of university funding initiatives, which will indeed only assist a small proportion of foster children, has remained a steadfast component of child protection throughout history. Provincial

initiatives to support wards have almost exclusively focused on the area of education and

employability. In 2011, under Bill 179, Ontario introduced the Renewed Youth Supports

(RYS) program, allowing youth to return for monetary support to the age of 21, and has

introduced enhanced support for youth attending post-secondary education in the form of

grants for post-secondary education (OACAS 2012). These changes did not happen

overnight however, they are the result of long-standing advocacy and debate spearheaded

by an organization of ex-systems youth whose efforts were eventually taken-up by the

ministry of Children and Youth Services. In addition, tools such as the "Structured

Analysis Family Evaluation" (SAFE) (a tool for evaluation of prospective foster homes),

and the Parent Resource for Information, Development and Education (PRIDE) (a

required curriculum for prospective foster parents) became mandatory for the selection

and training of foster parents (OACAS, 2015).

Recent reports have highlighted disproportionate numbers of Indigenous children

(this includes First Nations, Metis and Inuit children), black children and other racial

minorities in foster care (See: CBC, Jan 2016; Contenta, Monsebraaten & Rankin 2015;

Pon, Gosine & Philips, 2011; Trocmé et al. 2006; Trocmé, Knoke & Blackstock, 2004). A

number of articles on the topic of the culture, race and religion, of foster parents and

foster children have been initiated in an effort to better understand how the cultural needs

of children can be met in foster care, (See: Brown et al. 2011; Brown et al. 2009; Brown

& Campbell, 2007; Brown & Bednar, 2006), which in and of itself is not a negative thing,

however it has the effect of ignoring systemic issues as contributing factors that lead to

CAS interventions. While there has been a substantial body of critical scholarship

exploring contemporary fissures in the child protection system (see: Pon, Gosine &

Phillips, 2011; Brown, 2006; Blackstock & Trocme, 2005; Penna, 2005; Dumbrill, 2003).

However, the 'foster care crisis', which must encompass all of the above mentioned

issues, has been most commonly framed as an inability for agencies to find appropriate

homes for children and/or as the result of a shortage of foster homes and as such policy

responses have focused in this area. For example, the *Child Welfare League of Canada*,

which acts as a leader in child welfare issues, policy and practice, focuses on the issue of

foster parent recruitment and retention (CWLC, n.d.). In the main, less attention has been

given to solutions that promote alleviating the tensions produced by poverty and attending

issues, which are often factors in child protection intervention. In this way, research and

policy responses to these issues have consistently focused on normative responses which

prioritize removal and CAS care as the solution (Hughes, 1995; Brown, 2006; Swift &

Callahan, 2009).

CONCLUSION

        To some degree, the laws, policies and technologies of power produced as a result

of this history of child protection are sustained and reproduced in modern child

protection. To this end, our preoccupation with the selective transplanting of children has

remained central to the project of reform and set forth a singular path for child welfare

responses to neglect and maltreatment. The influence of nation-building, the mental

hygiene movement and eugenics weigh heavily as the precursors for modern child

protection. An understanding of historical components and influences might help us re-

envision or at least understand contemporary failures within the child welfare system. If

we let ourselves become more attuned to the origins of child protection policies and

practices we might become more attentive to the outcomes produced today. The roots of

child protection and the tools it employed need exposing so that we can fully understand

the current system's failings and begin to engage in re-envisioning the way we care for

the most vulnerable populations in society. Furthermore, there is a need to understanding

the historical conditions which create and sustain impoverished and marginalized

populations, the political projects that this has served in the past and how, why and where

this remains embedded in the fabric of state policies.

      While I do realize that there are children and youth in need of care and the

difficult nature of child protection work, I feel that the systems 'failure' is linked to it

foundation as both individualized solution to pauperism and arbiter of the 'unfit'. Today's

child welfare "crisis" is telling of a system that has failed to address deep-rooted issues of

systemic inequality and racism reminiscent of a history of colonization; and above all, a

system designed to discipline and control the bodies of those deemed 'unfit' or unable to

contribute to society. Today what we see is a far more sophisticated and bureaucratized

system, but has it really come that far since its inception? What the above brief history of

child protection illustrates is; one, the lack of significant change in policy responses to

child maltreatment over the years; and two, the inability of child welfare responses to

accurately address child maltreatment in a feasible and lasting way. The structures and

discourse created as a result of eugenics has established a system that relies on the sorting

and classifying of children and youth based on a normative and Eurocentric conception of desirability.

The normative structure of child welfare policy remains unchanged; extricating children from troubled environments at the least possible cost continues to trump a more insightful look at how child welfare policy and resources should engage with structural concerns, such as poverty. As posited by Hollgrimsdottir, Benoit and Phillips (2013), there is a need to examine how historical discourses around gender, race, class and citizenship were introduced and embedded in the welfare state. The authors note that "the way that welfare state institutions take up new ideas is fundamentally shaped by the nature of existing structures and social policy forums" (p.29).

A history of colonial violence and the knowledge created under the rubric of eugenics, has been infused into the fabric of social policy. During the 20th century, eugenic discourse was normalized through a system of professional knowledge production which added to the crusading zeal of child protection workers. Positive eugenics, designed to strengthen the middle class and encourage the reproduction of the 'fit', resulted in the production of knew authorities on child rearing. New taxonomies created a dichotomy between 'good' and 'bad' mothers and further justified CAS intrusion into the family home. Initially, the child protection system blatantly excluded those deemed unworthy or un-reformable; under the rubric of eugenics however, child protections role shifted and the system became complicit in the application of eugenic principle to child and family life under the auspice of civilizing and nation building.

While this history might seem far removed from the present day, they are not only stories

of the past but resonate even today.

REFERENCES

Archival Sources

Archives of Ontario, R.G. 29-75-0-1, J.J. Kelso Scrapbooks on Child Welfare Issues, Vol 1 (MS 876), Tile "National Aid – Canadian Conferences, 1897 – [190-]," ("The Children Heaven", Organ of the Boys & Girls' Refuges & Home, Strangeways, Manchester, n.d.)

Archives of Ontario, R.G. 29-75-0-1, J.J. Kelso Scrapbooks on Child Welfare Issues, Vol 1 (MS 876), Tile "National Aid – Canadian Conferences, 1897 – [190-]," (Unwise Charity, 1899)

Archives of Ontario, R.G. 29-75-0-1, J.J. Kelso Scrapbooks on Child Welfare Issues, Vol 1 (MS 876), Tile "National Aid – Canadian Conferences, 1897 – [190-]," (The Session Closes - Last day of the Charities and Corrections Conference, "Papers on the care of the Feeble-Minded," in The new Orleans Times, Sunday May 7, 1987)

Archives of Ontario, RG 3-9-0-134, Eugenics Society of Canada, Title "[131:134] Premier Mitchell, P. Hepburn, Public Correspondence Records – Education Dept. General (Report: "Increase in Mental Defect in the Province of Ontario Since 1871", Madge Thurlow Macklin, A.B., M.D., reprinted from Eugenics News, Vol. XIX, No. 4, July-August 1934)

Archives of Ontario, RG 3-9-0-134, Eugenics Society of Canada, Title "[131:134] Premier Mitchell, P. Hepburn, Public Correspondence Records – Education Dept. General (Correspondence: Eugenics Society of Canada [Dr. Frank Walker] to Premier Mitchell F. Hepburn, re: evidence regarding the inheritance of mental defect…, June 6th, 1935)

Archives of Ontario, F 819-MU5087, Ontario association of Children's Aid Societies Box 16, First Meeting & Constitutions to Executive Secretary 1945, 1947, File 1923 (Address: Cannon Cody/ Fourth session: "How to Secure Homes")

Archives of Ontario, F 819-MU5087, Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies Box 16, First Meeting & Constitutions to Executive Secretary 1945, 1947, File 1923 ("Children Born out of Wedlock" J. J. Kelso)

Archives of Ontario, F 819-MU5087, Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies Box 16, First Meeting & Constitutions to Executive Secretary 1945, 1947, File 1928 ("The Value of a Child," Canon H. J. Cody)

Archives of Ontario, F 819-MU5087, Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies
Box 16, First Meeting & Constitutions to Executive Secretary 1945, 1947, File
1929 (minutes AGM)

Archives of Ontario, F 819-MU5081, Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies
Box 10, Conferences 1922-1947-48-49 (Association of Children's Aid Societies of
Ontario Annual Conference – Toronto, May 5, 1939, Report of the Legislation and
Resolution Committee)

Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 4, Title
"Conferences, United States (A) 1893 – 1924, ("Supervision of Children Placed in
Foster Homes" Kelso, 1907)

Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 4, Title
"Conferences, United States (A) 1893 – 1924, ("Supervision of Children Placed in
Foster Homes" AGM American Humane Association, Boston, Kelso, 1907)

Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 9, Volume 4, File
"Children's Aid Society, Ontario Notes, Historical 1893-1933 (Eighteenth Annual
Conference of Association of Children's Aid Societies of the Province of Ontario,
Toronto, May 14-15th, 1930)

Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Volume 4, File
"Conferences United States (B) 1893-1924", ("Methods of Reforming Children"
Kelso, 1902)

Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, series C 97, Volume 4, File
"Children's Aid Society, Toronto 1891-1926", ("Child Saving, Purpose and Method
of a Boys and Girls Club" Kelso, 1890)

Library and Archives Canada, Kelso Fonds, MG 30, Series C 97, Vol 5, File "Feeble-
Minded, n.d."

Library and Archives Canada, Charlotte Whitton Fonds, MG 30, series E 256, Vol. 1, File
"MS. – The Child A Factor in the National Economy – N.D."

Secondary Sources

Adamoski, R. (2002). The Child – The Citizen – The Nation: The rhetoric and Experience
of Wardship in Early Twentieth-Century British Columbia. In Adaminski, R., Cunn,
D. e. & Menzies, R. (eds.). *Contesting Canadian Citizenship*. Peterborough:
Broadview Press, LTD.

Bartley, Paula (2000). *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in England 1860 – 1914*. London: Routledge

Baum, A.C., Crase, S.J., & Crase, K.L. (2001). Influences on the decision to become or not   become a foster parent. *Journal of Contemporary Human Services*, 82(2), 202-213.

Bell, S. (2011). Through a Foucauldian Lens: A Genealogy of Child Abuse. *Journal of Family Violence,* Vol. 26, pp. 101-108

Blackstock, C. and Trocmé, N. & Bennett, M. (2004). Child maltreatment investigations among Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal families in Canada. *Violence Against Women*, 10(8), 901 916

Blackstock, C. and Trocmé, N. (2005). Community-based child welfare for Aboriginal children: Supporting resilience through structural change. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, Vol. 24, pp. 12-33

Bissett, Kevin Published Tuesday, Jun. 21, 2016 Foster-parent shortage across Canada reaching a crisis point The Globe and Mail, retrieved from**:** http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/ declining-number-of-foster-parents-across-canada-becoming-a-crisis/article30538343/

Brodkin,E. Z. (2006). Bureaucracy Redux: management Reformism and the Welfare State. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, Vol. 17(1), pp.1-17

Brown, D. J. (2006). Working the System: Re-Thinking the Institutionally Organized Role of Mothers and the Reduction of "Risk" in Child Protection. *Social Problems*, Vol. 53(3), pp. 352-370

Brown, J.D., & Bednar, L.M. (2006). Foster parent perceptions of placement breakdown. *Child   and Youth Services Review*, Vol. 28, pp. 1497-1511.

Bullen, John (1981) "J.J. Kelso and the New Child-Savers, in *Dimensions of Childhood: Essays on the History of Children and Youth in Canada*, ed. R. Smandych, G. Dodds and A. Esau Manitoba: Legal research institute.

Burge, P. (2007). Prevalence of mental disorders and associated variables among Ontario children who are permanent wards. *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 52, pp. 305-314.

Cancian, M., Yang, Mi-Youn, & Slack, K. S. (2013). The Effect of Additional Child Support Income on the Risk of Child Maltreatment. *Social Service Review*, 87(3), pp. 417–437. doi:10.1086/671929

CBC (Feb 19, 2012). Canadian foster care in crisis, experts say some children placed in homes before safety checks made, retrieved from: http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/canadian-foster-care-in-crisis-experts-say-1.1250543

CBC (Jan 12, 2016). 'Crisis' in Children's Aid over number of black children in care: The campaign to get Children's Aid to release race-based data. Retrieved from: http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/crisis-in-children-s-aid-over-number-of-black-children-in-care-1.3399114

Chen, Xiaobei (2003). "*Cultivating Children as You Would Valuable Plants:" The Gardening Governmentality of Child Saving, Toronto, 1880s-1920s.* Journal of Historical Sociology, Vol. 16(4), pp. 460 - 486

Comacchio, C. R. (1993). Nations are Built of Babies: Saving Ontario's Mothers and Children, 1900 – 1940. Montreal & Kingston" McGill-Queen's University Press

Contenta, S., Monsebraaten, L & Rankin, J. (Aug. 26, 2015). Black kids stay longest in care; CAS study shows The Children's Aid Society of Toronto posts racial breakdowns of children in care, with figures showing that black kids stay longest. Retrieved rom: https://www.thestar.com/news/cas/2015/08/26/black-kids-stay-longest-in-care-cas-study-shows.html

CWLC (n.d) Every Child Matters. Child Welfare League of Canada. Retrieved form: http://www.cwlc.ca/ecm/resources

Devlin, R. & Pothier, D. (2006). Introduction: Toward a Critical Theory of Dis-Citizenship. In Pothier & Devlin (eds), Critical Disability Theory: Essays in Philosophy, Politics, Policy and Law. Vancouver: UBC Press

Dickinson, H . D. (1993). Scientific Parenthood: The Mental Hygiene Movement and the Reform of Canadian Families,1925 – 1950. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, Vol. 24(3), pp. 387-402)

Dumbrill, G. C. (2003). Child Welfare: AOP's Nemisis? In Shera, W. (Eds.) *Emerging Perspectives on Anti-Oppressive Practice* (Ch. 6). Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press Inc.

Dyck, E. (2013). *Facing Eugenics: Reproduction, Sterilization and the Politics of Choice*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Final Report of the Youth Leaving Care Working Group (2013). Blueprint for Fundamental Change to Ontario's Child Welfare System. Ministry of Child and Youth Services – Youth Leaving Care Working Group.

Fook, J. (2012). *Social Work: A Critical Approach to Practice*. London: Sage

Future Directions for In-Care Services in a Sustainable Child Welfare System (2010).
    Commission to Promote Sustainable Child Welfare, Working Paper No 3.

Garrity, Z. (2010). Discourse Analysis, Foucault and Social Work Research: Identifying
    Some Methodological Complexities. *Journal of Social Work*, Vol. 10(2), pp. 193-
    210

Gillespie, J., Whitford, D. & Abel, M. (2010). Community Networking: A policy
    Approach to Enhance Aboriginal Child Welfare in Off-Reserve Communities.
    Indigenous Policy Journal, XXI(3), p.1-19

Grekul, J., Krahn, H. & Odynak, D. (2004). Sterilizing the "Feeble-minded": Eugenics in
    Alberta, Canada, 1929-1972. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol. 17(4), pp. 358-
    384

Hallgrimsdottir, H. K., Benoit, C & Phillips, R. (2013). The Mother-Citizen and the
    Working Girl: First Wave Feminist Citizenship Claims in Canada and Discursive
    Opportunities for Twenty-First Century Child Care Policy. Canadian Review of
    Social Policy, Vol. 50(1), pp. 27-51

Hewitt, M. (1983). Bio-politics and social Policy: Foucault's Account of Welfare. *Theory,
    Culture and Society,* Vol. 2(1), pp. 67-84

Hicks, S. (2010). Social Work in Canada: An Introduction (3rd edition). Toronto:
    Thompson Education Publishing, Inc.

Hughes, C. (1995). Child poverty, campaign 2000, and child welfarepractice: working to
    end child poverty in Canada. *Child Welfare*, Vol. 74(3), pp. 779-789

Jones, A. & Rutman, L. (1981). *In the Children's Aid: J. J. Kelso and Child Welfare in
    Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Jones, E.D. & McCurdy K. (1992). The Links between Types of Maltreatment and
    Demographic Characteristics of Children. *Child Abuse and Neglect*, Vol. 16 (2), pp.
    201–16.

Jones, Lori (n.d.). Not Here By Choice: Canada's Importation of Child Labourers. *Strata*
    (Master's Thesis). Retrieved from: http://artsites.uottawa.ca/strata/doc/strata3_109-
    136.pdf

Joseph, A. (2015). *Deportation and the Confluence of Violence within Forensic Mental
    Health and Immigration Systems.* Basingstoke: Palgrave-MacMillan

Ladd-Taylor, M. (2014, April 29). Motherhood. Retrieved July 30, 2016, from http://eugenicsarchive.ca/discover/connections/535eeced7095aa000000023e (http://eugenicsarchive.ca/discover/connections/535eeced7095aa000000023e)

Larson, E. J. (1995). *Sex, Race and Science: Eugenics in the Deep South*. Baltimore & London: The John Hopkins University Press

Lawrence, B. (2002). Rewriting Histories of the Land: Colonization and Indiginous Resistance in Eastern Canada. In Razack, S. H. (Eds.). *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*. Toronto: Between the Lines

Lavalette, M. & Cunningham, S (2002). The Sociology of Childhood (Chapter 2). In Goldson, B., Lavalette, M. & McKechnie, J. (eds.) *Children, Welfare and the State*. London: Sage Publications

Lister, R. (2006). Children (but not women) first: New Labour, Child Welfare and gender. *Critical Social Policy*, Vol. 26(2), pp. 315-335

MacGregor, T.E., Rodger, S., Cummings, A.L., & Leschied, A.W. (2006). The needs of foster parents: A qualitative study of motivation, support, and retention. *Qualitative Social Work*, Vol. 5(3), pp. 351-368.

Mawani, R. (2002). In Between and Out of Place: Mixed Race Identity, Liquor, and the Law in British Columbia. In Razack, S. H. (Eds.). *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*. Toronto: Between the Lines

McCullagh, J. (2002). A Legacy of Caring: A History of the Children's Aid Society of Toronto. Toronto: Dundurn

McKeen, w. (2006). Diminishing the Concept of Social Policy: The Shifting Conceptual Ground of Social Policy Debate in Canada. Critical Social Policy, Vol. 26(4), pp865-887

McLaren, A. (1990). *Our own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada*, 1885-1945. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc.

McLaughlin, K. (2005). From Ridicule to Institutionalization: anti-oppression, the state and social work. *Critical Social Policy*, Vol. 25 (3)

Ministry of Children and Youth Services Ontario. (2011). *Foster Care*. Retrieved from http://www.children.gov.on.ca/htdocs/English/topics/childrensaid/fostercare/index

Neff, Charlotte (2008). Government Approaches to Child Neglect and Mistreatment in 19th Century Ontario. *Histoire Sociale / Social History*, vol. 41(81), pp. 165-214.

Neuman,W. L. (1997). The Meanings of Methodology. Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches (3rd Edition), Allyn and Bacon – Pearson Education

OACAS (2015). Fostering. Available at: http://www.oacas.org/childrens-aid-child-protection/fostering/

OACAS (2015). Our History: 100 Anniversary. Available at: http://www.oacas.org/who-we-are/our-history/100th-anniversary/

OACAS (2012). Ontario Child Welfare Report 2012. Retrieved from: www.oacas.org

OACAS (2010). *Your Children's Aid: Child Welfare Report 2009/2010*. Retrieved from: www.oacas.org

OACAS (2007). *Our history*. Retrieved from: http://www. oacas.org/aboutoacas /oacashistory.htm.

O'Connell , A. (2013). The Deserving and the Non-Deserving Races: Colonial Interactions of Social Welfare History in Ontario. *Intersectionalities: A Global Journal of Social Work Analysis, Research, Policy and Practice*, Vol. 2, pp. 1-23

Parton, N. (1998). Risk, Advanced Liberalism and Child Welfare; The need to rediscover uncertainty and ambiguity. *British Journal of Social Work*, Vol 28, pp. 5-27

Penna, S. (2005) The Children Act: Child Protection and Social Surveillance. *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law,* Vol. 26 (2)

Philip, M. (2007). Nearly Half of Children in Crown Care are Medicated. *The Globe and Mail,* June 9, 2007

Pollack, S. (2010). Labelling Clients 'Risky': Social Work and the Neoliberal Welfare State. *British Journal of Social Work*, Vol. 40, pp. 1263 – 1278

Pon, G., Gosine, K. & Phillips, D. (2011). Immediate Response: Addressing Anti-Native and Anti-Black Racism in Child Welfare. *International Journal of Child, Youth and Family Studies*, Vol. 3&4, pp. 385-409

Raychaba, B. (1989). Canadian youth in care: Leaving care to be on our own with no direction from home. *Children and Youth Services Review*, Volume 11(1), pp. 61-73

Reid, M. (2008). Understanding Children's Aid: Meaning and Practice in Ontario Children's Aid Societies, 1893 – 1912. Master's Thesis, Trent University

Reading, C. (2013). *Understanding Racism*. In Social Determinants of Health. National Collaborating center for Aboriginal Health. Available at: http://www.nccah-ccnsa.ca/Publications/Lists/Publications/Attachments/103/understanding_racism_EN_web.pdf

Richardson, T. R. (1989). *The Century of the Child: The Mental Hygiene Movement and Social Policy in the United States and Canada*. Albany: State University of New York Press

Rodger, S., Cummings, A., & Leschied, A.W. (2006). Who is caring for our most vulnerable Children? The motivation to foster in child welfare. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, Vol. 30, 1129- 1142.

Rooke, P. T. and **R.** L. Schnell (1982). The Rise and Decline of British North American Protestant Orphans' Homes as Woman's Domain, 1850-1930. *Atlantis*, Vol. 7(2), pp. 21-35

Rooke, P. T. and **R.** L. Schnell (1983). *Discarding the Asylum: From Child Rescue to the Welfare State in English Canada, 1880-1950.* Lathan, Md.: University Press of herica,

Schmid, J. (2015). Overlooking the Most Vulnerable: the child welfare research agenda 2005-2010. *European Journal of Social Work*, Vol. 18(1), pp.6-16

Scott, C, E. (2009). Foucault, Genealogy, Ethics. *Journal of Medicine and Philosophy*, Vol. 34, pp. 350-367

Stote, Karen (2015). *An Act of Genocide: Colonialism and the Sterilization of Aboriginal Women.* Nova Scotia: Fernwood Publishing

Strange, C. & Loo, T. (1997). *Making Good: Law and Moral regulation in Canada*, 1867-1939. Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Stubblefield, E. (2007). 'Beyond the Pail': Tainted Whiteness, Cognitive disability and Eugenic Sterilization. *Hypatia,* Vol. 22(2), pp. 162 -181

Sutherland, N. (1976). *Children in English-Canadian Society*. Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press

Stregga, S., Callahan, M., Rutman, D. & Dominelli, L (2002). Underserving Mothers: Social policy and disadvantaged mothers. *CRSP/RCPS*, No. 49-50, pp. 175-197

Strong-Boag, V. (2011). *Fostering Nation? Canada Confronts its History of Childhood Disadvantage*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press

Swain, S. & Hillel, M. (2010). *Child, nation, race and empire: Child rescue discourse, England, Canada and Australia, 1850-1915*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press

Swift, K. (1995). *Manufacturing 'Bad Mothers': a critical perspective on child neglect*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Swift, K. & Callahan, M. (2009). *At Risk: Social Justice in Child Welfare and Other Human Services*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Tamboukou,M. Writing Genealogies; an exploration of Foucault's Strategies for doing research. *Discourses: studies in the cultural politics of education*, Vol. 20(2), pp, 201-217

TC2 (n.d.). Compulsory Schooling in Ontario: 1871. The Critical Thinking Cooperative (TC2). Retrieved from: http://marcialalonde.weebly.com/uploads/9/3/8/2/9382401/ontario_schooling.pdf

Thobani, S. (2007). *Exalted subjects: Studies in the making of race and nation in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press

Trevino, J., Harris, M.A. & Wallace, D. (2008). Introduction to Special Issues: What's so Critical abut Critical Race Theory. Contemporary Justice Review, Vol. 11(1), pp, 7-10

Todd, S. & Burns, A. (2007). Post-Structural Practice in Child Protection. *Canadian Social Work Review*, Vol. 24(1), pp. 23- 37

Trocmé, N., Knoke, D., and Blackstock, C. (2004). Pathways to the overrepresentation of Aboriginal children in Canada's child welfare system. *Social Service Review*, Vol. 78(4), pp. 577- 600.

Trocmé, N., MacLaurin, B., Fallon, B., Knoke, D., Pitman, L., and McCormack, M. (2006). *Mesnnimk Wasatek/Catching a Drop of Light: Understanding the over-representation of First Nations children in Canada's child welfare system: An analysis of the Canadian Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect* (CIS-2003). Ottawa: First Nations Child and Family Caring Society of Canada.

Tweddle, A (2007). Youth Leaving Care: How do they Fare? *New Directions for Youth Development*. Vol.113, pp. 15-31.

Webber, M. (2002). Power, authority, and the state. In Best, S. (Ed.). Introduction to Politics and society (pp. 6-39). Manchester, UK: Sage Publications.

Wheatley, T. (2013). The Asylum For Idiots and Feebleminded, Orillia, 1876. Retrieved from: http://www.thelmawheatley.com/the-asylum-for-idiots-and-feeble-minded-orillia-1876

Whitton, C (1925). The Social Background in Canada. *Social welfare*, Vol. VII (4), pp. 70-74

Williams, C. C. (2001). Confronting Racism in Research on Race and Mental Health Services. *Canadian Social Work Review*, Vol 8(2), pp. 231-248

`