

THE INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF CHILDREN: A CASE HISTORY.

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A B S T R A C T

This is an attempt to indicate some of the problems connected with the administration of a Children's Home through the study of the origin, growth and contemporary problems of the Jewish Orphanage.

An historical survey will describe the social forces which influenced the changes in policy and affected the internal administration of the Home, the procedure in selecting children for admission, the choice of children eligible for admission and the nature of child care within the institution.

A detailed study is made of the administration of the Orphanage in the decade following the close of the last war when the children had returned to residence after evacuation. A classification is made of the reasons why children were admitted, of the ages on admission, of the period they remained in residence, and of their destination when they left.

An examination is made of some of the problems which confronted the administrators both with regard to the behaviour of the children and the attitude and character of the staff.

Specific reference is made to the education and religious training of the children and to the problems arising from parent-child and staff-child relationships.

Although the material for this study of the institutional care of children has been gathered mainly from a Home which catered for a selective group of the population, it is believed that many of the problems discussed have implications of some significance in the general study of child care.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N .

One of the features of the complex social life of contemporary times is that although the family is regarded as the foundation of society, there are large numbers of children who are being cared for by social agencies despite the fact that their parents and relatives are alive and in regular contact with them.

The social conscience of the community has become enlarged to such an extent that, through the media of various Acts of Parliament, there is now a statutory responsibility on local authorities to safeguard the physical and mental health, the education, moral welfare and general well-being of children and they may be given powers to usurp the functions of living parents who are also in close touch with their children.

This is a revolutionary change from the days when the community cared for only those children who were abandoned or orphaned. In the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries, the position was certainly very different. Abandonment or dropping of children anywhere - and not necessarily at an institution, workhouse or private house - was a common practice and accepted as a natural feature of social life by a large proportion of the population. There were 50,000 deprived children in the workhouses at the time of the Poor Law Reform

Commission in 1832, and the majority of these were orphaned
(1)
and abandoned.

The numbers were high throughout the Nineteenth Century.
In 1850 children under sixteen years of age constituted as much
(2)
as 40% of the aggregate number of paupers. Although there
was a fall in proportion from 39 per 1,000 of the child
population of that age group in 1872 to 21 per 1,000 in 1905
(3)
this was due to a fall in outdoor relief. The majority of
the children receiving indoor relief were orphans or deserted,
thus on 1st January 1908 out of a total number of 62,426
children in workhouses in England and Wales, 36,573 were
(4)
orphaned or deserted. The increase in the number of orphaned
and deserted children and of those whose parents were physically
incapable of looking after them can be further illustrated from
(5)
these statistics which reveal the position as it was in London.

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1. The Child Welfare Movement in Eighteenth Century England -
Case Conference Vol.1 No.7.1954.
 2. Table 2: Appendix 2. Memorandum Relative to Statistics
of Pauperism and Expenditure on Poor Relief, Report of
Royal Commission on the Poor Laws. Cmd.4626.1909
 3. Ibid. - p.18.
 4. Ibid. - p.40.
 5. Appendix No.V(13) - Appendix to First Volume of Minutes
of Evidence, Royal Commission on the Poor Laws. Cmd.4626.
1909.

Number of children in workhouses who were orphaned,
or deserted or who had disabled parents.

<u>1st Jan.1874</u>	<u>1st Jan.1884</u>	<u>1st Jan.1894</u>	<u>1st Jan.1904</u>
8,054	12,547	15,013	16,624
<u>Number of children in workhouses who had able-bodied parents.</u>			
3,162	3,148	3,290	2,463

But although the number of deaths among parents proportionate to the population has decreased and the total number of broken homes including those from death, divorce and separation is smaller than it has ever been, yet the number of children being cared for by voluntary bodies and local authorities remains very large despite the fact that the number of orphaned and abandoned children is comparatively very small. Although 39,498 came into care during the year ending 30th November, 1954 only 621 were orphans, and only 1,302 were abandoned. The position is thus in complete reverse to what it was a century ago.

What appears to have happened is that as the community has extended the range of its responsibilities towards the social welfare of children, the range of categories of children who have been accepted into care has widened. Consequently, apart from the orphan who has no relative and the illegitimate child

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1. Position of women in relation to the changing family - Prof. Titmuss.
Proceedings of the British National Council in Social Work - July, 1953.
 2. Seventh Report on the Work of the Children's Department - Table 3 - H.M.S.O. 1955.

who has been abandoned, there is a large variety of types of children who are now being cared for by voluntary societies or by local authorities. To illustrate this, there is appended below a list of the background of different children who were being cared for at the Jewish Orphanage at the time this thesis was being written, November 1953.

1. The mother, although living at home, is physically ill.
2. The mother is in hospital: the father is out at work, and there is no one else at home.
3. The mother is extremely neurotic, and claims to be unable to stand the strain of domestic responsibilities.
4. The mother is a widow and goes out to work.
5. The father is physically ill at home, or at hospital, and the mother goes out to work.
6. The father is extremely neurotic, and claims to be unable to stand the strain of domestic responsibilities.
7. The father is a widower, and there is no one else at home to attend to the children.
8. Both parents claim that they find the children beyond control.
9. Parents cannot ensure that the children attend school regularly.
10. Parents are unable to prevent their children becoming delinquent and are unable to convince the Court that the children can be entrusted to their care.

11. Parents lead an immoral life.
12. The mother is unmarried, and goes out to work.
13. The mother and father are unknown, and the child has been abandoned.
14. The parent has ill-treated the child.
15. The parent has been sent to prison.
16. The parent has no fixed home because of the nature of his or her employment.
17. There is inadequate accommodation.
18. The parent has been guilty of sexual offences against the child.
19. The parents are in furnished rooms, and the landlord refuses to permit children on the premises.
20. The parent has remarried, but the consort refuses to look after the child of the first marriage.
21. The child is an orphan who has no relatives.
22. The child is an orphan who has relatives who are unable, or unwilling, to look after him.
23. The child suffers from some mental or physical infirmity, and cannot be cared for at home.

The children who are looked after by social agencies vary in age and in character. They may come into the care of a local authority or voluntary society at any time from birth until 18 years of age. They remain in their care for any length of time, from a few hours until the whole period of their legal childhood.

The children vary in type. Some present no problem or difficulty, either from a physical or mental health standpoint, others may have complicated disorders.

The children are looked after in one of many different ways. Some are fostered in private families; others are cared for in small scattered Homes, but a large number are placed in one kind or another of large Children's Homes, which for the purpose of this Thesis may be classified as institutions. Many of these institutions were founded in the Nineteenth Century and were meant to cater for a different type of child than is now living there; and the social climate was very different from what it is now.

The Curtis Report, together with other publications, brought to light many of the shortcomings of institutional care. The public were informed about the impoverished state of many of these Homes where children were ill-treated, denied elementary freedom and often exploited in the interests of the administration of the Homes. It was alleged that nobody was specifically interested in the well-being of the children;⁽¹⁾ that they lived a segregated and routine life;⁽²⁾ that there was infrequent visiting by relatives and friends;⁽³⁾ that the children had stunted personalities;⁽⁴⁾ that they were backward

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1. Whose Children - Lady Allen. Favill Press, 1944.
 2. Child and His Welfare - Fredericksen. Univ. of California, 1948.
 3. Children without homes - Ruth Thomas. N.A.M.H., 1946.
 4. The unwanted child - E. Chesser. Rich & Cowen, 1947.

(1)

and unprepared to meet the world; that they could not remain in the one family group from a tender age and until they left

(2)

school; that they had a distorted view of life, felt

different from other children and did not feel part and parcel

(3)

of everyday life.

The tendency at present is to press for the boarding-out of children in private families or to house them in small scattered Homes. The pressure in this direction has met with considerable success as can be gauged by the increase in the proportion of children boarded out. Thus in 1949, 35% of the children in the care of local authorities in England and Wales were boarded out, in 1954 the percentage had increased to 44%,⁽⁴⁾ and had further increased to 45%⁽⁵⁾ in March 1956. The movement to establish small scattered Homes to replace the large institutions was under way before the Children Act as the following extract from a report on the work of the Middlesex County Council Children's Department will illustrate:

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1. Children's communities and their general organization - H.Z. Hoxter. New Era. Vol. 29. No. 8.
 2. Children without homes - Ruth Thomas. N.A.M.H., 1946.
 3. Homeless Children - Gwendolene Chester.
 4. The Seventh Report on the Work of the Children's Department - H.M.S.O. 1955 - p.6.
 5. Children in the care of local Authorities in England and Wales March 1956. Cmd. 9881 - p.3.

"...it was in 1931 that the County Council decided to discontinue the use of all large institutions such as the Chase Farm Schools and the Children's Home, Edgware, as Children's Homes, and to substitute for them small Scattered Homes." (1)

This move away from the institutional care of children has received support and impetus from the research of eminent psychologists such as Dr. J. Bowlby, D. Burlingham and Anna Freud, and Susan Isaacs. They impressed on social workers that if children were deprived of the affection of their mother or of a permanent mother-substitute, they would probably develop serious personality disorders which became infectious in the sense that grown-ups who themselves had been deprived children tended to become inadequate parents and so perpetuated generations of deprived children. "Deprived children, whether in their own homes or out of them are a source of social infection." (5)

To counteract the evils of deprivation, the Home Office encouraged local authorities to carry out a policy which can be adequately summed up in the following quotation from an article by Professor Moncrieff:

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1. The Work of the Middlesex County Council Children's Department - J. Rowell - 1956 - p.8.
 2. Maternal Care and Mental Health - J. Bowlby. World Health Organisation - 1951.
 3. Infants without families - D. Burlingham and A. Freud, 1943.
 4. Children in Institutions - Susan Isaacs - 1948.
 5. Maternal Care and Mental Health - J. Bowlby - 1951 - p.157.

"The two basic needs of children are security and affection. A permanent plan must be made for each child in a Reception Home. He must not be pushed about. To give the child affection, it is essential to have him in a foster home or in a small family group home, where he will be able to form a relationship with some adult person who will represent permanency and security to him." (1)

It had long been felt that large Children's Homes could not fulfil this aim. The belief that deprived children should be taken out of such institutions was expressed thus by Commander Galbraith, speaking during the second reading of the Children's Bill, 1948:

"No matter how good an institution may be, it cannot supply the atmosphere and freedom which a home can give ... where one can feel that one really has a place of one's own, and an intimate place in the life of the family." (2)

The implications of all these criticisms of Children's Homes may be summed up thus: (a) children not living with their parents are deprived of security and affection: (b) foster-homes or small scattered Homes alone can effectively replace the security and affection which it is alleged children have lost by being separated from their parents. The inadequacies of Children's Homes to deal with the needs of deprived children were emphasised by the Children's Officer for Bournemouth in her recent book, "The Child Wants a Home." (3) The Children's Officer for Essex, however, countered this attack by the following observation;

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1. The Future Development of the Child Care Service - Professor A. Moncrieff. Child Care Quarterly Revised. Vol.7 No.4 - p.127.
 2. Hansard Vol.450, 1618.
 3. The Child Wants a Home - I. Mardy, 1956.

"I entirely agree with Miss Mardy that for most children the right foster home, if it can be found, has very great advantages over a Children's Home, but even she admits that there are some children who 'are able to fit better into the impersonal atmosphere of a Children's Home', and others for one reason or another need to remain in Homes for a time before they can be boarded out. Children's Homes must have an important place in any scheme of child care, and during recent years much thought and effort has gone to the planning of Homes which will fill this place in the best possible way." (1)

Whatever one's view might be on the place of Children's Homes in the field of Child Care, the fact, however, remains that many thousands of children are being cared for in them.

But there does not appear to have been published in this country/^{an} appraisal, from an administrative standpoint, of the nature of the problems of Child Care within a large Home.

This thesis is an attempt at remedying this shortcoming. In the main the data has been collected from a Home where a fundamental condition of admission was that a child should have been born of a Jewish mother. Although, however, the thesis deals with a selected group of children, it is hoped that some of the conclusions might be of value in the general study of Child Care.

In order to place the problem of the institutional care of children in a proper perspective, it has been thought advisable to divide the thesis into three main parts. The first gives an historical survey of the growth of the Jewish Orphanage and this

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1. Letter to Case Conference, Nov. 1956 by G.M. Wansbrough-Jones.

will describe the changing attitudes towards child care. The second part examines in detail some problems of administration. The third part will discuss the conclusions reached in the thesis. These conclusions raise the problem as to whether it might not be desirable for voluntary and local authorities to re-classify the children who are in their care into those who might come under the category of deprived children, in the sense which has been discussed in this Introduction, and into those who might be called 'separated' children. The conclusions suggest the need for further investigation to determine, if (a) those children who are classified as being separated from their parents would not be better cared for in Children's Homes; and (b) if only those classified as deprived children should be given the environment of a substitute home. Such investigations might also indicate that the number of such deprived children would form so small a proportion of those who are being cared for by social agencies that the whole policy of encouraging the fostering and placing of children in small scattered Homes might require re-examining.

PART I.

1. History of the Jews in England - A. R. Nysson.
Publ. London. - 1927.
2. History of the Jews in England - A. R. Nysson.
Publ. London. - 1927.

CHAPTER I

The Origins of the Jewish Orphanage.

The Founding of the Jews' Hospital.

In 1656, Jews were granted legal rights to enter into England and live there. It has been estimated that in 1669 there were between 60 and 80 Jewish families, constituting a total of about 400 people, of whom one quarter were well-to-do, one quarter who possessed only moderate means, whilst the remainder were employees or paupers.⁽¹⁾ By 1750, the numbers had increased to 8,000, the majority of whom came from Central Europe via Holland.⁽¹⁾ In 1795, Patrick Colquhoun estimated that there were about 20,000.⁽²⁾

The majority of the immigrants lived in London and were unable to enter into productive employment, because restrictions in the countries of their origin had denied to them the opportunities of learning a useful trade, whilst conditions in England prevented their absorption in the normal economic life of the nation. Under several charters, the City was able to keep Jews perpetually out of the freedom, and, without this, they were debarred from retail trading, from plying the

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1. History of the Jews in England - A.H. Hyamson, Publ. Methuen. - pp.189-195. 1928
 2. History of the Jews in England - A.H. Hyamson, Publ. Methuen. - p.243. 1928.

handicrafts, from transactions on the exchange and from other
 (1) privileges. Consequently, many who found refuge in England
 could not support themselves and became dependent on charitable
 sources or else followed illegal occupations.

The descendants of the original settlers of 1656 were
 called Sephardim and, throughout the many decades of their
 residence, they had evolved a fairly comprehensive system of
 social welfare which catered for every need among the aged,
 sick, poor and homeless children.

They were a highly disciplined body which included some
 very wealthy Jews who were held in high esteem by the general
 community as well as by their co-religionists.

In 1703, they founded an Orphan Society endowed by Moses
 Larnego who donated £5,000 and known as "The Gates of Light
 and the Father of the Fatherless." It was meant to maintain,
 educate and apprentice a number of orphan boys who were
 (2) admitted on the votes of subscribers. In 1724, another
 Society was formed which gave annual grants of £60 towards the
 dowries of one or more fatherless girls, a sum of £1 to every
 poor woman lying in hospital and 5/- to every individual over
 10 years of age during the seven day period of mourning when
 they were unable to pursue their livelihood.

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1. History of the Jews in England - A.H. Hyamson,
 Publ. Methuen. - p.208. 1928
 2. Laws and Charities of the Spanish and Portuguese
 Jews Congregation of London - Neville Laski - Cresett
 Press. 1952

In 1730, Isaac Da Costa Villareal provided an endowment for the education and clothing of 20 poor girls. In 1736, yet another society provided marriage portions of £80 to destitute orphan girls.

In 1747, the Beth Olam Hospital was founded to attend to the sick, to take care of those in child birth, to offer asylum to the aged and infirm, and provide free medical advice and medicine.

In 1749, the Mahasim Tovim or Society of Good Deeds was established, it helped to apprentice poor boys and advanced money to the industrious poor. In 1778, a charity was founded to distribute bread among the poor.

These charitable organisations, however, were confined to members of the Sephardim denomination and not until 1779 was there a comparable social agency to cater for Jews who belonged to the rapidly increasing section of Jews known as the Ashkenazim (the newer immigrants who came from Central Europe). In that year, there was much distress among the poor which accounted for riots, so the Meshebat Nephesh was formed to distribute bread, meat and coal among the needy Jews.

During the latter half of the Eighteenth Century, each episode of persecution in Central and Eastern Europe brought about a fresh wave of immigration into England. The number of impoverished Jews reached such large numbers that the Jewish community found itself unable to cope with the problem of

caring for the needy. In an attempt to stem the tide of immigrants, the lay leaders of the Great Synagogue in London decided to refuse relief to foreign Jews who had left their country of origin without good cause.

But restrictions of this kind only helped to aggravate difficulties and these poor people were driven to illegal practices to stave off destitution. The mounting crimes caused increasing public concern and there was an ugly outburst of popular feeling following a brutal murder at Chelsea by a band of Jewish criminals. The Jewish community did all in its power to demonstrate its horror and excommunicated the criminals.

At the time, however, the Jewish communal leaders could think of only one effective method of checking delinquency and that was by restricting immigration. The Wardens of the Synagogue, whilst offering their services in whatever capacity the Government might care to use, protested that the ultimate responsibility for the growth of lawlessness must belong to the authorities which permitted unrestricted immigration of impoverished Jews who lacked the skill, training or opportunity to follow any lawful employment in England.

As a result of these representations instructions were issued to the Postmaster General withdrawing permission for Jews to enter England on His Majesty's packet-boats excepting those who had paid in full for their passage and had been granted a passport by one of the Ministers abroad, although the

industrial poor of all other nations could be transported to
 (1)
 England gratis.

The Lord Mayor of London offered free passage to those poor Jews who wished to return to their native land.

But the pressure of events on the Continent and the comparative freedom within England accounted for a never ending flow of immigrants; whilst the absence of favourable conditions for the absorption of these poor Jews within the productive economy of the country resulted in an ever worsening of the situation.

Eventually, the leading members of the Jewish Community were aroused to take some constructive action by the publication of a forceful indictment of Anglo-Jewry by Patrick Colquhoun,
 (2)
 a well known London magistrate. He claimed that of the 20,000 Jews in London in 1795, some 2,000 were engaged in nefarious practices because they were not trained for useful employment. He declared that if the Jewish community did not take steps to train their children and save them from careers of crime, special legislation would be necessary to deal with them. The following extracts from his book indicate what he considered were the main causes of delinquency, and the courses of action which followed were attempts by the Jewish community

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1. History of the Jews in England - Cecil Roth - p.334. 1949
 2. Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, explaining the various crimes and misdemeanours - Patrick Colquhoun, 1795 - Publ. by Fry.

to meet the points raised:-

"It is also to be wished that the leading and respectable characters of the Jewish persuasion may adopt some means of employing in useful and productive labour the numerous young persons of their society, who are at present rearing up in idleness, profligacy and crimes..."(1)

"If the superstitious observance of institutions with regard to meat not killed by Jews and to the Jewish Sabbath, shall exclude young persons of this persuasion from being bound to useful employments and mixing with the mass of the people by becoming servants and apprentices, surely it is incumbent upon the heads of the society to take care that they shall not become public nuisances." (2)

"The mischiefs which must result from the increase of this depraved race, arising from the natural course of population, are so obvious, that a remedy cannot be too soon applied, in which little doubt can be entertained of obtaining the assistance of the whole body of the Jews of the higher class, who cannot but view with horror and distress the deplorable condition and growing depravity of so large a population of the lower ranks of their own society and particularly those belonging to the Dutch Synagogue (Ashkenazim) whose want of resource for honest employment not only renders them objects of commiseration, but of serious attention on the part of the legislature."(3)

Dr. Joshua Van Oven, the Honorary Medical Officer to the Poor of the Great Synagogue was perturbed by this publication. He contacted Colquhoun and in collaboration with him, drew up a comprehensive scheme to deal with all the social evils of the day.

It was proposed to purchase land not to exceed 100 acres in extent upon which the following buildings would be constructed:

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1. Ibid. - p.43.
 2. Ibid. - p.43.
 3. Ibid. - p.174.

1. An asylum for the aged and infirm;
2. A hospital for the sick, maimed and diseased;
3. A school for the education of children and their instruction in mechanical and other useful arts;
4. A workhouse or institution of industry for vagrant poor and such as were able but not willing to work for their living.

The finances to support this scheme were to be provided out of a Jewish Poor Fund to be established by Act of Parliament and with two main sources of income: first - a compulsory levy on the synagogue and all Jewish householders: and secondly, an appropriation of one half of the poor rate paid by Jewish parishioners but never utilised for the benefit of their co-religionists who would be kept from being a burden on public funds.

The fund was to be administered by a Board on which would serve twelve representatives of the German Jews (Ashkenazim), four representatives of the Portugese Jews (Sephardim), two aldermen of the City of London, two magistrates for Middlesex, Kent, Essex and Surrey and the four presidents of the four City Synagogues, all of whom were to be appointed by Act of Parliament. If the assessment levied on each Synagogue was found to be insufficient, the Board was to be empowered to levy an individual assessment on the congregants. In addition, it could borrow up to £10,000 and it was to receive from the several synagogues all the income devoted to succouring the poor.

The Great Synagogue approved of the scheme but the Portuguese Congregation refused to participate. It already had a hospital, an asylum and a school; furthermore, it had a smaller proportion of poor people and therefore stood to lose from the proposed amalgamation of all the social services. It claimed that its charitable funds were to be used exclusively for the relief of the distress among the brethren of their own denomination who had fled from Spain and Portugal, or for those reduced to poverty. The Sephardim objected to the use of their funds for encouraging the immigration of German, Dutch or Polish Jews. They asked Mr. Hobhouse, the Member who was in charge of the proposed Bill in the House of Commons to introduce a clause expressly excluding the Sephardy Community.

The parishes, too, objected to the Bill, especially to the clause stipulating that half the amount paid by the Jews towards the poor rate should be handed back.

The wealthy and influential Jews objected to the proposal to grant the Board authority to tax the Jewish public.

As a result of the opposition from so many quarters the proposed Bill was withdrawn and the grandiose scheme dropped, despite the fact that it had won the tacit approval of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was, however, an interesting attempt 150 years after the resettlement of the Jews in England, to make English Jewry a separate fiscal entity for the purpose of establishing a comprehensive social service.

Among the most influential figures of Anglo-Jewry at that time was Abraham Goldsmid, whose brother, a friend of Pitt, had founded the Royal Naval Asylum. He felt the urgent need for establishing a similar institution for Jewish children and circulated an appeal for funds among his co-religionists and Christian friends. He was impressed with the scheme of Dr. Van Oven and was instrumental in having the Bill accepted for presentation to Parliament. When, however, it became apparent that this grandiose scheme would not come into operation, he consulted with his friends about the best way to utilise the £20,000 which had been raised by his appeal in 1795.

There were divergencies of opinion, but the knowledge that conversionists in the East End of London proposed to establish Homes of Industry for poor Jews helped to resolve differences among subscribers and in 1806, it was decided to found the Jews' Hospital for the reception and support of the aged poor and for the education and industrial employment of the youth of both sexes. The aim of the institution was described thus in the Book of Rules and Regulations published in 1821:-

"This institution arose from the philanthropic exertions of the late Benjamin and Abraham Goldsmid, Esqrs., who in the year 1795, with the energetic benevolence which characterised all their actions, commenced a collection among their friends to procure a Fund, wherewith to found a charitable establishment, for the benefit of the Jewish poor, of the class denominated German Jews; and this collection, to the immortal honour of Christian as well as Jewish benevolence, proved so successful as to enable them

in the year 1797, to purchase £20,000 Imperial 3 per cent Annuities, and by the continuation of their exertions, as well as by the accumulation of interest, the aggregate sum in their hands in the year 1806 amounted to the value of £22,000 sterling, taking the stock at the then current price.

Thus provided, a meeting was convened of the Subscribers to the Fund for the purpose of determining on the plan and measures most proper for the application of this sum to answer its intended purposes, and Mr. Van Oven was on this occasion invited to assist in establishing the principles and regulations of such plan; after very mature deliberations the meeting determined to establish a Hospital for the reception and support of the Aged Poor, as well as for the Education and industrious employment of Youth of both sexes." (1)

On the 28th June, 1807 the Hospital was opened. It provided for the reception of 5 aged men and 5 aged women, 10 boys and 8 girls. In 1810 the building was enlarged to house 12 aged people, 24 boys and 18 girls, and in 1821 there were in addition to 12 old people, 47 boys and 29 girls.

The institution contained "a boys' bedroom, a men's bedroom, a dining room, a 'counting room', a matron's bedroom, a master's bedroom, two store rooms, a male sick room, an Aged Persons' room, a shoe-maker's room, a basket-maker's shop, a shoe workshop, a basket workshop, a mahogany chair manufactory a kitchen, a female sick room, a girls' bed chamber, a women's bed chamber, a school room, a mistress's bed chamber, a girls' work room and a matron's parlour".⁽²⁾

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1. Book of Rules and Regulations of the Jews' Hospital - publ. 1821.
 2. Essays in Jewish History - Lucien Wolf - Publ. The Jewish Historical Society - p.201. 1934.

Several extensions were made in order to accommodate more children. In 1841 there were 50 boys and 17 girls on roll and in 1860 100 boys and 40 girls. It was then decided to move the institution to West Norwood and in 1861 Sir Anthony de Rothschild laid the foundation stone of the new building which was able to accommodate 220 children.

The administration of the Jews' Hospital during the early years: the kind of children who were selected: the method of selection.

The Jews' Hospital was entirely dependent on voluntary subscriptions and its control was vested in the hands of subscribers. The more liberal the subscriber the more votes he controlled.

There was a President, two Vice-Presidents, two treasurers, a committee of twelve governors for general purposes, a House Committee of twenty four governors and two auditors. All
(1)
these were elected annually.

Eligibility to serve and to vote was dependent on the payment of an annual subscription of five guineas, and this sum entitled one to vote on all occasions, with four votes at all elections except for the positions of Honorary Officers. Subscriptions of three guineas entitled one to the same privileges but with only three votes, and one guinea to one vote. Donations of twenty five guineas and upwards entitled one to become a Life Governor.

The General Committee met quarterly and it declared the number and kind of vacancies and recommended the increase or

otherwise of inmates. It examined the petitions of applicants for admission and selected those who merited consideration to be submitted for election. All applicants were expected to appear in person before the Committee.

There was a Trades Committee which was concerned with the training of the boys and it recommended the appropriate forms of apprenticeship and bound the boys to an officer of the Institution under such terms as appeared suitable.

The General Committee was empowered to apprentice a boy to a person out of the Home, provided that no premium was paid by the Institution for that purpose. It was also empowered to procure a position for a girl within three months of 15 years as a servant or as an apprentice.

Boys were admitted between the ages of 10 and 12 years. Their parents had to have been residents at least 10 years in the United Kingdom and two years in London. Orphans had to have been resident 9 years in the United Kingdom and two of these had to be in London. This condition of residence was imposed for the specific purpose of discouraging immigration. Had the criterion of necessity not been associated with the condition of long residence, it was felt that many of the Jews who entered England en route for America would have remained. It is noteworthy that this concern to discourage the immigration of poor Jews applied to all the major Jewish charities. When the Jewish Board of Guardians was formed in 1859, it contained in

its original constitution as a specific condition of relief that the recipient had to be resident at least six months in this country ⁽¹⁾ (Law 20).

No boy was eligible for election unless he could read English and Hebrew. When children were admitted they received an education which included the requisite branches of Judaism, English reading, writing and arithmetic and on reaching an appropriate age, they were apprenticed.

Girls were admitted between the ages of 7 and 10 years and remained until they were 15 years; if it were thought desirable, they remained until they were 16 years. Conditions of residence applied to them as to the boys. In addition to religious instruction and English reading, writing and arithmetic they were taught needlework, knitting, washing, ironing, cooking, and all household work necessary to qualify for domestic service.

A month prior to the appointed date for receiving applications for admission, notices in Hebrew and English were placed in each of the German Synagogues.

An application form had to be signed by the applicant. It contained details of age and residence. A certificate had to be obtained from an officer of the Synagogue to which the applicant belonged and from the Physician of the Institute declaring him to be in good health. There had also to be references of two respectable persons who could vouch for good character.

1. Law 20 of Jewish Board of Guardians.

The Hospital, at this stage, dealt only with deserving cases of children from respectable families and did not cater for homeless or destitute children.

By 1830, the House Committee had become gravely concerned with the decrease in subscriptions and the general apathy among subscribers. It was afraid that unless there were some drastic changes, the future of the Institution was in jeopardy. A report was drawn up in August of that year which proposed some drastic alterations in the selection of children and in the aim of the Institution.

"At the time when this Hospital was originally founded, there were no public schools among the Jews and the ignorant state of the lower class of children among them was most deplorable and such as to render it absolutely necessary that it should be formed on its present principles, and that elementary education should form part of the system:- although the desideration of the founders of this Institution was to qualify the male branch of its youthful inmates as mechanics and enable them to gain a livelihood by following a respectable trade.

But it must be manifest to all that the first twenty years have made a material alteration in the character and condition of the Anglo-Jewish poor, from a state almost bordering on barbarism, which troubles, poverty and neglect have engendered, they have been raised by the laudable, and well directed efforts of Jewish philanthropy ... by the instituting of various schools among them; but more particularly by the Free School, which has hitherto been most successful and fairly promises to continue so ... comparatively to a state of respectability, comfort and importance." (1)

Important changes were suggested to meet the changed circumstances. It was proposed to reduce the period of

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1. Report of House Committee, August 1830.

apprenticeship from 11 years (i.e. from 10 to 21 years of age) so that more youths could have the advantage of the training, since the population was increasing and it was suggested that the age of admission should be raised to 13 or 14 years. Under these conditions, it would be necessary that applicants should be taught at the Jews' Free School and be capable of passing a strict entrance examination.

An additional reason for raising the age of admission was the concern felt over the problems of behaviour at the Hospital.

"...the older boys, continually having leave of absence, and very frequently mixing among the lowest classes of society, they imbibe the very worst notions and habits, and, naturally, though perhaps innocently, convey them to the younger; thus defeating, imperceptably, those wise and salutary regulations for the improvement of the morals of the inmates of the Hospital."

A sub-committee considered the report of the House Committee and made the following recommendations:

1. Because of fortunate change in the character and condition of the town class of our community and the facilities and opportunities offered by other public schools and institutions, there is present a favourable moment of justification for abandoning the Elementary Education of the Boys.
2. Because by abandoning Elementary Education and by shortening the time hitherto devoted to each youth, the benefit of this Institution will be augmented and the good more generally diffused.
5. By admitting lads at the age of 14 instead of at 10, the charity will be able to admit 3 instead of 2 children, and by retaining them for 7 years instead of 11, there will be a more frequent turn-over of children, making for more elections and more interest among our subscribers.

6. Because it will be the means of introducing a better class of Inmate into the Hospital by certain acquirements being independently requisite to their eligibility, applications will be made by the lower class to the exclusion of the lowest.
7. It will in great measure destroy that inequality of age which at present exists, and which is one of principal causes of the uninterrupted insubordination of the youths.(1)

But the recommendations were not accepted and the method of selection and the aims remained unchanged. It is necessary to point out that no preference in selection was given to orphans, but the committee was eager to give preference to children with good background, educational potentialities and good character.

The origin of the Jews' Orphan Asylum.

In the year 1830, when the Jews' Hospital was endeavouring to raise its tone by rejecting children of the lowest class and by suggesting the imposition of a strict entrance examination, there was a severe cholera epidemic which created destitute orphans. It was estimated that 5,000 people died of this plague in London alone. Whilst there was an Orphanage which catered for destitute children of the Sephardim section, there was no Institution to cater for children of the other Jewish denominations.

One had to be at least 10 years of age (if a boy) to enter the Jews' Hospital and one had to know influential people who would be prepared to sponsor the application. Young orphans and those absolutely destitute had little chance of being

admitted. Dr. Cecil Roth thus described the founding of the Orphanage which was established to deal with the new set of conditions:

"In 1818, the less exalted members of the Great Synagogue established a body called Honen le 'Yetonim...' 'for educating and relieving the distressed fatherless.' At first there was little need for it but in 1830 there was a great cholera epidemic. A poor couple, Assenheim, died within a short time of each other and left 3 children. At that time there was no provision for such cases. A poor cucumber seller, Abraham Green, whose sense of pity was aroused, left his stall and went round the streets and private houses and shops in the Jewish quarter to find help. Carrying two of the children in his arms and leading the third by the hand, he appealed for money until he had collected the nucleus of a maintenance fund. This was the origin of the Jews' Orphan Asylum, which attained permanent form largely through the enthusiasm of Green's brother-in-law, Issac Valentine (founder of the Jewish Chronicle in 1841).

Another account states that a certain Nathan Barnett had anticipated Abraham Green's action some years before the cholera epidemic ..." (1)

Whatever may be the precise nature of the origin of the Orphan Asylum, the fact was that in 1831 it was formally established and a house was taken in Leman Street in which seven children were cared for. By 1841, the number of children had increased to 28 and, in 1846, as a result of the benefaction of Abraham Lyons Moses, a house was built in St. Mark's Street to house 40 orphans, preference being given to double orphans.

Children were admitted between the ages of two and eleven.

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1. History of the Great Synagogue - C. Roth, publ. E. Goldstein 1950 - p.222.

They were educated, taught a trade and, unlike the Jews' Hospital, they were all apprenticed outside the Institution.

In 1850, it was agreed to amalgamate with the Charity for the Support and Education of Fatherless Children on condition that single orphans were to be admitted only if there were vacancies and because there was an insufficient number of applicants who were double orphans.⁽¹⁾

Despite its humble origins, the Orphan Asylum soon obtained distinguished patronage which included the Queen Dowager, the Duke of Cambridge and the Duchess of Kent.

The number of inmates rose steadily and by 1871 there were 61 children on roll. But there was considerable difficulty in obtaining a suitably qualified Jewish staff. In 1865, Mr. Barnett Meyer, a Vice President of the Jews' Hospital and the donor of the site upon which the new building stood, wrote to the Jewish Chronicle advocating the amalgamation of that institution with the Orphan Asylum. The Hospital at the time was in need of funds and was half empty, whilst the Orphan Asylum was restricted and was contemplating building a new structure to cope with applicants.

In 1876 after protracted negotiations, a joint committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Benjamin S. Phillips agreed to the proposed amalgamation and there came into existence the Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum.⁽²⁾

1. The Jewish Chronicle - 20.10.1850.

2. See section on the Amalgamation of the Jews' Hospital and the Jews' Orphan Asylum, pp. 34-41.

CHAPTER II.

The changes in criteria for selecting children.

Opposition to the admission of pauper children.

The changing attitudes of the Jewish community towards the problems of child care can be observed in the changes in the methods of selection of children deemed suitable for admission to the Jews' Hospital.

It has been noted that this institution was founded to cater for poor children of respectable parents who had been resident in England for some years. It had been regarded as desirable that the parents should have acquired firm roots in this country. At the same time the children were expected to have acquired a sufficiently high standard of proficiency in English and Hebrew as would enable one to predict that they would benefit from the education and training given in the institution.

During the first half of the Nineteenth Century, the Jews were struggling for political emancipation and one of the arguments used in the House of Commons against their enfranchisement was that they had no roots in the country and were not participating in the skilled trades and crafts. It was the proud hope of many aspirants to political honours, that the

Jews' Hospital would be able to train large numbers of craftsmen and help to refute these allegations. In order that the training should be effective, it was deemed important that there should be a strict educational test for admission for only by ^a selection process of this kind could a sound education and industrial training be provided for the inmates.

This approach can be contrasted with the attitude adopted by many Unions towards the education of the children in workhouses and illustrated by the following quotation from a letter written by the Clerk to the Bedford Union on 7th February 1836:

"The Guardians of the Bedford Union have directed me to write to inform the Poor Law Commissioners they are desirous of obtaining their sanction to have writing omitted as part of the schoolmaster's instruction in the workhouse and that he teach reading only. The board do not recommend this on the score of economy, but on that of principle, as they are desirous of avoiding greater advantages to the inmates of the workhouse than to the poor children out of it." (1)

Because of the facilities offered by the institution, there was keen competition for admission and, consequently, the criteria of poverty seemed to occupy a second place to that of educational ability and the social standing of the family.

The following extract from an article by an 'Old Boy' illustrates the attitude of many towards admission to the Hospital:

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1. Second Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, 1836. App. C. No.8 - p.529.

Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum - An Old Boy's Story
 across - The Jewish Chronicle 22.12.1973.

(1)
 "Then (1857) as now (I hope), there was popularly no charity taint attached to scholarships at the Jews' Hospital, and, in addition to this, there were children there related to some of the best Jewish families in London, the Marks, the Lazaruses, the Isaacs, and others.

I was at the Jews' Free School ere I had 'to try' for the Jews' Hospital. Small boy as I was, I had got well up in the Bell Lane establishment (the Free School)... My difficulty at the time was insufficiency of Hebrew knowledge. I was accordingly coached in this ...

I went up for examination at the school then in Mile End Road, and I passed, I believe, with honours like a 'number three schoolroom boy' of the Jews' Free School aged ten ought to have done.

I was now what was then known in the metropolitan and provincial Jewry as a 'Nvei Tzadek' boy, the equivalent of the Blue Coat Schoolboy in the Christian Community." (2)

But, eventually, there became apparent the need to cater for a different kind of needy child - the destitute and deserted child who had 'no social standing' and was being cared for in the Parish Institutes and Schools. The Jewish population was growing so rapidly that despite the falling percentage of poor among them, the actual number of needy cases increased and the existing charities were unable or unwilling to look after all of them.

As this community expanded, social problems emerged which were similar to those experienced by the wider community. Children were born out of wedlock and were abandoned. Wives and children were deserted, as the father went abroad to seek his fortune in the New World.

1. 1923.

2. Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum - An Old Boy's Reminiscences - the Jewish Guardian 28.12.1923.

And because there was no Jewish institution to cater for them, such children as these were cared for in the various Parish Unions.

It was not until the Jewish Board of Guardians was founded in 1859, that the Jewish community appeared to become aware of the existence of these deserted children. This new social agency came into existence to cater specifically for the poor who could obtain no relief from any other source. It was founded in February 1859 to care for 'the relief of the Jewish stranger and foreign poor', and, in the following month, it was decided "That the sums of money placed at the disposal of this Board by the three conjoint synagogues must be exclusively employed in the relief of the strange poor; but, in the event of any further sums being at the disposal of the Board, such sums be applied among the native, casual or strange poor, as the Board may deem expedient."⁽¹⁾

This was a divergence from the policy hitherto adopted of granting relief only to Jews who could claim membership of a synagogue or who had a residential qualification. A relieving officer was appointed in the same year, and it was not long before he learned of the existence of destitute children.

The Honorary Officers of the Board eventually entered into negotiations with those of the Jews' Hospital with a view to securing admission into that institution of children who were

1. The Jewish Board of Guardians - L. Magnus. Publ.J.B.G. 1908 - p.6.

residing in the Parish Union Institutions. The following is an account of these early negotiations which resulted in the first major change of policy.

On 31st May 1868, Lionel L. Cohen, the Hon. Secretary to the Board wrote to Dr. H. Behrend, the chief Hon. Officer of the Hospital, pleading for the admission of children who resided in workhouses. He urged Dr. Behrend, as an essential preliminary, to apply for a Certificate of Recognition as an approved school. "The Board", he wrote, "trusts that in the interests of the community such an application may not be delayed."⁽¹⁾

Dr. Behrend replied that before making such an application, the Hospital desired assurances that if it so desired that a child should be removed, the Unions would remove it. Cohen replied that the Hospital need have no anxieties on that score for if it included such a condition in its bye-laws, the Unions would be bound to withdraw a child on request. He pleaded that the Board had fought for the concession granted in the Pauper Removal Act which fixed upon the Union the obligation to meet the cost of maintaining children whose religion prevented them from being admitted to workhouse schools. Now that this concession had been granted, he wished to avoid fresh difficulties which might prevent the immediate implementation of the Act. To make it easier for the Hospital to

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1. Correspondence Records - Archives of the Jewish Orphanage.

accept such children, the Board, whilst unable to give a guarantee of withdrawal in every case, was prepared to give guarantees as cases arose, providing the Unions were unable to deal satisfactorily with them. It promised, however, to supplement the subvention given by the Unions so that the Hospital should not suffer financially. He further pointed out, that if a Certificate of recognition were granted, the Hospital need not feel that they would be bound to accept children from the Unions.

On 12th July 1868, the Jews' Hospital agreed to make application to the Poor Law Commissioners for certification under the Pauper Removal Act.

On 9th March 1869, the Jews' Hospital was asked by the Board to receive the first children under the Act.

"The Board had received information that the above named children (Wagner) were fast lapsing into Christianity and would, if not removed, be soon lost to the community. Mr. Franklin was good enough to verify this and to represent to the Whitechapel Board how grievous a wrong was being done to the children and to the Jews in general by the non-removal of the children to a Jewish school. The Board considers that any cost which a Jewish school might incur by receiving children in these conditions would be more than compensated by the enhanced claims for communal support, which would be substantial. In the case of these children, the Board promised to indemnify the Jews' Hospital against any loss and urged immediate acceptance." (1)

Dr. Behrend replied on 11th March ... "The Whitechapel Union is prepared to pay 6/- a week for a child. The Jews' Hospital consider the cost of maintaining a child to be 12/- ... (2)

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1. Correspondence Records - Archives of Jewish Orphanage.
 2. Ibid.

and he proceeded to ask for a further assurance that the Board would (a) pay the difference, and (b) agree to guarantee the immediate withdrawal of the children if so required.

Lionel Cohen replied on the same day:

"As time is precious in the above case, I hasten to renew for the third time the assurance already given regarding indemnification of loss and a guarantee of removal. These terms were already acceded to and conveyed to you last year and on an emergency which was described on Tuesday, the Board would probably accept any conditions you might impose; but although we have abandoned the expectation of contesting the case and the assessment from the Parish ... you should reserve the right to appeal to the Poor Law Boards against the terms they offer as being used as a precedent." (1)

As a result of this further assurance, the Jews' Hospital applied for the admission of the Wagner children who entered Norwood on 24th March 1869 as the first to be admitted under the Pauper Removal Act.

Both the Jews' Hospital and the Orphan Asylum were passing through a critical financial period. The former had moved out of the confined built-up areas of the East End to the spacious site and the 'palatial' building at West Norwood. It was capable of admitting 200 children, yet the total number on its roll in 1868 was 90 of whom only 30 were orphans. (2) Funds were low. It was without a President; it was inevitable that because of the inadequacy of its funds and lack of public support, it was unable to accommodate more children.

1. Ibid.

2. The Jewish Chronicle, 16.4.1869.

On the other hand, the Orphan Asylum was over-subscribed with children and there was considerable pressure to extend the building to accommodate the many deserving cases which were being turned down solely on account of lack of accommodation.

Despite the disinclination of the Committee of the Hospital to admit children who might 'lower the tone' of the Institution, it was difficult for them to resist their claim, at least, in principle, since there was adequate accommodation and the Board had guaranteed to supplement, if necessary, the payments by the Unions so that the Hospital should not experience any undue financial loss. The Board had followed up its initial success in its negotiations with the Hospital by asking for a classification of the position with regard to further admissions.

In April 1869, Mr. Cohen wrote to Dr. Behrend:

"...I am, therefore, directed to enquire what position your committee contemplates taking with respect to future cases coming under the provision of the Act of Parliament... The statutory benefits are equally suitable for orphans and for the children of broken households, possibly even including some of those as have hitherto been admitted into your institution by election." (1)

The Board, he claimed, could not afford to pay for each such child £15.12.0 a year,

"...while, on the other hand, it would seem unlikely that the community would any longer permit a single Jewish child to remain in parochial schools when abundant accommodation existed to receive them in their own denominational institutions." (2)

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1. Correspondence Records - Archives of Jewish Orphanage.
 2. Ibid.

The Jews' Hospital he claimed, would soon be filled and therefore the cost per head would decrease whilst, on the other hand, the general community would rally to its support realising that it was fully performing its function for caring for destitute children.

But the Jews' Hospital was reluctant to commit itself. Dr. Behrend replied that it was possible to admit children from Union Schools only if there were no financial obligations. He thought that the welfare of such children fell most readily on the Board of Guardians "to whose function their care strictly appertains"...

"As regards the Wagner children, the sum of 12/- per week for each child will in no wise cover the cost, as all the children when received from the Whitechapel Workhouse were in so deplorable a state of health as to render constant medical supervision absolutely necessary, and from the day of their admission into the Jews' Hospital, they have been inmates of the Infirmary and have required special nursing, diet, stimulants and expensive medicine." (1)

"The Jews' Hospital, he declared, was prepared to judge each case on its merits and, while it was hoped that an appeal to the Poor Law Boards would meet the question of expense, it 'cannot dispense with the guarantees of your Board as regards the removal of children upon their attaining the age prescribed by the laws of the Hospital and, at an earlier period, if circumstances should render it necessary'". (2)

Two months later, however, the Hospital agreed to admit children under the P.R.A. at the rate of 8/6d a week subject to the guarantee of removal. The Board, however, replied that

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1. Correspondence Records - Archives of the Jewish Orphanage.
 2. Ibid.

it had no funds to guarantee the removal of children and again reminded the Hospital that the Unions were bound by such a guarantee.

After further and protracted correspondence, the Board agreed to the conditions of the Hospital and, in September 1869, Dr. Behrend received the following assurance:

"The Board is willing to pay the difference between 6/- and 8/6d a week and likewise to give the desired guarantee for subsequent removal, but the Board desire to refer the guidance of all such future cases to a conference between three Gentlemen of the Board and three Gentlemen of your Committee. (1)

This joint committee met on 7th October 1869 and it was agreed that:

- (a) The Board was to pay the difference between 8/6d a week and the amount paid by the Unions;
- (b) All applications for withdrawals to be made direct by the Hospital to the Unions; but if the Hospital did not consider that the Unions would apprentice or dispose of a child in a satisfactory way, the Board would relieve the Hospital of the necessity;
- (c) If a premature removal was desired and if the Unions refused to carry out their obligations, the Board undertook to remove the child.
- (d) The Hospital was to inform the Board of the applications of all children under the Pauper Removal Act. (2)

Some sections of the community were alarmed at this change of policy. They appeared to be unaware that there were Jewish children in Union schools and they thought that this was an attempt to introduce Christian children into the Hospital. The

1. Ibid.

2. Minutes of the General Committee of the Jewish Orphanage.

Jewish Chronicle printed a report that:

"The unwarranted anxiety of our Jewish communal institutions to thrust themselves under the aegis of the inconsiderate, perhaps insidious, clauses of the recent 'Charity Laws' has received a check. The introduction by Government order of Christian orphans into the Orphan Asylum, which has succeeded in placing itself under that administrative mistake, quite exceeds the arrangements of the Committee. 'Single Christian Orphans', i.e. Christian orphans who have lost only one parent, are forcibly intruded into the Asylum. This the Committee did not contemplate ... when will our institutions learn that Judaism requires to be maintained as a separate fact?" (1)

The next issue of this journal contained a complete rebuttal of these statements. But they nevertheless reflected the uneasiness of public opinion and for many decades there was considerable concern about the wisdom of introducing such children into the Hospital and the numbers accepted were very few at any one time.

Meanwhile, however, the principle of admission had been accepted and consultations proceeded between the Board, the Hospital and the Orphan Asylum. Finally, on 14th February 1870, at a joint conference of the three institutions, it was resolved that in dealing with cases of subsidised orphans under the P.R.A.

1. Orphans deprived of both parents would be sent to the Jews' Orphan Asylum;
2. Orphans deprived of one parent and below the age at which they are admissible at the Jews' Hospital would be sent to the Jews' Orphan Asylum and there remain until they were of sufficient age to be received at the Jews' Hospital, and be then transmitted to the Jews' Hospital.

1. The Jewish Chronicle, 14.1.1870.

3. In other cases of single orphanage, the orphans would be sent to the Jews' Hospital:
4. As vacancies for single orphans occur, a certain number of such vacancies to be filled by the Committee of the Jews' Orphan Asylum with subsidised orphans to be admitted as temporary inmates:
5. All admissions into either institution to be preceded by the customary medical certificate of health:
6. In any future case in which the Board of Guardians may directly or indirectly intervene with a view to removing children under provisions of the Act of Parliament from Parochial Schools to Jewish Denominational Schools certified under the Act, it was recommended that the Medical Officer to the Board visit the children and report if they were in a fit state of health before application was made for the order of removal. (1)

Once, however, the principle had been accepted and a start made in admitting children under the Pauper Removal Act, the Jews' Hospital increased the number of admissions.

Table of Admissions under the Pauper
Removal Act.

Year	No. of children admitted under P.R.A.	Total No. of Admissions	Total No. of children in residence who were admitted under P.R.A.
1882	8	52	27
1884	9	47	36
1885	3	42	39
1887	10	50	43
1888	6	43	45
1890	9	45	55
1891	4	40	47
1893	3	42	48

Cont'd.

1. Minutes of General Committee of the Jews' Hospital.

Table of Admissions under the Pauper
Removal Act (Cont'd.)

Year	No. of children admitted under P.R.A.	Total No. of Admissions	Total No. of children in residence who were admitted under P.R.A.
1895	5	43	43
1896	12	44	51
1899	13	66	62
1901	11	51	64
1909	16	49	68
1910	14	63	69

Data taken from Annual Reports of the
Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum.

Nevertheless, the prejudices against admitting such children persisted despite the fact that the institution was short both of funds and children. An article in the Jewish Chronicle appealing for funds to enable the establishment to admit more needy cases stated:

We London Jews have our Norwood palace ... well built, well placed, well tended, well managed, this institution has all the elements of success. It has one trifling drawback ... want of sufficient inmates ... Designed for the maintenance, education and industrial training of the respectable poor ... the claims on the institution must be ample ... the number of cases suitable to it must be enormous ..." (1)

Dealing with the question of admitting children under the P.R.A., the Annual Reports of the Hospital for 1870 said:

"... it is hoped, in the interests of the community, that this class may at no time bear a large proportion to the other inmates."

1. The Jewish Chronicle, 12.11.1869.

This reluctance to admit such cases was due in part to a belief that a readiness to receive them would encourage weak parents to desert their children.

Classification of children on roll admitted
under the Pauper Removal Act.

Year	Double Orphans	One Parent Dead and other in Mental Hospital.	Deserted	Total
1884	19	13	4	36
1885	22	13	4	39
1887	26	10	7	43
1888	25	13	7	45
1890	38	12	5	55

Data obtained from Annual Reports of
Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum.

There was considerable pressure by supporters of unsuccessful candidates, so many of whom came from respectable families, and there was the inevitable inference that they were being penalised by the admission of children who came from 'worthless' stock. The following figures give an indication of the pressure for places among applicants who applied for admission in the normal manner.

with the practice of their faith. But this request was not viewed favourably because it was felt that too sympathetic

Applications for Admissions

Date of Election Meeting.	Number of Candidates	Number of Vacancies
July 1898	64	18
Feb. 1899	77	18
July 1899	70	21
Feb. 1900	93	21
July 1900	77	21
Feb. 1901	83	12

Data obtained from Annual Reports

Daniel Marks, a Treasurer of the institution and himself an 'old boy' said at a meeting of the General Court, that no more than 50 children should be admitted from the Unions.

"Any extension of that system would lead to the desertion of
(1)
the children by their parents."

This reluctance to admit these children led to many complications, for it meant that the Unions were obliged to care for many Jewish children. The Jewish Board of Guardians kept a watching brief over them and requested the Whitechapel Board of Guardians to bring up Jewish children in accordance with the practice of their faith. But this request was not viewed favourably because it was felt that too sympathetic

1. The Jewish Chronicle 10.2.1893

(1)
 an attitude would encourage immigration. The majority of
 Jews classified as paupers were less than seven years resident
 in England, and it was estimated that 75 per cent of all Jewish
 inmates were offsprings of foreigners. (2)

An 'old boy' writing to the Jewish Chronicle referred to
 this question:

"they (the Committee) committed a grievous wrong when
 they brought deserted children into the Institution ...
 It was originally intended for the children of poor but
 respectable and struggling parents ... But the Committee
 snatched at the bait of a few shillings a week paid by
 the Workhouse Authorities. What is the consequence?
 They put a premium on desertion ... There are no less
 than the incredible number of 50 in the Institution to
 the exclusion of the class I have referred." (3)

The Amalgamation of the Jews' Hospital
 and the Jews' Orphan Asylum 1876.

It has been noted that the Jews' Hospital had always paid
 regard to social criteria other than destitution when selecting
 children and these assumed greater importance when the number of
 admissions became more restricted because of either lack of
 accommodation, or, lack of adequate funds. Thus, in the Annual
 Report of 1870, it was stated that out of 20 boys who presented
 themselves for election, 7 were rejected because they did not
 possess the amount of preliminary knowledge required.

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1. The Jewish Chronicle, 6.3.1891.
 2. The Jewish Chronicle, 29.7.1892.
 3. The Jewish Chronicle, 10.2.1893.

"The standard of admission to the institution is by no means elevated. A very ordinary education will qualify children ... It is regretted that more attention is not paid to the preparation of the candidates before they are allowed to present themselves to the committee."

On the other hand, financial difficulties accounted for the restrictions on the number of admissions, as the same Report indicated:

"...only a few can be admitted out of a large number of applicants because Norwood cannot afford to admit all needy cases."

The community became concerned with the distressing situation wherein needy cases were rejected solely on financial grounds. At the Annual Court in March 1872, a suggestion was put forward to change the aims of the Institution to prevent the admission of children whose parents could afford to send them to boarding school, and it was urged that admission should be restricted to 'necessitous' cases. ⁽¹⁾ Objections were raised to this proposal on the grounds that such a change was contrary to the wishes of the founders and that it was right that a struggling man with a large family should be permitted to send children to Norwood. It was eventually decided not to amend the preamble but to add a new law giving the committee the power to reject an applicant from the list, if they deemed him unfit to be a recipient of the charity.

In April 1868, Barnett Meyer, a Vice-President of the Jews' Hospital and donor of its existing site, put forward a

1. The Jewish Chronicle, 8.3.1872.

scheme for introducing paying pupils into the Hospital. In a letter to the "Jewish Chronicle", he claimed that the building committee of the Jews' Hospital had anticipated amalgamation with the Orphan Asylum when it constructed the new building, which in the beginning of 1868 housed only 80 children when it could hold 220.

"I propose", he wrote, "that only 60 children should be admitted free and that 60 children should be admitted on the payment of £15 per annum, they finding their own clothes and linen, and their parents taking them home on vacations and also apprenticing them - at any rate, the Hospital not undertaking to do so. I have suggested this in committee but have not met with any support. I feel certain that parents would send children on payment, as in Great Britain there are many classes between the very rich and the very poor ... We have no president and do not at present intend to elect one, and we have difficulty in getting an active executive. By the visiting book for the past year, scarcely twenty of the executive and governors visited the institution, and at Mile End, at the latter part, it was worse, for scarcely any one went there." (1)

A parent later wrote in support of this suggestion to admit paid boarders.

"There are many small tradesmen and persons of moderate income who cannot afford to pay 40 guineas a year for each child in a boarding school, but would consider it a boon to pay 16 guineas for the almost equal advantages they would receive at these lower terms. I have no hesitation in promising that I would at once send at least two of my children." (2)

Mr. Meyer again put forward this scheme in a further letter to the Jewish Chronicle. He claimed that he had brought up this proposal at two General Court Meetings because he believed that Norwood was confronted with an insuperable financial

burden which was borne by only 300 subscribers.

"The staff of officers, teachers, servants, etc. coal, gas, rates, taxes, insurance, etc. all remain the same whether there are 50 or 100 children in the institution." (1)

He did not envisage an increase in teaching staff with any increase in numbers, all that would be required would be an increase in monitors. But he proposed granting two vacations each of four weeks duration.

This suggestion aroused some controversy and a correspondent quoted the example of the Royal Medical Benevolent College at Epsom in support of the claim that there need be no serious problems arising out of the co-existence of paying and non-paying children. (2)

Eventually, a special committee was appointed to examine the proposal of Meyer. Opinions differed between those who thought the scheme would be a boon to respectable parents and those who felt that the public would cease to support such an institution although it would support adequately the existing Home, if it was properly approached. The Committee then suggested examining the suggestion of amalgamation with the Jews' Orphan Asylum. (3)

The original suggestion for amalgamation was turned down by the Orphan Asylum in 1856, firstly, because at that time, the Jews' Hospital admitted children only between the ages of 8 and 12 years; and, secondly, because it was felt that the

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1. The Jewish Chronicle, 1.5.1868.
 2. The Jewish Chronicle, 1.5.1868.
 3. The Jewish Chronicle, 15.6.1868.

accommodation was inadequate to ensure the admission of all orphans as well as those who could seek admission under the terms of the Trust of the Hospital. The latter obstacle was now removed by the removal of the Hospital to its new spacious building and negotiations were opened afresh. Apart from the major difficulties affecting policy, there were the minor ones affecting pride, for example, much time was spent on debating which Institution should have the privilege of having its name at the beginning of the title of the proposed amalgamation. At first, Sir Benjamin L. Cohen, its President, was the only one of the Board of Governors of the Orphan Asylum in favour of
(1)
amalgamation.

The major problem, however, was the concern of the Orphan Asylum that the interests of orphans should not be prejudiced. That institution admitted only children who had been deprived of one or both parents and it was not prepared to jeopardise the welfare of such children in order to make provision for the care of any other class of needy child.

Although both institutions admitted as of right and without recourse to election all double orphans, and single orphans were admitted on election, the Jews' Hospital alone admitted children who had both parents. To satisfy the Orphan Asylum, it was proposed that there should always be available, a sufficient number of beds to admit as an emergency, and without election, all double orphans.

1. The Jewish Chronicle, 17.5.1907.

The Jews' Hospital had restricted to two, the number of children of the same family who could be recipients of the charity at the same time, and the Orphan Asylum had a similar restriction to the admission of single orphans. It was now suggested that four single orphans of the one family could be admitted to the combined charity.

To ensure that there would be adequate accommodation available for all single orphans, it was agreed that the number of non-orphan children should not exceed the number of orphans except when there were an insufficient number of orphan applicants. It was also agreed that no child would be admitted under 2 years and over 11 years of age.

(1)

Eventually, in the agreed scheme for Amalgamation the following conditions were also incorporated :-

1. All children admitted were to have at least one parent a British subject,
 or one parent had to have been resident at least two years in England,
 or had to have lived in England for two years before the application had been made in the event of the death of a parent.
2. These regulations (in 1, above) would not apply to double orphans.
3. Boys were to leave at 14 years of age and girls at 15 years.
4. Pauper children were to be admitted under the Pauper Removal Act.

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1. The Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum Amalgamation Scheme, paragraphs 60-69 - Archives of Jewish Orphanage.

5. A child was to be admitted by the Committee without recourse to election by governors, if a payment of not less than 100 guineas was made on its behalf.
6. The Committee was vested with powers to reject applications and not place their names before the Governors who were to elect children from a list of nominees selected by the Committee from the applications received by the Committee.

As a result of the amalgamation, the attention of the Jewish Community on placing children in need of care was directed exclusively towards the institution at West Norwood. And with the increase in the Jewish population, the pressure for admission was intensified.

The extent of the general social malaise can be judged by the figure of deserted children who were on the books of the Jewish Board of Guardians and by the number of normal applicants for admission recorded in the Table on page 33. The estimated Jewish population in London in 1891 was 67,523.⁽¹⁾

Number of deserted children on the books
of the Jewish Board of Guardians. (2)

1895 - 932

1896 - 649

1897 - 730

Thus the number of Jewish children receiving relief from the Jewish community was between .96 and 1.38 of the general

1. The Jewish Chronicle, 28.4.1898.

2. The Jewish Chronicle, 13.5.1892.

Classification of Children
Admitted for Admission

Jewish population.

These figures may be compared with those which reflected the general position in England and Wales, where on 1st January, 1908, relief was given to 234,792 children,⁽¹⁾ who constituted about .65 of the general population which was 36,075,369 in 1911.

The concern of the nation with the problem of pauper children and with kindred social problems was reflected in the decision of the Government to set up a Royal Commission to investigate the whole problem of the administration of the Poor Law. It was likewise inevitable because of the pressure that was being placed on the limited resources of the Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum, that there should be considerable searchings by the Jewish community to find a satisfactory way of dealing with the growing problem of children in need of care.

(1) The Jewish Chronicle and Hebrew Observer -
(1) Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law,
1909 cmd. 4499 - p.39.

Classification of Children
Elected for Admission.

The Chief Rabbi, at the time of the laying of the foundation stone of the existing building at Norwood in 1867, described the function of the Jews' Hospital in these words:

"More than half a century ago, when the darkness prejudice prevailed even in this country, when the right and privileges our brethren enjoyed were few and scanty, some philanthropists of the community called into existence the Jews' Hospital at Mile End. Three purposes they had in view. The first of these was to remove young children from the baneful atmosphere of misery and vice to an asylum where the elements of religious and secular knowledge would be imparted to them; the second was to teach the youthx of both sexes trades and handicrafts, so as to prepare them to earn an honest livelihood; and the third object was the care of the poor, especially in their old age." (1)

An indication of the type of child who before the Amalgamation was considered suitable for admission, of his background and of the method of election, can be obtained from

(1) The Jewish Chronicle and Hebrew Observer -
 Vol. XVI, No. 339.

the following notice which was sent summoning governors to attend a Special General Meeting to consider the election of children.

JEW'S' HOSPITAL, LOWER NORWOOD

(Removed from Mile End)

For the Support of the Aged, and for the Education and Employment of Youth.

A SPECIAL GENERAL COURT of the GOVERNORS AND SUBSCRIBERS of this Institution will be holden at the Hospital, Lower Norwood, on Sunday, the 18th January, 1874, at Half-past Two o'Clock in the day, to ELECT THE HONORARY OFFICERS and COMMITTEE for the ensuing Year, also TEN BOYS and FOUR GIRLS, as Inmates; and to receive the following Recommendation from the General Committee;

RECOMMENDED -

"That FREDERIC DAVID MOCATTA, Esq., and BARON GEORGE DE WORMS be elected Trustees in lieu of ALDERMAN SIR DAVID SALOMONS, Bart. and Samuel Moses Samuel, Esq., deceased."

And for such other Business as may occur.

The Ballot will commence at Half-past Two, and Close at half-past Three o'Clock precisely.

By Order,

SAMUEL SOLOMON, Secretary.

A Train leaves London Bridge 1.45 p.m.
A Train Leaves Victoria Station 1.30 p.m.

No Annual General Meeting can be called to vote unless his subscription and arrears be paid.

The Subscriber is to put a sum (Cont'd.) against the names of such candidates as he desires to vote for.

(Cont'd.)

Persons being Subscribers are eligible to Vote immediately on their Subscriptions being paid.

QUALIFICATIONS OF VOTERS.

Life GOVERNORSHIP (Gentlemen)	...	£26. 5. 0.	Six Votes
" " "	...	£15. 15. 0.	Three Votes
" " (Ladies)	...	£10. 10. 0.	Two Votes
Annual SUBSCRIPTION	...	£ 1. 1. 0.	Two Votes
" "	...	£ 0. 10. 6.	One Vote

Life Governors are also entitled to vote according to the sum they annually subscribe, exclusive of the votes allowed as Life Governors.

List of Candidates and Form of Proxy on the other side.

At a Special General Court held on Sunday, the 8th January, 1871, it was resolved:

"That in future the votes of unsuccessful Candidates as Inmates be carried forward to two following elections, provided such Candidate is not disqualified by age."

DIRECTIONS FOR VOTING.

1. The annexed Polling List must be preserved and delivered at the Jews' Hospital, as the polling paper, on the day of election, 18th January, as no list but the one officially issued can be accepted.
2. No Annual Governor can be allowed to vote unless his subscription and arrears be paid.
3. The Subscriber is to put a mark thus against
the names of such candidates as he desires to vote for.

(Cont'd.)

4. The number of names marked must not exceed the number of vacancies declared.
5. No Polling Paper can be received unless filled up strictly according to the directions.
6. Members who may not have received their Polling Papers, or who may wish to have any for the use of new Subscribers, can obtain them by applying to the the Secretary, Mr. Samuel Solomon, 37, Duke Street, Aldgate.

The undermentioned Candidates, on Examination were approved from amongst THIRTY-FOUR Applicants.

JEWS' HOSPITAL

APPLICANTS FOR THE JANUARY ELECTION, 1874.

BOYS

		<u>Age.</u>	
1	AARON LAZARUS, 67, St. Peter's Street, Mile End Road.	9	Parents living. Six Children depending on them for support.
2	HARRIS GOLDWATER, 8, Preston Street, Mile End New Town.	9	Deserted by Father, Four Children depending on Mother for support.
3	MORRIS ABRAHAM, 14, Oakley Street, Lambeth.	9	Father in Lunatic Asylum. Two Children depending on Mother for support. Sister in house.
4	ABRAHAM NATHAN, 2, Upper King Street, Old Kent Road.	9	Parents living. Seven Children depending on them for support. Sister in House.
5	ISAAC COMER, Brewer Street, Pimlico.	9	Parents living. Twelve Children depending on them for support.
6	ABRAHAM EMDEN, 26, Tenter Street, Spitalfields.	9½	Parents living. Five Children depending on them for support.

(Cont'd.)

	Age	
7 ALEXANDER ZWART, 20, Dorset Street, Spitalfields.	9½	No Mother. Three children depending on Father for support. Brother in House. Second application.
8 MORRIS HERTZ, 2, Artillery Passage, Spitalfields.	9½	Parents living. Five children depending on them for support.
9 JOSEPH BOAM, 33, Dunk Street, Mile End New Town.	9½	Parents living. Nine children depending on them for support. Brother in House. Second application.
10 DAVID STIBBE, 74, Cleveland Street, Mile End Road.	9½	No Father. Two children depending on Mother for support. Second application.
11 JOSEPH ROSENBAUM, 8, Tenter Street North, Goodman's Fields.	9½	Parents living. Four children depending on them for support. Second application.
12 LEWIS COHEN, 3, Sweedland Court, Bishopsgate.	9½	Parents living. Five children depending on them for support. Sister in House.
13 SIMON MATTHEWS, 2, Raven Row, Spitalfields.	9½	Parents living. Six children depending on them for support.
14 SAMUEL PHILLIPS, Gt. Saffron Hill.	9½	Parents living. Four children depending on them for support.
15 DAVID BRESLAUER, Wolverhampton.	9½	Parents living. Eight children depending on them for support.
16 MORRIS FOX, 10, William Street, Cannon Street Road.	10	Parents living. Six children depending on them for support.
17 CHARLES COHEN, 180, Brick Lane.	10½	No Father. Four children depending on Mother for support.

(Cont'd.)

18	JOSEPH HYAMS, 13, St. Mark's Street, Goodman's Fields.	<u>Age</u> 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	No Father. Five children depending on Mother for support. Brother in House.
19	HENRY HARRIS, 35, Newcastle Place, Whitechapel.	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	Parents living. Four children depending on them for support. Second application.
20	JACOB BRAMSON, 6, Tower Street, St. Martin's Lane.	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	Parents living. Six children depending on them for support. Sister in House.
21	ALEXANDER COHEN, 22, Swinbrook Road, Acklaw Road, Notting Hill.	11	Parents living. Six children depending on them for support. Brother in House. Second application.
22	EMANUEL MARKS, 192, Townsend Street, Dublin.	11	Parents living. Six children depending on them for support.

GIRLS

N.B. The number of Female Candidates approved, not exceeding that to be elected, no ballot for Girls is necessary.

It will be observed from the details in the list of applicants that there were no double orphans. There was only one child with a widower father and three only had widowed mothers. The mother of one child had been deserted by her husband and one father was in a mental hospital. Admission was sought for the remaining sixteen children because they were members of large families which could not be supported adequately by their parents.

Classification of 22 Applicants for Admission
January 1874.

Parents alive and living with children	16
Guardian a widower	1
Guardian a widow	3
Mother deserted by father	1
Father in mental hospital	1
Brother or sister inmate at Norwood	7
7 or more siblings at home	4
6 siblings at home	6
5 siblings at home	4
4 siblings at home	5
3 siblings at home	1
Less than 3 siblings at home	2

Poverty in association with size of family appeared to be the major cause for seeking admission. Reference has already been made to proposals to supplement the family income to obviate the need to break-up the family. It was, however, finally agreed in 1925 not to accept applications solely on grounds of poverty. A decision of a special sub-committee set up to deal with this question in that year decided that cases "...where the home is decent and of which the accommodation is sufficient, or admits of being rendered sufficient, should not be entertained where the only basis of application is poverty which can be relieved elsewhere."

It has already been noted that admission to the Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum had acquired a prestige value because it had won a reputation for scholarship and character training in a way similar to that by which charity schools such as the Blue Coat Schools had acquired prestige. And reference has been made to the regular coaching at the Jewish Day Schools for likely candidates among the better type of child from poor homes who was made to feel that it was an achievement to gain admission.

An examination of those on the list who were making their second application shows that the size of family and poverty alone could not ensure success in the election. Six of the children were making their second application, and of these three had a sibling already in the Home. The reason for their non-election on the first application was probably because it was felt that because accommodation was so restricted, a family which had already been helped since one of the children had been admitted, should give way to the pressing needs of another family. On the other hand, it will be seen that in Case 9, a child was not admitted on the first application, although there were nine dependent children at home.

Apparently, it was not considered undesirable to split families, for this was inevitable in view of the regulations restricting the number of children which could be admitted from one family. It is not possible to ascertain what the effects were of this separation of children from both parents and siblings

Reports from 'old boys' (which were obtained through casual contacts), do not indicate that this aggravated the feeling of deprivation. Indeed, the pride evinced by so many old scholars seems to show that there was such a considerable prestige attached to being a scholar at Norwood that it compensated for any misgivings some might have had at leaving their brothers and sisters at home. It should also be noted that in this list, there was no one under nine years of age, so that the children admitted during this period had spent their most formative years in the emotionally secure environment of their own homes. (1)

But when the complexion of society changed, other needs became apparent. Reference has been made to the struggle to permit the admission of deserted children housed in workhouses. After the first world war, a fresh controversy arose over the question of admitting illegitimate children, but in 1926 this was resolved following the receipt of a letter from two influential supporters of the Orphanage and the "General Committee decided that the fact of children not being born in wedlock in no way constituted a bar to applicants seeking admission to the Orphanage." (2)

After the second world war a further problem arose over the application for admission of a coloured child who was born out of wedlock. He was admitted but the main doubt expressed about

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1. See Rule 4 of Regulations - p.44.
 2. Extract from Minutes of General Committee 22.4.26.

the wisdom of this admission was that the boy might not be happy being the only coloured child at the Orphanage. Since then each such application has been favourably received.

First proposals for Boarding-Out

It might be useful at this stage to outline the conflicting attitudes adopted by civic authorities to the problem of child care, more particularly during the latter half of the nineteenth century and then to consider the specific attitudes of the Jewish community against this background.

Pauper children were brought up in one of the following ways:-

- (a) They were housed in a workhouse and educated in a school attached to it. In 1859 there were 33,576 pauper children under instruction in separate, district and workhouse schools in England and Wales. 4,381 were in 19 separate schools, 2,682 in 6 district schools and 26,513 were educated in workhouse schools. (1)
- (b) In 1844, local authorities were empowered to send children to a District School, i.e. a school which catered exclusively for children drawn from several Unions. This system was advocated by Sir J.K. Shuttleworth in his report following an enquiry ordered by the Home Secretary into the administration of workhouses. (2)

This method was preferred to workhouse education but it was attacked because "the collection of a large number of poor children, often neglected in body and mind, like those in district schools, involved a great danger both as regards health and morals. (3) Despite the belief

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1. Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, 1909. cmd. 4499 - p.186.
 2. The English Poor Law System, P.F. Ashrott, publ, Knight & Co. 1902 - p.255.
 3. Ibid. - p.121.

that they provided excellent education, many felt that they had the disadvantage of keeping the children cut off from the outside world, making them 'hot house plants' unfitted to cope with conditions when they left. It was also thought that these children would not receive the necessary individual attention and, living in such large numbers, they would be subject to immoral influences. (1)

- (c) Although living in workhouses, the children were sent to neighbouring elementary schools so that they were able to mix with the children of the 'independent' poor. This was the cheapest method, especially after the Elementary Education Act of 1891 abolished school fees. This resulted in a reduction of fees paid by the Board of Guardians from £28,679 in 1891 to £1,194 in 1896.

This system was widely used for temporary admissions and it catered for a large number of children. In 1878 there were as many as 415 workhouse schools in England and Wales catering for 20,401 children but in 1900 there were only 53 such schools with but 2,836 children; during the same period the number of Unions sending children out to elementary schools increased from 154 to 508. (2) Although there were over 16,000 children residing in Workhouses in 1907, only 568 were taught in workhouse schools, the remainder went to public elementary schools. (3)

- (d) Children were boarded-out in working class families. This system was thought to have the advantage of bringing-up children under more natural conditions and of giving them a sort of family life. The main difficulties this system encountered were:

1. finding suitable foster parents:
2. providing adequate supervision:
3. meeting the objections of sections of public opinion which protested against the immorality of providing better care for the children of paupers than that which obtained for the children of needy but independent

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1. Ibid - p.256.
(See also Poor Law and Education-Cyclopedia of Education - Macmillan Co.1913 - p.7.)
 2. Ibid. p.257.
 3. Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, 1909.
Cmd.4499 - p.186.

(1)

labourers. Partly in order to meet such objections, the Boarding-Out Order of 1889 stipulated that only orphans and deserted children may be boarded; and the Relieving Officer was obliged to visit the homes at least once in six weeks, to make an inspection once a quarter and to report on them quarterly to the Guardians. The foster parent had to be of the same religion as the child and not more than two children could be boarded out in the one house unless they were siblings, in which case the number could be increased to a maximum of four.

A departmental committee was set up in 1894 under the chairmanship of Mr. Mundella "to enquire into the existing system for the maintenance and education of pauper children." It followed unfortunate occurrences in District Schools such as a fire at the Forest Gate School in 1889 and cases of ptomaine poisoning at the same school in 1893. The conclusions of the committee allowed little credit to the district schools but the system of boarding-out was enthusiastically recommended.

(2)

The Report was vigorously attacked in and out of Parliament. On the one hand it was urged that "the better the school the worse for the child", whilst this was countered by the allegation that boarding-out was introducing a new kind of slavery.

Further investigations were ordered among the inmates of workhouses and infirmaries to ascertain how many had been educated in pauper schools and to determine the justification or otherwise of the assertion that children educated in such schools were unable to adapt themselves to the outside world,

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1. The English Poor Law System - P.F. Ashroft - p.80. 1888.
 2. Parliamentary Papers for 1896 No.8027.

and sooner or later returned to the care of the workhouse.

The belief that the residence of children in an institution in itself tended to create an institutional habit of living and was responsible for the presence of a large number of the existing inmates of workhouses was widely held during the early part of the Nineteenth Century but was later challenged by many members of the Poor Law Inspectorate. Thus an early report read:

"Those who have ascertained the early history of persons who in a greater or lesser degree have offended against the law have found that a large proportion of them have passed their infancy and their youth in the workhouse..." (1)

This would not be surprising if the following account was an accurate picture of life in the workhouses at that time:

"In parishes containing a population of from 300 to 800 (of which there are 5,353) the building called the workhouse is described as being usually occupied by 60 or 80 paupers made up of a dozen or more neglected children, 20 or 30 able-bodied adult paupers of both sexes and probably an equal number of aged and impotent persons who are proper objects of relief. Amidst these, the mothers of bastard children and prostitutes live without shame, and associate freely with the youth, who have also the example and conversation of the frequent inmates of the county goal, the poacher, the vagrant, the decayed beggar and other characters of the worst description. To these may often be added a solitary blind person, one or two idiots, and not infrequently are heard from among the rest, the incessant ravings of some neglected lunatic." (2)

Later investigations, however, belied the conclusion that child life in workhouses created adult workhouse inmates. It

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1. Fourth Annual Report, Poor Law Commissioners, 1838 - p.60.
 2. Extract from Report of Commissioners, 1834 Quoted in History of the English Poor Law Sir George Nicholls - Murray, 1854 - p.264.

is not possible to judge as to whether this was because the early inferences were wrong; or because there are more important factors than life in an institution which determine the mode of adult life; or because conditions in workhouses improved very considerably. But Robert Weale in his Report to the Poor Law Board on 28th September 1861 stated that out of the 17,825 adult inmates of workhouses in his area only 145 had been brought up in a workhouse for two or more years. Similarly W.H.T. Hawley in his report on the 18th December 1861 stated that of the 13,935 inmates only 310 had been in a workhouse for two or more years. Another inspector wrote:

"Upon one point, indeed, certainty was easily obtained, namely, that the children did not, except in very rare cases, return as permanent inmates to the workhouses in which they were educated or (to use the common expression) become hereditary paupers." (2)

Other investigations showed that among 37,969 inmates of workhouses in England and Wales who were questioned, only 435 had been brought up at pauper schools and of these 232 had become chargeable in consequence of illness or infirmity. (3)

There were differences of opinion among the Inspectorate on the merits of boarding-out. Miss Mason, one of the Inspectors of the Local Government Board in charge of the supervision of boarded-out children declared that "profit is the real reason why the great majority of foster-parents receive the children."

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1. Report by T.L. Murray Brown - Assistant Local Government Inspector, Appendix, Annual Report of the Local Government Board 1874-5.
 2. Parliamentary Papers for 1896 No. 8027.
 3. The English Poor Law System - P.F. Ashroft - pub. Knight & Co. - p.123.

She considered that the boarding-out system gives excellent results if the children and the foster parents are well selected and constantly supervised, but that very frequently, owing to the want of these precautions, it showed itself the worst of all systems. She thought that children should be boarded out when young, and that the system is better suited for girls than for boys. The total number of children boarded out in 1896 was 6,316.⁽¹⁾

The idea of the Cottage Home System of care seems to have spread from the Continent. In 1853 Joseph Fletcher, H.M.I. read a paper before the Statistical Society upon "The Farm School System of the Continent." He described the advantages of this system, which were akin to the cottage home system, as follows:

"The classification in families affected by these institutions themselves possess numerous advantages. It facilitates the study of character and the peculiar treatment, so to speak, of each moral peculiarity; it brightens the weight of surveillance and renders it more efficacious; it binds the members of the family tighter together by fraternal ties; it permits the separation of those who mutually annoy, and the re-union of those who are agreeable to each other and stimulates emulation. The organisation of the Ranke House (Hamburg) has been based on that of the natural family; the children are classed in groups of twelve, each forming a family at the head of which is a superintendent, discharging the duties of a father. All these again are attached to their common centre, or father, the director who presides over the whole and watches over their general interests: the chapel, the school, and the workshops alone are common to the whole, and those serve in some degree as a band of association among the different families who meet there at certain intervals."

1. Ibid. Report of the Royal Commission 1909 - p. 37.

Andrew Doyle, a poor law inspector, was greatly impressed by the system of Mettray which stressed the principle of individual treatment of children through having them in small groups and on 26th May 1873 he submitted proposals for such a scheme in a communication to the Chairman of the Swansea Union:

"...instead of being associated in large numbers, the children could be separated into families - if for the one huge building in which several hundred children are massed together, you could substitute a village in which they might be distributed in cottage homes leading, as nearly as maybe, the lives of the best class of cottager's children..."

Birmingham was the first authority in England to introduce this system of grouped homes in 1878. Later Kensington and Chelsea set up village homes in Banstead. The system gradually extended to other authorities. The cost of administration was considerably higher, and it was also felt that in such homes established in the countryside there was scarcely any possibility of the children mixing with the general population and that in these cottages, filled with pauper children, there could be no real approach to home life. These objections were emphasised when, for the sake of economy, the number of children received in each cottage was considerable.

On the other hand there were those critics of the cottage home system who thought that the provisions made were too good: "The original idea of the cottage home was a real cottage, but the cottage has now become a villa."⁽¹⁾ It was also felt that

1. The Report of the Royal Commission 1909 - p.183.

all the provisions for the care and well being of the children in these village communities were out of keeping with the needs:

"It must be rather difficult for a girl who has spent her leisure time at school in playing hockey, croquet and organised games, who has been taught swimming and given a regular course of gymnastics, who has been taken on half-days to places of interest, and has had free access to a library and recreation room, to settle down to an ordinary servant's work. A child in its own home has between school hours to help in various ways and learns early the necessity of real work, and has experience of the cost of living and food. The clothing, food and recreation of a Poor Law child should not be better or more expensive than those which could be provided for it by good parents in its own rank of life."

In 1873, Sheffield started a new plan of hiring homes in the outskirts of the town in which they lodged a number of pauper children to a maximum of sixteen under the care of one foster mother. They attended local schools and mixed with the independent poor. This system was based on the notion of 'home life under concentrated supervision' and it was intended to distribute groups of little children in different homes so that they could merge in the general population. The scheme was excellently carried out and attracted public attention. Articles upon 'The Sheffield System of Scattered Homes' were to be found in many newspapers and periodicals during the close of the nineteenth century.

It was in such an atmosphere of acute controversy among social workers as to the best method of caring for deprived children, that in 1894 the Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum

advocated as a wiser and cheaper method of caring for deserted and abandoned children. The Jewish Board of Guardians had always used this method, but only as a second best alternative, when the Jews' Hospital or Jews' Orphan Asylum had been unable to accept children, whom it was thought, should not reside in a Union establishment.

The Rev. John Chapman, a previous Headmaster of the Jews' Hospital, referring to the new proposal wrote:

"Could not their object be effected more efficiently and mercifully by entirely discarding the idea of building new accommodation, and thus converting the Asylum into a species of barracks filled with little automata? In a word, instead of providing bricks and mortar, whether from their own Asylum funds, or from the pockets of the community, should they not seize the opportunity to give an honest trial to the system of boarding-out the Orphans in private families, and thus obtaining what will really be new fathers and mothers for their helpless proteges."

He further suggested that the foster-parents should be paid a sum of money equivalent to the cost of maintaining them at the Asylum, and he advocated that the existing institution should be used only for children with parents.⁽¹⁾

This scheme met with support and adverse criticism. The following extracts illustrate the divisions of opinion in the Jewish public:

"Before the Jews' Hospital joined the Orphan Asylum, it used to receive a great proportion of non-orphan children of respectable families, of decayed tradesmen, and of reduced families too proud to beg or receive charity. I am not ashamed to own that two of my own sons were trained there under Mr. Chapman himself. He turned them out

1. The Jewish Chronicle 13.1.1893.

scholars and gentlemen. One has made a fortune in South Africa and another holds a most important position there... But, nowadays, this is quite impossible. No child except an orphan can ever hope to get in and none can even apply. The Committee of the Jews' Hospital have evidently given up every right and duty to the Orphan Asylum. Mr. Chapman's plan (for boarding out) will alter this; the orphans will be boarded out and the struggling poor will have once more a chance to get their children in the school." (1)

An 'old boy' wrote:

Children with one or both parents constantly received visits from parents and members of the family. In my days certain of the best conducted children were also allowed to visit their relatives in London. This was a precious reward, and an incentive to hard work and good conduct beyond all conception. Thus the children were kept in constant touch with the world in all its aspects. Often the committee, actuated by groundless fears, tried to stop it, but our Head Master was a firm believer in it ... When he left the School this and other privileges were stopped.. But the double orphans and deserted children had no such joys, and they lost contact with the world during their young days ... They (the committee) committed a grievous wrong when they brought deserted children into the institution ... it was originally intended for the children of poor but respectable and struggling parents ... But the committee snatched at the bait of a few shillings a week paid by the Workhouse Authorities. What is the consequence? They put a premium on desertion ... there are no less than the incredible number of 50 in the institution to the exclusion of the class I have named." (2)

Mr. Sol Cohen, the Chairman of the Boarding-Out Committee of the Hull Jewish Board of Guardians, whilst agreeing with the advantages of a sound boarding-out scheme, pointed out the following disadvantages:

- (a) The Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum provided a better education than could be obtained elsewhere.

1. The Jewish Chronicle, 20.1.1893.

2. The Jewish Chronicle, 10.2.1893.

- (b) Jewish working class homes were not suitable for accepting foster children.
- (c) Most Jewish families were so large that they would be unable to cope with any "artificial" conditions. (1)

The problem of finding room for deprived children was aggravated by the pressure from the provincial Jewish communities. The increase in the number of poor can be gauged from the following figures.

The estimated Jewish population in London in 1873 was 36,295 and in 1891 was 67,523; whilst the estimated percentage of the population classified as poor was 28% in 1873 as against 23% in 1891. (2) Thus, whilst the proportion of poor had slightly decreased, the actual numbers had considerably increased and the conditions of many were deplorable.

The Annual Report of the Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum for the year 1908, referring to the large number of applicants viz., 103 for 22 vacancies, stated: "The visits paid to the homes of the candidates by members of the Committee and others, and enquiries made from the Board of Guardians, disclosed depths of poverty and misery which are quite appalling."

A further suggestion was made with a view to relieving the pressure on the Orphanage, "since only a small percentage of orphans found their way to Norwood, an Orphanage should be (3)

1. The Jewish Chronicle, 20.1.1893.

2. Ibid. 13.5.1892

3. The Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum became known to the Jewish public as Norwood, and it may be referred to as such in various parts of the thesis.

established in the North of England." But a counter-suggestion was made by Annie Q. Henriques, a well-known Mancunian Jewish social worker. She wrote that on the books of the Manchester Jewish Board of Guardians were the names of 100 children of widowed mothers who needed assistance, and she advocated subsidising the mothers or fostering the children rather than building another Home. (2) Felix Davies, the Hon. Secretary of the Jews' Hospital supported the suggestion of building an additional Home up North but he was opposed to having a school attached. Institutional life, he wrote "has a depressing and narrowing influence." (3) Lewis Levy, the Chairman of the East London Orphan Aid Society, approved of the idea of an additional Home up North because Norwood was full and there were so many children in London who could not be admitted. (4) Others claimed that boarding-out was wrong for it merely transferred poor children "from one poverty stricken home to another." (5) Following further correspondence, the Jewish Chronicle in a leading article commended the plan for a separate Home up North on the grounds that Norwood was full. (6)

But the Orphanage proceeded with its plan for enlarging the premises and the general situation was further eased through

1. The Jewish Chronicle, 1.11.1907.

2. Ibid. 8.11.1907.

3. Ibid. 8.11.1907.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. 15.11.1907.

6. Ibid. 25.12.1908.

the generosity of donors who gave a large donation for the construction of a small Home on the grounds of Norwood to cater for 50 children between the ages of 5 and 8 years.

The position of children resident in workhouses continued to occupy the minds of the public for some time. As late as 1923 a Councillor S. Segal wrote in the Jewish Chronicle:

"I am told that there is the Jews' Orphan Asylum, Norwood, but although the Guardians maintain a few children there, the authorities of that institution will not accept any more Poor Law boys and girls, as they say that by so doing they will prevent the building from being put to its legitimate use, and also on grounds of lack of accommodation. The need for a Jewish Poor Law School was forcibly brought home to me a little while back. The St. George's Guardians had adopted a family of four Jewish children who refused to eat meat and when Kosher meat was supplied, still refused to eat because the pans were trefer." (1)

In a letter in the next issue of the Jewish Chronicle, Rev. W. Easterman claimed he had advocated a similar measure in 1906 and stated that he thought that there were about 50 Jewish children resident in the various Union Homes.

With the general improvement in social conditions and the gradual development of the social services, the pressure on Norwood eased. Pauper children were admitted more readily and without raising undue controversy. The Annual Report for 1913 indicated that double orphans were admitted without delay, although cases of desertion were subject to most searching enquiries:

1. The Jewish Chronicle, 1.6.1923.

"There has been an increase in the number of P.R.A. children. In cases of desertion, the Committee have only admitted a child after very exhaustive enquiries and everything is done to prevent any act of collusion on the part of deserting parents. In this respect, the Committee are much indebted to the Jewish Board of Guardians who render so much assistance in this all important matter and without whose approval no cases of desertion are entertained."

The first World War increased the number of widowed mothers and the Annual Report for 1923 referred to a suggestion which, however, was not accepted, that an allowance should be given to these mothers in place of admitting the children to Norwood.

Further changes in the social situation was referred to in the Annual Report for 1925:

"Recent legislation may compel us to recast our ideas as to the meaning of the word 'deserving' ... hitherto it meant orphanhood, poverty, destitution and non-existence or unsuitability of the home ... With the introduction of widows pensions, the question arises should not the child be allowed to stay with the remaining parent? ... Parents could be subsidised by charitable funds to permit the children to remain with them ... The Committee of Norwood are the Trustees of the Community and their funds must be used to the best possible advantage of orphans as a whole ... It may be necessary to modify the scheme for admission. But of one thing the Community must rest assured ... the home from which they refuse to remove a child will give it the necessary opportunities of educational and character development. There is need for a still greater bond between Norwood and the Board of Guardians."

The Second World War broke out before any drastic changes were made. But on the return of the children from evacuation in 1945, when it was found that there were many Jewish children in local authority Children's Homes, application was made for their immediate admission to Norwood. It became a working principle that any Jewish child who was taken in care by a local authority would be admitted forthwith to Norwood subject only

to passing a formal medical examination, and in 1952 approximately one quarter of the children on roll were of this category.

This brief outline of the origin, growth and development of the Jewish Orphanage has indicated the many changes in the aims and purposes of the institution and in the concept of child care. The administrators were concerned with the charitable aims of child care, making provision for children who could not be adequately cared for in a normal home by parents or relations. and, at the same time, they were anxious to provide the best educational facilities, so that the products of the institution could become worthy representatives of the Jewish community. Thus, on the one hand there was the pressure to admit children because of their destitution, and child care criteria dominated the minds of selectors; on the other hand, there was the pressure to create a good type of boarding school for intelligent children of the respectable poor. Because it appeared unlikely that children of disreputable, irreligious and ignorant parents would develop into socially acceptable citizens, there was strong pressure against the admission of such children. The Jews are not a missionary people and have rarely made efforts to reclaim those who have gone astray. Consequently, there has never been a social movement for reforming recalcitrants or an evangelical movement for bringing people back to the religious fold. On the other hand, those who are religious

or who display an aptitude or zeal for study are regarded with respect, regardless of their social status. Thus the caring for the poor and destitute of socially acceptable families was ever a characteristic of the pattern of Jewish life. But the caring for destitute children who sprung from socially unacceptable families was an acquired responsibility resulting from assimilations with their gentile environment.

This conflict of approach to social problems accounted for the conflict in the approach to the problems of child care and it was only in the second quarter of the twentieth century that the criteria for accepting children changed so considerably, that the child care needs alone of a Jewish child were accepted as the test for suitability for admission, providing the child was physically and mentally capable of benefiting by residence at the Orphanage.

CHAPTER II

Financial Problems and their influence in the administration of the institution.

The Jewish Orphanage, in common with most charitable organisations, was vitally concerned with the ways and means of attracting financial support; for, apart from the task of administering funds with the maximum efficiency, it had to contend with inadequate resources.

In the early years of its formation, the funds appeared to be adequate for their purpose. But, as the institution increased in size, it became impossible to pay from the annual subscriptions and income from endowments for both the additional capital outlay and the increased running costs. Consequently, it became necessary to make periodic public appeals for funds.

The original endowment sprang from the appeal made by the Goldsmid brothers in 1795. This was followed by an appeal for annual subscribers, who, in return for their subscriptions, were granted the privileges of electing officers and members of the committee and, in addition, the right to elect inmates. In addition to these more substantial subscribers, the general public were encouraged to support the institution. Thus it

appears from a balance sheet of 1819, that out of 1,000
 subscribers, 750 donated but one penny a week. ⁽¹⁾

At times, however, major appeals were necessary. Thus, in 1860, when it was decided to remove the Hospital to Norwood, an appeal was launched for £8,000, and, for the first time since the original appeal in 1795, it was extended to the non-Jewish public. ⁽²⁾

The income always appeared to be inadequate, and committees were obliged to effect economies, as well as raise money. Thus, in 1867, the Hospital was in debt to the extent of £6,000, but its income from annual subscriptions was less than £400.

Among the economies effected were:

1. The dismissal of the Assistant Master and the Assistant Mistress, and the extended use of the monitorial system, whereby the senior pupils were given additional responsibilities.
2. The sacking of the non-Jewish Matron and the replacement by a Jewish Matron at a lower salary. The latter was an 'old girl' who was promoted from the position of a teacher at the institute. ⁽³⁾

Reference has already been made to the restriction on the number of admissions because of the lack of funds. ⁽⁴⁾

1. The Jewish Chronicle - 11.7.1850. the Jews' Hospital and Jewish Asylum.
2. See Appendix I.
3. Annual Report of Jews' Hospital, 1868.
4. See Chapter I - p.35.

These deficits occurred, despite the fact that for the period under review, each public appeal for funds met with success. Thus, in 1871, the Festival Dinner appeal liquidated the debt to the banks of £6,000. But a fresh overdraft soon grew to be met by the balance of a further appeal. The following table illustrates the course of events:-

(1)

MEETING OF OVERDRAFTS BY APPEALS

<u>Year</u>	<u>Overdraft</u>	<u>Sum raised by appeals</u>
1902	£12,000	£15,388
1909	£10,000	£12,200
1916	£ 9,500	£18,300
1919	£12,712	£24,500
1923	£22,375	£25,000

These recurring debts, despite the success of the appeals, were a constant source of anxiety to the administrators. For example, although the appeal in 1919, which aimed at realising £20,000, brought in £25,000, the institution was left at the end of that half-year with a debt of £8,500; the deficit at the end of 1921 was £16,630, and in 1922 was £17,000. In this latter year, an appeal for £31,000 realised only £21,000.

1. Data taken from Annual Reports of the Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum.

2. The Jewish Chronicle 22.12.1922.

3. The Jewish Chronicle 2.12.1921.

4. The Jewish Chronicle 18.5.1923.

5. The Jewish Chronicle 7.7.1922.

6. The Jewish Chronicle 25.5.1923.

and the annual subscriptions amounted to £1,400.

The Jewish Chronicle advocated the formation of a Federation of Charities, so that public appeals could be effectively organised, with a view to rendering adequate (1) assistantance to Norwood. In a leading article it wrote:- "It goes on spending money until it has gone, goes on borrowing money from its Bankers until a limit is set to the credit it can obtain.... then and then only it makes up its mind to turn to the community and ask the public to come to its aid and wipe (2) out the deficit."

In the following issue, the President of the Institution, Mr. Anthony de Rothschild, wrote:- "We are now working with (3) a deficit of £10,000 a year....."

As an incentive to the charitable impulses of the community, in June 1923 the Jewish Chronicle opened a Norwood Fund to which the public were invited to subscribe. But the response was poor, and it did not remain open for long.

Eventually, a conference was held under the presidency of Mr. Lionel de Rothschild, to discuss the formation of a council which would co-ordinate the fund-raising activities of all charities. But the attempt proved abortive, and the Hospital was obliged to depend entirely on its own organisation for raising money.

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1. The Jewish Chronicle 22.12.1922.
 2. The Jewish Chronicle 18.5.1923.
 3. The Jewish Chronicle 25.5.1923.

The Growth of the Orphan Aid Society Movement.

Apart, however, from subscribers and general appeals, the Institution began to receive support from organisations which sprang up in different parts of the country for the specific purpose of collecting funds for Norwood. They were first formed in the provinces.

Two main reasons accounted for the formation of these Aid Societies. The more altruistic motive was the need to provide financial support. The other was a more parochial one. From those areas where children were being sent to Norwood, it was felt that not only was there a moral obligation to help the Home, but in order to ensure their admission, the community wished to be in the strongest position by commanding the support of the largest number of Governors. These could be created by the payment of sufficiently large subscriptions by the Societies. By such a method the local society nominated the Governors who could not only vote, but could attend meetings of the General Court and, in such a way, became in effect the representatives of the local Society.

In 1888, the first Orphan Aid Society was formed in
(1)

Birmingham. In 1890, the Hastings and the East London Orphan
(2)
Aid Societies were formed. In 1891 others followed in quick

1. The Jewish Chronicle 10.6.1892.

2. The Jewish Chronicle 16.1.1891.

3. See Table on p. 74.

succession in Hull, Newcastle, South Manchester, Edinburgh, Tredegar and in several small Welsh communities. By 1894, there were societies also in Wolverhampton, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Newport, Sheffield, South Shields, Liverpool, Nottingham, Hanley, Cardiff, Leeds, Stockton and Sunderland.

In 1893, the then Chief Rabbi inaugurated the Children's Orphan Aid Society, a movement which was later sponsored by all members of the clergy, and which solicited the help of children attached to the Synagogues, who were encouraged to subscribe a penny a week. The aim was to arouse a practical interest in a charitable institution as a lesson in civic and religious responsibility.⁽¹⁾ By 1894 Children's O.A.S. were formed in the Bayswater, the Central, the Maider Lane, the New West End⁽²⁾ and the North London Synagogues.

It was not until after the first World War that the Orphan Aid Movement spread in strength to districts in the Metropolis. There appears little doubt but that the Children's Orphan Aid Societies proved the foundation of senior organisations which eventually became the major source of revenue.⁽³⁾ The growth of the Orphan Aid Movement is shown in Appendix 2.

As early as 1897, the President of the Birmingham O.A.S. put forward the suggestion that there should be a joint meeting

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1. The Jewish Chronicle 29.9.1893.
 2. Appendix 2.
 3. See Table on p. 74.

of representatives of the O.A.S. to discuss ways and means of increasing subscription. Eventually, a Central Advisory Committee was formed containing two representatives of each of the Metropolitan O.A.S. who met periodically to exchange ideas and discuss ways and means of increasing the income of the institution.

It was soon appreciated that these societies were providing a major source of income, and, in recognition of their importance, they were permitted to elect representatives to sit on the General Committee. As a token of the vital part this movement was expected to play in providing financial support to Norwood, the President of the Advisory Committee was made a Vice-President of Norwood.

Many of the more active members of the Orphan Aid Societies obtained election to the General Committee and to the sub-committees, and in this way played a vital part in the administration of Norwood. Previously, the only way by which policy could be influenced by the general public was through public meetings, the press and by bringing pressure to bear on Governors who attended the bi-annual meetings of the Court. Reference to such methods will be made in the following section where a description is given of the way attempts were made to obtain a more satisfactory method of election of children.

Latterly, however, matters of policy have been discussed at meetings of the O.A.S., and their representatives have brought

up the views of their societies at the monthly meetings of the General Committee or at any of the various sub-committees on which they might be sitting. In this way the administration became responsible to a wider public.

One of the methods of encouraging the societies was to arrange annual visits to the Home. In this way, members and their friends were able to see the work done, and could come into intimate contact with the children.

This procedure was a mixed blessing. Because of the large number of societies involved, the Home was under constant surveillance and an ever-increasing section of the public was made aware of the variety of social problems which accounted for the presence of children in the Home. This often resulted in people taking a more personal interest in the welfare of the children. One of the results of this procedure, for example, was the creation, in 1927, of a 'welfare scheme' whereby people were encouraged to befriend the children, and from this sprang the 'Uncle and Aunt' scheme, which later became a common feature of the administration of most Children's Homes.

It must, however, be borne in mind that, unlike non-Jewish Homes, which could exploit the goodwill of neighbours for a friendship scheme of this character, the Jewish Orphanage had so few Jewish neighbours, that the only way it could obtain 'friends' from among their co-religionists was by interesting

Jewish communities which were centred some distance away. The visits of the Orphan Aid Societies were a natural way of stimulating such interest.

On the other hand, the privacy of the Home was disturbed by the frequency of these organised visits, which usually resulted in well-meaning patronisation of the children. The self-respect of the children was, to an extent, undermined, and the system was open to criticism by those who followed a more progressive approach to child-care.

As a result of the increasing need for money following on the ever-increasing cost of administration, the Home became the object of increased publicity, with a view to increasing public support. The table on page 74 illustrates both the increase in ordinary expenditure, and also the decreasing income from subscriptions. Thus the expenditure rose from £7,592 in 1895 to £69,559 in 1954, while the annual subscriptions fell from £1,721 to £1,009. On the other hand, the amount raised by Orphan Aid Societies rose from £556 to £30,333.

During the period prior to the formation of Orphan Aid Societies when the income for administering the Home was raised by subscriptions, legacies and annual appeals, the children were permitted to live comparatively quiet and private lives.

Table illustrating the proportion of
money raised from different sources

Year	Ordinary Expenditure	Payment by Authorities and Guardians	Annual Subscriptions	Raised by Orphan Aid Societies
	£	£	£	£
1895	7,592	767 ($\frac{1}{10}$)	1,721 ($\frac{1}{4}$)	556 ($\frac{1}{14}$)
1910	13,933	1,246 ($\frac{1}{11}$)	1,540 ($\frac{1}{6}$)	788 ($\frac{1}{16}$)
1919	25,584	2,782 ($\frac{1}{9}$)	1,379 ($\frac{1}{19}$)	914 ($\frac{1}{23}$)
1936	27,467	3,002 ($\frac{1}{9}$)	1,386 ($\frac{1}{20}$)	9,765 ($\frac{1}{3}$)
1938	28,968	3,014 ($\frac{1}{9}$)	1,272 ($\frac{1}{24}$)	9,228 ($\frac{1}{3}$)
1954	69,559	14,731 ($\frac{1}{5}$)	1,009 ($\frac{1}{69}$)	30,333 ($\frac{1}{3}$)

The fractions in brackets give the approximate proportion of the Annual Ordinary Expenditure

The data have been extracted from Annual Reports for the years concerned.

When, on the other hand, such large sums of money had to be raised each year through the influence of regular and frequent publicity and public appeals, the children inevitably became affected through this constant reminder of their dependence on public charity. Their sensitivity to public reaction and sympathy became the more marked when this increased publicity coincided with the emergence of greater freedom to have contact with the outside community. Whilst it has not been possible to assess the effect of such publicity on the personality of the children, it has been obvious to those in close contact with them that they were conscious of being 'charity' children, and, the older ones in particular, avoided visitors who were connected with fund-raising organisations. It was also noticeable that some of the weaker characters took advantage of every opportunity 'to play' upon the sympathy of visitors. It was not possible to prevent the children from suffering from the powerful impact of 'charity groups' who had a genuine but impersonal interest in the well-being of the children who, of course, reacted as individuals and were influenced in different ways according to their individual make-up.

Thus whilst the measures taken to secure adequate financial support helped to spread a sense of civic responsibility over a wide section of the Jewish community, they also resulted in detracting from the atmosphere of the Orphanage a sense of intimate living, and they tended to aggravate the

feeling of deprivation which the children might have had.

Changes in the method of selecting children.

One of the ways by which the Institution attracted financial support was by giving subscribers the privilege of voting for the election of inmates. The voting power of the subscriber varied according to the amount subscribed. The system of voting was outlined thus in the Annual Report of 1878:

"Life Governorship ... £10.10.0. Two votes.

An additional vote for every £5. 5. 0. contained in any donation of ten guineas and upwards, such number of votes not to exceed ten in any one name.

Annual subscription - £1. 1. 0.	Two votes
10. 6.	One vote

An additional vote without limit as to number for every 10s. 6d. subscribed annually."

Before an applicant could be considered he had to obtain the support of at least two governors.

As a result of this method of selection and election many anomolous situations arose, for it soon became apparent that successful applicants were not necessarily the most deserving cases, but were often those who were successful in soliciting the support of influential governors. Some unfortunate candidates applied unsuccessfully for years whilst others, no more deserving, were elected on a first application.

The procedure was laid down in a form sent to all
 (1) applicants. Many of the more ignorant applicants believed that once the preliminaries were over and the forms had been submitted to the Secretary, the cases would be judged on their merits, especially if the children had passed the necessary examinations and the names were put forward for election. The preliminary scrutiny was a thorough one, as can be judged from the figures for the January Election of 1874 when out of 34 applicants, the names of only 22 were submitted for election.

The right of selection by the Committee was a useful safeguard against abuses, but it only made the ordeal of election the worse in the urgent cases of destitution. To help those who had the fewest number of 'friends at court', it was resolved in 1871 that the votes of an unsuccessful candidate could be carried forward to the two following elections. But if the application failed after the third election, it forfeited all the accumulated votes and was obliged to commence canvassing afresh.

Canvassing was a common practice. Since governors were scattered throughout the country, the more enterprising applicants appealed for support through the medium of advertisements in the Jewish press, and the names of sponsors were given following the pattern of appeals to voters in municipal or

parliamentary elections. The results of the elections were published and gave the names of successful and unsuccessful applicants together with the number of votes cast.

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**NEW WEST END HOSPITAL AND ORPHAN
ASYLUM.**
WEST NORWOOD.

AT a GENERAL COURT of the Governors and Subscribers of this Institution, held at the Vestry Room of the New West End Synagogue, St. Petersburg-place, W., on the 7th of February, for the ELECTION of TWELVE BOYS and SIX GIRLS as inmates, and ONE OUT-PENSIONER. The following were declared to be the successful candidates:—

ADULT:

John Lumley... 3,550 votes.

BOYS:

Gedda Feldman	682	David Benjamin	443
Abraham Lewis		Andrew Elion	443
Berlinsky	575	Jack Jacobs	432
Morris Trapler	558	Alex. Epstein	428
Israel Levy	469	Samuel Jones	422
Isaac Levy	466	Solomon Becker	406
Benjamin Isaac Benjamin	447		

GIRLS:

Cecilia Pinkus	733	Fanny Scheine-	
Tilly Levi	194	man	1
Rose Decart	45	Eva Faber	2
Harriet Harris	39	Annie Glasberg	2

* * There being only seven candidates for six vacancies, it was resolved that they all be elected.

The number of votes polled by the unsuccessful candidates is as follows:—

ADULTS:

John Jones	3240	Jacob Wasser-	
Michael Gershon	1353	man	145
Adelaide Lipman	711	Robert Levene	143
Elizabeth Ballin	560	Elizabeth Woolf	5

BOYS:

Benjamin Franks	402	Harry Schrier	98
Solomon Bufman	401	Victor Alexander	45
David Goldberg	362	Samuel Seals	37
Harry Hyam		Abm. Littven	33
Phillips	298	Harry Levin	30
Hyman Lubelski	271	Joshua Zweek	29
Daniel Plottel	249	Aaron Levy	26
Raphael Abm.		Joseph Levy	16
Sperling	108	Jacob Richman	9
Harris Rosen-		Moses Davis	4
bloom	99	Israel Bakesef	2
Marks Lazarus	81	Moses Levy	2
Emanuel Barnet		Isaac Velieman	1
Hyman	75	Simon Joseph	0
Israel Stork	70	Harry Millman	0

Notes of thanks were passed to the Vice-President in the Chair, to the Scrutineers and to the Wardens of the New West End Synagogue.

By order,

M. J. GREEN

Secretary.

Hamilton House,
149, Bishopsgate-street Without, E.C.

In a subsequent issue would appear the public acknowledgment of the support given to candidates. This is a characteristic notice:

"Mrs. I. Cohen, of 9 St. Andrew's Terrace, St. George's Grove, Hull, begs to thank ladies and gentlemen who so kindly supported the election of her child
(1)
Louisa Cohen."

Orphan Aid Societies were being founded in the last decade of the Nineteenth Century and an inducement to membership was this privilege of exercising the vote. In 1893, it was suggested that the Honorary Secretaries of such societies should have a vote for the first £10.10.0. donation plus an
(2)
additional vote for each additional £2. subscribed. The importance attached to such a privilege may be gauged from the appeal made in the Jewish Chronicle to Birmingham subscribers to give more support to a Birmingham girl applicant who had received only 159 votes out of the 250 votes controlled by Birmingham governors.

As an incentive to would-be donors a further revision was made of the system of election which entitled every donor of
(3)
500 guineas the right to nominate a child.

But public opinion eventually expressed disapproval of

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1. The Jewish Chronicle - 8.7.1892.
 2. -do- -13.1.1893.
 3. -do- - 4.1.1895.

this system. The competition for admission was intense and it was felt that the sole criteria for admission should be the need of the child and not the influence of the sponsor. Letters of protest appeared in the press and in public meetings it was urged that the sole right of election should be vested in the Committee.

In the Annual Report for 1898, reference was made to the controversy and although it was evident that the committee appreciated the justice of the criticisms, it was not prepared to abolish the system. "It will be seen", the Report said, (1)

"that out of 72 applications only 38 children have been allowed to stand as candidates for 30 places. This result appears to give a satisfactory answer to those who object to the voting system which has been in force for 90 years on the grounds that deserving cases may be rejected, while those not so worthy of support may be elected owing to the influence of friends and the ignorance of the electors of the merits of the various candidates.

While it may be open to question whether the method of admission by election by the general body of subscribers to the benefits of a charity is the most perfect system that can be devised, it is believed that owing to the extreme care exercised by the Committee, the Asylum, while reaping the many benefits of the present arrangements, does not suffer from the many abuses sometimes associated with charity elections.

The members of the Committee enquire personally into the merits of all London cases, that is to say, the home of each child is visited by a member whose duty it is to see the relatives, note the surroundings, and so be in a position to form some judgment on the merits of the case and to check the information afforded by the friends of the applicant.

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1. Annual Report of the Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum, 1898.

In the case of applications from the provinces, information is sought from the friends of the Institution in the neighbourhood. The applicants are then required to undergo a searching medical examination in the hands of Dr. Soper, the Medical Officer, who rejects any children who, on account of illness or disease, would not be desirable inmates of the school.

A meeting of the Committee is subsequently held at which the reports of the members are read or given personally. Every applicant in the London district, together with a near relation, comes before the Committee, who question the relatives as to their circumstances, etc. Finally, the list of candidates is settled after careful consideration of the merits of each case. The principle governing the Committee in their deliberations is that no child shall be allowed to become a candidate who is not in every way a deserving object of charity.

As some criterion of the thorough manner in which this arduous task is performed, it may be mentioned that at the last meeting of selection, twelve members of the Committee were busily engaged from half-past four to a quarter to eleven in winnowing out the lists.

The governors and subscribers may therefore rest assured that they may vote, with an easy conscience, in favour of any of the names submitted to them. But there is a further safeguard, which ensures that the most deserving of the benefits of the charity - for it would be ridiculous to suggest that all candidates are on an equality of distress - shall not be passed over. The Committee are entrusted by a large number of the governors and subscribers with their votes, and this voting power is always effectively used in favour of the unfriended and most deserving cases.

It is hoped that this explanation of the full working of the methods of selection and election of candidates may overcome the scruples of any who have held aloof from the Charity on the grounds that the inmates were elected by the general body of Governors and subscribers, and may also tend to satisfy the friends of the Institution that only those are admitted who are really in need of help."⁽¹⁾

1. Ibid pp. 12 - 14.

Public opinion, however, was not appeased by this apologia. F.D. Mocatta, a well respected communal worker, wrote "The system of contested elections and voting at institutions is a very glaring risk and utterly incompatible with the exercise of real charity and sympathy."⁽¹⁾ A leading article in the Jewish Chronicle quoted the Home for Jewish Incurables and the Home for the Blind as two comparable charitable institutions which allowed the committee to select the inmates and it was suggested that all subscribers should place their votes⁽²⁾ unreservedly in the hands of the Committee.

The East London Orphan Aid Society lent its support to the⁽³⁾ campaign for the abolition of the voting system and characteristic of the argument used against the system were those set out by the Chairman of the Birmingham Orphan Aid Society:

"I have long considered that some change was necessary, and could quote innumerable deserving cases which have been passed over, both as regards adults and young children, but have hitherto refrained from expressing my ideas; but on looking over my voting paper today for the July elections, I find such glaring cases of inconsistency, that I am bound to give expression to my opinions.

First, I find an adult female having made four applications: she now starts without a single vote, all previous votes according to the law as it stands at present being forfeited, and here is a candidate of irreproachable character, allied to one of the best Jewish families in England, amongst whose males have been aldermen, mayors and members of other corporate bodies, whose only crime

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1. The Jewish Chronicle 10.2.1899.
 2. Ibid.
 3. The Jewish Chronicle 30.6.1899.

is that she has resigned herself to her needle to support an aged father and mother ... and when unable to work is forgotten by the world.

Then again to the list of boys' candidates we find the case of a boy having made two applications and not a single vote. I find another, third application, one vote; and it concludes with a case of a fifth application with a result of 20 votes. Are any of these deserving cases? If so, it is a sin to ignore them; if the contrary, they should not be eligible candidates.

I shall be asked how do these anomalies occur? Nothing more easy to answer for a person like myself who has had 20 years experience of the working of the present mode of election. The election of candidates is obtained by those having the largest number of votes. So far, so good; but how are they obtained in the majority of cases? I have no hesitation in saying by printer's ink, postage stamps, and hard work on the part of the relatives and influential friends, who in turn, appeal to their friends and influential friends; and in many cases I could mention secure an election at the first application, to the detriment of poor and ignorant parents of both sexes whose friends are only of their own class and in many cases have been led to believe that filling up an application form in due order is sufficient.

I am bound to say that as President of the Orphan Aid Society, I am obliged to follow similar tactics as described above." (1)

The question was brought up frequently at the General Court of the Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum and it was referred to again in the Annual Report for 1903:-

"The Committee are alive to the objections against the voting system, but they believe that, owing to the fact that a large and ever increasing number of votes are placed at their disposal, these objections are reduced to a minimum. The Committee feel that it would be unwise, in the interests of the charity, to attempt to make any radical change until they have the sympathy of a large majority of the electors, and especially of those on whose

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1. The Jewish Chronicle 22.6.1900.

continued support the well-being of the Asylum must depend. Meanwhile the Committee strongly appeal to all who are in favour of the suggested alteration, to place their votes in the hands of the Committee at each election, and so pave the way to the attainment of their wishes, and at the same time obviate the evils of which they complain."

When the issue was brought to the vote in April 1903 the Board of Management narrowly defeated by 21 votes to 19 a
(1)
proposal to abolish elections but it endeavoured to reduce the evils of the system by limiting the number of applicants to not more than twice the number of vacancies (at times the proportion had been as many as five to one vacancy). "In this way", stated the Annual Report of 1904,

"friends of children whose chances were small would be saved fruitless expenditure of time and money in seeking votes ... The Committee now has a very large proportion of voting power, and it is believed that the evils alleged to be inseparable from election have been reduced to a minimum ... As some very influential supporters of the Charity are opposed to the suggested change, it would be unwise and unpolitic in face of such opposition to abolish a system which, as worked in Norwood, has little room for real objection."

The matter, however, was not allowed to rest there. Mr. F. D. Mocatto, in his will, left Norwood £1,000 on condition that the voting system was abolished within ten years of his death. A sub-committee was appointed to consider the matter and its report which was accepted by the General Committee with only three dissentients declared:

"The Committee do not recommend any change in the present system - a system in operation in nearly all large charities. The powers reposed in the Committee by the

transfer to them of so large a share of the voting power is annually on the increase (it was 5,528 out of a possible 8,225 in 1905), and the Committee are of the opinion that in a few years the election of candidates will absolutely lapse into their hands, so that the voting system will automatically come to an end. They are of the opinion that having regard to the large annual deficits and increased expenditure it would not be prudent at the present time to risk the finances of the Institution by so radical a change as the abolition of the voting system."¹

Eventually in 1923 the system was changed and children were elected by the vote of the Committee only.

Apart from the change in the method of election, a change also took place in the method of investigation. At one time, as has been pointed out, members of the committee personally investigated cases, visited the homes and submitted reports. But later, in 1901, an investigating officer was appointed. The procedure of inviting both parent and child to the Selection Committee for questioning continued until 1953; afterwards, to save the children from an unnecessary and an embarrassing experience, only the parents were seen by the Committee who, after a discussion with them, determined the contribution, if any, they should make for the upkeep of the child, should it be admitted.

An account has been given of the way the pressure of enlightened public opinion removed one administrative aspect of child care from the influence of financial considerations. Mention might also be made of the decision to discontinue the practice of playing on the emotions of the public by putting

1. Annual Report of J.H. & O.A. for 1906.

on show the children either at banquets where funds were being raised, or at concerts where they performed. The practices were also discontinued of permitting visitors to enter the dining hall whilst the children were eating and of permitting donors to distribute gifts to the children en masse, (although gifts to an individual child as a means of contact with a view to establishing friendship were not prohibited). Each of these decisions were contested in committees because it was felt that the result would lessen the chances of success in appealing for donations. The recommendation in 1955, to change the name of the Orphanage to that of the Norwood Home for Jewish Children was hotly debated in Orphan Aid Societies in all parts of the country, because it was feared that the Home would lose its appeal value to the charitable minded public. But, eventually, the recommendation was adopted because it was felt to be in the interests of the children.

Although the administrators would seem to be influenced by what public opinion has regarded as the best interests of the children, yet throughout its history, the need to appeal for funds has ever been evident to the children. And although efforts have been made to save the children from embarrassment, the administrators have been obliged to weigh carefully every aspect of administration not only from the standpoint of the child but from their assessment of how it will effect the chances of raising funds.

It should also be pointed out that the reforms would not have been introduced, even though they were recognised as desirable, if the administrators had not felt convinced that, ultimately, the Home would not suffer financially.

CHAPTER III

Changing attitudes to Child Care within the administration of the Jews' Hospital.

A survey has been made of the way the Jewish Orphanage came into existence and the effect on its administration of its identity as a voluntary organisation dependent on the goodwill of the public for financial support.

It is now proposed to give an account of the changes which took place in the internal administration of the Home.

Internal discipline.

When the Jews' Hospital was opened on 28th June, 1807 a detailed code of regulations was drawn up. At that time there were as inmates but 5 old men, 5 old women, 10 boys and 8 girls. It was the first experience of the Jewish Community (apart from the Sephardim), in dealing with the administration of an institution of this kind and the committee was undoubtedly influenced by the experience of other institutions. As the institution gained in experience, so the regulations changed, until it acquired a character of its own.

These were the regulations in operation when the institution opened. (1) Widows, widowers, spinsters and bachelors

1. "History of the Jews' Hospital" - The Jewish Chronicle - 26.8.47.

were eligible for admission from the age of 55 years and had to comply with a residential qualification of 10 years in England. After they had been admitted, the two sexes were kept apart except for meals and prayers; if any marriage took place between inmates they were obliged to leave. The young and old were expected to rise at 6.0 a.m. in summer and 7 a.m. in winter, to attend morning, afternoon and evening prayers and to go to bed at 10 p.m. in summer and 9 p.m. in winter. The children were to work for six hours a day in English and two hours a day at Hebrew subjects.

The code of discipline was strict. "If any boy shall be detected in a wilful lie, he shall be fed on bread and water for one day, and reproved in the public room by the Superintendent or Master, so that he confess his fault, and promise not to offend again; if guilty a second time, he shall, in addition to this, have a label affixed to his back with the word "LIAR" written on it, and no one allowed to speak to him, until, by a proper contrition, he is again received into favour by the Master or Superintendent. Swearing is to be punished in the like and most solemn manner. Sauciness and wilfulness to incur the same penalty. If the boy prove obstinate, and will not make amends, his punishment may continue three days; and if not yet brought to contrition, or if frequently detected in the same vicious conduct, he must be reported to the House Committee, who may order a public whipping; but, if incorrigible

they shall call an extra meeting of the General Committee to consider the propriety of turning him out."

In 1821, a fresh code of rules and regulations was drawn up. These are some of the rules laid down: ⁽¹⁾

No leave of absence may be given to a member of staff except by resolution of the Committee.

Apprentices over 18 years may have leave of absence not exceeding one day a fortnight.

Apprentices between the ages of 16 and 18 years may have leave of absence not exceeding one day a month.

Apprentices between the ages of 14 and 16 years may have leave of absence not exceeding one day in each eight weeks.

Visiting was permitted only during the last Wednesday in each month between the hours of 3 and 5 p.m. in winter and 4 and 6 p.m. in summer. (It may be noted that the period of visiting remained unchanged until the middle of the twentieth century.)

Careful watch was kept on the younger children who were not allowed to leave the premises except under special circumstances and a regulation stipulated that no school boy, except a junior apprentice was allowed to go on an errand.

The girls were kept strictly apart from the boys and the aged inmates, and had their meals in their own schoolroom,

1. Rules and Regulations, publ. The Jews' Hospital, 1821.

"at which the Governess shall attend to preserve order and decorum."

The separation of the sexes was a characteristic feature of the internal administration. An 'old boy' writing about his experiences during the 'seventies, stated that boys and girls met only at meal-time, on excursions or at general social gatherings in the great dining hall.

An 'old girl' writing about her experiences at a slightly later date stated that, "Every Saturday afternoons boys who had sisters could come over for an hour to visit them, but, if I must tell the truth, after greeting their sisters with a preliminary kiss, they seemed to be engrossed in conversation with the other boys' sisters and they quite forgot their own."⁽¹⁾

An 'old boy' writing about conditions in the Jews' Hospital before it removed to Norwood, refers to the kind of curiosity which can be expected under conditions of extreme segregation. "The bathing accommodation was limited, but was used for all it was worth. There was a huge bath which was used by both boys and girls. I regret to say that the 'peeping Toms' of the Jews' Hospital were in evidence, and they knew when the girls' bathing day was, with results which may be left to the imagination."⁽²⁾

The large building at Norwood was divided into a boys' and girls' side and although all children entered by the same

1. The Jewish Chronicle 19.4.1895.

2. The Jewish Guardian 28.12.1923.

drive, once they reached the Home, they divided and entered by separate entrances. Once inside the building, the sexes were kept rigidly apart. The writer quoted above, concluding his lengthy reminiscences, wrote: "It will be noticed that my notes deal with the boys' side of the Jews' Hospital almost exclusively. As boys, we knew little or nothing of the girls' side. We were, rightly, rigorously excluded therefrom. True, there were opportunities made for mild flirtations, and 'my sweetheart when a boy' as the old song has it, was one Annie Lehman."⁽¹⁾

Precise instructions were laid down regarding prayers:

"Within half an hour after ringing the bell in the morning, the Inmates (unless prevented by sickness or infirmity) are to be in the Synagogue, to attend divine service, at which time the doors are to be closed, and when prayers are ended, the Inmates shall be mustered, and their names called over by the House Steward, or under his direction, and all absentees (excepting such as are justly excusable) shall be punished by the forfeiture of their breakfast.

"During other parts of the day appropriated to prayers, the Inmates are to attend punctually, under the like regulations, and all absentees are to be punished by the loss of the evening meal.

1. The Jewish Guardian 28.12.1923.

"Separation of the sexes was strictly enforced in work and leisure ... on Saturdays and Holidays, when the weather permits the boys are to walk out after dinner with the Superintendent and the girls with the Governess.

"The males and females are to be kept apart, the boys and girls most particularly.

"No female servant shall be suffered to enter the work-shops."

Apart from walks there is no indication of provision made for leisure pursuits. Rule 3 stipulated that: "Immediately after meals, the Inmates shall be sent to their occupations, according to the particulars pointed out, under the heads of the several departments." It was further indicated that the aged inmates, too, were to be employed in useful and easy occupations, such as spinning and knitting and these Inmates were allowed to receive two thirds of their earnings.

The arrangements for the children for each day were methodically planned and a time-table was incorporated in the Rules and Regulations. There was a separate time-table for the Sabbath and Festivals. The following are the time-tables for a normal day for the school boys and girls.

(1)

Daily Arrangements.School Boys.

		From 1st March to 1st Nov.	From 1st Nov. to 1st March.
Bell to ring for prayers	at	5.30 a.m.	6.30 a.m.
Prayers to commence	at	6.0 a.m.	7.0 a.m.
Breakfast to be finished	by	7.0 a.m.	8.0 a.m.
Junior boys to be washed	by	8.0 a.m.	9.0 a.m.
English school	from	9 - 12 a.m.	10 - 12 a.m.
Play	from	12 - 1 p.m.	12 - 1 p.m.
Prayers and dinner	from	1 - 2 p.m.	1 - 2 p.m.
English lessons	from	2 - 3 p.m.	2 - 3 p.m.
Hebrew lessons	from	3 - 4 p.m.	3 - 4 p.m.
Hebrew school	from	4 - 7 p.m.	4 - 7 p.m.
Play	from	7 - 8 p.m.	7 - 8 p.m.
Prayers and Supper	from	8.0 p.m.	8.0 p.m.
Bed	at	9.0 p.m.	9.0 p.m.

School Girls

Bell for prayers	5.30 a.m.	6.30 a.m.
Prayers	6.0 a.m.	7.0 a.m.
Breakfast to be finished by	7.0 a.m.	8.0 a.m.
Play	8.0 a.m.	9.0 a.m.
Schooling by Governess	8 - 12 "	9 - 12 "
Writing and Arithmetic	12 - 1 p.m.	12 - 1 p.m.
Prayers and Dinner	1 - 2 p.m.	1 - 2 p.m.
Play	2 - 3 p.m.	2 - 3 p.m.
School of Governess	3 - 6 p.m.	3 - 6 p.m.
Hebrew School	6 - 8 p.m.	6 - 8 p.m.
Prayers and Supper	8.0 p.m.	8.0 p.m.
Bed	9.0 p.m.	9.0 p.m.

The members of the House Committee were authorised to visit the Hospital regularly to see that all regulations were enforced. The Rules stipulated that: "The four members of the Committee are to attend weekly on Sundays at the House, minutely to inspect the management thereof, and to see that every regulation be properly attended to; to examine reports to ascertain that the Inmates are clean in their person and attentive to their employments."

Whilst the Superintendent and the House Committee were given considerable powers to ensure that the Inmates would respect their wishes and carry out the regulations, they had no power to expel an inmate; this could only be done by the determination of a majority of a joint meeting of the House Committee and General Committee.

Feeding

The food to be given to both children and staff was rigorously controlled in the early days. It was meant to be wholesome but there was little discretion accorded to the Superintendent. The diet changed from time to time often on the advice of the Medical Officer and it appears that the improvements reflected the change in medical as well as in lay public opinion.

The following is the scale of provisions laid down in
(1)
1865.

Scale of Provisions - Per Week.

	Officers	Servants	Juveniles	Aged
Bread	7 lb.	7 lb.	9 $\frac{1}{4}$ lb.	8 $\frac{3}{4}$ lb.
Meat	5 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	5 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	5 $\frac{1}{4}$ "
Cheese	12 oz.	12 oz.	--	8 oz.
Butter	12 oz.	12 oz.	4 oz.	8 oz.
Milk	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ pts.	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ pts.	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ pts.	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ pts.
Beer	7 pts.	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ pts.	--	7 pts.
Tea	2 oz.	2 oz.	--	2 oz.
Coffee	5 oz.	4 oz.	--	3 oz.
Sugar L.	1 lb.	--	--	--
Sugar M.	--	1 lb.	--	12 oz.

This scale of provisions may be compared with the following scale recommended by the Poor Law Commissioner for able bodied residents at Workhouses.

1. Minute Book - The Jews' Hospital.

	<u>Breakfast</u>			<u>Dinner</u>		<u>Supper</u>			
	Bread	Gruel	Cooked Meat	Potatoes	Suet or Rice Pudding	Soup pt.	Bread oz.	Cheese oz	Broth pt
	oz.	pt.	oz.	lb.	oz				
<hr/>									
Sunday									
Men	6	1½	5	½	-	-	6	-	1½
Women	5	1½	5	½	-	-	5	-	1½
Monday									
Men	6	1½	-	-	-	1½	6	2	-
Women	5	1½	-	-	-	1½	5	2	-
Tuesday									
Men	6	1½	5	½	-	-	6	-	1½
Women	5	1½	5	½	-	-	5	-	1½
Wednesday									
Men	6	1½	-	-	-	1½	6	2	-
Women	5	1½	-	-	-	1½	5	2	-
Thursday									
Men	6	1½	5	½	-	-	6	-	1½
Women	5	1½	5	½	-	-	5	-	1½
Friday									
Men	6	1½	-	-	14	-	6	2	-
Women	5	1½	-	-	12	-	5	2	-
Saturday									
Men	6	1½	-	-	-	1½	6	2	-
Women	5	1½	-	-	-	1½	5	2	-

Old people of 60 years of age and upwards were allowed one ounce of tea, 5 ozs. of butter and 7 ozs. of sugar in lieu of gruel for breakfast. Children under 9 years of age were to be dieted at the discretion of the Master; those above nine were to be allowed the same quantities as women. The Board of Guardians were directed that in selecting their diet they had to

refer to the usual mode of living of the independent labourers of the district in which the Union was situated and that on no account should the dietary of the Workhouse be superior or equal to the ordinary mode of subsistence of the labouring classes of the neighbourhood.⁽¹⁾

In addition to these scales at the Orphanage, Officers were allowed 1-lb. coffee, 1-lb. lump sugar per month for refreshments on the Sabbath morning prior to going to the Synagogue.

There were extra grants for festivals and the aged were allowed 3/6d a week for fish. An 'old boy' writing on his reminiscences during the period 1872-8 stated that fried fish was given as a special treat only on four or five occasions during the year. It became customary, too, to give boys celebrating their Barmitzvah (religious confirmation) fried fish for breakfast as a special treat.

As a result of the generosity of an 'old boy' who became a Treasurer of the Home, certain festivals became traditionally associated with an abundant supply of fruit. "For the whole week of Tabernacles, the children are feasted on the choicest of fruit, while the building is perfumed with the choice flowers that came down in hundreds. Besides the grapes, melons, bananas, nuts and every other fruit that is in season, two enormous consignments of cakes gladden the children."⁽²⁾

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1. Circular on Workhouse Dietaries App.A.No.7 - Second Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners 1836.
 2. The Jewish Chronicle - 29.9.1893.

The changes in approach to diet can be gauged by an examination of the following weekly menu charts for 1929 and 1954-55. The main differences which will appear show the enlarged variety of food given to the children in recent years quite apart from the increase in quantity. In addition, the children nowadays receive a third of a pint of milk at school and because of the increased visits during week-ends to foster-uncles and aunts, they have a very varied and full diet.

The "treats" which the children used to enjoy would be considered today as very austere, and consisted mainly of extra cake and jam.

(1)
Menue -July 1929.

December, 1929

	Breakfast	Dinner	Tea	Supper	Breakfast	Dinner	Tea	Supper
Mon.	Fish rolls Margarine Coffee	Sardines Salad Bread & Margarine Tea, Rice Pudding	Bread & Marg. Jam, Tea.	Current Bun	Porridge Hot Milk Bread & Marg.	Boiled Egg Mashed Pot- atoes, Bread & Marg, Rice Pudding	Bread & Marg. Sugar Cocoa	Current Bun
Tues.	Hot Bread & Milk, Bread & Marg. Tea.	Cold Roast Meat, Mash- ed Potatoes Beans Boiled Fruit Pudding.	Bread & Marg. Water- cress, Cocoa.	Bread & Marg.	Hot Bread & Milk, Bread & Marg. Tea.	Boiled Meat Currents and Onions Potatoes and Beans Bread Apple Tart.	Bread & Marg. Jam Cocoa	Bread & Marg.
Wed.	Bread & Marg. Marmalade Tea.	Boiled egg Mashed Potatoes Bread & Marg. Stewed Cherries & Custard.	Bread & Marg. Cucumber Tea.	Current Bun	Bread & Marg. Marmalade Tea.	Pea Soup and Vegetables Dumplings Bread Fresh Fruit	Bread & Marg. Watercress Cocoa.	Current Bun
Thurs.	Hot Bread & Milk, Bread & Marg. Tea.	Stewed Meat Potatoes Cabbage Bread Fresh Fruit	Bread & Marg. Salad Coffee.	Bread & Marg.	Hot Bread & Milk Bread & Marg. Tea.	Roast Meat Baked Pot- atoes Greens Bread Banana.	Brown Bread & Marg. Fruit Cocoa.	Bread & Marg.

(Cont'd)

(1)
Menu - July 1929

December, 1929

	Breakfast	Dinner	Tea	Supper	Breakfast	Dinner	Tea	Supper
Fri.	Bread & Margarine Marmalade Cocoa	Fried Fish Tomatoes Bread & Marg. Coffee.	Bread & Marg. Boiled Egg Tea	Current Bun.	Porridge Hot Milk Bread & Marg.	Dutch Cheese Salad Bread & Marg.	Fried Fish Beetroot Bread & Marg. Tea.	Current Bun
Sat.	Fresh Rolls & Marg. Marmalade Coffee.	Roast Meat, Greens, Baked Potatoes, Bread Jam Tart	Bread & Marg. Boiled Egg Tea	Biscuit	Fresh rolls & marg. Marmalade Coffee.	Hot Baked Sausages Mashed Potatoes Bread Baked Current Pudding.	Bread & Marg. Eggs Tea.	Biscuits
Sun.	Bread & Marg. Marmalade Coffee	Stew Vegetables Bread Fruit	Bread & Marg. Salad Tea.	Bread & Marg.	Bread & Marg. Boiled Eggs Cocoa	Irish Stew Bread Fresh Fruit	Bread & Marg. Current Bun Jam Tea.	Bread and Marg.

1. Annual Report, J.H.&O.A. 1929.

Menu for 25 - 31st July, 1955

6 - 12th December, 1954

	Breakfast	Dinner	Tea	Supper	Staff Supper	Breakfast	Dinner	Tea	Supper	Staff Supper
Mon.	Weetabix Milk. Sugar, Tea. Bread & Butter. Tomatoes on Fried Bread	Brown Stew Potatoes, Cabbage, Steamed Syrup Pudding	Tea, Bread & Butter, Boiled Egg, Honey	Buns and Milk	Soup Omelette & Peas Potatoes Rice Pudding, Fruit.	Porridge Milk, Sugar, Tea, Bread & Butter, Scrambled Egg, Marmalade	Minced Beef Potatoes, Greens, Baked Beans, Pudding.	Tea Bread & Butter, Pancakes Fruit, Jam	Buns, Hot or Cold Milk	Soup Baked Stuffed Potatoes Sprouts Pancakes Lemon.
Tues.	Cornflakes Milk, Sugar, Tea, Bread & Butter, Pancakes, Marmalade.	Braised Beef Potatoes, Carrots. Gooseberry Tart.	Tea, Bread & Butter, Fish Cakes, Fruit.	Sand- wiches and Lemonade.	Soup, Fish Cakes & Chips, Biscuits & Cheese.	Cornflakes Milk & Sugar, Rolls & Marmite, Tea, Bread & Butter, Marmalade.	Baked fish Potatoes, Peas. Rice Pudding Sultanas.	Tea, Bread & Butter, Macaroni Cheese Sauce, Cake.	Bread & Butter, Apples, Coffee or Cold Milk.	Soup Macaroni Cheese, Tomatoes, Apple Dumplings.
Wed.	Puffed Wheat, Milk, Sugar, Tea, Bread & Butter, Hot Rolls, Marmite, Marmalade.	Meat Pie, Potatoes, Cabbage. Fruit Compote.	Tea, Bread & Butter, Toast, Jam. Home made Cakes.	Biscuits and Milk.	Soup, Cold Meat Salad, Mince Tart.	Puffed Wheat, Milk, Sugar, Tea, Bread & Butter. Tomatoes on Fried Bread, Marmalade.	Braised Beef, Potatoes, Mashed Swedes, Apple Roll.	Tea, Bread & Butter, Fish Cakes, Fruit.	Sar - dines, Cocoa or Cold Milk.	Soup, Fish Cakes, Chips, Bakewell Tart.

(Cont'd.)

Menu for 25 - 31st July, 1955.

6th - 12th December, 1954.

	Breakfast	Dinner	Tea	Supper	Staff Supper	Breakfast	Dinner	Tea	Supper	Staff Supper
Thurs.	Shredded Wheat, Milk, Sugar, Tea, Bread & Butter, Scrambled Eggs.	Fried Fish, Potatoes, Tomatoes, Milk Pudding and Jam.	Tea, Bread & Butter Cheese, Beet- root, Lemon Curd.	Bread & Butter, Apple, Milk.	Soup, Cheese, Tomatoes, Banana Fritters.	Porridge, Milk, Sugar Tea Bread & Butter, Smoked Haddock, Marmalade.	Sausages, Potatoes, Greens, Double Jam Tart.	Tea, Bread & Butter Spaghetti on Toast, Biscuits, Fruit.	Sandwiches Coffee or Cold Milk	Soup Meat Pie Potatoes, Greens, Fresh Fruit.
Fri.	Cornflakes Milk, Sugar, Tea, Bread & Butter, Banana, Marmalade.	Fried Egg on Chips, Date Pudding and Custard.	Tea, Bread & Butter, Spag- hetti on Toast, Jam.	Buns and Milk.	Sausages, Onions & Potato Pie, Peas, Fruit Salad.	Cornflakes, Milk, Sugar. Tea, Bread & Butter. Baked Beans, Marmalade.	Cold Meat, Pickles, Chips. Steamed Jam Pudding	Buns & Milk.	Buns & Milk.	Grapefruit, Fried Fish, Potatoes, Sauce Fruit and Custard.
Sat.	Puffed Wheat, Milk, Sugar. Tea, Bread & Butter, Hot Rolls, Marmite, Marmalade.	Soup, Cold Meat, Pot- atoes, Pickles, Lemon Curd Tart.	Tea, Bread & Butter Pilchard Salad, Fruit & Custard.	Sand- wiches & Milk.	Pilchard Salad, Fruit & Custard.	Shredded Wheat, Milk, Sugar. Rolls & Marmite, Tea Bread & Butter, Marmalade.	Soup, Braised Beef, Potatoes, Beans, Lemon Curd Tart.	Tea, Bread & Butter, Pilchard Salad, Trifles, Apples.	Sandwiches Cocoa or Cold Milk.	
Sun.	Weetabix, Milk, Sugar, Tea, Bread & Butter, Boiled Eggs, Marmalade.	Roast Beef, Potatoes, Peas, Steamed Jam Roll.	Tea, Bread & Butter, Cake, Jam Fruit.	Bis- cuits and Lemon- ade.	Soup Cheese Salad Lemon Meringue Pie.	Porridge, Milk & Sugar, Tea, Bread & Butter, Boiled Eggs, Marmalade.	Brown Stew, Potatoes, Peas, Steamed Fruit, Pudding.	Tea, Bread & Butter, Cake, Jam, Fruit.	Biscuits Hot or Cold Milk.	Curry & Rice, Fried Potatoes, Apple Crumble.

Efforts to counteract the bad effects of institutionalism.

Much has been written about the effects on children of the kind of institutional life which existed in Norwood. The Curtis Report gave the most effective publicity to the criticisms which had been made by countless social workers, throughout the century. The Jewish public were not unfamiliar with drawbacks of this life and Norwood was the subject of considerable criticism.

An article in the Jewish Chronicle stated that children who attended the Jews' Hospital were dubbed "Nvei Tzedek fools", for "... the homelife of the charity tended somewhat to the unworldliness of those whose experience as they grew older was confined to its walls."⁽¹⁾

On the other hand another writer stated that "the rigid discipline which in like places makes boys and girls into pieces, skilfully devised mechanism, moving and speaking and thinking in set forms and prescribed measures, the undeviating allotment of every moment of the day for automatic execution of never changing tasks; the Hindoo like principle of caste which separates the teacher from the taught by an insurmountable

1. The Jewish Chronicle 29.3.1895.

barrier: these are unknown at West Norwood."⁽¹⁾ He believed that the children had considerable freedom and were able to express their individuality. But, judging from verbal reports from old scholars, one must accept the judgment within the context of the times. Within the concept of freedom held in those days, it might well have been the case that Norwood was a progressive Home.

The Annual Report of the early years of the Twentieth Century made frequent references to the stultifying effects of segregation. "The deadening influence of institutional life must be met by opportunities of change in surroundings and recreations."⁽²⁾

It is interesting to note that the first organised attempt to get the children into contact with the "outside world" was not by arranging for them to mix with others outside Norwood, but rather by inviting the youths who lived in normal homes to take an interest in them within the confines of the institution.

An account of life in the Home in 1930 will illustrate the changes that took place. It is taken from a report of a

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1. The Jewish Chronicle 19.4.1895.
 2. Annual Report, J.H. & O.A. 1908.

visit made by a member of the Children's Branch of the Home Office. (1)

"We were struck by the absence of red tape, the complete lack of any sign of repression and the absolute naturalness of the children ... 350 children dined in one Hall at tables holding 20 each ... there was none of the lining up and marching into place which one usually finds in large institutions of this kind. Innumerable societies exist for the boys and girls, managed almost entirely by themselves ... choral, literary, dramatic, boxing, debating and musical societies ... officers of the various societies and monitors are formed into a school council, which settle matters of policy and deals with delinquents. The council meets monthly and penalties such as loss of recreation etc. are imposed on offenders. At the beginning of each week, a programme of forthcoming events is placed on the notice board ... Long walks unaccompanied by an adult are taken by older children ... There are weekly socials including a dance for boys and girls."

The attempts to improve the recreational facilities of the children were made in the main to offset the deadening effect of the confined institutional life. In 1898, the girls had out-of-door recreation for the first time as the result of the enthusiasm of a voluntary worker who started a hockey team. ⁽¹⁾

The first major break away from the confines of the Home was made in 1900 by means of a revolutionary holiday scheme. "A complete change has been made this year in the holiday arrangements at the Institution at W. Norwood. Hitherto, regular holidays have been conspicuous by their absence, and the children have for many years continued in their weary round of daily work and duties, broken only now and then by religious holidays, which have themselves necessitated set rules and regular work. Now the class-rooms are closed for three weeks. Instead of only one day at the sea-side, there are various excursions in groups and the committee are considering means of taking them away from the building for at least one week." ⁽²⁾

The Annual Report for 1901 reported the change thus:

"The committee desire "to alleviate that depression and listlessness which seem common to all children brought up in schools such as Norwood, and which in the long run have bad effects morally and mentally on the young. They have, therefore determined, if adequate arrangements can be made, to give a short holiday away from Norwood in the course of the year." ⁽³⁾

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1. The Jewish Chronicle 11.2.1898.
 2. The Jewish Chronicle 31.8.1900.
 3. Annual Report 1901 of J.H.&O.A.

The Committee were able to realise their hopes as a result of the generosity of Simon Lazarus who presented a Holiday Home at Margate. The Annual Report for 1904 records that 260 children had a week's holiday in Margate where they went in batches of 40 and it was hoped to extend the holiday to a fortnight. This they were able to do by 1909.⁽¹⁾

H.M. Inspectors who visited Norwood early in 1907 commented on the adverse effect of unbroken school life without the children being able to spend some holiday at their own homes. To encourage a break in the monotony of institutional life, the committee decided to encourage socials, debates and similar activities. Arrangements were also made for talks and lantern lectures to be given on Sunday afternoons.⁽²⁾ Appeals were made to young people to visit Norwood and take part in games.⁽³⁾ At the same time appeals were also made for people to provide treats, "which also had educational value", during the holiday periods when children were bored at Norwood.⁽⁴⁾

It is interesting to note that efforts were directed towards getting people to assist in providing recreation within Norwood, for it was felt that the most effective way of caring for the children was within the physical bounds of the institution. In so far as children were encouraged to obtain experiences outside the Home, they were to go in organised

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1. Annual Report 1901.
 2. The Jewish Chronicle, 22.2.1907.
 3. Annual Report 1907.
 4. Annual Report 1908.

parties and to places which had an "educational value". It was, however, recognised that a change from routine was desirable. "The deadening influence of institutional life must be met by opportunities of change in surroundings and recreation."⁽¹⁾

There was some response to the appeal for help and "Young Ladies" attended regularly to teach the girls hockey and cricket. Lectures were organised and apparently were sufficiently successful to induce the committee to give a special grant of £2.2.0. towards the payment of fees and expenses.⁽²⁾ The lectures were organised by the Ladies Committee and arrangements were made first in 1901 for the Women's Industrial Council to provide suitable lectures.⁽³⁾

The attitude of the Committee towards effective measures to counteract the deadening effect of institutional life can be further gauged from the following extract from the Annual Report of 1903. "The monotony of institutional life, with its attendant evils, is mitigated by a system of recreative evenings. Suitable indoor games are indulged in, including the ubiquitous ping-pong, and the staff use their best efforts to entertain the children with readings and music. Mr. Hyman Isaacs has given a bagatelle-board which affords great amusement."⁽⁴⁾

1. Annual Report, 1908.

2. Annual Report, 1910.

3. Annual Report, 1902.

4. Annual Report, 1903.

A plan was made in 1906 for the provision of adequate out-door playing ground. "Norwood presents the incongruous combination of a splendidly equipped schoolhouse, standing in the midst of untidy and inadequate playing-fields ..."⁽¹⁾ and a plea was made for a donor who would repair and make good the boys' playground. In the following year two such playgrounds were provided, one for the use of the older boys, and one for the younger children.

Young men took an interest in Norwood and voluntary helpers came to assist in recreational activities, and took part in boxing, chess, draughts and debates, "... the companionship of such men has a vivifying influence on the boys who feel they will not be quite friendless when they leave."⁽²⁾ This comment by the Committee illustrates the new tendency in child care which was becoming apparent. At first, the Home was concerned mainly with the well-being of children whilst they were living there. It became apparent, however, that the happiness and welfare of the children were intimately connected with people and life generally outside the confines of the Home.

This concept gradually transformed the policy of administration, so that in 1922 Home Visits were inaugurated. "The Headmaster was struck by the evils of a system which tended to sever the bonds of union with their relatives."⁽³⁾ 180 children

1. Annual Report, 1906.

2. Annual Report, 1909.

3. Annual Report, 1922.

were allowed to spend a month with relatives "whom, except for an occasional hour or two on visiting days, they had not seen for years." The remaining children were "compensated for
(1)
by happy outings and treats."

The contrast in attitudes between the one which permitted children to be visited by parents and the other which encouraged children to return to their homes reflects a fundamental difference in the principles of child care. In the early days when the Jews' Hospital was situated in Mile End and was near to the homes of the children, absconding was not infrequent and was severely punished - although the absconding was usually merely a desire to see the parents who usually condoned "the offence". It is interesting to note that the 'Old Boy' who in writing his reminiscences and quoting the severe corporal punishment he (as others) received for running away considered
(2)
this to be quite in order, and well merited.

The early conditions of visiting i.e. before 1862, were described thus by the above writer. "Among the great events at the Jews' Hospital was the monthly visiting day. The parents and friends of the boys used to come, and sometimes the scenes were pathetic in the extreme. The social conditions of the boys were not equal, some were the children of parents comparatively well-off, others the poorest of the poor, and the

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1. Ibid.
 2. Reminiscences of an Old Boy - The Jewish Guardian - 28.12.1923.

differences were apparent in many ways - in the quality and quantity of the "goodies" which they brought, the dress and get-up of the mothers, the pocket-money left etc. Sometimes, the disparity was made the more apparent and the more galling by permission for well-to-do parents to see their children under conditions of less publicity."⁽¹⁾

As a result of the insistence of the L.C.C. that the school should be closed for one month during the summer, to give the children opportunity for leisure and holidays, the Home was confronted with a serious administrative problem of providing adequate leisure activities for the children. But having embarked on the policy of sending children to relatives and friends, which was able to account for the disposal of half of the children,⁽²⁾ it was not an illogical step to appeal for "holiday homes" from among the general Jewish community.⁽³⁾

A further innovation was the permission granted to children to go to their relatives for "a day" at Christmas time. But, once again, the reason given had little to do with the contemporary psychological attitude that one should attempt to minimise the effects of deprivation. This was an additional means of fighting monotony ... "It would be difficult to exaggerate the value and importance of the departure from the usual routine which these occasions provide. It is monotony which has to be fought: something must be given the children

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1. Reminiscences of an Old Boy - The Jewish Guardian - 28.12.1923.
 2. The Jewish Chronicle, 22.7.1921.
 3. The Jewish Chronicle, 22.12.1922.

to take the place of the infinite variety which is part of the life even of those whose playground is the mean streets of the Metropolis.⁽¹⁾"

But slowly new ideas of child care percolated through. It was recognised that although education had been linked with the physical and psychological care of children, these were distinct functions which were best undertaken by separate bodies. "Norwood's task is a twofold one. It seems to combine the home and the school. This dual role is in itself a matter of controversy ... Institutional life has its advantages ... but the time is not yet ripe for the full ripening of schemes which will keep the school distinct from the home by a new conception of an orphanage, as a series of small, private homes in which the children will receive the care of foster parents, while attending the schools in the neighbourhood for their educational equipments."⁽²⁾

A special sub-committee was drawn up in 1927 to consider the wisdom of sending children to neighbouring schools and the Rev. Walter Levin undertook to draw up a scheme for running a Home in which the children would receive their religious training but would go out for their secular education.

Separate consideration had been given to a proposal that children who did well enough to enter a Central School should

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1. Annual Report of the J.H. & O.A. 1923.
 2. " " " " " 1925.

be permitted to do so. It had always been the policy to encourage able children to enter Grammar Schools and there were special scholarships awarded to such children from endowments for this specific purpose. Boys from the Jews' Hospital had entered the City of London School as far back as 1840.

The policy regarding children entering Grammar Schools was to support them by scholarships in 'lodgings' or to return them to a relative. "In no case has a child used the Institution as a hostel in order to attend a local Secondary School."⁽¹⁾

⁽²⁾
The Headmaster in a special report to the House Committee and Governors listed many objections against the policy of allowing the children of Norwood to enter for Central School examinations. Among the drawbacks he outlined were the following:

"The number of girls available for our Domestic Clubs would be substantially reduced and more outside labour would be required for household duties.

The religious training of these pupils would suffer because they would lose three quarters of the instruction given in the classes of the Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum.

The preparation and serving of meals to these children would present unusual difficulties. Mid-day lunches would have to be distributed before 8.0 a.m. and it would probably take a considerable time for some responsible person to see to it besides inspecting the boys and girls before departure.

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1. Memorandum of Headmaster on Proposed attendance of children at Central Schools - Oct. 1926 - p.2. Archives of Jewish Orphanage.
 2. Ibid.

The children would return at 4.45 p.m. for their principal meal, at the same time when the tea of other boys and girls was being got ready.

We should want two special rooms each evening, one for boys and one for girls where home lessons could be done and we do not possess two spare rooms to devote to such a purpose and even if they could be taken away from the limited accommodation of the other scholars, it would not be a good arrangement for children to engage in serious study amidst the noise, the activities and the distractions of a residential institution.

For example, when Hobbies are held on Monday evenings in the winter, the Scholarship and Central School children would naturally demand to be included. Either we should have to consent and let their homework suffer, or deprive them of a privilege which they value most highly. In the latter case, as every room is used, where would they go to study?

Again, what would happen if a Band boy were chosen to attend a Central School?

(It is interesting to note how the interests of the Institution were regarded as being of more importance than the interests of the boys as individuals.)

By sending a group of children to outside Schools we increase the risk of illness being brought into the Institution.

There are mixed views amongst the Committee as to the value of continuing the education of boys and girls beyond the ordinary school age. Some members of the Boys' After Care Committee frequently express disappointment at the results obtained by Scholarship boys. A large increase in the number of children receiving continued education would be sure to add to the dissatisfaction."

The recommendation made by the Headmaster was to house Central school children and Grammar school children who could not be boarded out in a small family home in one of the streets contiguous to the Orphanage grounds. The children could attend

the Institute for worship, religious instruction, etc. and could study under proper supervision and comfort.

The Executive Committee, on the recommendation of the Headmaster decided not to send children to Central Schools. But it was finally recommended in April 1932 that boys and girls over the age of 11 years were to receive their education in neighbouring schools and that the social and welfare side of the school should be separated from the educational side. It had already been decided in October 1927 to appoint a resident social worker.

There was considerable opposition to this scheme especially by those who thought that the religious training of the children would suffer. In June, 1932 the Chief Rabbi deprecated the proposal to send the children to the neighbouring local authority schools. It was, accordingly decided in November of that year to instruct the architect to submit plans for a separate school building to be built in the grounds, and for the adoption of the Main Building for social and recreational purposes.

Discussions proceeded for some years on the best way to divorce the educational life of the children from the "home" life so many desired to see associated exclusively with Norwood. In 1938 the posts of Headmaster and Superintendent were separated and another sub-committee was formed to consider the re-organisation of the Orphanage. This committee finally recommended:

1. Draft Report of the Special Sub-committee appointed to consider the re-organisation of the Orphanage, 1938 - p.2. Archives of Jewish Orphanage.

1. That the senior children go out to local schools;
2. That a new Junior School (to include the children of the Home) to be built on the Garage site.

"The Committee were agreed that the first essential was to separate the School from the Home and that the goals to be attained were:-

1. To make the Home reasonably comfortable for the resident children and staff.
2. To provide efficient educational facilities for the children."

The reasons given for advising that children should attend the neighbouring schools were as follows:-

- (a) efficient educational facilities will be provided;
- (b) the children will be better prepared for the day when they will be called upon to take up their careers and mingle with their fellow citizens;
- (c) that consequent on the adoption of the proposal the children would lead lives approximating more closely to those led by non-Institutional children, and
- (d) a great deal is to be gained by the children ceasing to be segregated and by their mixing with other children during their school life.

Moreover, the Committee view with favour the sharp distinction which would thus be made between school and home life. (1)

1. Ibid - pp. 2 & 3.

Plans were drawn up for the building of a school in the grounds of the Orphanage but war broke out and on 1st September the children were evacuated to Worthing. When the children returned in 1945, the Committee had decided to make a complete break with the past and Norwood was converted into a Home and the children were sent out to school.

The Annual Report of 1945 referring to the return of the children stated, "The direction of the occupation of the children in their leisure time is to be given to trained social workers. Former school-rooms will be converted into playrooms, club-rooms, quiet rooms etc. As trained staff become available, it is proposed to divide the children into small 'family groups' each in charge of a Housemother and each occupying its own quarters." The Committee was not slow to realise how difficult it was to acquire a skilled staff and in the report of the following year it had to record ... "A more difficult problem is the task of providing trained and sympathetic staff for the (1) care of the children."

Employment and After Care.

It has been pointed out that the aim of the institution in the early years was to provide an adequate training for children so that they could enter the work-a-day world with a skill enabling them to follow useful and remunerative employment.

By 1821 provision was made in the enlarged building for workshops "... for the manufacturing of shoes, and of Mahogany

and other chairs; in these trades the Boys were instructed, whilst the Girls were employed in Household and Needle work.⁽¹⁾"

The general aim of the Hospital in these formative years was summed up thus in 1861 by Sir Francis Goldsmid, a descendant of the founders ... "It could easily be conceived that the principle idea which actuated the founders was to educate children and teach them a trade, to enable them to earn a livelihood. He believed that was the best charity which assisted the poor to help themselves and those gentlemen who at the foundation of the establishment, connected industrial training with education, were indeed no mean judges.

"There was also another grand idea it had carried out and that was apprenticing children to different trades and teaching them to become hard working craftsmen; and only a few years after the institution had been established a Member of Parliament stated in his place that Jews never earned their living by following industrial trades. A petition was sent to the House, signed by a large body of men of our community who were following mechanical occupations giving a direct negative to this assertion."⁽²⁾

Every endeavour was made to provide training according to the ability of the child. "It was intended that one or two of the boys, possessing the requisite abilities, are to be trained

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1. The Book of Rules of the Jews' Hospital - publ. 1821 - Archives of the Jewish Orphanage.
 2. The Jewish Chronicle and Hebrew Observer - 14.6.61.

as teachers, clerks or for other superior employment; some of the girls who are found to have talent are to be instructed as governesses.⁽¹⁾

It was also "the first Jewish Establishment⁽²⁾ in England which supplied Ministers of Religion."

This attitude was in marked contrast with the attitude of the Guardians towards the training of children who were in Workhouses. Thus the Clerk to the Bedford Union wrote on 7th February 1836 to the Poor Law Commissioners: "The Guardians of the Bedford Union have directed me to write to inform the Poor Law Commissioners they are desirous of obtaining their sanction to have writing omitted as part of the schoolmaster's instruction in the workhouse and that he teach reading only. The board do not recommend this on the score of economy, but on that of principle, as they are desirous of avoiding greater advantages to the inmates of the workhouse than to the poor children out of it."⁽³⁾

In the beginning boys were apprenticed to a Master within the Home. There were many reasons for this system. During these years, there were few Jews able to accept apprentices whilst, on the other hand, Gentiles were not disposed to accept Jewish youths who kept to their religious codes. Thus

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1. The Jewish Chronicle - 12.12.1845.
 2. The programme of the Ceremonial on 6th June 1861 on the occasion of the Laying of the Foundation Stone by Sir Anthony Rothschild - Archives of the Jewish Orphanage.
 3. Second Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, 1836 Appendix C.No.8 - p.529.

although the system of internal apprenticeship was common to institutions of this kind, it was of special significance to the Jews ... "There is no circumstance in life more distressing to a Jewish Father (of whatever rank he may be in society) than how to put forward his son in life in some honest, industrious occupation. The restraints and observances of the Mosaic ritual are such an insuperable difficulty to the initiation of a Jewish lad into any craft or trade, as to make it almost impossible for him to be bound apprentice to a Master who is not of the same persuasion: being interdicted from partaking of his food, from working part of every Friday, and the whole of every Saturday throughout the year, besides the festivals, a loss of which no master can afford; and although a handsome premium has in a few instances induced Christian masters to submit to these inconveniences, still the different manners and sentiments neither do nor can readily assimilate."⁽¹⁾

Considerable pride was taken in the handiwork of the apprentices. A feature of all the Anniversary Dinners held by the Hospital to raise funds, was the parade of the boys round the banqueting room carrying examples of their handiwork.⁽²⁾

But, gradually, there was a move towards apprenticing to Masters outside the Home, both on the grounds of economy and because it was felt to be in the best interest of the boys.

1. The Jewish Chronicle, 2.4.1897.

2. The Jewish Chronicle, 28.5.1947.

The Jewish Chronicle voiced the following criticism of in-training ... "no very general success has attended the industrial development of the institution ... it calls for an entire change of the system. The benefits arising from the large establishment of the Jews' Hospital, owing to the great annual expense of keeping it up, fell very short of the expectations we have a right to form." (1) The same journal, in an editorial, later referred to the evils of the system of in-apprenticing ... "Lads are thus driven upon their own resources, unaccustomed to the ways of the world and unacquainted with its wages." (2)

A sub-committee of the Hospital recommended in 1850 that "arrangements be made for transferring apprenticing Boys to the shoe trade out of the House" (3) and in October 1850, the Trade Master relinquished his position at the Jews' Hospital and the children were then apprenticed out.

There is attached (4) lists of the occupations in which the boys and girls were eventually placed and these indicate the variety of opportunities which became available in contradistinction to the limitations of the system of in-apprenticing when the trades taught were confined to cabinet-making, chair-making, silk-weaving and shoe-making. (5)

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1. The Jewish Chronicle, 1.2.1850.
 2. The Jewish Chronicle, 14.6.1850.
 3. Report of the Sub-Committee of the Jews' Hospital, 26th May, 1850.
 4. Appendices 34 and 35.
 5. The Jewish Chronicle, 2.9.1897.

These lists of occupations should be compared with the following details of occupations of 130 boys and girls who left the Blue Coat Boys and Grey Coat Girls' Charity Schools, York during the ten years ending 31st December, 1906.⁽¹⁾

<u>No.</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
15	ordinary labourers
12	farm servants
12	joiners
10	confectioners
10	grocers
5	houseservants
4	bakers
3	blacksmiths
8	clerks
6	painters
6	whitesmiths
6	boilersmiths
5	bricklayers
4	cabinet makers

The girls practically all went into service.

Although "domestic service had always been the chief employment for women",² it was also regarded as the best preparation for married life and as the safest and most secure employment for orphan children.

2. Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution - I. Pinchbeck, Routledge, 1930. p.3.

See also: Ibid - Appendix, Occupations of Women in 1841.

1. Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, 1896, App. XV - p.128.

The cessation of industrial training within the institution did not meet with the approval of the whole of the community. The Jewish Chronicle criticised the change of policy ... "Formerly industrial training was combined and, we are disposed to believe, wisely combined, with the scholastic training in that noble institution. In former years, it was said, one of the brightest spectacles of the day was when the children carrying the products of their labour, marched round the room (at the Festival Dinners where the major appeals for funds were made) and exhibited the work of their hands ... We know not why it was abandoned ... We deplore the decision of the Committee of the Hospital in this respect."⁽¹⁾

To help the children obtain better placements, it was decided to introduce technical education in the curriculum of the School. In 1887, those boys who had passed the Fifth Standard were taught the "use of simple tools so as to enable them, on leaving the institution to obtain better apprenticeship and with a higher and more reliable class of masters. The difficulty of procuring suitable employment for them has hitherto been very great, and the results of apprenticeship have not proved uniformly satisfactory.

"The idea emanated from Sir Philip Magnus, Secretary and Director of the City and Guilds of the London Institute for the advancement of Technical Education.

1. The Jewish Chronicle 1.4.1870.

The scheme was rendered immediately practicable by the munificence of Mr. Benjamin L. Cohen, who defrayed the entire expense of erecting and fitting-up a workshop in the grounds at a cost of £700.

It is a fact worthy of record that the Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum was the first institution of its kind to put into practice the ideas which are at present so much advocated by the promoters of Technical Education.⁽¹⁾

This move had been prompted in part by the difficulty experienced by the Committee in finding suitable employment for the boys. An Annual Report referred to the "great difficulty experienced in apprenticing the children especially in the case of those deprived of both parents, and it is evident that, in order to carry out this work in a manner that is likely to prove beneficial, higher premiums than hitherto will have to be paid."⁽²⁾ Subsequent Reports dealt with other aspects of the problem of finding suitable apprenticeships and all indicated the gradual but inevitable drift from this method of finding employment.

It was observed that craftsmen were being displaced by mass production techniques ... "The committee therefore endeavour to find situations in warehouses and offices for many of the boys: while they continue to apprentice lads to those

1. Annual Report of the J.H.&O.A. 1887.

2. " " " " " 1882.

trades only in which the practice of the craft still leaves opportunity for the display of individual effort and affords prospect of advancement for skilled artisans. Comparing the list of trades and businesses in which Norwood boys are now placed with past years, it is noticeable that while bedmakers, capmakers and tailors have disappeared, their place is taken by dental mechanics, engineers, clerks, glass-workers and opticians.⁽¹⁾

The Annual Report for the following year stated that ...

"Mass production and sub-division of labour have reduced opportunities for apprenticeship which built up steadiness of character and checked instability and the desire to change jobs."⁽²⁾

The Report for 1910 bemoaned the decay of apprenticeship. It referred thus to the increasing difficulty of finding suitable employment for boys ... "This is partly due to the waning system of apprenticeship which, while of the greatest value in inculcating habits of industry and steadiness has not been adapted to the needs of the present day."⁽³⁾

The position was most adequately explained in a later Report ... "The stereotyped method of apprenticeship has to a large extent been relegated to a place of subsidiary importance."

1. Annual Report of the J.H.&O.A. 1906.
2. " " " " 1907.
3. " " " " 1910.

Though the Employment Committee recognise the great advantages to be derived from the system of apprenticeship in certain cases, they have come to the conclusion, after mature thought, that as a general principle, it is not unreservedly to be commended. Especially is this the case with Jewish lads with their pronounced preferences for commercial rather than industrial pursuits. They have learned from experience that even those lads who have completed a period of apprenticeship have recently failed to remain at the trades to which they were placed, and have, on the expiry of their indentures, sought employment in directions other than those to which the Committee intended them.⁽¹⁾"

The Housing of Apprentices.

Linked up with the problem of apprenticeship was that of finding suitable accommodation. The Annual Report for 1896 observed that ... "The Apprenticing Committee regrets to report that it is not wholly satisfied with the results obtained in London by the apprentices. It is felt that much of the good which the boys derive from their training at Norwood is wasted, owing to the unfavourable influences to which many of them are exposed on their return to their homes. Their relatives, in the majority of cases, owing to their unfortunate circumstances, are not in a position to offer the boys proper homes, and, it

1. Annual Report of the J.H.&O.A. 1911.

is found in these squalid surroundings, the boys rapidly
 (1)
 deteriorate in every way."

In the light of such experiences, the Committee urged
 "the great need of a small Home in town where boys could be
 (2)
 placed when necessary." The Report for 1901 returned to this
 point, "There have always been a certain number of boys leaving
 school with whom it has been difficult to deal. They may be
 roughly divided into two classes: those who are without
 relatives and without friends; and those whose relatives,
 either through extreme poverty or other less preventable causes,
 are unable to provide for their children ... The committee have
 felt it desirable to establish in London a Home similar to
 those in the provinces" and for this purpose Mrs. Alexander
 (3)
 Joseph and her son gave £1,000. In 1907, the Henry and
 Marion Behrend Fund of £10,000 was founded to be applied for
 the benefit of boys who may be leaving or had left the
 Institution while they shall be under the age of 21 years and
 the Committee were empowered to apply the income to provide or
 (4)
 maintain a Home for Apprentices.

Because of the limited scope for apprenticeship in London,
 attempts were made to place boys in provincial cities where

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1. Annual Report of the J.H.&O.A. 1896.
 2. " " " " 1897.
 3. " " " " 1901.
 4. " " " " 1907.

there appeared to be fresh opportunities for work. In order to care effectively for them, hostels were opened and their success prompted the suggestion to establish a Home in London. Hostels were established in Stoke-on-Trent, Coventry and Birmingham and for many years there were glowing reports on the benefits derived by the boys who lived there. "The advantages of removing lads from the surroundings which, unfortunately, beset them in London and sending them to be apprenticed in country towns, are so abundantly evident, that the Committee would be glad to see the system further developed."⁽¹⁾

But eventually conditions of employment changed and it became difficult to find suitable employment in the provinces and the hostels in Stoke, Coventry and Birmingham had to be closed for lack of occupants. At the same time a change took place in the attitude towards boarding-out of such children ...

"... the Committee are exercised in their minds as to whether residence in such Homes is the best way of dealing with lads who have left Norwood, and who have no homes to which they might return. Kind and considerate as both Matrons might be, and undoubtedly are, residence at the Homes, in a sense, is but a continuation of institutional life, and it is a matter of serious consideration whether it would not be preferable to place lads on leaving the Institution, who have no homes to which they can

1. Annual Report of the J.H.&O.A. 1893.

return, with private families ...⁽¹⁾ "On the whole, it is open to question whether, having regard to the general circumstances, the system of Homes for Apprentices affords the best method of giving assistance to past pupils ... The difficulty might be met in some measure by finding respectable homes for friendless and orphan lads and paying a weekly sum towards their maintenance, a sum which would diminish, as the wage-earning capacity increased."⁽²⁾

After-Care.

The Institution was particularly concerned about the welfare of those who left and had none of the safeguards which accompanied a good apprenticeship. In 1883 an After Care Sub-Committee was appointed whose duty it was ... "... not only to supervise apprentices and to report concerning them, but to select suitable trades and masters for those who are leaving the institution. Thus each apprentice will have a guardian to whom he can refer and whose advice and intervention, in case of need, cannot but prove beneficial."⁽³⁾ The aim was to make each member of this committee responsible for supervising the welfare of a few boys and thus enable each boy who left Norwood to have a "guardian".

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1. Annual Report of the J.H.&O.A. 1911.
 2. " " " " 1908.
 3. " " " " 1885.

For many years, this system worked to the satisfaction of the Committee who reported ... "The system which has been in vogue since November 1883 whereby a guardian is appointed to watch over each lad during his apprenticeship, is producing beneficial results. There are, at present, 50 boys apprenticed and under supervision of whom satisfactory reports have been received."⁽¹⁾

In the case of the girls, members of the Ladies Committee became guardians during the last year of the girls' stay at Norwood where they were undergoing a specialised course in domestic training. It was felt ... "... that at the most critical time of a girl's life, when she is about to leave the Institution, often friendless and alone, she should have constant and individual care. Therefore, when the girls leave the schoolroom and enter domestic training, the ladies appoint themselves as their guardians and become so thoroughly acquainted with them that the girls are able to regard them as their friends and counsellors."⁽²⁾ "The guardian acquaints herself with the child's history, ascertains the position of the parent or parents, enquires into and looks after the health of her charges and does everything to further the interest of the child. During the whole period of training, the girl is constantly under the observation of her guardian. Each case is minutely

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1. Annual Report of the J.N.&O.A. 1888
 2. " " " " 1901.

recorded in a Case Book and a roll call is made every month. This close observation may appear at first sight to be excessive, or perhaps even unnecessary, but experience has shown how essential it is to the well-being of the girls themselves, for the character of these girls are in no way formed at that early age, and their future would, but for the counsel of their guardians, be at the mercy of their own crude ideas, or again, might be unfavourably influenced by their friends, who, unwittingly, no doubt, prove themselves often most unworthy to be so styled.⁽¹⁾"

Eventually, the Committee considered that it was necessary to appoint a "paid visitor" to supplement the work of the voluntary guardians. Referring to her work, it was reported that "She has identified herself with the girls, and in many instances has rendered signal service in the cases where the home and surroundings have been harmful: also in cases of sickness she has seen that proper care and nourishment have been given.⁽²⁾ It was not, however, until 1921 that the Boys' After Care Committee decided to appoint a paid officer to look after the interests of the boys.

Eventually, it became apparent that after-care supervision was too exacting a service for the limited number of voluntary "guardians", and the Committee made constant appeals for

1. Annual Report of the J.H.&O.A. 1904.

2. " " " " 1901.

suitable men to volunteer to act in this capacity ... "... in the case of institution-bred children, strangers to the hard knocks and temptations of the outer world, the need of help and guidance in the early years of life, is more urgent than with youths who have gained the precocious experience of the streets. We appeal to young men to offer their services as guardians to our lads."

(1)

In 1908, the Ladies Committee decided to keep in touch with the girls through the scheme of "guardianship" for a period of 5 years after they left instead of 3 years. As an incentive to perseverance in employment, prizes were awarded to "Old Girls" for length of service in the same job for one, three or five years. "Records have been kept during the past few years and the Committee believe the girls are doing better than they used to."

(2)

Below is a characteristic table of the progress of leavers.

Progress of Leavers

Girls who left in	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908.
Total No.	19	18	21	15	19
Doing Well	11	16	12	11	15
Doing Indifferently	4	2	3	4	4
Lost sight of	4	-	6	-	-

1. Annual Report of the J.H.&O.A. 1907

2. " " " " 1910.

(d) After Care became a major concern of the Institution during the Twentieth Century ... "... so convinced are the Committee that the whole success of the Institution must be judged by the results achieved after the boys and girls have left Norwood, that the re-organisation of this work is now being considered."⁽¹⁾

The boys were helped to adjust themselves to life after they left Norwood by the following ways:-

- (a) The After-care Secretary visited every boy at his home and at his work during the first year, and made periodic visits subsequently until the boy reached the age of 18 years.
- (b) Members of the After-Care Committee made themselves available on a rota so that some one was at the office each week who could interview boys who were summoned to attend or who might have come voluntarily to discuss their personal problems.
- (c) "Old boys" were encouraged to join the Norwood Old Boys' Company of the Jewish Lads Brigade and later the Norwood Old Boys' Lodge of the Order Achei Brith (a Friendly Society), so that friendship could be made or maintained and their guardianship could be the more easily safeguarded.

1. Annual Report of the J.H.&O.A. 1919.

1. Annual Report of the J.H.&O.A. 1922.

2. " " " " 1927

- (d) A representative of the Old Boys' Lodge was invited to meetings of the After-Care to assist in allocating older ex-Norwood boys to act as "big brothers" to those about to leave Norwood.
- (1)
- (2)
- (4) Old Scholar's Re-Unions were held.

Eventually the After-Care Committee was re-organised and the Annual Report for 1928 gave the following account of its duties, which in the main, have been applicable ever since.

"The duties of the Committee lie in three directions

1. To place our boys' in suitable homes;
2. To find work that fits the boy and not the boy that fits the work, which is the great temptation in these times of unemployment.
3. To watch over and educate his character.

"Our policy in regard to the first of these has been to prevent a boy whom we have endeavoured to uplift during the years spent in school, from returning to undesirable or completely poverty stricken homes. Many of our boys are double orphans and consequently leave us with no alternative but to find them foster-parents. Thanks to the income received from the Hillier Holt Fund, we have been able, by boarding them out near to their homes, to save certain boys with one parent from suffering the mental agony and the physical misery of

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1. Annual Report of the J.H.&O.A. 1922.
 2. " " " " 1927.

living in the direst poverty, thus removing such psychological complexes as would react on their work and character, and yet at the same time keep in touch with their parents. At the present time we have 31 boys boarded out.

"We attempt to solve the second of our problems - work - in the following manner. Our Secretary gets into constant touch with the boy, during the latter's last year at school, and, prior to leaving the lad attends a special meeting of the Committee at which the Headmaster, the After-Care Officer, and, if possible, the guardian are also present. Every aspect of the boy's future is here discussed and the policy is decided upon. The boy is generally allowed to remain at Norwood until both work and a home are found for him. The youngster seldom knows what he wants to do and what he is best fitted to do. Consequently, more than one situation has often to be found for the same boy until we eventually find for what he is best suited. To assist the lad in settling down, the After-Care Officer visits him frequently during his last year at school as well as both at his home and work and so gains the sympathy of the master and employer and the confidence of the boy. Besides this a member of the Committee meets once a week at the London Office any boy who wishes to consult him, as well as certain boys who are summoned to meet him. This system was inaugurated in 1923.

"Our third duty, that of caring for the moral side of the

boy's character, is far and away the most difficult. The work of the Norwood Old Boys' Lodge of the Achai Brith has been invaluable in this direction. There are now 81 members and the Lodge demands of them a very high standard of behaviour, and through the older members, the younger ones are assisted to attain it. The Jewish Lads' Brigade has immensely helped in the after-care of the boys during their leisure, and to further the co-operation between the Brigade and the After-Care Committee, Mr. Harold Lion has been co-opted during the year. Every boy is encouraged to attend evening classes and re-unions are organised at Norwood, but the greatest influence on the life of the boys is the friendship which exists between them and Mr. Sheen (the After-Care Officer)."

The finding of suitable positions was always regarded as a greater problem for the girls than for the boys, largely because it was felt that their interests could best be protected if they entered domestic service. "Much greater difficulty is found in dealing satisfactorily with the girls on leaving than with the boys. Of the 18 who left during the year, only 4 have entered domestic service, the rest have gone home to their friends with the exception of two who have been adopted.

"The members of the committee are especially anxious that the girls should enter into domestic service or other employments which would keep them away from undesirable homes and surroundings

Unfortunately, the parents and relatives of many of the girls are anxious to have them home to help in household duties; the girls themselves prefer to enter into poorly-paid trades, such as cap making, tailoring and cigar making, which offers them the attraction of that freedom which is not found in domestic service and it is to be feared that they soon forget the careful (1) training which they received at Norwood.

On the other hand, there never appeared to be quite the same degree of difficulty in housing the girls, a large proportion of whom went to live with relatives or friends when they left Norwood and the remainder were boarded out without much trouble. The general policy and administrative approach were the same for the girls as for the boys.

This brief survey of the evolution of the Jewish Orphanage brings us to contemporary times. It remains now to study the way in which the new type of institution worked. A major break had been made with the policy which accounted for the establishment of this institution. It was no longer concerned with the instruction of children either in secular education or in vocational training. There was no longer any restrictions on the type of child introduced (apart from the religious denomination) and the hope was to provide a home administered by trained staff.

PART II.

A STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS.

Introduction

The first part of this thesis has dealt with the early history of the Jewish Orphanage. It described the changes in policy and in methods of administration over a period of close on a hundred and fifty years. An attempt will now be made to describe:

- (a) the way the Home has been administered during the decade following the return of the children from evacuation in 1945;
- (b) the type of child who was admitted;
- and (c) some of the problems connected with the care of the children.

1. May be examined at the Archives of the Orphanage.

2. Medical Form - may be examined at the Archives of the Orphanage.

CHAPTER ONE

The background to a detailed analysis of the characteristics of children resident in the Jewish Orphanage, in Nov.1954

How children were admitted

Children were admitted into the Home as a result of an application which was made by one of the following three agencies:-

- (a) the guardian who may make a direct application;
- (b) a voluntary social agency which may make application on behalf of a guardian;
- (c) a Children's Officer who may make the application after the child has been taken 'into care'.

The application form¹ provided details regarding the marriage or status of the parent, the earnings of each member of the family together with relevant information about the health of the applicant and his parents. The medical history of the child was filled in by the family doctor.² If the child had

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- 1. May be examined at the archives of the Orphanage.
 - 2. Medical Form - may be examined at the archives of the Orphanage.

attended a school, the Head Teacher was invited to submit a report.

If the application was made through a Children's Officer or a voluntary social agency, they were responsible for ensuring the completion of the application forms.

These were received by the Secretary. If the case was viewed as urgent it was submitted forthwith to the Chairman of the House Committee, who might advise the Principal to make arrangements for the immediate reception of the child.

If the case was not deemed an urgent one, it was brought before the House Committee, either at one of its ordinary monthly meetings or at the special quarterly admissions meetings when all cases for admission were discussed.

If a child had been taken into care by a Children's Officer, he was admitted forthwith and the application received the formal approval of the Committee, or, if an urgent case, of the Chairman, subject only to the Principal and the Medical Officer being satisfied that the child was suitable for residential care. The guardian of the child would not be required to attend the meeting of the Committee and the Investigating Officer of the Home would not deal with the case.

If the application was made by a voluntary social agency outside the Greater London area, then the case was considered on the basis of the information submitted with the application and

the guardian would not be expected to appear before the committee.

If, however, it was an application from a resident in the London area, whether it had been made directly by the guardian or through a voluntary social agency, the Investigating Officer of the Home visited the applicant and submitted an independent report. The guardian was also invited to attend a meeting of the Committee when the case was being considered.

Prior to the meeting of the House Committee, the Principal and the Medical Officer saw the child. They both had all the relevant information supplied by the Investigating Officer and the Head Teacher. The Principal, in his interview, endeavoured to assess the personality of the child to determine if he would fit in with the life at the Home and he endeavoured to give to the child a reassuring introduction to the ways of the Home. The Medical Officer endeavoured to ascertain if there were any medical reasons for the rejection of the applicant,¹ or if any special care should be exercised should the child be admitted.

On this first visit to the Home, the child was introduced to a group of children and was made familiar with the general atmosphere of the Home. He had already been advised by the Investigating Officer that he might be admitted. The aim was to give the child a sense of security so that he was gradually introduced to surroundings which would be familiar to him and would have pleasant affective associations, when he came a second time ready for admission.

1. These reasons were the kind which would justify the child being cared for in a Residential School for Physically or Mentally Handicapped Children.

Special efforts were made to make the guardian feel at home. She, too, was introduced to the likely Houseparent, was shown round the Home and, together with the child, shared a meal with a group of the children in residence. The general aim was to remove anxiety from both the guardian and the child; children appeared to view the prospect of their separation with less anxiety if the parents felt confident and secure in the role the Home would play.

Investigation

The investigation into home circumstances was made to discover:

- (a) if the conditions of the home were such that it was in the best interests of the child to be removed;
- (b) what were the financial resources of the guardian so that he could be reasonably assessed for payment.

The investigating officer endeavoured to ascertain

- (a) if the guardian was physically and mentally capable of looking after the child; (b) the source of income; (c) if there were relatives or friends who might be prepared to assist in caring for the child as an alternative to taking the child from its home; (d) the nature of the home itself, to determine if it was unsuitable in a material and moral sense for the upbringing of a child.

Once the data had been obtained, an approach was made to the Jewish Board of Guardians to determine if it considered it a case where financial help could be given to avoid the separation of parent and child.

The results of all the investigations were summarised in a case paper which was submitted to the Committee. The applicant attended the meeting and was questioned on the basis of the information to enable the committee to ascertain:

- (a) if the application should be approved.
- (b) the amount of money which the applicant should be expected to contribute towards the cost of maintaining the child.¹

Prior to 1953, the child was expected to appear before the House Committee so that the members should be satisfied that he was suitable for admission. Since that date his attendance has not been required and the committee accepts the recommendation of the Principal.

Except in emergency cases, the acceptance or rejection of an applicant had to be ratified by the General Committee. But since 1954, the House Committee were given authority to accept cases, but were empowered to recommend only their rejection. This procedure was adopted to ensure that no case was rejected without adequate safeguards.

1. See Appendix 3 for illustrations of case papers.

Procedure on Admission

The circumstances of the case were fully explained to both guardian and child, each according to his intelligence and ability to grasp the appropriate details, and the child was advised of the reasons for their impending separation.

The child was first informed by the Investigating Officer that the Orphanage would look after it until such a time as he could return permanently to the care of his guardian; but that, meanwhile, they could see each other as often as it was possible either at home or at the Orphanage.

According to the home conditions, the child was advised of the extent of the permission which would be granted for him to spend weekends or holidays with his guardian. Although home conditions might not be suitable for permanent habitation, they might well be condoned for short stays. For similar reasons, although the guardian might be ineffectual in caring for the physical needs of his child, one might be prepared to overlook such neglect over short periods, if the child was given the feeling of being wanted and not rejected.

This approach was followed by the Principal in his interview with the child. Every effort was made to reassure the child that his parent had not discarded him or the responsibility for his welfare. The aim was to impress upon both the

parent and child that the function of the Home was to assist the parent in looking after his child and not to replace him and take over all responsibility.

The child was encouraged to wear his own clothes and to bring his personal belongings. At the same time, he was persuaded to leave some behind at home. In this way, it was hoped that he could retain his individuality at the Home and his links with his own home. He was encouraged to feel that he was a separate entity - an individual within the institution - and to hold out reasonable expectations of returning to his own home.

If his possessions were too numerous for storage within the Home, the guardian was advised to retain some and the child was told the reasons. On the other hand, if the personal clothing was inadequate or unsuitable, the child was encouraged to accept replacements provided by the Home.

The child was helped in this way to feel that he was a trusted partner in the determination of his future and that his parent was still very much his guardian who had not shed his responsibilities but had, for the time being, entrusted them to others.

After the introductory chat with the Principal and the examination by the Medical Officer, the guardian and child were taken over the Home and introduced to some of the children and shown the many amenities of the Home. These were of a kind

and variety as were unlikely to be available to most children who lived at home. Apart from an abundance of toys and books, there were wireless and television sets, record players, a cinema, sports grounds, bicycles, tennis courts, badminton courts, and a large variety of indoor and outdoor games. The resident children were appraised of the arrival of a new child and they excelled at making a newcomer feel at home. By the time most applicants left, they not only appeared to be reconciled, but usually quite eager, to take up residence.

When the child eventually returned for admission, he came to familiar surroundings and was greeted by the Houseparent and children whom he had already met.

Arrangements were made for him to attend school. Although within a day or two after his arrival he entered school, he appeared well able to make this adjustment to two new environments, provided there were no deep-seated problems or personality disturbances.

Placing the child in a family

The Home was divided physically into two buildings. One, the Gabriel Home, was built in the beginning of the twentieth century and was designed to house 50 infants between the ages of 5 and 8. Into this Home all admissions were placed who were under seven years of age.

The large building had a nominal roll of 220. It was

built in 1862 and was enlarged on several subsequent occasions. It was designed as a Home at which the children were to receive all their schooling. After 1945, it was re-organized and the children were sent to the neighbouring schools.

Very few structural alterations were made to give effect to this change in policy, apart from the partitioning of dormitories. The class-rooms became converted into 'living' rooms and household furniture replaced school furniture.

The building was symmetrical, with the girls' and boys' wings on either side of a large Entrance Hall, Dining Hall and Kitchens.

The class-rooms on the one side became boys' 'family' rooms and those on the other side girls' 'family' rooms. Side stair-cases at each end of the wings gave access to the dormitories.

The number of 'families' was limited by accommodation and the numbers within each family were partly governed by the number of children in residence.

For some time there was an equal number of boys' and girls' families. But the number of children within each family varied according to the age grouping and competence of the staff.

Because the number of boys has always been greater than that of girls, the average number in a boys' family has generally been greater than that in a girls'.

Always without supervision. In a large hall

STAFFING AND 'FAMILY' ARRANGEMENTS IN MARCH 1956MAIN BUILDING

<u>Houseparent in Charge</u>	<u>Name of Family</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Age Grouping</u>
Miss S.	Ruth	14	13 - 14½ yrs.
Miss J.	Rachel	12	10 - 15 "
Miss M.	Naomi	13	10 - 11½ "
Miss N.	Miriam	13	7½ - 8½ "
Miss A. (Relief)			
Mrs. M. (Relief)			
Mr. W.	Alexander	17	11½ - 15 "
Mr. L.	Judah	16	12 - 15 "
Mr. C.	David	16	9½ - 14½ "
Mr. C.	Samson	17	9½ - 12½ "
Mrs. B.	Jonathan	9	9 - 11½ "
Miss A.	Samuel	12	7½ - 10½ "
Mrs. C. (Non-resident Relief)			
Mr. A. (Relief)			

GABRIEL HOME

Miss W.	Peter Pan	12	6 - 8½ "
Miss S. (Relief)			
Miss G.	Robin Hood	14	5½ - 9 "
Miss S. (Assistant House Mother)			
		<u>165</u>	

At the commencement of the family system an experiment was made with having mixed age groupings of children between the ages of 7 - 15 years. But this was impracticable because the Houseparent was spending the greater part of the evening supervising the 'going-to-bed' arrangements and some of the children were always without supervision. In a large building this was felt

to be inadvisable.

A further experiment was made to have children in groupings according to a strict chronological age, so that the children changed their families every year - much in the same way as they changed classes in school.

It was found, however, that this was inadvisable because it entailed a too frequent change of Houseparent and so prevented the development of stable personal relationships between child and adult.

The method finally adopted was to arrange the families into two basic divisions, junior and senior, permitting a child to remain as long as possible in the same family, say from the age of eight to twelve years, and then move into a senior family in which he remained until he left. But there was no fixed age limit as can be gauged from the details on staffing and 'family' arrangements which have been given in a previous page. In this way it was felt that a child would acquire a sense of security and stability.

Each family had its own room with its individual name e.g. 'David' family. At one time, the family had taken its name from that of the Houseparent in charge, but because of the frequent changes in staff, it was felt that the 'family' would have a more stable corporate identity if it had a permanent name.

It was found that another of the drawbacks of having a family named after a Houseparent, was that children tended to identify basic routine principles and disciplinary attitudes with the personality and approach of the Houseparent rather than with necessity for complying with regulations of the Home. It was somewhat easier to offset the weaknesses of a member of the staff when it was made obvious that routine and discipline were the concern of the Home as much as that of the Houseparent.

Within the senior and junior groupings there were inevitable differences in experience and personality among the Houseparents. The aim had been to supply a male supervising Houseparent over each of the two groups of boys' families but to have women in sole charge of the younger boys' families.

Whenever it had been found expedient, children were transferred from one family to another. Sometimes a child was unable to 'fit in' with the children of his own group but he made a good relationship with those of another family. Sometimes a Houseparent was unable to establish an effective contact with a child who, however, showed a more positive approach to another Houseparent.

It was often found advisable to transfer children from one group to another for administrative reasons when, for example some emergency admissions arrived and had to be placed in a junior family. To effect such an admission it was

necessary to transfer children from one family to another.

It was thus impossible to have any rigidity in placements. The most that could be done and was done to allow continuity in association was to permit the maximum freedom in contacts between the children in the various 'families' so that they became familiar not only with each other but with all the Houseparents. Then when a change in placement became necessary, a child would find himself amidst familiar surroundings and in the company of friends.

In so far as administrative considerations gave an opportunity to place a child where it was thought he could best fit in, the placement would depend on his intelligence and personality and whether he had a friend or sibling already in residence. It was not always found advisable to place siblings in the same 'family'. The fact that they would be in the same building and in close proximity to each other seemed to give most of them the security they needed from each other, whilst, in many cases, their presence in the same family made so many demands on them on account of their rivalry or because they appeared to have so little in common, that it was often deemed advisable to place them in different families.

Although the sexes were separated and 'housed' in different parts of the building, they were completely free to mix during their leisure hours. So brothers and sisters were not

segregated as they might be if they had been housed in separate buildings.

One of the advantages of this system appeared to be that each child felt that in some ways he was a member of a large family and that even if there should be changes of staff and of membership in 'family' groupings, there was stability within the larger unit to give him a sense of security, continuity and stability.

Thus the placement of a child in a 'family' was dependent on many factors, viz., on sex, age, temperament, personality problems, the presence of a sibling or friend, the character and experience of the Houseparent and on the administrative possibility of making a vacancy in the right family.

What has to be determined is the extent of the influence of the Home and of the Houseparent on these children. But before an attempt is made to assess this it might be helpful to examine details of the type of child who was admitted, of his duration at the Home and of the sort of problems his residence provided.

The Leisure, Health and Everyday Life of Children

Within the Jewish Orphanage the aim was to develop the potentialities of the children to their maximum capacity.

When it was a Home and School, leisure activities were introduced.

duced to relieve the monotony.¹ But the contemporary aim was more positive.

The Home endeavoured to exploit as many resources as possible to see that the children could enrich their experiences, and equip themselves adequately to fill in usefully their leisure hours. Apart from the out-of-school activities associated with their own schools, in which the children are encouraged to participate, the Home itself provided recreational facilities of a wide variety.

Attached to the Home were a Cub and Scout group, taken by visiting Scouters, and in which were children of Jewish families in the neighbourhood. They met weekly at the Home, but the boys attended rallies, as well as week-end and summer Camps with Cubs and Scouts of the other packs in the Metropolis.

There was a Company of Jewish Lads' Brigade which met at the same time as another Company at a school at Brixton. Among the members were children of neighbouring Jewish families, and the Instructors and Commanding Officers were voluntary leaders unattached to Norwood.

Some of the boys and girls belonged to Habonim, a Jewish youth group, which met outside the Home, and which was under the direction of youth leaders unattached to Norwood. Like the

Dancing Classes were arranged for the girls who were

1. See Part II, Chapter Three. Dancing. There were also

Scouts and J.L.B., the Habonim was a national organisation, and the children met others at occasional week-end camps, at the Annual Summer Camp and at different kinds of functions and reunions.

For games and athletics, the Home was affiliated to the South London Youth Movement, and competed in swimming, athletic and other sporting competitions.

The boys had two football pitches, and the senior and junior boys played matches against different youth clubs each week in the season. There was a cricket field, in which matches were played during the summer.

The girls had an outdoor and indoor netball pitch, and played matches against visiting teams.

There were several table tennis tables, and teams of boys and girls played local teams, and entered area, as well as national, tournaments.

Boys and girls played tennis and badminton. There was greater difficulty here in providing opportunities for meeting outside teams, for there were not so many children of the same age attached to youth organisations who played these games.

Apart from such activities, there were facilities for all kinds of indoor games, such as billiards, chess and draughts.

Dancing Classes were arranged for the girls, who were taught Greek, Ballet and Modern Dancing. There were also

classes for instrumental music and hobbies. These were all taken by visiting instructors.

Out of door, there were facilities for cycling, gardening and frolicking on swings and for general free activity.

During the holidays, special money grants were provided to enable children to visit places of interest in and around London, and the older ones were permitted to go unescorted.

Many kind people and charitable organisations provided treats for the children, enabling them to visit theatres, circuses and other places of entertainment, as well as to go away for holidays to the country or seaside.

All these activities were voluntary, yet they proved so attractive to the majority of the children that, at one time or another, each child had an opportunity of enjoying a wide variety of athletic and cultural experiences.

Appendix 4 gives an indication of the facilities provided by the Home and of the advantage taken of them by the children.

The Home bore little resemblance to the kind of exclusive and inhibiting institution, which has been severely criticised for creating an 'institutional' child, who was segregated from his contemporaries who lived in normal homes, unaware of the outside world and its activities, and so developed a stunted personality.¹ If anything, the Home provided

1. See "The Child Wants a Home" - Isobel Mordy. Harrap. 1946.

opportunities for social intercourse and participation in a variety of experiences denied to many children who have normal homes.

Health of Children

Because the children went out to school, their health was guarded by a double check. The child in a normal home is examined at set periods by the School Medical Officer, and at other times is observed by the parent and school teacher, and referred to a doctor when there are symptoms of ill-health. In the Home, in addition to the vigilance of the Houseparents and the Matron, each child had a routine examination every six months by the Medical Officer of the Home, and once a year by the visiting dentist. In addition, the doctor visited twice a week, and the dentist once a fortnight, to attend to any cases which required their attention, apart from more frequent visits, should a case warrant it.

The result was that meticulous care was taken of the health of the children and, apart from the use of the Sick Bay, on the premises, which was under the supervision of two resident nurses, advantage was taken of all the hospital services. Sick children were cared for under skilled guidance and in familiar surroundings, for the Sick Bay was in the centre of the Home, within easy access of any child who felt he needed care, either because he felt ill or had had an accident.

Appendix 5 gives the details of the medical attention given to the children.

Their clothing was always under careful scrutiny of a very wide public quite apart from the watchful eye of House-parent and natural parent, for the children came into contact with so many different people, not only in schools and clubs, but with societies and visitors from all over the Metropolis. As a minimum standard outfit of clothing, the boys were provided with a play-suit, a second-best and a best suit, together with school clothing. As a matter of policy, each child was provided with all the equipment required by the school he attended. In addition, he had a best and second-best mackintosh, Wellingtons, and uniform for whatever youth organisation he was attached.

The girls were provided with a parallel outfit.

The clothes were bought in bulk, as a matter of economy, but, particularly in the case of the girls, the dresses were of a large variety of design and colour and, so far as possible, the children were given the opportunity of selecting their clothes from the central stores.

In addition to, or in place of, the standard outfit, the children were permitted to have personal clothes and 'gift' clothing. The Orphanage was continually in receipt of considerable assignments of gift clothing which provided a further opportunity for adding variety.

Opportunities for individual shopping were given for the purchase of minor requirements and accessories. The children, however, who were about to leave, were given the opportunity of going shopping with their Houseparent to 'purchase' their leaving outfit, and, under a ceiling figure, could choose all their clothing.

Each child received pocket money, in accordance with a set scale, based on age.¹ This money was spent by the child in any way he desired but he was encouraged to save, partly in order to buy presents, or to buy more expensive articles he may want; partly towards holiday pocket-money, and partly in order to acquire a bank balance for needs later in life. Most children received gifts of money from a variety of sources - either relatives, friends or charitable bequests.

To encourage the habit of thrift, each child on admission was provided with a Savings Book and an initial deposit. Periodically, under a bequest, each child received a thrift award.

Appendix 7 gives details of children's savings. It shows that the average savings for each child was about £5.16.0.² Apart from these savings, which were not normally touched until the child left, there were temporary savings accounts, which Houseparents kept for the more immediate needs, such as purchases of personal requisites, periodicals, fountain

1. Appendix 6.

2. These were the total savings during the period of residence.

pens, writing-paper, toys, fares, extra visits¹ to home or friends.

Contacts with Adults

Mainly as a result of the need to solicit financial support, the Home encouraged visits from a variety of organisations. These visits took place mostly on Sunday afternoons. There were always some children in residence, and often most of the children were in residence.² The visitors were received by a member of the Committee, and were conducted on a tour of the Home. During the course of the tour the children were often approached by the visitors, who, in the main, displayed a greater interest in them than in the physical amenities which the Home provided.

The children were affected in many ways by the frequency of such visits and by the contact with so many friendly adults. In the main, the children tended to become very much at ease with adults. This ease may be a characteristic of a shallow relationship, although it would be impossible to establish this without a more detailed study than it has been possible to make in this thesis. What was obvious, however,

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1. Fares for one visit a month were paid for by the Home.
 2. See Appendix 8.

was the ease with which so many of the children made social contact, and, superficially, at least, this might be regarded as a social asset. Visitors were not permitted to leave gifts with individual children, although they were permitted to establish contact which they might renew, if the Principal considered it in the interest of the child.

The children, on the whole, welcomed these visitors, and were anxious to tell them all about their Home.

But the older children, especially those in their last year or so at the Home, tended to be more sensitive, and avoided visitors. Among the older age group there was a larger proportion who resented these frequent intrusions into their privacy.

It might be urged that such frequent visits militated against the creation of a quiet and normal 'homely' atmosphere, and the Staff, most certainly, disliked these breaks into the routine by people and under circumstances beyond their control.

But, Homes should not be confused with homes and the whole constitution and administration are in contradistinction to those which govern a normal home. The children were under no illusion about the distinction and these visits became an elementary and practical lesson in civics, from which they were able to learn that the amenities they enjoyed were provided by the wider community. If the children were totally deprived,

and they were being brought up in a substitute home, then such diversions from the normal routine of family-living might have had distressing effects in the development of personality. But in the case of children who retain their fundamental relationships with their parents, the experience of Home-living was little different from that of a boarding-school. So long as the visits were controlled, and the visitors were prevented from either patronising or pampering the children, it did not appear that the organised visits had any profound effects, other than (a) emphasising the dependence of the Home on the goodwill of the general community, and (b) developing a flair among the children for being at ease in the presence of strangers and establishing easy social contacts.

An analysis of the ages of children on admission: the duration of their stay: reasons for admission and ages at which they left.

In 1946, the children returned from evacuation to residence at the Orphanage. Then the roll was 114 and it increased in succeeding years as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Roll</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Roll</u>
1946	114	1950	193
1947	136	1951	206
1948	162	1952	200
1949	175	1953	194

The total number of children who had left during these eight years was 215.

It will be noted in Table 7¹ that the intake of children was highest in the younger age groups and it was progressively lower, disappearing at 14 years because it was not the policy to admit children over the age of 12 years excepting under very special circumstances. Other arrangements were usually made for the care of such children and they were either placed in hostels or were boarded out in private homes by the Jewish Board of Guardians.

The policy of the Orphanage was to accept such cases only where the circumstances indicated a permanent or long term placement. Where they seemed to indicate a short-term stay, i.e. for less than a year or two, the case was referred to the Jewish Board of Guardians which placed the child in one of their short-term Homes.

Nevertheless, an examination of Table 2² shows that it had not been possible to predict accurately. This can be illustrated by the following details of the 44 children who were admitted at the age of 5 years but who left at different ages:

-
1. Appendix 9. age group. Using this as a control group,
 2. Appendix 10. will demonstrate the relatively short-term

stay of children.

No. of children admitted
at 5 years of age.

Age at which left

5	15
0	14
1	13
1	12
6	11
0	10
6	9
3	8
4	7
0	6
5	5

It will be noted that at least one half remained for less than three years and about one third were in residence for less than two years.

An examination of those admitted at the age of 6 years shows that about one half remained for less than three years.

The average roll of the Orphanage during these eight years was 173. If one were to assume that all the children who were admitted remained the full length of time, then for the ten year age range one would expect to find a scatter of 17.3 children in each age group. Using this as a control group, the following table will demonstrate the relatively short-term stay of children.

Table showing length of stay of children

<u>Length of stay No. of years</u>	<u>'Control Group' Roll</u>	<u>No. on roll¹ Nov. 1953.</u>	<u>No. left¹ 1946-53</u>	<u>Total No. of Admis- sions.</u>
0 - 1	17.3	44	25	69
1 - 2	17.3	34	38	72
2 - 3	17.3	20	35	55
3 - 4	17.3	31	30	61
4 - 5	17.3	27	27	54
5 - 6	17.3	16	17	33
6 - 7	17.3	12	19	31
7 - 8	17.3	8	8	16
8 - 9	17.3	2	10	12
9 - 10	17.3	0	6	6
TOTAL	17.3	194	215	409

It appears that the majority of the younger children, within a few years of their admission, returned to the care of their relatives;² whilst the majority of those who were admitted over the age of 9 years remained until they were 15 years.¹

1. Appendix 12.

2. Appendix 11.

Of the 194 children on roll, 78 had been in residence less than 2 years and only 65 had been there for more than 4 years. Of the 53 who were admitted at the age of 5 years only 1 had been at the Orphanage for more than 7 years whilst 30 had been there for less than 4 years.¹

Of the 409 children who had been in the Orphanage since 1946, 176 had been admitted over the age of 8 years, and, in the main, they constituted the bulk of the long-term cases.² Thus of the 75 children who left at the age of 15 years, 57 were admitted over the age of 8 and 27 over the age of 11.³

These facts and the other details given in the Appendices to which reference has been made, show that there was a considerable variation in the ages of admission, in the duration of stay and in the ages at which the children left. This indicates the complicated nature of the administration of Children's Homes, for it is obvious that (a) there can be no satisfactory long - term planning for stable 'family' groupings; and (b) the greatest movement in population is amongst the younger children who, one would suppose, need greater stability in their environment.

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1. Appendix 13.
 2. Appendix 12.
 3. Appendix 10.

It now becomes desirable to examine the reasons why children were admitted to see if they bear any influence on the ages of admission, on the duration of their residence and on the reasons for their leaving.

Children entered the Jewish Orphanage for one or more of a variety of reasons. An analysis has been made of these to discover if a specific reason can be related to the age of admission, the duration of stay or the domicile of the children after they left. Such information might be of some assistance to the administrators of the Home and might throw light on the personality problems of deprived children such as these.

The sort of information one sought was whether children who were admitted for one reason tended to remain longer than those admitted for another reason; or whether they were admitted at an earlier age; or returned home at an earlier age; or whether children from any particular category possessed a larger proportion of problem children.

The children in this survey were classified into the following ten categories, according to the major reason for their admission:-

1. Illegitimate
2. Deserted by father
3. Deserted by mother
4. Parents divorced

5. Widowed mother
6. Widower father
7. Parents separated
8. Orphans
9. Mother and/or father in Mental Hospital
10. Miscellaneous

In many cases there was a combination of reasons which prompted the application for admission, but for the purpose of this classification, the outstanding reason in each case, i.e. the one which precipitated the application, was selected as the basis for placement in a category.

The results of the analysis of the ages of admission, the length of residence, and the reasons for admission are contained in the Appendices.

Classification according to reason for admission

Appendices 15 and 16 show that of the 194 children on roll and of the 215 who left before December 1953, the number of admissions was as follows:

It is interesting to note that although the proportion of boys to girls on the whole was 3 : 2, there was no uniformity in proportion among the various categories.

Proportion of Boys to Girls

Categories	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Boys : Girls	10:9	11:9	3:1	10:7	11:9	11:9	2:1	1:1	2:1	1:1

No. of admissions in Categories of Admission 1946-1953

<u>Category</u>	<u>On Roll</u>	<u>Left</u>	<u>Total</u>
1	35	23	58
2	10	9	19
3	4	9	13
4	32	35	67
5	34	45	79
6	29	32	61
7	17	15	32
8	4	10	14
9	14	16	30
10	15	21	36
TOTAL	194	215	409

There was a wide scatter of ages among the admissions in each category; and the only other major characteristic in common was the tendency for the larger number of admissions to be among the younger age group.¹

It is interesting to note that although the proportion of boys to girls on the whole was 3 : 2, there was no uniformity in proportion among the various categories.

Proportion of Boys to Girls

Categories	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Boys : Girls	10:9	11:8	3:1	10:7	11:9	11:9	2:1	1:1	2:1	3:2

1. See Appendix 15.

A comparison of Tables in Appendices 15 and 16 shows that in the more recent years there has been an increase in the number of illegitimate children, whilst there has been a marked fall in the number accepted because of the desertion by the mother or because the children were double orphans.

The tendency for children to be admitted at an early age was most marked among children of unmarried mothers and of divorced parents. The most marked difference in proportion between the sexes occurred in the younger age groups, but after about the age of nine, the proportion was equal. This is a significant difference, for, as it will be shown in a later Chapter, younger boys presented more problems than girls, whilst the older girls were more difficult to handle than boys.

Below is the percentage of children admitted at, or over the age of 10 years, in each category.

Category	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Percentage of Admissions	10.4	21	15.4	17.9	21.5	27.8	15.6	64.3	32.3	28.6

These figures may be contrasted with the percentage of children admitted under the age of seven years.

Category	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Percentage of Admissions	6.2	52.8	38.5	46.3	34.2	31	37.5	21.4	41.9	40

A more detailed examination of each category now follows with a view to discovering if there can be reasonable grounds for predicting the course of stay of any group of children. If there were such possibilities one might be able to prepare a technique for looking after such children.

1. Illegitimate Children

Age of Admission. Out of the 409 children admitted, 58 were illegitimate; that is about one seventh. But of those admitted at five years of age, more than one quarter belonged to this category; whilst of the 130 children admitted over the age of nine years, only eight belonged to this group.¹

Duration of Stay. Of the 23 who had left, only 6 left at the age of 15² and of these only 2 were admitted at the age of 5;² of the 12 who left at the age of 9 or under, 8 were admitted at the age of 5 years.³ Of those on the roll, about 40% were admitted at the age of 5 years,⁴ 57% had been at the Orphanage for over 3 years, and 43% for more than 4 years.⁵

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1. Appendix 9.
 2. Appendix 17, Table 1.
 3. Appendix 17, Tables 7 and 11.
 4. Appendix 15.
 5. Appendix 16.

Reasons for leaving. Of the 23 who left, 14 returned to a relative and 4 only were adopted.¹ 10 had been in Norwood for less than 3 years.²

2. Children deserted by their father

Age of Admission. About one in twenty of the children came into this category. About two thirds were admitted under the age of 8 years, forming about 1 in 14 of the 5-year-old group.³

Duration of Stay. Out of the 9 who left, 2 only left at the age of 15 years, and these were admitted at 11 years of age.⁴ 3 out of 4 on the roll and who were admitted at 5 years, had been there more than 3 years.⁵ All those who had left and were admitted in the earlier age group left before they were 10 years of age.⁶

Reasons for leaving. Of the 9 who left, 7 returned to their family.

1. Table 17.

2. Appendix 16.

3. Appendix 9.

4. Appendix 15, Table 7.

5. Appendix 16.

6. Appendix 15, Table 7.

3. Children deserted by their Mother

Age on Admission. There were only 13 children in this group, 10 of whom were boys. 9 children were admitted under 8 years of age and 4 of these joined at 5 years.¹

Duration of Stay. Only 1 left at age of 15 years. Of the 3 who were admitted at 5 years and who had left, 1 left at 11 years and the other two at a younger age. Of the 9 admitted at the age of 7 or under, only 2 left older than 11 years of age, and 3 left younger than 7.² Two thirds of the children were there for less than 4 years.³

Reasons for leaving. 7 out of the 9 who left returned to their family.⁴

4. Children of Divorced Parents

Age on Admission. This was the second largest category and one in six of the children belonged to it.⁵ The majority of the children joined in the younger age groups, forming 1 in 6 of the 5-year-olds, and 1 in 5 of the 6 and 7-year groups. But there was a fairly constant flow of admissions in each group.⁶ There seemed to be an equal

1. Appendices 18 and 19.

2. Appendix 16, Table 9. ✕

3. Ibid.

4. Appendix 10.

5. Appendix 9.

6. Ibid.

distribution of boys and girls.¹

Duration of Stay. Of the 32 on roll, 25 joined under the age of 8 years,² and 12 of these had been at Norwood for over 4 years.³ Not one of those who joined at 5 remained beyond the 12th birthday. Of the 9 who joined at 6 years, the oldest age of any who left was 9 years.⁴ Of the 5 who left at 15 years, not one joined under 7 years of age.⁵ 14 out of the 35 who had left were under 10 years of age.⁶ Only 4 remained until they were 15 years.⁷

Reasons for leaving. Out of the 35 who left, 28 returned to a relative and only 2 went to a foster home. 14 children returned home because their parents remarried.⁸

5. Children of Widows

Age on Admission. This was the largest category, forming one in five of admissions. There was a fairly even dis-

1. Appendices 18 and 19.

2. Ibid.

3. Appendix 16.

4. Appendix 14, Table 3.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Appendix 10.

tribution of admissions, in the younger age groups, constituting 13% of the 5 year olds; 18% of the 6 year olds; 17% of the 7 year olds, but 30% of the 8 year olds and 33% of the 9 year olds.¹ Most of the children joined in the intermediate stage although there was a constant stream in each age group, and they formed about one third of the admissions of the 12 year olds.²

Duration of Stay. Of the 7 who joined at 7 years of age, 1 only remained until 15 years of age; the remainder left at 11 or under.³ But of the 75 (the total number of children) who left at 15 years, 22 belonged to this category; whilst of the 10 who left at 14, 4 were of that category.⁴ 27 of the 45 in this category who had left had been in residence for more than 4 years.

Reasons for leaving. Out of 45 who left, 31 returned to relatives; only 3 returned home because the mother had remarried.⁵

6. Children of Widowers

Age on Admission. This was another large category forming about 15% of the total.⁶ There was a fairly large intake

1. Appendix 9.

2. Ibid.

3. Appendix 14, Table 9.

4. Ibid.

5. Appendix 10.

6. Appendix 9.

in each age group, but, apart from the 5 year old range, the largest proportion of admissions was in the young ages. They formed 21% of the 6 year olds and 18% of the 7 year olds. The 10 and 11 year old groups likewise had a high proportion of admissions, e.g. about 20%.¹

Duration of Stay. Of the 16 who joined under 8 years of age, only 2 left at 15 years. Of the 32 who left, only 5 left before reaching the age of 11 years, and 17 remained until 15 years of age.² A larger proportion of these children than of any other were long-term cases. About two-thirds remained longer than 4 years,³ and 7 out of 10⁴ who were admitted under 7 years remained until 15 years.

Reasons for leaving. Out of the 32 leavers, 23 returned home, but only 3 returned home because the father had remarried.⁵

7. Children of separated parents

This is a moderately sized group, forming about 8% of the total. The proportion of boys to girls was high, being 22 : 10.

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1. Appendix-9.
 2. Appendix 14, Table 10.
 3. Appendix 21.
 4. Appendix-14, Table 10.
 5. Appendix.10.

Age on Admission. The admissions were fairly evenly scattered over a wide age range, forming 8% of the 5 year olds, and 5% of the 6 year olds.¹

Duration of Stay. Of the 7 who left and were admitted under 8 years of age, only 1 left at 15 years, and the remainder left before they were 11 years of age, whilst of the 13 who joined under 11 years, 8 left before reaching 11 years of age.² Out of the 17 on roll, 13 had been at Norwood for less than 3 years.³

Reasons for leaving. Out of the 15 who left, 9 returned home. Only 2 left because parents eventually remarried.⁴

8. Orphans

This was the smallest of the categories, slightly above 3% of the total intake.⁵

Age on Admission. There was a wide scatter of admissions, but the majority were in the older age groups. Thus only 4 joined under 8 years of age.⁶

1. Appendix 9.
2. Appendix 14, Table 6.
3. Appendix 15.
4. Appendix 10.
5. Appendix 9.
6. Ibid.

Duration of Stay. A third remained until they were 15, and only 1 left under the age of 11 years.¹

Reasons for leaving. Two only out of the 10 leavers went to live with relatives.²

9. Parents in a Mental Hospital

This was a fairly large group; 1 out of 13 belonged to it.³ The number of boys was proportionately high, being 21 : 10.

Age on Admission. 50% of the children were admitted under the age of 8, but there was a constant stream of admissions in each age group, although the highest proportion joined at 11 or 12 years of age.⁴

Duration of Stay. Of the 6 admitted at 7 years of age or younger, 4 left before reaching their 9th birthday. Only 3 left at 15 years.⁵ Of those on roll, 7 only had been resident for more than 3 years.⁶

1. Appendix 14, Table 4.

2. Appendix 10.

3. Appendix 9.

4. Ibid.

5. Appendix 14, Table 2.

6. Appendix 15.

Reasons for leaving. 5 children were adopted and another 5 went home.¹

10. Miscellaneous

This was a fairly large group, constituting about 8% of the children.²

Age on Admission. About half of the children were admitted before they reached the age of 8 but the number of admissions in each age group was fairly evenly distributed.³

Duration of Stay. Of the 10 children admitted under the age of 8, 6 left before reaching 9 years of age, and only 1 remained until 15 years.⁴ Altogether, 6 of this group left at 15 years of age. About 80% of those on roll had been at Norwood for less than 4 years,⁵ whilst 11 out of the 21 who had left had been there for less than 3 years.⁶

Reasons for leaving. 9 left to live with parents and 10 left to live in other types of residential Homes, mainly hostels.

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1. Appendix 10.
 2. Appendix 9.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Appendix 14, Table 1.
 5. Appendix 15.
 6. Appendix 14, Table 1.

General Conclusions

It appears that the majority of children admitted under 8 years left before they were 11 years of age but those who were admitted after 10 years of age tended to remain until they were 15. Young children who were deserted by their father, or whose parents were separated and who had a parent in a mental hospital tended to be comparatively short-term cases. Whilst orphans, children of widows and widowers could be regarded as long-term cases. Out of the 215 who had left Norwood, 136 returned to a relative (this usually meant a parent), 33 went to a foster home, 13 were adopted, and the remainder went elsewhere, in the main, to live in hostels. As many as 109 were in residence for less than 4 years, 81 for less than 3 years, whilst only 69 had been at the Orphanage for longer than 6 years.

How profound an influence can a Home have on such children? Because of the policy of the Orphanage, no child was admitted under the age of 5 years; consequently, the foundations of character and temperament would have been laid before admission. But it is desirable to estimate the extent to which the Home could assist the development of character. It must be emphasized, however, that the majority who joined in the most formative years, i.e. under 8 years of age, left to rejoin their parents before they reached the age of 11 years.

In view of this trend in admissions and leaving, the

Orphanage tended to regard itself as playing a complementary rôle to that of the parent. It was felt that any attempt to exert an exclusive influence was not only illogical but bad psychology, since both parents and children regarded the residence at the Home as a temporary expedient.

Although some categories appeared to possess a larger number of long-term cases, an analysis of case histories shows how difficult it is to predict in individual cases.¹ From among those whom one might predict a long stay, such as illegitimate children abandoned by their mother, one finds unexpected re-unions. On the other hand, there were cases of devoted but ineffectual parents who maintained regular contact with their offspring, who always seemed on the point of being re-united, but who remained in the care of the Orphanage until they were legally independent.

Thus the youngest children, for whom one might be expected to do most, tended to remain in the Home for the shortest period; whilst those who remained longest tended to join after they had made their strongest links with people and environments outside the Home. It might be thought that there would be as good a chance of influencing the development of character among these children as among those who enter Public

1. Appendix 22. *A Children's Home. The First Year.*

Schools at the age of thirteen years. The comparison, however, is a false one for many reasons. Quite apart from the prestige value of the Schools (which is in contradistinction to the stigma which has often been associated with Children's Homes) it is impossible that one could influence a child disregarding both the influence of his background and the prospects of his eventual home and future. This problem will be referred to when the question of After Care is discussed.

These circumstances necessarily influence the policy of internal administration. It would appear that, since the majority of admissions are relatively short-term and they return to the care of their parents, the interval of life spent at the Home should not involve too great a strain on affective relationships with parents, nor too great a contrast with the experience of living before they entered and the sort of life they would be likely to lead when they left. The most effective link in the long chain of human experience is the parent who, consequently, should be closely associated with the upbringing of a child throughout his sojourn at a Home.

There were other problems connected with the fluidity of child population, the nature of which made a detailed investigation beyond the scope of this thesis. But these problems are posed because they deal with vital aspects of child care and the administration of a Children's Home. The fluctuations in the

ages of admission and the limited duration of stay prevented the Orphanage from taking on the complexion of a normal home. The essence of home life is stability in personal relationships, both between parent and child and between siblings. One of the vital problems of family life is associated with the changing climate due to the addition of siblings to the family. This provides a new atmosphere and requires other siblings to make fresh adjustments. But the kind of changes in child population which is indicated in the various Appendices, shows that the situation at the Orphanage was significantly different in character from that which prevails in normal homes.

One has not been able to determine whether the frequent adjustments which children had to make when new children were admitted and others left after a relatively short sojourn, aggravated or created a sense of insecurity or had no effect. Nor was one able to determine to what extent the high proportion of rehabilitation among young children was the result of a chain reaction, i.e. the result of pressure brought to bear on parents by children because their companions had left.

To what extent were Houseparents frustrated by the frequent changes in the content of their families?

Was there any connection between maladjustment and the duration of stay in the Home and were any of the categories affected more than others by the duration of stay?

To what extent did the disparity in ages and sex influence the character of the Home? Did the fact that there was a higher proportion of boys in the younger age groups and a comparatively higher proportion of girls in the near adolescent and adolescent groups create any special problems of administration?

These are some of the problems indicated by the analysis of the characteristics of children admitted to the Orphanage. Before one deals with them it might be advisable to examine how these data reflect the changed attitude of the Jewish Community to the acceptance of children into their care.

The Changing Attitudes of Society towards taking Children into Care.

The first part of this Chapter provided an analysis of the reasons why children were admitted into the Jewish Orphanage during the past decade. Part One of this thesis showed how the interpretation of the needs of children in care has varied during the past two hundred years. During the early nineteenth century it was generally accepted that there should be different standards of care, which should vary according to the background of the child. If a child was destitute, he was cared for by one type of institution; if he were the child of a criminal, he might be brought up in a different kind of Home. If he were an orphan of 'respectable' parentage, and had relatives who accepted the current concept of social responsibility, he would probably

be taken into their home, or he might be placed by them in a boarding-school, or in one of the voluntary Orphanages which were springing up in the nineteenth century to cater for specific social classes.

There was a stigma attached to some of these institutions; there was prestige attached to others. Some children were housed like cattle; others were in Homes which had a high standard of efficiency, and to which admission could be obtained only through the patronage of influential subscribers.

Some Homes, like the London Orphan Society, founded in 1813, insisted on the production of the marriage lines of parents before children could be admitted. Some, like the Jewish Orphanage, accepted only those children who came from homes which could be vouched for as being respectable. Others, like the Orphan Working School (later named the Royal Alexandra and Albert School) refused all children who had ever been in a prison or a workhouse.¹

Many of the Voluntary Homes had a high standard of education, which compared favourably with that of many Public Schools, and the standards of frugality and strict discipline were not dissimilar.

1. Nobody wanted Sam, by Mary Hopkirk, published by John Murray. 1950.

But the children who came from the 'lower' strata of society were for a long time treated wretchedly. The aim appeared to be to find some method of keeping them at the minimum expense; and, at some periods, they were farmed out to people who used them as cheap labour, either at their homes, farms, workshops or mines.

The standard of care in workhouses was described thus by one observer ... "There is no childhood within the walls of the workhouse. A so-called juvenile pauper is only a child in the childish attitude of helplessness. If you give him toys, he does not know how to play. If you give him kind words, he does not know how to smile. Quite naturally he trembles if you frown, and is ready to tell any lie rather than compromise himself by the admission of the most trifling fault. Terrorism and routine have crushed out alike the feeling of trustfulness and the power of enjoyment, leaving in their place cunning and defiance. In the best-managed workhouses, children are under the worst possible influences, which Miss Florence Hill's very admirably-written book called "The Children of the State" can testify. There is the absence of anything like individual care to begin with; the association with adult paupers; the stagnation of mind induced by monotony; the selfishness of heart fostered by isolation from natural ties; the personal slovenliness and moral coarseness which neglect is sure to

engender ... ¹

The aim in the most enlightened of the Homes was to train the children for occupations which would ensure a secure livelihood; and the criterion of success was assessed according to the number of inmates who in adult life became independent of public funds or charity.

Local authorities were guided in their administration of Children's Homes by the principle that the well-being of the children in their care should be inferior to that provided by respectable parents of the poorest classes, who looked after their children in their own homes. The function of such Homes was thus both positive and negative; they were obliged to keep the children alive, but on a very low level. The standard of care was not related to the specific needs of children as such, but rather to the social doctrine which required authorities to maintain a balance of differentials between the social strata of society. As the economic and social standards of the lower income groups improved, so the standards in Institutions improved and this change cannot be attributed solely to a conscious change of attitude on the part of the authorities to the needs of deprived children.

1. "Cottage Homes for Workhouse Children" - Good Words, 1 March, 1870.

This principle of maintaining a balance of differentials was applied in a different way in the Voluntary Homes. These were usually established for different motives, and to meet specific needs - and this has been illustrated by the story of the growth of the Jewish Orphanage. As the interpretation of the nature of these needs changed, so the character of these Homes tended to change.

The Contemporary Attitude of Society towards 'Deprived' Children

Throughout the centuries the State has been extending its range of responsibilities for the welfare of its citizens. The Children Act of 1948 was but part of a great spate of legislation during the last two centuries, which reflected the view accepted now that the general well-being of all children should be the active responsibility of national and local authorities.

This Act has established that these authorities have a legal responsibility to ensure that all children, irrespective of their social station in life, should have adequate opportunities for developing their personalities, in accordance with their basic needs and potentialities. Thus, Section 1(b) of the Act stipulates that if a child's parents or guardians ... '... are for the time being or permanently prevented by reason of mental or bodily disease or infirmity or other incapacity or any other circumstances from providing for his proper accommodation, maintenance and upbringing ...' '...it shall be the duty of

the local authority to receive the child into their care.' Section 12, Part II of the Act declares that once the child is in care, 'it shall be the duty of that authority to exercise their powers with respect to him so as to further his best interests, and to afford him opportunity for the proper development of his character and abilities. In providing for a child in their care, a local authority shall make use of such facilities and services available for children in the care of their own parents as appears to the local authority reasonable in his case.'

This change in the attitude of authorities to their responsibilities towards children and the change in the interpretation of the needs of deprived children, should be studied in relation to the other ramifications of the Welfare State, which has emerged in the last few decades. Social attitudes have changed, and people no longer regard assistance and help provided by authorities as charitable benefactions.

Public opinion likewise has adopted a different affective attitude towards child care. The tendency now is to regard the responsibility for looking after children as something independent of, although related to, the social problems which have created the need for authorities to care for children. This has been illustrated by the story of the development of the Jewish Orphanage, which no longer bars 'pauper children' or

'illegitimate' children or children of immoral parents. The criterion for admission is the need of the child, and not the circumstances which established the need.

The child, as such, has now become the centre of interest. And because of this transformation in attitudes to child welfare, parents have tended to adopt a different attitude towards placing their children in care. Fewer seek alternative methods for the care of their children when they feel unable to look after them; " ... there seems to be an increasing tendency to rely upon the local authority for provision in difficult circumstances, which in years gone by would have been resolved by aid from neighbours and relatives".¹

It is difficult to substantiate this view with statistical evidence but the family set-up as it generally applies, as well as the changing attitudes towards Children's Homes, lend point to this assertion. In recent years, families have been smaller and there have been fewer 'big sisters' to look after the family when mother was ill. Women have been marrying at a younger age and the proportion of women marrying has been higher than ever before, so that there have been fewer spinster sisters capable of looking after families deprived of a mother's care. Also, more mothers and grandmothers have been working, so that

1. "The First Seven Years" - The Cheshire County Council Children's Committee, p. 12. 1954.

fewer neighbours have been available to undertake additional responsibilities.¹

At the same time there has developed a respect for 'specialist' treatment - the feeling that children should be cared for by qualified and experienced persons. Children's Homes are no longer regarded so universally as the last resort of distraught parents and relatives, but as places where children would receive adequate care in the hands of skilled personnel.²

Just as the benefit of National Insurance, the National Health Service, the educational system and all the other ramifications of the Welfare State, have become socially acceptable; so more people have become conditioned to accepting Children's Homes as suitable media for resolving domestic problems. This has become more evident as the general standards of child care have improved.³ This is reflected, too, in the increase in the variety of types of children who are being taken into care.

It has been pointed out that the majority of the children in the Orphanage were not there because they were destitute, or

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1. Titmuss, R.H., The Family as an Institution, National Council of Social Service, 1953.
 2. Conway, E.S., An Appraisal of Jewish Family Life. The Jewish Academy, Inter-University Federation of Great Britain and Ireland. 1954-55.
 3. No. in Care of Local Authorities: 1949 - 55,255; 1950 - 58,987; 1954 - 64,560. See - Sixth and Seventh Reports on Work of the Children's Department, published by the Home Office.

because they came from impoverished homes, they had not been neglected or abandoned. In point of fact, the majority had parents, who maintained regular contact, and to whom the children returned when they went out of care. And what applied to these children would seem to apply to the majority of the children in the care of local authorities.¹

It has been shown that there are three methods whereby children are placed in Homes:

- (a) Where a Children's Officer has evidence that a child is in need of care, he is legally bound to apply to the Court for an Order placing the child in his care:
- (b) Where a parent feels unable to give his child adequate care, he can apply to the Children's Officer to look after the child for him. If this application is turned down, or if the parent does not wish to place his child in the care of a local authority, he can
- (c) apply to a Voluntary Society to care for his child.

An examination of the children who have been admitted to the Jewish Orphanage, has provided examples of each of these cases. The number of children in category (a) was very small - and it is true for the country as a whole that the proportion of

1. See Table 1 - Children in the care of local authorities in England and Wales - 1956, Cmd. 9881.

such children in Children's Homes is small.¹ The number in category (b) was about a quarter of the roll. This does not reflect the position in the country as a whole, since the majority of children in Homes come within this category, although there is a considerable number of children in category (c), i.e. who are in Voluntary Homes, and are not in the care of local authorities.

Many applications were received for the admission of children who had been rejected by local authorities and were also rejected by the Orphanage on the grounds that child care agencies were not meant to fulfil the functions of boarding schools, nevertheless, some were admitted whose background was similar to that of many who were in boarding schools, because public opinion had come to recognize that the circumstances warranted such a decision.² This often meant that there was a difference of opinion as to whether a child should be cared for by the parent or not.

Thus in Case X, a Children's Officer withdrew the control of the Committee over a motherless child, because the father objected to the child being placed in a foster-home. He felt that he might suffer the loss of the affection of his son and

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1. See Table 1 - Children in the care of local authorities in England and Wales - 1956, Cmd. 9881.
 2. See Cases 1, 5, 10, 11 - Appendix 22.

there had been one previous case of fostering which had not worked. He insisted on the child being cared for in a Children's Home. Or again, there was the Y case, where the husband and wife were of different religions. The husband was prepared to accept the step-children in his home on condition they were brought up in accordance with his religion. The mother wanted the children brought up according to her faith. The Children's Officer felt that religious differences could be settled without separating the children from the mother and refused to accept the children into care and, consequently, they were admitted into the Home as voluntary cases.

Nevertheless, local authorities accept children into care for reasons which, in the early part of the century, would not have prompted parents to seek admission for their children into a Home. A child might be deemed maladjusted, but is placed in a Home, pending a vacancy in a residential school for maladjusted children;¹ a child might be referred by a Juvenile Court because it was felt that although the parents were devoted, they were incapable of exercising sufficient control.²

Although it is unusual for such a course to be adopted in the case of children of the 'higher' social classes, it is

1. Case 3 - Appendix 22.

2. Case 14 - Appendix 22. *Children, Child Care, Vol. 8, No. 1.*

happening more frequently that parents of good social standing, who cannot afford to pay the high fees charged by residential schools for problem children, are seeking recourse to this procedure in the interest of their children.¹

The number of children who enter Homes of one kind or another for short or long periods is likely to be in the region of one-tenth of the child population.² In such ways, the Jewish Orphanage received a large variety of types of children who conformed in background more with a general cross-section of society.

It would appear that in the Jewish community through the influence of education and the broadening concepts of minimum standards of comfort, there has been a shift of emphasis on social pressures. One wonders if this is not a reflection of the reactions of the wider community. The concept that the fundamental consideration in social life should be that a family should live together is held subject to considerations which themselves have tended to become the criteria as to whether a course of action is socially acceptable, or otherwise. Thus society accepts the principle as fundamental that parents should earn a reasonable sum of money; that they should pursue an

1. See Cases 3 and 11.

2. Conway, E.S., Homeless Children, Child Care, Vol. 8., No. 1. 1954.

occupation which they regard as congenial; that they should be reasonably happy in their marriage relationships; that they should be reasonably competent in bringing up their children; that they should enjoy reasonably good health; that they should have reasonably good accommodation. And what society interprets as reasonable appears to have changed so much in the years as to have increased the range of people who place their children in the care of authorities because by such an act they satisfy their conscience that they have done justice to themselves and to their children.¹

In previous decades there was a stigma attached to residence in a Home, because the causes for admission were associated with circumstances which met with social disapproval. Pauperism was identified with indolence, immorality and criminal tendencies; and children were thought to inherit the vices of their progenitors.

But to-day, many of the reasons why parents place their children in Homes are regarded as socially acceptable. There is no suggestion that most of the mothers are lazy; in fact a larger proportion than ever before seek gainful occupations, and give this as their reason for placing their children in Homes.

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1. Compare data in Part I, pp. 44-6 (which show that poverty and absence of guardian were the chief causes of admission) with list of reasons for admission given in the Introduction.

They object to living in impoverished homes. They want to maintain a good standard of living, and they claim they cannot do this on the money provided by pensions, public assistance, maintenance orders or any other form of subsistence grant. This desire to work is not stigmatised as was the attitude of those who lived on public assistance of one kind or another. Society appears to have recognised the right of a mother who cannot be adequately supported by a husband or a putative father to place her child in a Home in order that she might improve the material conditions of her home. This is in contradistinction to the principles which governed the Poor Law of 1834.

The mothers who, for whatsoever reason, prefer to look after their children by remaining at home are unable to provide as good material comforts, health facilities and - often - educational advantages for their children as those who work and leave their children in a Home. These children are no more deprived of the love and interest of their mother than those who attend boarding schools. They see each other regularly and often; and, during such periods, they enjoy a 'richer' life than the 'non-deprived' children who live in impoverished homes because their mothers do not go out to work, but live on some form of subsistence.

The examination of the admissions to the Jewish Orphanage has shown that some children were there because of the illness -

physical or mental - of their parents, who may be in hospital or at home. There did not appear to be any stigma attached to separation under such circumstances. The removal of a child to the Orphanage appeared to be regarded by an increasing section of the public in much the same light as the removal of the parent to Hospital - as the normal procedure to safeguard the well-being of a citizen by placing him in the care of specialised people because there is no one to provide adequate care at home.

Many children were in the Orphanage because of bad housing conditions. In the early part of this century it would probably have been considered regrettable that parents and children should have to sleep in one room; but such a situation would certainly not have prompted devoted parents to press for the admission of their children into a Home, unless this condition was accompanied by dire poverty and other distressing circumstances. But, nowadays, devoted parents are among those who take the initiative in such cases, for they appear to regard the unity of family life as of less importance than hygienic and comfortable surroundings. Some parents regard it as the proper course of action for them to place their children in the care of local authorities.¹

Some children were in the Orphanage because their parents

1. See Cases 12 and 13 - Appendix 22.

had itinerant occupations, but could afford, but could not obtain, or were reluctant to engage a housekeeper, or to send their children to a boarding-school. In the latter case, they would find it difficult to accommodate their children during the long school holidays. During the time they were working, as commercial travellers or as stage artists, they might well be earning relatively high salaries: and when the children were with them, they enjoyed a good middle-class standard of living and culture. The community implicitly accepted the justification of the policy that such people should follow their occupation and entrust their children to the care of Homes and it did not urge, let alone insist, that they should change their occupations in order that they may be with their children.

Thus it can be seen from a study of this case history, that the variety of types of children in residence at the Jewish Orphanage, was the result of the acceptance by the Jewish Community of a responsibility to care for children in need; and the financial circumstances and social status of the parents no longer played so vital a role in determining whether an application for admission was made or accepted or rejected. A change of attitude was also noted towards the way parents were expected to discharge their responsibility towards their children. And to a limited degree, reflected in the presence at the Orphanage of children placed there by local authorities who constituted a quarter of

the roll, this reflects also a changing attitude of society as a whole and not only of the Jewish Community.

A Study of the Development of Personality in the Orphanage

In the previous chapter, one has noted the type of child who was admitted to the orphanage. It would be a discovery of some significance if one could determine whether:

- (a) long-term residence in a children's home was a contributory cause in the development of a maladjusted personality or helped to normalize disturbed children;
- (b) factors unconnected with residence in a home were responsible for the kind of personality possessed by adults who had been deprived of the experience of a normal home life, during at least part of their childhood.

One may accept the view that the majority of a home is reflected most clearly in the careers of those who once lived there, so that the best way of determining the influence of a home would be by means of a study of follow-up cases.

Unfortunately, one has not been able to discover a record of the histories of a sufficiently large sample of adults who spent the formative years of their childhood in the orphanage. Hence, finally, there is included in this thesis, only a brief account of the workings of the After-Care Department.

CHAPTER TWO

A study of behaviour characteristics of children who resided at the Orphanage.

In the previous chapter, one has noted the type of child who was admitted to the Orphanage. It would be a discovery of some significance if one could determine whether:

- (a) long-term residence in a Children's Home was a contributory cause in the development of a maladjusted personality or helped to normalise disturbed children;
- (b) factors unconnected with residence in a Home were responsible for the kind of personality possessed by adults who had been deprived of the experience of a normal home life, during at least part of their childhood.

One may accept the view that the success of a Home is reflected most clearly in the careers of those who once lived there, so that the best way of determining the influence of a Home would be by means of a study of follow-up cases. Unfortunately, one has not been able to discover a record of case histories of a sufficiently large sample of adults who spent the formative years of their childhood in the Orphanage. Consequently, there is included in this thesis, only a brief account of the workings of the After-Care Department.¹ But

one could not help feeling that even if one could establish satisfactory criteria for assessing success or failure, the circumstances connected with admission and residence differed so much between one child and another, that it would certainly be beyond the capacity of one person to sort out, select and analyse thoroughly an adequate number of cases with similar characteristics which could be compared with a control group.

It has been shown that children entered the Orphanage at different age levels, with differing social backgrounds - and with varied early childhood experiences. They remained there for varying lengths of time. Within the Home they had different experiences. They did not all come under the influence of the same Houseparent and, because of fluctuations in staff, they made contact with more than one Houseparent.

They had different kinds of friendship before they entered the Home, during their residence there and subsequently. They attended different schools before they came, and attended different schools whilst there. When they left, some children returned to parents who had maintained a constant and affectionate interest in their well-being; others returned to parents who were indifferent. Some met relatives for the first time on the eve of their departure; others had no relatives to display any kind of interest.

Some children were eventually placed with foster-parents,

although they had parents with whom they were in constant touch: others left their foster homes to return to their parents.

Some left fortified by friendships formed whilst at the Home, and maintained later throughout their lives; others left with no friends but those they left behind.

Some entered the Home possessing personality disorders which might have been precipitated by environmental conditions which remain unaltered, and to which they returned when they left; others entered an entirely new kind of social environment.

Some entered occupations which proved congenial; others found their work unsatisfactory and, for one reason or another, changed their jobs frequently.

It is difficult to isolate from all these factors - and from others which could be indicated - the ones which could be attributed to the influence of the Home, and to assess the part they played in determining the success or failure of the children in later life. One wonders if one is ever justified in predicting the character of a person on data provided by an examination, at an arbitrarily selected place, of a cross-section of the life-line of personal development. Even on such factors of personality which have been relatively easy to isolate and assess, such as intelligence, psychologists have admitted that there are considerable limitations to the predictive value of tests, since the results are dependent on environmental

factors, and on the emotionality of the subject at the time of the test; and where these have varied for the same person, the results have varied.¹

But, assuming that one could arrive at an accurate assessment of character, and could determine whether a person is a 'success' or 'failure' at the time of assessment, and that one had succeeded in relating this 'success' or 'failure' to the influence of the Home, at what stage in his life should one make the assessment? Should one take the first few years after he left? His 'middle age'? Or when?

If one took the first years, some would appear to have 'broken down'. Whereas, in later years, they may be deemed as having made a success of their life - and by the same criteria. But, even in such an obvious case as a 'breakdown', it would not be easy to isolate the influence of the Home, for it would first be necessary to determine if there were any psychogenic factors which might have precipitated the breakdown in other circumstances.

Some might regard the frequency of changes of occupation as a sign of instability engendered by, or fostered by, conditions in a Home. But to justify such a conclusion one would have to compare figures with controlled groups of adolescents who had not been 'deprived' and who had similar personalities,

1. Stott, D.H., Unsettled Children and their Families,
U.L.P., pp. 26-30. 1956.

and whose relatives had similar social backgrounds.

Is financial well-being, or the level of promotion, to be regarded as the criteria of a successful life? On the other hand, should the standard of achievement be measured by the extent to which a person has made the best of his potentialities? But to assess this one would have to have an accurate measurement of the different native abilities and the attainments, together with an assessment of social intelligence, and then compare the efforts of these children with those in control groups of 'non-deprived' youths.

It might be claimed that the degree of success is co-extensive with the amount of happiness and sense of fulfilment these children have from life in their adult years. Quite apart from the difficulty of determining the factors which would indicate the influence of the Home in producing happiness, how can one assess and measure the happiness enjoyed by people?

Is one to assume that a state of marriage and the establishment of a family are the fundamental criteria of a happy and successful life? Then how long should we wait before making an assessment? How can one recognise and measure happiness in marriage? Is it the absence of a separation order or of divorce? Is it the provision of children? If so, can fulfilment be measured by the size of the family, or may it be judged by the absence of 'problem' children?

It may well be desirable that an answer should and indeed can be found to such questions. The task, however, belongs to a different branch of social studies. But even if one had succeeded in establishing and defining the criteria of success in living, one would require details of follow-up cases of at least one generation of adults who had been 'deprived' children, before one could draw conclusions which might be related specifically to life in a Home and which could be applied generally as being due to the influence of residential life there.

It should also be noted at this stage that the effects of life in a Home should not be confused with the effects of deprivation. Many investigators have shown that a considerable proportion of the people who fail to stand up to the stress of life, spent part of their childhood in Homes: but the evidence they provide indicates that these breakdowns were the effects of deprivation rather than of life in Homes.¹

The physical separation of a child from his parents is not inevitably followed by the deprivation of affection, which is often associated with separation and gives rise to feelings of anxiety and insecurity and causes or aggravates personality disturbances. Deprivation should be connoted with the affective

1. Bowlby, J., Maternal Care and Mental Health, World Health Organisation, p. 82. 1951.

relationships of a child with his parents, and these may be uninfluenced by physical separation or the duration of the period of separation. Some of the children most deprived of emotional security live at home with well-meaning but incompetent parents;¹ and some of the most secure children, for example, some of those at Public Schools, live away from their parents, who, however, have established a close bond of security with their progeny.²

What one is concerned with in this study is the influence of a Home on a child whilst it is resident there, and whilst the effects of separation and deprivation have to be taken into account, they must not be identified with, or associated with the influence of the Home as though it were a collateral agent responsible for the deprivation. It might not be possible to predict the nature of a person's life by reference to the influence of life in a Home, but it is possible to indicate the influences which affect the well-being of a child whilst he is at the Home. And with so many children spending part of their lives in Homes, it is important that one should know how to make their lives there as happy and as useful as possible.

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1. "Early Leaving" - A Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), p. 35. 1954.
 2. Stott, D.H., Unsettled Children and their Families, U.L.P., p. 33. 1956.

This study has indicated that the children at the Orphanage needed help. Their experiences there were linked with past and future experiences, and it is desirable that the link which was forged in the Home should be an effective one. This, of course, is true for every fundamental experience. If one lives at home with devoted parents, one is liable to suffer traumatic experiences which might affect vitally the nature and development of one's personality. And it is obviously desirable that parents should be adequately equipped, both in knowledge and temperament, to be able to forge these experiences into effective links in the chain of personality development. Unfortunately, many parents are unable to discharge adequately their responsibilities because of their limitations. The fact that one is biologically fitted to produce children, and is bound by legal and social sanctions to care for them, does not necessarily imply that one has the ability, even if one had the inclination, to be competent guardians.

But the nation cannot plead the same excuses. It is not limited in intellectual or financial resources, and it should be capable of discharging its obligations to the children who are accepted into care. Although it has not been possible to define these obligations by reference to the success or failure of institutional care on the basis of studies of the lives of those who spent their formative years of childhood in

the Orphanage, it has been possible to study the effects of the administration of this Home on the children during the period of their residence. It is important that this specific episode in their lives should be a happy and useful one, apart from any effect it might have on the future.

It remains to determine what should be the duties of society to such children, and, in the light of the study of the working of the Jewish Orphanage, an attempt will be made to define the sort of help which these children require, and limits to which a Home such as this can supply such help.

After-care of children withdrawn by parents

Since reference has been made to after-care responsibilities, it might be appropriate at this stage to deal with a comparatively neglected aspect of this branch of child care.

The majority (if not all!) of the children^{were} brought into the care of the Orphanage after they had undergone a traumatic experience which was associated with their separation from their parents. Where the parents had separated or had been divorced, the children had experienced strife and anxiety, followed first, by separation from one parent and, later, separation from the other. In most cases they resumed contact with one fairly regularly, but seldom with the other.

Children also suffered acute anxiety where there had been sickness at home - mental or physical - with all the

attendant misery and emotional upset which accompanied the removal of a parent to hospital. The anxieties about an uncertain future were aggravated when a child was separated from the remaining parent and his familiar home.

The state of illegitimacy carried with it a unique form of anxiety.

Particularly difficult, too, was the situation where a parent re-married, and the child was introduced to a new pattern of family life.

Most of the children left after a relatively short sojourn, but, because of the constitution and tradition of the Home, little or no after-care was provided. This was normally provided only in cases where a child remained in the care of the voluntary association or of the local authority, and then, usually, only until it was of age. Consequently, in all other cases, there was no official way of knowing if the Home had succeeded in healing his wounds, or, if the child was eventually able to grapple with his problems after his rehabilitation with his parent.

At present, Homes such as the Jewish Orphanage, whether they are voluntary or local authority ones, do not appear to fit into a general pattern of effective child care, which should treat the development of a child as a whole, and they are not regarded as auxiliaries in a systematic and comprehensive effort to assist all children who need help.

The fact that relatives may feel able to withdraw children, does not necessarily mean that they are capable of dealing effectively with them and their problems. Just as there is a common misunderstanding which regards good health as synonymous with the absence of ill-health to the degree which caused so much discomfort that it is necessary to call in the assistance of a doctor.¹ So, there is an equally erroneous assumption that family well-being is synonymous with the absence of sufficient discomfort, financial insecurity or mental instability, which would make it imperative for the well-being or safety of a child that he be removed from his family and home.

Although much has been written in recent years on the need for financial and psychological help, domestic training and moral encouragement to prevent the break-up of families,² little has been done to provide help to keep families together in a state of well-being after they have been reunited. Such after-care as has been attempted has usually been confined to a very few of the 'worst' cases of children taken 'into care' by local authorities who, however, tend to withdraw their active interest once the children have left their care.

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1. Pearce and Croker, The Peckham Experiment, Allen and Unwin. 1943.
 2. Ford, Donald, The Deprived Child, Constable. 1955
Henriques, Sir Basil, The Home Mender, Harrap. 1955

Thus, both voluntary Societies and local authorities have tended to regard Homes much as Hospitals, viz. to treat cases on admission and to confine their 'Out-patients' departments solely to those who remain in their care or who voluntarily come back for treatment. In the case of hospitals, however, the family doctor is informed of the diagnosis, treatment and prognosis, so that he can keep an eye on the patient when he is discharged. Normally, a patient is not discharged from a Hospital and rehabilitated with his family, unless the authorities are sure that he is fit for discharge, and that no treatment is necessary that a relative is unable to provide at home.

But who is there to receive advice and assist the relatives when a child is reunited after residence in a Home, so that preventative work may be done to avoid a further breakdown, and to help the parent to repair the damage done to the child by separation? The child is 'discharged' from a Home because the parent no longer suffers from the disabilities, or claims that he no longer suffers from the disabilities that caused the original separation. But little cognizance is taken of the condition of the child whose personality may have been altered considerably by the state of his deprivation. He may not be the 'same' child when he goes home, and the parents, as well as the child, may need considerable help to effect a satisfactory mutual adaptation. of voluntary or local authorities.

At present, the implications appear to be that once a child is reunited with his parents, the family is in no different a position from any other family, and the parents should be able to cope with such difficulties as might arise. This ignores:-

- (a) The effects of the traumatic experiences associated with the original separation;
- (b) The fact that there are probably still present in the home the factors which precipitated the break-up of the family in the first instance;
- (c) The influence which the Home must have had on the child.

Of course, it might well be that the members of the family are capable of reuniting as a family group without any serious difficulties arising. Under ideal circumstances, the ground will have been adequately prepared for receiving the child at home. But, actually, reunions usually take place suddenly, and the new situation is pregnant with serious possibilities. One feels that it should be regarded as an essential responsibility of the Child Care Service to have help available to assist both parents and children, particularly during the initial stages of rehabilitation.

The government has recognized the importance of after-care in the cases of children who are boarded-out, but who remain the responsibility of voluntary or local authorities,

2. See Appendix 25 for statistics of children who are boarded-out because re-united with parents.

and it has introduced new regulations which tighten up after-care arrangements.¹

But from the limited study of follow-up cases which one has been able to make, it would appear desirable that after-care assistance should be available to all children, irrespective of age and circumstance, who have suffered from separation and have been re-united with parents.² The child care service of both the local authorities and the Orphanage did not appear to be sufficiently comprehensive to deal both with preventative work and with such cases where it was believed that parents might have difficulty in bringing up their children with whom they had been re-united after residence in the Orphanage.

One appreciates that it might appear to be interfering with the liberties of parents to impose 'after-care' supervision once the children had been withdrawn by them and they had resumed complete control over their well-being. Furthermore, if they were to be subjected to supervision these parents and their children might feel 'different' from other families in the neighbourhood, even if the difference was not apparent to others.

If, however, public opinion can be educated to the need of help after one has passed through an intense emotional

1. "Children and Young Persons" - The Boarding-Out Regulations, 1955.
2. See Appendix 25 for statistics of girls who left their home because re-union with parents proved unsuccessful.

experience, such after-care might be sought, in the same way as many mothers appreciate the service of post-natal clinics and the periodic visits of nurses from the Public Health Department. The success of such after-care would seem to depend largely on the kind of relationships which would be established between the parents and the appropriate personnel attached to the Home whilst the children were in residence. If the confidence of the parents had been won, there would be less difficulty in maintaining effective contact and they might welcome advice and assistance. The success of after-care and the readiness of the parent to accept guidance would seem to depend on the success of the Home in enabling parents to feel that they were partners in looking after the children during the period of residence.

A comparison of some characteristics of 'normal' and problem children living at the Orphanage with characteristics of other children who attended the same school but lived at home.

In Chapter One it was seen that children entered the Orphanage because of one or more of many reasons, at different age levels and they remained in residence for varying lengths of time. There was a brief discussion on some of the possible effects of these varying conditions. A description now follows of an attempt to determine if there were any specific behaviour

problems of other children who attend the same school but who lived at home with their parents.

Although one has not been able to estimate the influence of the Orphanage by reference to a study of 'after-care' cases, it appeared possible to indicate the influence of the Home on the children whilst they were in residence. Thus what is being attempted now is an analysis of an assessment of some basic personality characteristics which had been made by Houseparents and school teachers. By comparing these independent assessments it was possible to isolate those children who were classified as 'normal' or 'disturbed' by both those who looked after them at school and at the Orphanage.

Character profile forms¹ were sent to the Primary Schools at which 77 Orphanage children attended. The method of marking the forms was explained to the Head Teachers, who, in turn, instructed the class teachers how to fill in the forms, but they were not told that the purpose of the assessment was to compare the Orphanage children with their school-mates. It was felt that if the purpose of the assessment was revealed, the teachers might have been influenced in their marking by irrelevant considerations.

Since the aim was not to collect accurate delineations

1. See Appendix 27.

of the characters of individual children, but to obtain a group picture indicating outstanding characteristics, a three-point scale, and, in some cases, a two-point scale, were adopted. The teachers were asked to indicate outstanding characteristics only, and they were instructed to make no assessment if they felt uncertain as to whether the terms used in the scale were applicable.

In this way it was hoped to find out:-

- (1) if there were any marked personality traits common to the Orphanage children;
- (2) to what extent there were any differences between these children and those not deprived of a normal home;
- (3) to what extent there were differences between boys and girls.

Similar forms were given to the teachers of a Secondary School, at which the majority of the Orphanage children attended. It was not possible to attempt a similar comprehensive check of all the children at this school, but the results were tabulated with a view to determining the proportion of Orphanage children who, in the eyes of the teachers, had disturbed personalities. They were also used to compare the assessments of teachers with Houseparents.

The Houseparents were given similar forms to fill in.

This they were accustomed to do as part of a routine submission of reports on the progress of their children, but they were not advised that their conclusions would be compared with those submitted by the school teachers.

On the basis of agreement or disagreement of the assessment by the school teacher and the Houseparent on six groups of major characteristics, the children were classified into the following four groups:-

- (a) Both assessors agreed that the child possessed positive characteristics;
- (b) Both assessors agreed that the child possessed negative characteristics;
- (c) One assessed positive characteristics and the other assessed negative characteristics;
- (d) One assessed negative characteristics and the other indicated positive characteristics.

For the purpose of the analysis it was found desirable to deem agreement on as few as two negative characteristics as a basis for classifying disturbed children, because it was felt that the assessors might have been loathe to attribute unpleasant characteristics, partly because they would not wish to be unfair to the children, and partly because they might have felt that an indication of bad conduct would have been regarded as a reflection on their own ability to train the children. For similar

reasons it was found desirable to deem agreement on a minimum of five positive characteristics as a basis for selecting a 'normal' child.

On the basis of this selection, it was found that the proportion of the children who could be classified as problem children was ten per cent and that of well-balanced children thirty per cent.

An analysis was then made of the factors associated with the deprivation of these children to determine if there was any relationship between any of them and the characteristics of normality or otherwise.

Approximately 700 profiles were analysed, and the results are tabulated in Appendix 28 (a), (b) and (c). The data clearly indicates that the majority of the Orphanage children did not form a conspicuous body with uniform behaviour characteristics differing from those possessed by the majority of the other children.

The conduct of over three-quarters of the boys and two-thirds of the girls was assessed as satisfactory. More than two-thirds of the children were co-operative, and over half were industrious. The sense of discipline of at least two-thirds was indicated as satisfactory, and at least one-half were even-tempered and concentrated adequately in their work, and were prepared, in a normal manner, to accept correction to any misconduct.

There appeared to be a marked difference between the proportion of boys and girls from both the Orphanage and ordinary homes with unfavourable characteristics. This seems to indicate that more young boys than girls had disturbed personalities. It was equally apparent that there was a greater proportion of disturbed personalities among both the boys and girls from the Orphanage. But the disparity between the proportion of problem children among Orphanage girls and the other girls was not as great as between the boys of the two groups.

Detailed Analysis

Conduct. A quarter of the Orphanage girls were assessed as 'very good' as against one out of twelve boys; whilst only one out of eighteen girls were deemed 'bad' as against a quarter of the boys. The proportion of Orphanage 'bad' girls and boys was each $2\frac{1}{2}$ times that of the ordinary school children, but the proportion of boys to girls in each case was more than 4 : 1.

These figures seem to indicate both that boys are more troublesome than girls, and also that there was a higher proportion of troublesome children among those who came from the Orphanage.

A higher proportion of children from normal homes had a good sense of discipline, and a higher proportion of Orphanage children had a bad sense of discipline. There

was twice the proportion of badly-disciplined children among boys as among girls from both groups.

Temperament. There was not such a marked differentiation in temperament between boys and girls of the Orphanage and the other children. About equal proportions of both sets of girls were timid, self-reliant and aggressive; but among the Orphanage boys there were proportionately three times the number who were aggressive and quick-tempered.

There was a markedly higher proportion of Orphanage children who were non-co-operative and rebellious, the proportion being highest among the boys.

There was a large measure of similarity in the proportion of boys and girls between the children of the Orphanage and the others with regard to application of effort to work; but among the boys of the Orphanage there were twice the proportion of lazy boys and twice as few industrious workers.

A similar proportion of boys and girls both at the Orphanage and elsewhere, seemed to face up to situations or avoided difficulties; but there was a higher proportion of children from normal homes who were capable of sustained effort.

Regarding the social attitudes of the children, there was a similar proportion of good mixers among the boys and

girls at the Orphanage, and similarly among those of the other children; but the proportion among the latter was higher than among the Orphanage children, who also displayed a higher proportion of solitary boys and girls.

The Size of the Problem

The dimensions of this minority of problem children may be gathered from the following details. The proportion of Orphanage to the other boys was 1 : 8, yet out of the 45 boys assessed as displaying 'bad conduct', ten were from the Orphanage, i.e. 1 : 3½. The proportion of lazy boys was 1 : 4½, quick-tempered 1 : 3½; rebellious 3 : 5; a aggressive 1 : 4½; inattentive 1 : 5; a poor sense of discipline 1 : 2; resented correction 1 : 4; solitary 1 : 3.

With such a high proportion of Orphanage children among the group of problem children, it can be understood that teachers might regard most children coming from a Home as potential problem children, even before they had made adequate contact with them, and despite the fact that the vast majority actually constituted no problem and gave no trouble.

If, however, these assessments are compared with those of the Houseparents, it will be observed¹ that there

1. Appendix 28(c).

was a more noticeable measure of agreement between the assessments of the Housemothers and Teachers than between the Housefathers and the teachers, especially regarding the negative characteristics. But throughout there was such a lack of agreement as to suggest that many children possessed two standards of conduct, one for the Home and one for the school.

Houseparents disagreed with the assessment of the ten boys who were regarded as badly behaved at school; of the five who were classed as rebellious; of eight of the nine who were marked as aggressive; of nine of the ten who were assessed as having a poor sense of discipline, and of the ten who resented correction. There was no such complete contrast in the assessments of the girls.

This disparity may have been due to one or more of several reasons. It could be that the conditions at school were responsible for bringing the worst out of the boys. It might be that the school imposed a greater strain than the freer life at the Orphanage with its numerous opportunities for self-expression and the inner conflicts and anxieties found expression more easily in anti-social conduct in school than in the Home. It is possible that the interpretation of the criteria of assessment differed and that Houseparents viewed their children in a more charit-

able manner. If this were true it would indicate that Houseparents were fulfilling a function performed by parents in identifying themselves with the children and having a protective affective relationship with them.

Without a detailed investigation into each case, it is not possible to offer a satisfactory explanation for these opposing assessments. It is, however, interesting to note that the largest measure of disagreement was with the teachers' assessment of negative characteristics. This certainly indicates that some children were able to work out their personality problems in such a way that they did not become serious problem children, i.e. unable to adapt themselves to their environment both at home and at school. This lends further point to the arrangement for separating schooling from the same control and environment as the Home of children.

It now becomes necessary to examine the cases where there was agreement in assessment, in an endeavour to determine the extent to which the conditions associated with the child's admission to the Orphanage appeared to be the basic causes of maladjusted or of balanced personalities, and the extent to which the conditions within the Home were contributory causes.

By examining the personality and conduct of the children...

by the Orphanage.

An Analysis of the Characteristics of 'Well-balanced' and 'Disturbed' Children

An examination of charts $X_1 - X_7^1$ shows that there did not appear to be any significant difference between the two groups in the following categories - those whose parents were widowers, divorced or unmarried mothers. The factor of illegitimacy did not appear to be significant, although this may be because all these children were ignorant of the nature of their status. There did not appear to be any significance in the regularity or frequency of visits or correspondence, for the proportion of children in both categories was the same. The duration of stay at the Home did not appear to have significance. The fact that there was a non-Jewish father did not appear to have any specific causal effect. This may be because most of the children concerned were illegitimate and the putative father was not living with the mother, and, consequently, there was no conflict at home; and also because so many of the other children came from irreligious homes (this being an outstanding feature of the homes common to the majority of the children resident at the Orphanage).

There was a significantly higher proportion of disturbed children who had widowed mothers; the other types of broken homes did not appear to display any significant relationship to any characteristic in the personality and conduct of the children.

It was noted, however, that the disturbed children of widows were admitted at a younger age - two at the age of five years and one at the age of seven. The latter came from a home some 200 miles away, and rarely saw a relative, apart from her sister who lived at the Home. She had been very attached to her father.

The 'normal' children of widowed mothers were, with one exception, admitted over the age of nine.

Two of the three 'disturbed' children were very sensitive about their background. They were ashamed of the circumstances surrounding their deprivation - and these factors, as much as any other, appear to account for their twisted personalities. Three of the four 'normal' children were not devoted to their mothers. One had every reason to be ashamed of the mother of whom she was so fond. She, however, belonged to a large family of siblings, who were devoted to each other. Her anxieties were, therefore, shared, and were capable of being dealt with by her conscious mind, and they have never been permitted to govern her relationships with others. Indeed, the fact that she had established such good relationships with her nearest of kin probably indicated the development of a stable personality, which enabled her to adapt herself to new surroundings and fresh acquaintances.

Thus, although a broken home caused by the death of a

father seems to have some significant relationship with the presence of a disturbed personality, the other factors connected with deprivation seem to be the more important, especially the kind of relationship which existed between the mother and the child, and the age at which the child was separated from the mother. The age of the child when the home was broken through the death of the father does not appear to have any vital significance.

There is a significant difference between the proportion of disturbed children who came from the provinces. A detailed examination of these cases shows the extent to which other factors accounted for the disturbances.

Two of the three disturbed children joined at ages of five to seven years, and had been in the Home for more than three years. The third joined at ten years, and had been in the Home only a month when the assessment was made. She had attended a Child Guidance Clinic before she was admitted, and so her disturbance was due to factors present before her admission.

It is possible that the infrequent contact with their mother aggravated the feeling of insecurity these children felt, although each one had an elder sibling at the Home who had been assessed as being well-balanced and sociable. These three were the youngest in the family, and the regressive nature of

their conduct may well be attributed to the age at which they were separated.

The normal children whose guardians lived in the provinces or abroad, with one exception, came to the Home over the age of seven. And, again with one exception, not one was the youngest child in the family. Some of these children received communications and saw their relatives less frequently than the disturbed children; two of them, at least, had devoted mothers.

It should be noted, however, that although a large number of the guardians of children of both types had regular and frequent contact with them, yet a higher proportion of the balanced children rarely saw or received letters from their relatives. This may suggest that frequency of contact with relatives was not the most vital of factors influencing the degree of security felt by children.

Examples of case histories of normal children¹ illustrate the conclusion that where the basic relationships of a child with his guardian were good, or if he felt a sense of security about his future, or if he had established good relationships with a 'foster uncle and aunt', or if he had developed his potentialities in sport or academic work, then visits and correspondence from relatives, although important, did not appear to

1. Appendix 30(1).

have a significant effect on the development of personality.

It is interesting to note that among the normal children there was a higher proportion of guardians who were chronic invalids or were in mental hospitals. It might well have been the case that separation from an environment that gave constant evidence of insecurity, removed an obstacle to the development of a stable personality.

The social background did not seem to have any marked influence: for example, the children of foreign parentage seemed to be exclusively among those classified as well-balanced.

There was a significantly higher proportion of neurotic guardians among the disturbed children.¹ This adds further weight to the conclusion already mentioned - that what appeared to be important was the sense of emotional security a parent provided; and a lack of balance on the part of a guardian who was in regular contact with a child appears to have had a disturbing effect. If a guardian was psychotic but was not in contact with the child (because, for example, the guardian was being cared for in hospital) the personality of the child appeared to be unaffected. It was the actual contact and consequent conditioning of the child through the atmosphere of tension, indecision and insecurity, that seemed responsible - at least

1. Appendix 30(a).

partially - for the malformation of character and temperament.

But outstanding among all the differences were the ages of the children and their place in their family. The disturbed children show a markedly higher proportion among the younger age groups and those admitted at a younger age. Whilst half of the well-balanced children came from families with three or more siblings. About seventy per cent of the disturbed children came from families with two or less children; and twice the proportion of such children were the youngest in the family.

It seems fairly clear from this that those who were taken from their parents at an early age, and that those coming from small families and were the youngest in the family are the more likely to be adversely affected by separation.¹

Brief case histories are given in Appendix 30(a) and Appendix 30(b) of the ten disturbed children and of ten of the thirty 'well-balanced' children. These will illustrate and amplify the analysis of the data in Appendix 29. It will be noted from the case histories of the 'well-balanced' children, that many of them had passed through trying periods of disturbed conduct whilst they had been at the Orphanage, and that had their assessment taken place at an earlier stage of their residence, they might have been placed in a different category. It is also possible that some of those who were listed as

disturbed might well develop more stable personalities if they

1. Of course it is possible that intensity of experience, which might well be highly correlated with both age and position in family, would be the vital factor in determining the effect of separation. But it was not possible to isolate this and measure it.

should remain at the Orphanage for a sufficiently long period.

It will also be noted that many of the children from both categories exhibited symptoms of disturbed behaviour before coming into the Orphanage but, in the main, long residence seems to have co-incided with an improvement in character. It is, of course, difficult to judge from the information so far received if the improvement in character and temperament were due to the influence of the Orphanage, to outside forces or to endopsychic factors. In an attempt to analyse this problem, an investigation was made of some of the influences brought to bear on the children whilst they were at the Orphanage. An account of this research will be given in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE.

HOUSEPARENTS - A STUDY OF PROBLEMS RELATING TO THEIR QUALIFICATIONS, RECRUITMENT, TURNOVER & CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT.

It has been shown in Chapter Two that children entered the Orphanage because of a variety of circumstances and some brought with them or later acquired personality problems. Consequently, if the Home functions adequately, it could not confine its responsibilities to providing for the physical needs only - it also had to attend to the emotional, spiritual and educational needs of the children. It is obviously a matter of some importance to assess the kind and degree of influence the Orphanage exercised over the development of the character and personality of the children. Those who were directly responsible for caring for them were the Houseparents and an attempt was made to estimate the extent of their influence. Before, however, one describes one's researches, it is desirable to describe the kind of staff who were at the Orphanage and the general problems connected with staffing.

The efficacy of the administration of every institution is dependent to a considerable degree on the existence of an adequate number of suitably equipped staff who remain fairly stable in its personnel. This would seem to be particularly true of a Children's Home, where the essence of administration would seem to be the personal relationship between staff and children.

STAFF TURNOVER - 1946 - 1951.

	<u>Men.</u>	<u>Women.</u>	<u>Total.</u>
No. who left	31	43	74
Av. per year	5.17	7.17	12.3
Av. no. of staff on roll			10.5
Av. turnover of staff			117%

STAFF TURNOVER - 1952-1955.

No. who left	16	23	39
Av. per year	4	5.75	9.75
Av. no. of staff on roll			20
Av. turnover of staff			58.75

There were probably many reasons which accounted for the marked fall in the turnover of staff during the latter years. The first few years of the re-opening of the Home, after the children returned from evacuation, were unsettled ones. The building was lacking in amenities and the pay was poor. Apart from the Principal and Matron who maintained a rigid control over all the details of administration and over the Houseparents, there was an entirely new and inexperienced staff who, in the main, fulfilled the function of subordinate child attendants.

After 1952 the policy changed. Houseparents had delegated to them many of the details of administration which affected the intimate life of the children. Thus they distributed pocket money and controlled its expenditure; they

consulted the children in the choice of birthday presents and gifts, they supervised leisure pursuits and holiday leave; they undertook the responsibility for the treatment of minor ailments; they were encouraged to contact teachers at school and the Medical Officers, both at school and at the Home; they were also encouraged to have direct contact with relatives, foster-uncles and aunts and Welfare Officers.

Thus, the Houseparents became identified more intimately with their children and felt that they were responsible for a considerable measure of their well-being. To induce the feeling still further, the system of arranging 'families' was changed to reduce to a minimum fluctuations in composition so that Houseparents could feel that children would be in their 'family' for as long as it was administratively possible. Before a child was admitted and before any changes in the structure of a family were made, the staff were consulted and were made to feel that their wishes were respected and that they were given the maximum freedom in both the composition and the administration of their families.

They were consulted about choice of decoration and contents of their rooms. They were encouraged to suggest improvements and were afforded opportunities to select their requirements. They were given regular monetary grants which they could use at their complete discretion in making small purchases to add to the amenities of their families.

The staff were given opportunities to arrange their time off and holidays to suit their convenience as far as it

was administratively possible. The arbitrary method of allotting off-duty periods was changed to one of staff consultations and mutual arrangement among colleagues. It was found desirable to permit plans for double coverage in order to ensure that Houseparents had adequate time off although, in practice, it often happened that they voluntarily gave up their time-off rather than burden a colleague with additional responsibilities. In this way a corporate feeling was generated among the staff and by themselves.

In such ways they were afforded opportunities to establish a similar kind of relationship with the children which they would have had if they had been in control of a family group in an independent Home, yet they were relieved of all the tedious and exacting domestic responsibilities which, in many of the small scattered Homes, are so time-consuming that they prevent the Houseparents from establishing an intimate contact with individual children.

These additional incentives, together with improvements in amenities and salary, undoubtedly helped to create and maintain a more stable staffing situation. Nevertheless, the turnover remained high.

Actually, the turnover during the latter five years, 1952-6, was not as serious as the figures would indicate. Thus the position at the commencement of 1956 was as follows: of the 12 Houseparents in charge of families -

1 had been at the home for 10 years

1 " " " " " " 9 "

1 " " " " " " 6 "

1 " " " " " " 5 "

3 " " " " " " 3 "

4 " " " " " " 1 year

1 " " " " " " for less than 1 year

Thus the comparatively large turnover had been confined to a few families, and over half the staff, besides the Principal, Vice-Principal and the Matron, had presented a stable influence to the children, whose average duration of residence was between 3-4 years.

Causes of staff turnover.

It was noted that among the staff at the Jewish Orphanage, many of whom were recruited from other Children's Homes, there was a lack of that kind of common purpose which is characteristic of those who have had a professional training. Although one might assume that an interest in child care was a prime motive in seeking employment, it was usually unrelated to a commonly accepted philosophy, or to basic principles derived from a standardised training and which is essential to enable staff to feel that each one is moving along the same path and towards the same goal.

There was a marked difference between the administration of the Orphanage and that of a school. Although the Ministry of Education permit schools to formulate their own

curriculum and to adopt their own methods and technique of instruction, within each school there is an agreed syllabus pursued by a common method of instruction by each member of the staff. So that if a child is transferred from one class to another, or if there is a change of staff, a child is not confused and has no need to adjust himself to a new technique or a new syllabus.

But within the Jewish Orphanage (and from one's observations one is inclined to believe that these comments are applicable elsewhere), apart from the impersonal aspects of administration relating to such matters as arrangements for ensuring cleanliness, for feeding, clothing and medical attention, it did not appear possible to have a uniform and co-ordinated approach in dealing with the character and personality problems of child care, because one had an untrained staff who had not acquired a basic knowledge of the different stages of development in children and who were unable to recognize or deal methodically and objectively with deviations from the normal in conduct. Many of the Houseparents had neither the intellectual capacity nor the temperament for accepting expert advice in dealing with behaviour problems. In dealing with human relationships - and child care is largely this - it is almost inevitable that one becomes involved in emotionally toned situations; but the reactions of the Houseparents differed one from the

other, according to the make up of their personality, quite apart from the differences one might expect from their varying levels of skill and intellect.

Even the routine task of satisfying the basic physical and material needs of children is not always a simple one, especially in group situations where feeding, dressing and bed-time difficulties might well be symptoms of a disturbed personality. One needs a skilled approach and a great deal of insight to deal with children involved in group behaviour difficulties and this presupposes the possession of a suitable temperament, adequate training and experience, and the ability (if possible the knowledge) to enable one to accept and act adequately upon expert advice.

It appears however that the majority of Houseparents entered the field of child care without these qualities.

Thus of the 52 men who had taken up a position in the Orphanage since 1945, not one had originally envisaged child care as a career. Some had come from male nursing, others had taught in private schools, some had had difficulties at home and sought residential employment as an escape from domestic problems. Some had failed to complete University studies, others were hoping to enter a University and needed residential employment to assist them financially. Some needed experience with children to assist them in their careers in social welfare of a different kind. Others had themselves been brought up in Children's Homes and felt a sense of security in residential work in a familiar set-up.

Some had homosexual tendencies which appeared to draw them to work of this kind.

But there were very few who wished to spend their lives in the role of Houseparents though they wanted to remain in the Child Care Service. Only four were married and three of these had their wives likewise employed. It is, of course, possible that if there had been adequate facilities for married couples there might have been a higher proportion of long-term staff.

Analysis of Women Staff 1945 - 1955.

Married & living with husband	Widow	Divorced	Single	Total No.
7	7	5	59	78
(No. who remained more than 2 yrs.)				
4	1	2	5	12
(No. still on staff 1956)				
1	0	1	4	6

Analysis of Men Staff 1945 - 1955.

Married & living with wife	Widower	Divorced	Single	Total No.
4	0	2	46	52
(No. who remained more than 2 yrs.)				
3	0	1	4	8
(No. still on staff in Jan. 1956)				
1	0	0	2	3

That this unsatisfactory character of staffing with regards fluctuation and shortage was not a feature exclusive to the Orphanage may be gauged from the following quotations:

"At present there is a shortage of suitable persons for these posts /i.e. of Houseparents/..."¹

"Naturally difficult material conditions do not attract staff and, in consequence, the staffing problems at Rothwell continue to be acute."²

"...Over a period of three years...in the experience of one organization, two out of every three assistant housemothers in its larger establishments have to be replaced each year."³

"The difficulty of maintaining an adequate trained staff continued throughout the year. During the year 31 members of the resident staff resigned and 25 appointments have been made."⁴ /Referring to Styall Cottage Homes/

"During the past twelve months a large number of staff have been appointed and have resigned."⁵ /Referring to Styall Cottage Homes/

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1. The Work of the Middlesex County Council Children's Dept. Report Jan. 1956. p.10.
 2. Annual Report of the Care of the Children's Committee, Leeds - 1953.
 3. Child Care. Jan. 1956. p.18.
 4. City of Manchester Children's Committee, Annual Report, 1952
 5. Ibid., 1953.

Life in the congregate home of the Jewish Orphanage made demands of many different kinds. There were few opportunities for privacy. One had to share one's life not only with children but with a heterogeneous group of adults. Colleagues were of different ages, sex, intellect, religion and personality. One was in constant touch with staff of different departments - domestic, medical and maintenance and there were varying degrees of authority in each department. Houseparents had to be able to make quick adaptations; for at one moment they might be dealing with children and their difficulties, and at the next moment they might be involved with members of the staff of other departments.

Houseparents also came into contact with Welfare Officers, school teachers, parents and relatives, foster uncles and aunts; members of different committees dealing with the Home, and with a variety of other official or unofficial representatives of public or charitable organizations. They recognized that they had to answer for the conduct or general welfare of the child to one or other of these people, either directly or indirectly, through one of their officers.

Although some of these people were cognizant of the problems connected with child care and seemed most sympathetic in their contact with houseparents, giving them every encouragement in their work, others tended to discourage and frustrate them by their attitude. Because it was a voluntary Home, there was an acute awareness of the interest

of outside bodies, since the upkeep was dependent upon the goodwill of subscribers and donors, and committees tended to be sensitive to the reactions of those people upon whom they relied most for financial support. This sensitivity was inevitably communicated to the staff, who felt it was expected of them to do not only that which was in the best interests of the children, but especially that which would not alienate the sympathy of laymen, who could not be expected to understand the complicated nature of the problems connected with child care.

The inevitable changes in, and the constant shortage of staff had an additional adverse effect upon the efficient administration of families and were an additional source of frustration.

In an environment which catered for so many different types of individuals, many of whom had little in common, apart from their co-existence in the same establishment, there was often acute rivalry and friction. There was a tendency for some Houseparents to adopt an insular and possessive attitude and to confine their responsibilities rigidly to the children within their own families. Any demands or influences emanating from an outside group were actively or passively resisted. Some resented the familiarity and influence of other Houseparents and even of other children upon members of their own family. These were usually the ones who regarded unkindly frequent contacts of the children with their parents or foster uncles and aunts. They felt frustrated if they had

cause to believe that the children had a greater regard for their parents than for them. Either because of the inadequacy of their training, or because of their warped personality, they failed to recognize and accept the natural situation that parents - even absent ones - meant more to the children than substitute parents. This should have been particularly obvious in such cases where a child had been nurtured by his natural parents prior to his admission and there seemed every likelihood that the child would return to their care.

The Houseparents who believed that they could work effectively only if the children under their care were not exposed to 'outside' influences - either those of parents or of colleagues - tended to become the most frustrated. They used to leave to find positions where they hoped to have exclusive control over children. Many had joined the staff at the Orphanage because they had suffered frustration from similar causes in other Homes and had hoped they would find adequate opportunities there.

On the other hand, some left because they found the hours were too exacting and they felt they were deprived of opportunities for outside social contacts. Indeed, they not only had to work for long hours, but they were obliged to be on duty at awkward hours.

In offices or factories when there is a shortage of staff, work may have to be neglected and allowed to accumulate, to be tackled when the staffing situation is eased. In child care, shortage of staff necessarily implies extra work and

strain and usually without compensation in time off or in increase in pay, because the nature of the vocation demands that children cannot be neglected. The child care service is generally so under-staffed that, apart from the fact that there are few Homes which carry a full establishment, there are fewer still which can readily find adequate replacements in cases of sickness and holiday leave. The Orphanage was no exception and such conditions aggravated the tensions which existed and prompted the weaker members of staff to seek employment elsewhere in the hope of obtaining work under more favourable conditions.

Some entered the work with a strong sense of vocation based on a sentimental approach to the needs of deprived children whom they considered so starved of love that they would immediately reciprocate the offers of affection and devotion. Because of their ignorance of the emotional development of children, they became disillusioned and retreated before the inexplicable reactions of those who gave the outward appearance of resenting their effusive offers of protection and affection.

On the other hand, there were those who remained in the work because they were happy with children and relished the kind of security which residential life gave, with the freedom from so many personal and social responsibilities. They thrived on the constant presence of company. They possessed an aptitude for making good and easy contact with adults and children, and earned respect without much effort.

They tended to settle down fairly easily and quickly into their work.

From experience gained at the Orphanage over a period of many years, it appeared that training and theoretical knowledge were assets to those who possessed the right kind of temperament; but it was this latter quality which seemed to account most for success. Because they lacked the required temperament, men and women with successful experience in other types of work and with intellectual qualities of a high order, failed to create a niche for themselves in residential child care, although some young and inexperienced people with comparatively poor intellect made a success of this work because they possessed the right kind of personality.

One is inclined to the conclusion that the strain of having to adapt oneself to the many types of people belonging to so many different categories, under conditions which were mainly beyond their control, was too great for most of those who took up this work. Some left hoping to find elsewhere similar work but under less strained conditions; but the majority left this kind of social service.

The problem of continuity of staff was a constant source of anxiety at the Jewish Orphanage throughout its history; but the incidence of change was not so acute before 1945; and this was probably because those who were responsible for looking after the children were in the main teachers. the service

The Home had acquired a good reputation as a school and their teachers consequently derived at least two

important advantages over others...(a) they enjoyed additional prestige among their colleagues and within this community: this can be illustrated by the fact that the three Head Masters it had during the Twentieth Century, were highly qualified teachers who had been HeadMasters of large day schools prior to their appointment: and their transition to the Orphanage was regarded as promotion;

(b) they received a higher remuneration and liberal residential emoluments.

The highest incidence of staff turnover occurred in the first years following the change in the character of the Home. Teachers were no longer employed and there was not available in the country an adequate supply of qualified child care workers.

Most residential schools suffer from frequent changes of staff, particularly the less satisfactory type of private boarding school which cannot afford to pay adequate salaries and where the amenities are unattractive. Although there is also movement in good residential schools, the reasons are of a different nature. There the staff tend to remain within the service and move to other schools to get additional experience or to receive promotion.

In child care, however, the proportion of staff which leaves the service is high but the prospects of promotion are slight. Whilst many teachers enter the service as potential Head Teachers, inspectors and administrators, very few Houseparents enter the Child Care Service as

potential Superintendents or administrators. Indeed, the very essence of residential child care would appear to be the need for permanency in the same Home and in the same position, so as to build up a stable and continuous relationship and attachment with the children in care.

The kind of personnel who entered the Orphanage when it was a school, tended to be of a more stable type although they viewed their work primarily from the standpoint of teachers; but the kind who later entered the child care service appeared to be unstable in temperament although, of course, the nature of their work demanded a marked degree of emotional stability in the adults.

Despite this tendency among child care workers, it must be pointed out that, as indicated on p.236 there was a strong nucleus of long term staff at the Orphanage, which was particularly evident in the 'parent figures' of the Principal and Matron. It would seem that if there is a nucleus of long-term staff, especially among the more responsible ones, the Home offers stability to the children who need not be unduly upset by changes in Houseparents.

But insofar as it is desirable to ensure a more stable staff, one wonders if it would not be advisable to relieve Houseparents of as much as possible of the strain involved in residential child care. Further investigation is necessary to discover if Houseparents would be more effective if

- (a) hours of duty were reduced and the frequency of holiday leave was increased to enable them to spend frequent 'off-duty' periods away from the venue of their work;
- (b) an additional category of skilled staff was employed to relieve the Houseparents of the strain of personal relationships with people other than those concerned with the daily routine and to give them effective guidance in their dealing with the children.

Such a change in policy, if it were found necessary, might well have a more important effect in stabilising staffing than an increase in salary, for despite the fact that since 1951 salaries have increased in all spheres of work there were few Houseparents at the Orphanage who left because of dissatisfaction with salary scales. Discontent had been expressed with working and living conditions; there were frequent grouses about feeding arrangements, about the lack of suitable social amenities, about work routine and particularly about the various frustrations to which reference has been made in some detail.

It is not that the staff were uninterested in monetary considerations, but they accepted the comparatively low scale of pay partly because they seemed to appreciate the value of residential emoluments and partly because they appear to be of the type which was concerned more with the nature of their responsibilities, the conditions of their living quarters and their domestic and personal comforts than with the attractions of the outside world.

If this appraisal of staff needs is correct, then an expenditure of money to ensure that they are contented with the conditions of their employment might well save money, which might otherwise have to be spent in the form of higher salaries which is the method commonly adopted to attract and maintain staff, especially in times of acute shortage.

One must, however, be reasonably confident that the efforts to obtain and retain staff will succeed in attracting the right kind of staff. This raises the question as to what are the essential qualifications for a good Houseparent.

The Qualifications of Houseparents.

The following quotation indicates the sort of qualifications which might well represent the aim of many voluntary organizations. It is taken from a letter Andrew Doyle, a Poor Law Inspector, wrote in 1873 to the Rt.Hon. J. Stansfield, M.P., in which he described the Cottage Home System in operation in Mettray, France.¹

Characteristics of 'brother' or 'sister' in Mettray Home.

1. It is a grand object of our institution to bring up the children, through God's mercy, in the fear of the Lord. We must, therefore, above all things, desire that our educational assistants, whom we call 'brothers' and 'sisters',

1. Proposed District School of the System of Mettray -
A. Doyle. 26/5/1873.

stand, themselves in the guidance of the Holy Ghost, that they shall have found the Lord, or at least have a sincere desire for His mercy, and that they would like to serve poor neglected children in love to their God the Lord.

2. As, however, other children have also to be brought up to be useful, orderly and industrious members of society, we must require that those who have to help in their upbringing shall have themselves led and still lead a moral, good life, that they further shall have enjoyed a regular school training, shall write moderately, orthographically correct and, especially, speak correctly, as they will have to exercise in the summer half-year one hour daily, in winter two hours daily with children in Bible history, holy songs and in catechism, to enable them to to wich, as to give in general other instruction, they will get daily lessons, and receive in the weekly conferences (with their colleagues) the necessary link.

3. Such assistant teachers will then bear in love, for the Lord's sake, the children with all their infirmities; nor suffer sin in them, but strive, not through physical punishment, but through persuasion and warning, through prayers, example and indirectly helping assistance, to wean them from it, in order that by God's blessing they may become accustomed to good, and that thus love for the good may be advanced. For our whole power and strength consists in our accustoming them to the good, so also therein that we prevent the evil. It is thus an unremitting duty for our educational

assistants that they, except in school time, be always with their children, and that they have unceasingly a watchful eye upon them. Who, therefore, feels not well in the midst of children turn not this way: let him not come here. Who, however, can give himself up to them he has also under such circumstances that most glorious office, Dan.xii, 3, and stands under the continual blessing of the Word, "Let little children come unto Me."

4. Such assistants will also willingly undertake all work which, for the children and with them, must be done. They have to wash the children, to comb them, to cleanse the new arriving ones, often from much vermin, to do with them in the field and garden any work that may have to be done. The sisters must be able to train the girls in knitting, sewing, making clothes, and in the usual works done by the hands.

5. As singing has an important educational aid, it is an absolute condition in our assistants; we must wish that with inclination and love for song they also have some talent for it; also are good eyes; in short, a healthy body is an indispensable requisite for the admission.

6. The brothers who are admitted bind themselves, according to the judgment of the directors, to be employed in the service of the institution. Those who have served three years will be, if suitable educated free as elementary teachers.

7. In general, our brothers and sisters should not be under 20 nor over 36 years of age.

9. The application for admittance must be accompanied by an exact statement of previous life, and a certificate from a trustworthy person, in preference from the rector or teacher of the place.
10. Every brother and every sister make entrance on six weeks trial. The salary is 30 dollars annually and all four which after one or two years of faithful service is raised five sometimes ten dollars.
11. The living is simple but healthy, nourishing and palatable as it usually is in a workman's family which is not yet tainted by the luxury of our times. Even so must be forbid in clothing all superfluous tinsel. To conclude, who ever seeks an easy life, rich in earthly enjoyments, let him not come here."

Some of the characteristics listed in this letter merit further consideration.

"To serve poor neglected children in love." [see paragraph (1)] This may appear to be an obvious and essential aim of House-parents and it is doubtful if anyone could ever work long with and for children if one did not have a sincere and abiding affection for them. Yet this sentimental approach is an inadequate qualification. The care of children involves dealing with problems of varying kinds and unless a House-parent is capable of dealing with them, either he or the administration of the House will break down. Thus, for example, it is necessary for children to conform to a group

discipline. To achieve this a Home must have a knowledgeable and well-disciplined staff who can recognize and differentiate between the occasional outbursts of indiscipline among normal children and the outburst which are symptomatic of neurotic or pre-psychotic disorders. So that apart from having affection for and showing affection to children, Houseparents must be capable of understanding them, so that they can exercise control over them and guide them not only individually, but also collectively. To achieve this, they have to be able to understand their psychological needs and must be competent enough to deal with them or else be able to accept, and act effectively on the advice and direction of those who do understand their needs. This implies that they should be trained and that they should possess a receptive mind and an adaptable personality, capable of forming different kinds of relationships with children according to their specific needs. They should not expect children to respond in the same way as they do, to situation in which they both should find themselves involved. They should be capable of disentangling themselves from emotionally charged situations and of thinking in terms of the well being of the child as a whole. They should not react to each situation as though it constituted a problem in itself which was unrelated to the personality of the child. This presupposes either deep insight or prolonged training which helps to produce an objective approach both to situations and to people in which and with whom one might become deeply involved.

The emphasis on serving children in love tends to add an emotional tone and a sentimental approach to the service and suggests a kind of emotional entanglement in one's work which leads to the sort of frustration which upset many Houseparents who did not find any reciprocal feelings of affection from the children.

Dedication to work - "give himself up to them" (see paragraph 3, p.250).

Although nowadays it might be considered it was asking too much of those engaged in child care work that they should dedicate themselves to the care of children, it would be generally agreed that there should be continuity of contact by adults with the same children throughout their residence in a Home. Assuming children were admitted at the age of five years and left at fifteen, it would seem desirable that the same Houseparents should be attached to them for the whole period. If, in this matter, the Jewish Orphanage was characteristic of Children's Homes, it would appear that because children were admitted and left at different ages and remained for varying lengths of time, it did not seem possible for any Houseparent to develop a sense of devotion either to the children individually and most certainly not collectively, in the same way as parents are able to towards their own children, even if he remained indefinitely in the service of the Home.

But if one assumed that it was possible for a Houseparent to dedicate himself to this work, when one reflects on the limitations of the scope of the service in such matters as promotion, financial remuneration and the restricted social life, one wonders if the type of Houseparent who devoted himself exclusively to the needs of one group of children was necessarily of the right type to equip them for their eventual struggle in the highly competitive work-a-day world.

Religious convictions - "to bring up children in the fear of the Lord" (see paragraph 1, p.249).

Many of the voluntary Homes, such as the Mettray Home and the Jewish Orphanage were founded for the purpose, not only of caring for the physical and educational needs of children, but in order to inculcate in them an abiding affection for religion and, usually, for a particular denomination. It would be natural for them to expect as a condition of employment, that the staff should be in sympathy with the religious aims and that they should be capable of setting a suitable example by conviction.

In discussing the religious aspect of child care one recognizes that one is dealing with a problem which is not widely discussed; but the issues which are raised stem from a study of the problems indicated under other headings in the course of the development of this case history.

The Education Act of 1945 and the Children Act of 1948 have protected the right of a parent to ensure that his children are brought up according to his religious principles. In educational spheres, this has meant that local authorities have been permitted to accept financial responsibility for the maintenance of denominational schools, if they are run efficiently. The voluntary bodies remain in control of the schools, and are permitted to spend as much of their own resources as they desire, and they may introduce their religious practices as they will, so long as the secular education does not suffer.

In most urban areas, however, schooling is somewhat competitive, and the parent has some choice in the kind of school to which he might wish his children to attend. The standard of secular education in some denominational schools is regarded as so satisfactory that parents belonging to differing denominations have opted to send their children to them. But they have the right to withdraw their children from all forms of religious instruction or worship.

Other considerations being equal, however, parents tend to send their children to a school where the religious atmosphere conforms with that which prevails in their homes. Nevertheless, the attitude of the general public appears to be that it makes little difference to which school the children attend, so long as it is run efficiently and there

is no attempt to indoctrinate their children with religious ideas and practices unacceptable to them.

This attitude prevails because it is believed that it is in his own home that the parent has the best opportunity of bringing up his children in accordance with his own beliefs. People who send their children to a school which has a religious bias differing from their own do so only because the atmosphere of the home and attendance at a place of worship are deemed to have a more important influence on the religious training of a child than the influence of the school.

But considerations such as these are not applicable in the same way to children residing in Homes. Insofar as the children have to go out to school, the Home is confronted with the same problem as a parent might have. But, within the Home, what is going to be the nature of the religious upbringing of the child? A home may be able to compensate for the limitations of a school - but what can compensate for the limitations of a Home? The nature of the problem is not what sort of religious training a child should have, but rather how can one administer a Home so that a child receives the same kind of training as he would have had if he had remained with his parents assuming, of course, that the child has not been taken into care because of moral neglect?

In the first place, a large number of these children come from homes which have no religious affiliations - indeed, in some there is not so much a negative attitude as an

antagonistic one. Whenever such children resume contact with their parents, such as on home visits, they see no evidence of any kind of religious attachment. Yet, in some Homes, they would be exposed to positive religious pressures. In what sort of Homes should such children be placed, for there is an obligation upon the authority to place a child in a Home which practises the faith of the child's parent?

It might be urged that, although parents may not practice any religion, they recognize this as a shortcoming, and many would wish their children brought up believing in some form of religion, although they may not express any such desire when the children are admitted into a Home. On the other hand, there are others whose only concern is that their children are cared for physically, and do not mind if the Home has or has not a specific religious complexion. But, even though the religious training of their children may appear to be of minor importance to such parents, it is a matter of considerable import from the standpoint of child care. The Care of Children Committee in their Report (Cmd.6922) dealt very cautiously with the question of religious training. They implied that they observed shortcomings in the approach of many Homes which had adopted a positive attitude towards religious training,¹ but although they would not commit themselves to making detailed recommendations, they seemed to infer that religious training was

1. Report of Care of Children Committee - Cmd.6922, pars.221
267 and 307.

desirable and that the staff exercised considerable influence on the development of the religious conviction of children: "We all feel that a genuine effort should be made to find a home of the appropriate denomination, and we deprecate an arrangement by which the child follows different religious observances from those of the home in which he is placed."¹ The Report goes on: "...We do not as a Committee desire to lay down rules on the subject of religious observances. If the wise and understanding staff whom we desire to see in charge of the children are secured, they will, no doubt, find means, as good parents do, of influencing the children's lives both by their teaching and their example."²

A minority recommendation urged that "Whatever the practice or lack of practice of the children's parents in this respect, the peculiar position of these children entitles them to the best that can be given in the way of religious care."³ And again, "...we consider that all who are responsible for the selection of child care workers in children's homes should have regard to their ability to care for the religious development of children as well as their mental and physical well-being."⁴

1. Ibid., par. 472.

2. Ibid., par 493 (xvii)

3. Ibid., par.183

4. Ibid., par.184.

From an intimate experience of living with children in a Home, one feels that there should be further investigation to discover if it is desirable from a 'child-care' standpoint that, because there is an enforced separation from their parents for reasons quite unconnected with the neglect of religious training, children should be obliged to accept a particular form of religious upbringing which is alien to the character of his home.

It is appreciated that, if a child is placed in care because either the parents, or the child, is morally weak, a strong case might be presented for using religious teachings as a therapeutic agent. Or again, it might be admitted that religion can act as an anchorage for those who have not a secure background.¹ It must also be conceded that if a local authority assumes parental rights, they have a duty to bring up the child according to the religious principles approved by the authority, subject to the regulations of the Children Act.

But if it is necessary for the local authority or for a voluntary society to undertake the care of children because of reasons which do not reflect on the correctness of the parents in their upbringing of their children, is it right for them to impose a cultural or religious environment which is alien to the natural home environment? Such a procedure might introduce a conflict of loyalties, and might well be an

1. The Spiritual Development of the Child - Bowley and Townroe. E. & S. Livingstone. 1953.

important contributory factor in developing personality disturbances.

It might be urged that, since there can be no objections to providing a physical environment and educational opportunities which are better than those which obtained in the homes of the children, there should be no objections to providing them with a better religious environment. But, insofar as health, education and physical amenities are concerned, these needs may be ascertained by criteria generally accepted by specialists in these matters and, insofar as the Home makes a better provision, the parent and society recognize in this a reflection of the limitations of the parent. But religion is so personal that its adequate practice cannot easily be defined in a way which would be acceptable by such an overwhelming body of public opinion as agree on the other aspects of child care.

Although one has not made a detailed investigation of these cases, one has come across signs of guilt or embitterment in many children who were brought up in the Jewish Orphanage to believe in a specific attitude, but whose parents acted in a contrary way. For, quite apart from the religious atmosphere, and the personality of the Houseparents, all were in such marked contradistinction to their home environment that these children found themselves drifting away from their parents, and were unprepared to accept their guidance or affection when they left the Home.¹

1. See Appendix 33 for extract of letter from an 'odd boy'.

It is beyond the compass of this thesis to determine whether such antagonism of child to parent was due fundamentally to factors quite independent of the influence of the Home. One expects that this may well be the case, for where there is a healthy emotional relationship to parents prior to and during the stay at the Home, a child usually returns to the parent unaffected in his basic feelings.¹

It must be stressed that those who hold strong religious convictions tend to impregnate all social relationships with their faith, and a child is bound to be influenced profoundly one way or another.

Of course, there is no such problem where a parent is able to place his child in a Home which conforms with his religious convictions. Consequently, one must recognize the value of voluntary Homes which are run on clearly defined religious lines, and which cater specifically for children who would feel additional security from the familiar pattern of the religious life of the Homes and one can accept the logic of the Government regulations which impose an obligation on local authorities to place children in Homes which are able to provide appropriate religious atmosphere.

What, however, is in the best interest of children whose parents have no religious convictions? Should they be brought up in Homes with an alien religious atmosphere? It

1. See Chapter 4. Relationships of Children to Houseparents

might well be best that the religious training of such children should be left to the schools, in the same way as would have been the case had the children remained with their parents. It must be admitted, however, that the establishment of a religious Home would be unacceptable to influential sections of public opinion which, in the main, would probably regard the provision of some kind of religious training in a Home as a fundamental principle of child care.

Section 16 (2) of the Children Act 1948 stipulates that a child shall not be placed in a Voluntary Home where there is no appropriate religious upbringing, but there is no regulation governing the religious convictions of those in charge of local authority Homes.

This raises the question of religious training in Homes administered by local authorities. They do not insist on a religious test when selecting Houseparents. Some of these, who later found employment at the Jewish Orphanage, admitted that they held no deep religious convictions although, otherwise, they might be regarded as excellent child care workers. There is no reason to believe that they were exceptions. They recognised that public opinion and regulations required that children should have access to places of worship, and they ensured such attendance and even introduced some form of worship in the Home at which they worked. But these procedures were followed as regulations rather than as convictions. It is not long before it becomes

obvious to children whether their Houseparents do or do not hold sincere religious beliefs.

When parents entrust their children to local authorities and express a desire that they should be brought up in accordance with a specific form of religion, should it not be regarded as essential that those acting as substitute parents should be capable of fulfilling the functions of parents in this vital sphere of religion? If the authorities believe that a particular form of religious atmosphere should pervade a Home should not those in charge be sincerely religious?

It might well be that if a religious test were imposed, there would be an insufficient supply of child care workers able to satisfy the authorities both on grounds of general competence and on the specific point of religious conviction. In the Jewish Orphanage it had been found impossible to obtain the requisite staff of Orthodox Jews. In 1955 only the Principal and the Vice-Principal were Orthodox Jews. The remainder of the staff contained representatives of various religious denominations. The Matron and Assistant Matron were members of the Church of England, the Sister in charge of the Sick Bay and several Houseparents were Roman Catholic, other Houseparents were members of the Church of England and of different types of Non-Conformist Christian denominations, some were agnostic and some were Jews of differing denominations and one was a Mohammedan. But it is interesting to note that the influence of a predominating non-Jewish

staff did not appear to have created a serious problem. The children recognised that the religious pattern of the non-Jewish staff was not meant to be followed by them. The outlook of the children was broadened through their contact with them, for they were able to meet, live with, accept and admire people who had different religious convictions. Problems, however, arose with Non-Jewish staff and with Jewish staff alike, who had no religious convictions but who, in the execution of their duties, found it expedient to pretend that they had convictions and arranged for observance of prayer and ritual by the children.

As in all problems where there appears to be a conflict of views or attitudes, it would seem advisable to avoid pretence and allow children to recognise and adjust themselves to the realities of life, which in this situation is that different people have different religious views and some have no religious convictions. One is inclined to believe that if it is desirable or inevitable to have staff who are areligious, the children should be told the nature of the convictions of the Houseparents so that there need be no pretence at observance. Under such conditions, one believes that the children would be more likely to adopt a healthier attitude to religion. But in so far as it is regarded as a fundamental obligation on the part of an authority to make provision for the religious upbringing of children, it would seem logical that those in charge of a Home should be sincerely religious.

At the Jewish Orphanage, however, this was not so serious a problem as one might have expected, since the influence of the Houseparent in this - as in so many other aspects of character formation - was not as great as might be supposed. It will be seen from a study of the following Chapter that it was the parent who determined the attitude of the child to the major problems of life. The majority of children tended to regard religion as something which belonged to the Home which, in the case of those whose parents were irreligious or areligious, they could discard with all other regulations when they left.

Because the authorities are obliged to provide for the religious upbringing of children, it would seem desirable that there should be an adequate supply of Homes capable of catering for the varying religious needs. This aspect of Child Care certainly needs careful investigation and among the issues one would wish raised would be the desirability of permitting all Children's Homes to be administered in collaboration with, if not actually under the direction of religious bodies, subject to inspection by the Home Office and local authorities, who would have to be satisfied that all the other aspects of child care conformed to required standards. This takes one a step further than the cautious recommendation of the Care of Children Committee: "...We are all agreed that there would be advantage if co-operation were encouraged between the local clergy and those responsible for the

child's home care." (par.493 (xvii)).

Character Training. "Shall themselves have led and still lead a moral, good life." ¹

Reference has been made to the question of the religious convictions of Houseparents. It will probably be regarded as more axiomatic, and certainly less contentious, that people who are in charge of children should be capable, by example, and through the influence of their character, of inspiring in children the right attitude towards life. The more intimate their connection, the better their character should be. For children are particularly impressionable, and are likely to be influenced in their attitude by the mode of life of those with whom they are in contact.

Although parents who have placed their children in Homes may be fond of them, and there may be a good personal relationship between them, many of them would readily admit that they would not wish their children to follow their pattern of life. These children, too, recognise the shortcomings of their parents. Thus some children are illegitimate, others have divorced or separated parents. Some have mothers who are prostitutes, others have parents who are in prison for one crime or another. There is no suggestion here that such parents have no deep affection for their children, but there would be a general agreement that they do not set a pattern of life which either they or society condone or consider satisfactory.

1. Part II. Ch.3, p.250, paragraph 2.

It becomes a major problem of the administration of Children's Homes to inspire in their charges a healthy attitude towards marriage, family life and social morality, so that they might grow up into happy citizens, fulfilling successfully their functions as individuals and members of society. In this task, many parents are a handicap and have bequeathed a heritage that must be rejected, and replaced by another pattern of behaviour which will arouse a positive affective reaction in the children.

It might well be that religion offers the best medium for influencing children. They already feel a sense of guilt through an inevitable identification with their parents and their shortcomings. Religion, however, can offer them a pattern of life which they could accept without further aggravation of this sense of guilt. The rules of conduct and the examples of ideal characters are identified with personalities who are long dead. So that the ^{children's} ~~xxxxxx~~ acceptance of them is not likely to disturb their intimate relationship with their parents, particularly as religion emphasises the frailty and limitations of human character.

On the other hand, it must be recognised that, for good or ill, a child is influenced by the personality of the adult with whom he is in daily contact. If the association lasts a long time, he tends to identify the Houseparent in some degree with a parent figure, and his whole attitude to life may be influenced by this relationship. Particularly in the

case of children who have an unfortunate background, it is important that those who look after them should set an example of happy and successful living, and thereby help to impregnate in the child a desire to emulate their example - and, more important, help to develop confidence in their ability to lead such a life. For many of these children tend to project themselves into the life situation of their parents, and fear that their future will be equally insecure and unsuccessful.

One of the methods adopted in the Homes of encouraging self-confidence is the introduction of 'friends' who display a genuine interest in the well-being of the child. This 'spontaneous' friendship, which has been brought about and sustained only because the child has willed it, tends to create self-confidence. At the same time it provides an example of people whom the child likes, and who live a happy and successful life. And this is achieved without, apparently, loosening the attachment of the child to his parents.¹

This method has many advantages over the complete fostering of such children. The very real danger in this latter method is that a major conflict can be created in the mind of both the child and the parents by so close and intimate an attachment to a 'stranger'. But in a large Children's Home there is less possibility of the development of so deep an attachment, and of the kind of conflict which occurs in fostering.

1. See Part II, Chapter 4, p.280 "Friends of Children Scheme."

Even though 'friends' or relatives may exercise a profound influence on the development of the character of these children, the Houseparents are in sufficiently close contact with them as to be capable of exercising considerable influence. To the extent that Homes provide the experiences of all forms of social intercourse which are associated with family life, the Houseparents daily set an example of the way adults act when confronted with difficulties, whether these are connected with children or not. Children observe the way adult reacts to adult, the way adults tackle difficult and frustrating experiences, quite apart from the way they react to the difficulties which the children themselves create in their relationship with them or with each other. Through the gradual process of conditioning, the character of children tends to be moulded by the way these adults react to experience shared actively or passively with the children.

It is, consequently, desirable that Houseparents should be capable of setting a good example, and should be sufficiently free from neuroses as to be capable of lessening tensions and removing anxieties and not increasing them. But an examination of the characteristics of many of those engaged in child care has shown that they are basically unsuited to act as 'substitute parents', either because of their temperament or background, although some might have made efficient 'supervisors'.

A considerable proportion of Houseparents are spinsters, bachelors, divorcees, widows and widowers. Work with children may well be an excellent method of sublimation and fulfillment. But many projected their problems into the Home. Some tended to place children under an obligation by adopting the attitude, even if they do not express their feelings in words: "You ought to be grateful to me for I am devoting my life to looking after you!" On the other hand, there are others who were possessive, and wanted to feel that the children 'belonged' to them - they felt frustrated when children left their care, or embittered when others (including parents!) took an interest in them.

But, quite apart from personality difficulties, which might make some people unsuited to the task of bringing up other people's children, one wonders whether their pattern of adult life is the right one for those who should be setting an example of adequate fulfilment, as part of their task of preparing children for successful marriage and the establishment of happy family life.

A successful family life has this influence on the child - "My Mum and Dad are so happy living together and when I grow up, I want to be like them." This, of course, is an extreme simplification of the process of the creation of social attitudes. If, however, this would appear to be true, how can such a desirable attitude be adopted by children whose parents were unhappily married, or were unmarried,

and the substitute parent is a spinster? Where a child is brought up by a member of a religious Order which practises celibacy, there is no pretence that this is the normal pattern of life, and indeed motherhood is idealised. But it cannot be possible for children to regard unmarried people as the right hand of parent-substitute, since they are unable to set an example of married life.

This is not to deny that spinsters or divorcees could attend admirably to the physical and mental needs of children. They may make excellent nurses or teachers or psychiatrists not because of, nor despite of, their state of celibacy but simply because they have the right personality and training. But one believes that an added qualification (even if not an essential one) of 'substitute-parents' should be that they themselves are parents.

The Jewish Orphanage, however, as well as other voluntary bodies and local authorities encouraged the recruitment of single people and childless couples. Advertisements such as the following are characteristic: "Resident Housemothers, Class 1, required at family homes for 7 children (5-15 yrs.) Exp. and/or training essential. H.O. Res. Child Care Cert. advantageous. Salary £450, £13.10. - £526.10.0, less £109.10.0. for board, etc. Single accom. only...." Or again: "Housemothers, Class 1. (res.) required to take

charge of family homes,...suitable for married women (whose husbands would receive free board, etc., for part-time Housefather duties)...No acc. available for applicant's own children."

Experience at the Jewish Orphanage has shown that among the best of Houseparents were those who were non-resident, but who were married and had children of their own.

It might be suggested that the fact that unmarried people or childless couples are dedicating their lives to the care of children, places them in the same category as parents - the only difference between the two being that the one has been responsible for the biological creation of the child. But this is a false analogy. Nor is a Houseparent in the same category as an adoptive parent.

A child recognises the limitations of the personal relationship between a Houseparent and himself, and that they are somewhat impersonal. He misses the experience of real family life situations, where there is an interplay of emotional forces and a natural adjustment of personalities arising out of situations from which conflicts emerge, due to the very nature of filial relationships.

The essence of good family relationships is an obvious concern shown by one for the other; a loyalty to one another that does not detract from, but strengthens, other loyalties; an obvious sympathy with, and support for, one another in times of stress; encouragement in times of

difficulties; rejoicing in achievements; characteristics which emanate from a feeling of belonging - that each member is an extension of the other. Characteristics such as these among the children and adults were noticeably absent in the Jewish Orphanage, in the same quality and combination, as they exist in normal homes.

The limitations of the influence of spinsters have been observed in the Jewish Orphanage where adolescents, especially girls, seem to resent direction or guidance, particularly in sexual matters. This problem was referred to by Dr. E. Thomas, the Director of Education for Leicester, in a recent conference of teachers, as follows: "There have been many comments in recent months on the implications of the fact that adolescent girls appear to mature physically at a far earlier age than hitherto: many of them are preoccupied with sex, and envying the ease with which their older friends earn high wages and buy a good time, they seek less legitimate avenues to adventure and excitement. In consequence, school and all it stands for becomes a bore, teachers are held in contempt, and their boastful attitude demoralises their less adventurous classmates. It is not surprising that many teachers, particularly the unmarried ones, find themselves helpless in the face of a situation which was largely unknown to their predecessors."¹

Many Houseparents are dedicated to their work. They appear to find complete satisfaction in caring for other

1. Times Educational Supplement - 6/4/56.

people's children, and set a commendable example in all their personal relationships with adults and children. But, in so far as this is the case, one wonders if this is the right kind of example for children who would have to face a turbulent and highly competitive work-a-day world. Houseparents such as these rarely complain about conditions of service. They have few financial responsibilities, and appear contented so long as they have enough money to clothe themselves adequately and can take occasional holidays. They have none of the anxieties and problems which parents in homes have which, successfully mastered, tend to mould their character and help to mould the character of the children, too. They are not confronted with difficulties arising from cost of living, or the wear and tear of children's clothes and property, for the authorities make all the provisions for food, clothing, amenities and heating. They are not concerned with rent or rates. They rarely have ambitions outside the day-to-day welfare of the children, because there are few prospects of promotion and, for most of these 'better' type of Houseparents, the fulfilment of their goal is permanency with their 'family'.

One doubts if such narrow contentment within an artificially secure family home is the kind best fitted to prepare children for the hazards of life.

In this, as in all other forms of employment, one is obliged to engage staff from the applicants available, and although one would aim at employing those who possess the

appropriate training and aptitude for this work, the fact that they are married and have children should be recognised as an added qualification, rather than as an encumbrance.

Having discussed some of the problems regarding the selection of Houseparents, one will now consider the effect on the children of the staff who remained closely associated with them for long periods.

CHAPTER 4

A STUDY OF THE RELATIVE INFLUENCE ON CHILDREN OF PARENTS, FRIENDS AND HOUSEPARENTS

It has already been noted that there were frequent changes of staff at the Jewish Orphanage as at other Children's Homes. The effect of such changes was governed by the kind of personal relationships available to the children both inside and outside the Home but especially on the kind of relationship which existed between the children and their parents.

If children had neither parents nor relatives, most psychologists would agree with the recommendation of the Home Office that it was essential for the development of a balanced personality that they should be provided with substitute parents. This policy is based on the conviction that there is a need for a continuity of close association over a period of many years between a child and the adult whom he regards as responsible for his upbringing.

It would appear, however, that there are comparatively few children in voluntary and local authority Homes who have

no parents.¹ The majority of such children who would benefit from a substitute parent are eventually adopted or fostered in private homes.

Almost all of those who lived at the Orphanage had at least one parent and some relatives with whom they were in regular contact. It would appear from the investigations carried out that where there was a strong affective relationship between children and relatives, Houseparents were not able to fulfill the functions one normally associates with substitute parents. For many of these children, the Home appeared to be no more than a temporary expedient to shelter them and to cater for their physical needs during the interval when they were separated from their parents.

In those cases where the chances of reunion with parents appeared to be slight, it was deemed advisable to build up the morale of the children by effecting good relationships with other adults outside the Home, rather than attempting to replace the parent by the Houseparent. Where, for example, parents had separated, some of the children developed a sense of guilt which appeared to be aggravated by their own state of deprivation. Thus M.C., a boy of ten years of age, discussing his bouts of depression

1. Children in the Care of Local Authorities in England and Wales, March 1956. H.M.S.O., Cmd. 9881.

and crying in bed at night, stated he did not believe that anyone could develop a sincere affection for him because it was his fault that his parents had quarrelled and separated and no one would ever want to befriend him. Or again there was the case of I.B., a boy of 14 years of age, who stated that he could not believe that anyone could have a sincere affection for him because he was illegitimate and his own parents had deserted him; when he was assured that his Houseparent was fond of him, he exclaimed, "Oh! He's paid to be fond of me!"

To restore confidence in such children, they were provided with opportunities to find friends outside the Home. People who were anxious to befriend such children were interviewed by the Principal who determined their suitability. Then 'accidental' meetings were arranged between these 'friends' and carefully selected children who were unaware that the meeting was a planned affair. Thus a few children would be invited to a party and among those present would be both the child who needed a 'friend' and the prospective 'friend'. The latter would effect a meeting, strike up an acquaintanceship and express a wish to meet again and so renew this pleasant 'spontaneous' association. The child feels that he has made a friend. He takes the initiative in asking his Houseparent if he may have a visitor. In this way a friendship matures apparently independent of the intervention

of the Home and founded upon mutual attraction.

Many of such friendships have lasted beyond the length of stay of the children at the Home and Houseparents have indicated that they believe they have had a more profound influence on some children than the Home. The children looked forward eagerly to spending week-ends and holidays with these friends, who, in the course of time appeared increasingly to assume the role of substitute-parents because their attachment to the children sprung from natural circumstances.

This scheme for introducing friends was described thus in the Principal's Report for 1955.¹

"Friends of the Children Scheme. Next in importance to the maintenance of a good relationship between our children and their relatives, is the establishment of a good contact with a suitable 'friend'.

"It is now generally recognised that 'deprived' children suffer most from a feeling of personal unworthiness, because they feel themselves rejected by their relatives. At the same time they tend to identify themselves with their relatives and assume that they have inherited the weaknesses which are all too apparent in their nearest of kin, and which have been responsible for their inability to care for them.

1. Principal's Progress Report, 1955, pp.4 & 5. Archives of Jewish-Orphanage.

"One of the reasons why so many children brought up in Children's Homes are unable to stand the strain of life in later years is because they leave such Homes feeling that they have as inadequate personalities as those possessed by their parents, and that the only affection shown them has been given by those who have a professional interest in their welfare. This appears to be one of the reasons why such a high proportion of such children in later life enter institutions of one kind or another, for inside them they can again depend upon professional care, and they are relieved of the responsibilities of this work-a-day world.

"In order to help to rehabilitate these children, and to restore their self-confidence, I have striven to extend the Friendship Scheme.

"By the method now adopted, 'friends' are selected carefully and wherever possible only after a personal interview with all the members of the family.

"The children are classified according to their special needs, and the aim is to find suitable friends who can satisfy the specific needs of each child.

"a) There is a completely rejected child, who has no effectual relative, and will be unlikely to return to the care of a relative. The aim in this case is to find a harmonious and happy family who will be prepared to have the child each weekend and for holidays, and who will be

prepared eventually to foster him, even before he becomes an official 'leaver' - subject, of course, to the consent of all interested parties.

"The number of suitable families who are prepared to accept all the obligations involved in such a scheme is small, for few of those who offer such friendship are suitable.

"b) There is the child who is separated from relatives and rarely sees them, but who will, nevertheless, eventually return to their care.

"The need here is for a friend who will offer regular hospitality but who has no desire to foster him. The relatives are brought into the picture and, where desirable and possible, meetings are arranged between the relatives and the friend, to avoid anxiety about the possible alienation of the affection of the child; at the same time, the child and the relative can feel that a friend of the family has been gained.

"c). There is the child who has a regular and a happy contact with his relatives. Here the kind of friend required is of a different category.

"The type of friend needed will depend on the specific psychological needs of the individual, but basically each child needs someone whom it feels it can look to, and depend upon, for individual attention, and who will be interested in him, and in no other child residing at the Home."

Relationship of Children to Houseparents.

It has already been noted that many who entered the work of residential child care did not have a professional and objective approach but had been prompted by an urge to become 'substitute parents'. The scheme of friendship which has been outlined created difficulties for these Houseparents because it appeared to them to prevent the development of the kind of relationship they hoped would exist between them and the children in their care. They felt that they were playing a secondary role and they became frustrated. They found that the children tended to confide more in their parents and friends than in them. They discussed their problems with these other people and seemed to regard them as mere 'attendants' to cater for their minor physical needs and comforts. It appeared that the Home was exerting no more influence on the personality and character of the children than a Hotel or Boarding House would on its residents. Although it might well be from the standpoint of the child that it matters little who exerts the maximum influence so long as it is beneficial, it mattered a great deal to most of the Houseparents.

In order to elicit from the staff their reactions to home visits and to the friendship scheme, they were invited to submit their impressions of Houseparent-child relationships and of parent-child relationships. They were asked to

indicate on forms opposite the name of each child in their family, if they considered that they had succeeded in establishing a good relationship. Data was also obtained on the frequency of contact between the children and their parents and friends.

The staff were briefed as to the meaning of the terms employed. 'Good relationships' implied that the child spontaneously took the Houseparent into his confidence. He might be naughty but would still have a good relationship. On the other hand, he could be 'good' in so far as he was always obedient and never gave trouble, yet he might be classed as having a poor relationship because he did not appear to have any significant attachment and was seemingly indifferent to any overtures which might be made by the Houseparent to establish a positive friendship. Thus 'good relationships' was meant to imply what the Houseparents considered a 'substitute parent' relationship implied.

By 'friends' the staff were asked to indicate those who were conventionally described as 'Foster Uncles and Aunts', i.e. those with whom the children had struck up a regular friendship.

The results of this enquiry have been tabulated and classified according to sex and age and as to whether the children lived in the Main Building or in the School House. The data detailed the length of stay both at the Home and in

the 'family' of the Houseparent who made the assessment. The length of service of the Houseparent was also given both with regard to the Home and with the care of the child assessed.

The analysis of this data is given in the Appendices 8, 31 and 32.

An examination of these Appendices reveals many interesting points:-

Younger children in small Home (Gabriel Home, Roll - 24 children)

The Houseparents claimed that there was a reciprocal good relationship between themselves and all the children. Yet all but one had a good relationship with their parents as well.

No attempt had been made to find 'friends' for the majority of these children since they already had the positive and regular interest of parents. But of the four who had such 'friends', there existed a good relationship both with the parent and Houseparent.

This good relationship existed despite the fact that many of the children had experienced a change of three Matrons, but one of the Houseparents had been at the Home about 10 years, i.e. throughout the stay of all the children; and although she had not been in actual charge of all of them, she had been 'acting Matron' during the inter regnum periods. On the other hand, 14 out of the 24 children had been with their Houseparent since their admission.

There had been a continuity of contact between the children and their parents, 21 out of the 24 saw their parents regularly, at least twice a month. The regularity and the frequency of such contacts might well have helped to establish such a good relationship between the Houseparent and the child.

The Houseparents often related how the children were bubbling over with conversation after they had received visits from their relatives and that a happy atmosphere prevailed, in contradistinction to the somewhat withdrawn and inhibited approach of those children who were unaccustomed to receiving regular and frequent visits. It seems to be axiomatic that where there is a happy relationship between parent and child, the child is able to form pleasant relationships with other people.

Boys in the Main Building.

The majority of the boys appear to have established good relationships with their houseparents; the ratio is almost in inverse proportion to the number of those who required 'friends', but bears the same ratio as those who saw their parents regularly - at least twice a month.

Almost all had good relationships with their parents. Of the 12 children in the Main Building who had indifferent relationships with relatives, 10 were boys, and of the 12 who had 'indifferent' relationships with 'friends', 10 were boys.

Thus it would appear that there was a higher proportion of disturbed personalities among boys, although the actual number was small.¹

The number of boys who had been in the Home for over two years and had good relationships with their Houseparents was 47 as against 21 who had poor relationships. Of those who had been under two years, 8 had good relationships and 9 poor. Thus it would appear that the longer a boy remained in the Home, the greater were the chances that he would establish a good relationship. It is possible, of course, that it takes a long time for some to gain or regain a sufficient measure of self-confidence to enable them to adjust themselves to their new environment and to feel able to establish a friendly contact with their newly acquired custodians.

But length of duration with a Houseparent does not appear to be the basic factor determining the extent of good relationship. Thus, of those who had been with the same Houseparent more than two years, 9 had a good relationship as against 11 who had a poor one. Of these, 9 had 'friends' and 11 had none, although all the 20 had good relationships with their relatives.

It would seem that neither the constancy of contact

1. This corresponds with data relating to disturbed children in Part II, Chapter 2.

with the same Houseparent nor the extent of the contact with a relative or friend had such a positive effect in ensuring good relationships between Houseparents and boys as the duration of stay at the Home.

Girls in the Main Building.

About an equal number of girls had either good or poor relationships with their Houseparents. The proportion of girls without friends was twice that with, and nearly all had good relationships with their parents whom 39 out of 52 saw regularly and at least twice a month.

The number who had been in the Home more than two years who had a good relationship with their Houseparents was 21 as against 16 who had poor relationship. But of those who had been with their Houseparents for more than two years, only 5 had a good relationship as against 7 who did not. Nine of these girls had 'friends' as against 5 who had none and 10 of them had good relationships with their parents.

As with the boys, the length of stay at the Home seemed to count for more than the length of stay with a Houseparent, in influencing the capacity to establish good relationships. It should be noted that although many children had been under the same Houseparent for a short time, they might have known her for many years; for, in a congregate Home of this type, the children were in close contact with all Houseparents, some of whom might also have been Relief

Houseparents and so had actually been in charge of them from time to time. This might account for the fact that many of the 63 children who were in the Home for more than twelve months had already established a good relationship with their Houseparent although they had been in their care for a short time; this does not account for the high incidence of good relationship between children and those Houseparents who had been employed in the Home for less than two years.

The majority of the children in the main building had been admitted to the Orphanage when they had been over 9 years of age and, consequently, had had constant and close association with their parents during the most formative years of their life. Thus the degree and quality of their ability to establish good relationships seems to have been determined largely before they had entered a Home.

Those who were long-term cases came under one of three categories:

- (a) Those who from infancy had had little contact with relatives but had succeeded in making a reasonable adjustment to their environment. In such cases the relationships with Houseparents turned out to be good.
- (b) Those who had regular contact with parents who were neurotic and had become maladjusted apparently because of the insecurity produced by this contact. In such cases the relationships with Houseparents were poor.

(c) Those who had regular contact with parents who were able to offer affection and stable emotional relationships. In such cases, the relationships with Houseparents were classified either good or bad - mainly according to the interpretation of the Houseparents - but the children were certainly not disturbed or problem children. Since the majority of long-term cases were in this category, it becomes necessary to analyse in more detail their assessment by the Houseparents.

It seemed that if, for whatever the reason, a child had succeeded in reconciling himself to his separation from his relatives, he tended to adapt himself satisfactorily to the environment of the Orphanage. He appeared to derive security from living there and, because of this, he seemed capable of making friendly contact with new Houseparents in a relatively short time. He seemed to regard them as projections of the Home which was offering him security. Where, however, the child had not adjusted himself to accept the inevitability of his separation from his family, then even though he might have remained under the care of the same Houseparent from the time he entered the Home, he might never accept him as a trusted confidant.

The returns of the Houseparents reflected their personality as much as that of the children. A brief description now follows of these returns and an attempt will

be made to ascertain if these differences in personality affected vitally the reactions of the children.

An analysis of the returns of the Houseparents in Appendix 32.

Miss A. had been in the Home for over three years but had been in charge of her 'family' for one month only, yet she claimed that she had already established a good relationship with 10 out of the 12 of her girls.

During the whole of her three years' service, she had acted as a Relief Houseparent and so knew all the children well; but it should also be noted that she was an experienced child care worker of varied experience over many decades.

Her family consisted of children belonging to the younger age group; and it appeared that young children tended to be less inhibited than older children in their approach to Houseparents and other adults.

A similar situation existed in the family of Mrs. B. who had been in charge of her family for only six weeks. She believed that she had established a good relationship with all her 10 boys. She, too, had been a familiar figure in the Home for over a year and was an experienced residential child care worker of many years standing. Likewise her boys were of a younger age group and appeared, generally, to be less withdrawn than the older children.

On the other hand, two Housemothers of wide experience claimed good relationships with only 7 of the 27 girls in

their care despite the fact that 16 of them had been in their 'family' for more than two years. Although only 13 of these girls had a good relationship with 'friends', all but one had excellent relationships with their parents.

These girls were of an older age group.

It might well be that the personality of these two Houseparents had something to do with the reactions of the girls, although they each had diametrically opposed temperaments. One was cultured. The girls in her family were above the average in intelligence and the majority attended Grammar or Technical schools. The other Houseparent was of a more prosaic type and the girls in her family were, on the whole, average or below average in intelligence.

An analysis of the returns of the Housefathers shows equally complicating factors. The two men with the longest experience - over five years' service at the Home - both highly intelligent men who had received training and possessed an advanced knowledge of child psychology - claimed that they had a good relationship with 15 children but a poor one with 19 of their boys. One claimed a good relationship with only 10 boys although 13 boys had been with him for over two years. The other Housefather professed to have established a good relationship with only 5 of the 17 boys in his care, although he had had 6 of them in his 'family' during the whole time they had been at the Orphanage.

On the other hand, the other two Housefathers, also men of wide experience, but who had received no psychological training, claimed that they had established a good relationship with 28 out of the 30 boys in their care, although they had been in employment at the Home for only just over a year and one of them had been in charge of his 'family' for only four months (prior to this, however, he was a Relief Housefather).

The ages of the boys and the scatter of intelligence were much the same for the four families. The length of residence of the boys in the first two families indicated above, averaged $5\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ years respectively, whilst in the latter two groups were 5 and 3 years.

It might well have been the case that despite the efforts made to ensure that Houseparents would make assessments on the basis of identical criteria, different Houseparents placed different interpretations on the criteria upon which they judged their success in their work. It might also have been the case that the personality and the ability of Houseparents accounted for the differences in the reactions of the children. Nevertheless, it was clear that there was some connexion between the kind of contact children had with their parents and the kind of relationship which existed between the children and their Houseparents. To establish what this connexion was, an analysis was made of the kind of contact the children had with their parents and relatives.

Contact with relatives.

An analysis¹ of the visits by parents to their children and by the children to their parents at home shows that out of 160 children who were on roll at the time the analysis was made, only 16 saw their parents at no other time but during school holidays, and, in the main, these children were from the provinces. Whilst only 9 children rarely or never saw their parent, these were orphans or illegitimate children who had been abandoned. Apart from these 25 children, only 42 children saw their relations as seldom as once a month, the remainder had contact with them more often and 57 saw them regularly each week.

One has to live in a Children's Home to appreciate fully the eager anticipation of the children for these visits. But it is noticeable that the tension is considerably less among those who have been conditioned to regular visiting, especially among those who see their parents weekly.

Immediately prior to and following weekends, House-parents find those children most difficult who have infrequent or rare visits. The anxieties aroused by visiting appear most intense in the children who feel most rejected, whether or not they or their friends receive visitors. The frequency of visiting by parents in itself did not indicate the degree of deprivation and feeling of rejection. And it has already been noted that it was not the infrequency of the visits so

1. Appendix 8.

much as their irregularity which appeared to be associated with children suffering from anxiety. On the other hand, it was very apparent that the most balanced and happiest children appeared to be those who had both frequent and regular visits.

The following are data relating to the holidays spent by the children of the Main Building during the major school holidays 1955-56. No details are given of the children in the Gabriel Home who were under 8 years of age, but all of these, with one exception, were in regular and weekly contact with parents.

Every child had at least one week's holiday at the seaside or in the country. In addition, children were permitted to spend part or the whole of the remainder of their holidays with relatives or friends. The data which follows relate to this remaining period of their holidays.

Summer Holidays 1955.

47 spent the whole of the remainder of the holidays at
15 spent between 1 and 7 days with relatives or friends. ^{the Orphanage.}

33	"	"	1 and 2 weeks	"	"	"	"
23	"	"	2 and 3	"	"	"	"
14	"	"	3 and 4	"	"	"	"
8	"	"	4 and 5	"	"	"	"
<u>7</u>	"		over 5 weeks	"	"	"	"

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Easter Holidays 1956.

49 spent the whole of the holidays at the Orphanage
 26 " between 1 and 7 days with relatives
 24 " " 1 and 2 weeks " "
37 " over 2 weeks " "
 136

Christmas Holidays 1955-56.

35 spent the whole of the holidays at the Orphanage
 22 " between 1 and 7 days with relatives
 42 " " 1 and 2 weeks " "
 37 " " 2 and 3 " " "
8 " over 3 weeks " "
 144

It might be assumed that those children who remained at the Home for the whole of the holidays would tend to regard their Houseparents as substitute parents and would be more likely to establish a good relationship with them since they were in a practical way responsible for their well-being all the year round.

An analysis was made of the reactions of those children who spent no holidays with relatives during the year 1955-56.

It was found that among them were 9 girls, and of

these only 3 had good relationships with their Houseparents and the remaining 6 had not. Two of the former were under ten years of age, whilst of the latter group only one was under ten.

Of the boys, 23 had good relationships whilst 9 had not. Of the latter, 5 were junior boys, 4 of whom were in one family, and the remaining 4 were senior boys under another Housefather. Despite the fact that these children were dependent upon the Home throughout the year for their well-being, these 9 children had been unable to establish a good relationship with their Houseparent, and it would appear that the reasons for this were associated with the reasons for their inability to spend a holiday away from the Home and with relatives. On the other hand, of the 26 girls who had a good relationship with their Housemothers, only 3 were resident at the Home all the year round.

Analysis of Girls and Boys who had no holiday with relatives.

Analysis of the girls.

A brief review of the case histories of the 9 girls who spent the whole of their holidays at the Orphanage (apart that is from the fortnight provided by the Home during the summer), might reveal some of the factors which contributed to their reactions towards their Houseparents. The following are the salient details about the 3 girls who had established a good relationship with their Housemother.

1. P.L. She was 14 years of age and was an illegitimate child who had two younger illegitimate siblings who had been adopted. She was admitted at the age of 8 years because of the ill-health of her mother. She was of average intelligence, devoted to her mother whom she saw regularly and whom she anticipated rejoining when she leaves at the age of 15 years. She has taken an active but not a leading part in all the corporate activities of the Home and had been popular with both staff and children. She did not remember her father whom she believed was dead. She had been with her present Housemother for 3 years.
2. G.F. was 10 years of age. She was an illegitimate child but had lived with her parents until she was 6½ years of age when she was admitted to the Home because of a housing problem. She had an elder brother, also illegitimate, who was admitted at the same time. She was the object of devotion of both parents until they separated when she was nine years but the father saw her regularly and frequently. She had a pleasing personality, and captivated the interest of all who met her. She was under the same Housemother until she had left one month before her present Housemother took charge of the family. But she had known her well

well over the past three years as a Relief Housemother.

3. R.U. was 10 years of age. She was admitted when her mother was dying of cancer. She had a sister in the Home and they were devoted to each other. The father was devoted to them and saw them each week. R.U. was a girl of outstanding personality. She had recovered from polio and despite her physical handicap, she took an active part in all physical activities and was also above the average in intelligence. She, too, had the same Houseparents as G.F. and under similar circumstances.

The outstanding characteristics of these three children appeared to be the consistent devotion of their surviving parents, their emotional security during their infant years and the pleasing personality they had cultivated during their residence at the Orphanage.

An examination of the other six children will show contrasting features.

1. S.C. was an illegitimate child of 10 years of age who had been admitted at the age of 5 years after she had been resident in other Homes. There were numerous unsuccessful attempts to have her adopted and several good relationships with prospective 'foster parents' were severed because of last minute obstacles placed by the mother who maintained a casual and

irregular interest in her. When she visited, she invariably brought her young children by a different father to whom she was married and with whom they were living. S.C. was not a bright child but she made easy although superficial contact with strangers of all types. Her lack of 'good' contact with her Housemother was consistent with her inability to establish firm relationships with others.

2. C.B. was a recent admission of 11 years of age. Her mother, who was separated from her husband, had been living with a mentally sick man who was the father of C.B. At home, there was an imbecile uncle. The girl was retarded and did not make easy social contact with anyone. She, however, appeared devoted to her mother, whom she saw regularly.
3. C.R. was an illegitimate girl of 12 years of age who was admitted when she was 6½ years. She had only one eye. She had been separated from her mother since early infancy. The mother had never displayed any interest in her and had never visited or communicated with her during the time she was in the Orphanage. There had been several abortive attempts to have her fostered and befriended.

4. S.A. was 14 years of age and, together with her sister (see M.B. (5)) were recent admissions. The mother died and the father had remarried. The step-mother claimed that the children were breaking up the home and, because of their bad conduct, she left her husband who, through ill-health, had to give up his business and home. S.A. had been temporarily housed with friends prior to admission. The father visited regularly and was very much dominated by his daughters. The girl was highly strung when admitted.
5. M.A. was 11 years of age. She was admitted at the same time as her sister S.A. (4). She was less disturbed than her sister and appeared to be very fond of her father.
6. R.B. was nearly 14 years of age. She was admitted when she was 11 years of age. She was brought over from India by a sick mother who returned almost immediately. At first she was a lively girl who took an active part in the life of the Home. She became withdrawn in the last months and felt uncertain about her future. She was not sure if her mother was coming back to England or if she would see her again.
She had a brother at the Home and was somewhat below average in intelligence.

The outstanding characteristic of this group of nine girls was the insecurity of their relationships with their guardians. Although the three girls from the first group came from broken homes and two of them were illegitimate, they had a stable relationship with their guardians and had received affectionate care by their mothers during the period prior to their admission to the Home.

Analysis of Boys.

Of the 23 boys who had good relationships with their Houseparents, 16 had similar relationships with their parents whom they saw regularly. Of the nine boys who had poor relationships, 8 saw their relatives regularly but the backgrounds here, too, as with the girls, provided evidence of extreme insecurity as can be gauged from the following case histories:

1. I.V. an illegitimate boy admitted when eight years of age. The child was taken into care because of the mental instability of the mother who saw him regularly. He was almost beyond control before admitted. A bright boy of 10 years of age, he was of average intelligence, active in all sport but uncommunicative on personal matters to his Houseparent.
2. N.G. a boy of 14 years of age; admitted when seven years old after the separation of his parents.

The mother maintained a regular contact with him and his older sister who was admitted at the same time. The boy was always withdrawn but clung closely to the devoted mother who, however, was a manic depressive case, suffering from persecution mania.

3. P.K. was admitted at the age of 11. He was born shortly after his mother's marriage to a Czech. She was a refugee who returned with P.K. to her native country to rejoin her husband when P.K. was six years of age. She found that her family had died in concentration camps and her husband refused to live with her. She returned to England, where she suffered from continuous ill-health, but able to work. The boy moved from place to place as she changed jobs. He was placed in two Homes before he was admitted to the Orphanage. The boy developed a timorous nature running away from each home to which he was admitted. He was receiving psychiatric treatment and special coaching because he was also very retarded educationally.
4. A.S. was an illegitimate son admitted when he was six. He had been deserted by his mother during his first years. The mother was a negative type who never

succeeded in establishing contact with her son, although he was increasingly showing interest in her; he did not, however, discuss personal problems with her. He was above the average in intelligence and accepted the fact that he would not reside with her when he left the Home. He was nearly 15. He was aware that he had many relatives although he had met them only once - at the time of his confirmation. He took an active part in all social and athletic activities but he did not possess the degree of confidence to become an acknowledged leader. He showed signs of repressive conduct (a) by regular rocking at night; (b) by uncontrolled temper tantrums when frustrated.

5. J.W. was nearly 14 years of age. He was admitted when he was 6 years of age together with his elder brother and sister after his mother became widowed. The mother established an intimate relationship with an 'uncle' whom the children came to accept as their future step-father but inadequate housing accommodation prevented both the marriage and over-night visits of the children. The mother saw the children infrequently but appeared to demonstrate genuine interest in their well-being. J.W. was of average intelligence, good at games, popular with

with the children. He was confident he would return home when he was of age, for arrangements had been made for the return home of the older siblings.

6. A.W. a boy of 14 years. He was admitted with his older sister when he was five years of age. His parents were separated after the father was sentenced to prison following an assault on the mother who had been unfaithful when he was on active service. The mother did not communicate with the children for over six years. There was an abortive attempt at the reconciliation of mother and children. The mother since remarried, and had two illegitimate children. The father had remarried. He made some casual effort at contacting the children, but the Children's Committee discouraged any attempt at rehabilitation. The sister was unstable but devoted. After she left the Home she drifted from foster home to foster home, hostel to hostel, until finally she was taken in charge as being in moral danger. She later became an unmarried mother.

- 7 & 8. Identical twins, retarded educationally and had
A.B. & been referred for ascertainment as maladjusted.
G.B. Both parents were chronic invalids who had spent most of the time equally in and out of hospital. The boys were nine years of age when admitted but

been in ten different Homes for short-term stay, during the hospitalisation of one or both parents. They had been in the Orphanage for twelve months and attended E.S.N. schools.

9. D.C. The oldest of three brothers who were admitted on desertion of the mother, after being placed in another Home. Violent quarrels had preceded the desertion, and these were witnessed by the children, especially by D.C., who, on admission, was 8 years of age. He was now eleven. Of average intelligence he excelled at dramatics. The father made irregular contacts during the first years of the boy's stay at the Home but later moved into the vicinity. He was living with an older woman who was devoted to the children but who was a chronic invalid. Home visits were restricted because of the indisposition of this 'aunt' and D.C. realised that there was little hope of his returning to the care of his father.

10. R.D. was a boy of eleven years of age, the older of two brothers who were admitted together after the death of their mother. R.D. was admitted when he was 7½ years of age and had witnessed the painful deterioration in the health of his mother. He had been under the care of the same Housefather all

all the time. He had an exceptionally high intelligence and appeared to have little in common with his father who visited him often and regularly. He took a keen interest in sport, had a remarkable memory, but had poor physical co-ordination and lacked powers of concentration. His untidiness, absent-mindedness and poor perseverance seem to indicate considerable anxiety and militated against the full development of his marked potentialities. He appeared unable to establish an intimate contact with adults of any kind or of either sex.

General Conclusions.

Instability in home backgrounds was evident in eight out of these ten cases. This appears to indicate why some children were unable to establish good contact with their houseparents (or, indeed, with other adults), despite the fact that they spent almost the whole of their holidays at the Orphanage. It seems that it was not so much regularity of contact with parents which produced a sense of security so much as contact with a parent who had a stable temperament and offered the prospects of a secure future.

Some of those who established good relationships with Houseparents had unstable backgrounds, but the proportion was small. It is also probable, (although difficult to prove)

that the innate disposition of these children played an important part in determining their temperament. It might well be that insufficient is known of their early lives to arrive at any definite conclusions. But sufficient appears clear from the data available, to indicate that where children experienced and were in contact with neurotic or psychotic parents, or where children felt uncertain about the whereabouts of their parents or of the nature of the future relationship between the parents and themselves, they tended to become anxious and withdrawn.

On the other hand, it appeared that where the relationships of children and parents were secure and there was a reasonable chance of rehabilitation, they appeared capable of establishing good relationships with Houseparents, irrespective of any contacts they may have made elsewhere and regardless of the infrequency with which they saw their parents or friends.

Nevertheless, an examination of the reactions of children who saw their parents often and spent most weekends and holidays with them, showed that the kind of relationship they had with Houseparents was of a different quality. It was more akin to that which children have with teachers or with Matrons of Boarding Schools rather than that which children might be thought to have with 'substitute parents'. This was frustrating to many Houseparents who had undertaken

this work with the idea of becoming substitute-parents; nevertheless, the children did not appear to suffer from this detachment of relationships with them.

The reactions of Houseparents.

The purpose of this analysis was to examine the reactions of the staff and of the children.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to measure the influence of a Houseparent on the children. The subjective assessment of the Houseparent, however, provides a useful indication of the success he feels in his work.

As a result of one's intimate knowledge of the Houseparents and of the children, one may be inclined to make a different assessment of their relationships to each other and one may not agree with their judgments; nevertheless, one has to accept their subjective judgments as a reflection of their own estimate of the success or otherwise of their work.

One felt, for example, in the case of one of the Housemothers that, because of her temperament and lack of training, she was incapable of recognising the fact that she had established good relationships with some of the children whom she regarded as her 'failures'. Some of the children had been adopting aggressive tactics in an endeavour to test her affection for them. Some had accepted her so successfully in the role of substitute-parent, that they were

projecting on to her their feelings of antagonism to their own parents. The Housemother, however, was untrained and could not accept this interpretation of their conduct and considered that the children resented her and were interested only in other people.

On the other hand, another Housemother who had failed to establish more than a superficial contact with some of her children, regarded such contact as most satisfactory because they were always 'obedient and courteous and never gave you any trouble.'

Again, the Housefathers who had some knowledge of psychology tended to be influenced by a psycho-analytic approach and to see 'problems' which might well have been passed unnoticed. They had a tendency to regard the family room as an adjunct of a child guidance clinic and to regard all adult-child relationships as essentially part of a psycho-therapeutic session. They seemed to have a greater sensitivity to behaviour disorders and so allotted to themselves an inferior position in relationship than that to which they were entitled.

On the other hand, some of the untrained and unqualified staff had a natural insight into children's behaviour problems. They had succeeded in establishing happy working relationships with them which they, not unnaturally, interpreted as good basic 'substitute-parent'

relationships.

It is difficult to determine which of the two types of Houseparents was the better, the one with natural insight who appeared to derive fulfilment from his work but who might have overlooked basic problems connected with the development of personality; or the one who appeared to understand the problems connected with deprived children and recognised that he could never replace the parent and assume his role.

A comparative study of the long term efficacy of Houseparents of either type can only be attempted by complicated follow-up studies of controlled groups of children. What however is apparent from the analysis of these assessments is that even where Houseparents have judged their relationships as poor, they seemed satisfied that the relationships between the parents and children were good. Thus, of the 159 children on roll at the time of the assessment, the Houseparent had indicated that 147 had good relationships with their parents, although they acknowledged that only 103 appeared to have had good relationships with them.

Consequently, it would seem that a vital function of Children's Homes is to help maintain and, if possible, strengthen the parent-child relationship. A generally accepted criteria of success in child care would appear to be the degree of success in rehabilitating parent and child.

The Home has a responsibility in reducing to a minimum the traumatic experiences of separation. Consequently, a major problem facing the administration is how to regulate the life of a child so as to minimise the effects of separation by bringing the parent into active co-operation as a partner in the upbringing of his child.¹

At the same time, it would seem that those undergoing courses for Houseparents should be taught the primary importance of parents and of the folly to attempt to usurp their role; rather they should be advised to seek their co-operation. This might help to prevent disillusionment among those who come into this work believing that children in Homes have 'no one in the world to care for them.' At the same time, those who feel that they can obtain fulfilment of their own personalities by assuming the role of substitute parents might be deflected into other channels of child care where they might be able to look after children who have no relatives.

1. See Co-operation with Parents, E.S. Conway, Approved Schools Gazette, Jan. 1955.

CONCLUSIONS.

It has been pointed out in the historical survey in Part One of this thesis, that the Jewish Orphanage came into existence because neither the national nor local authorities had made adequate provisions for the education, vocational training or care of children of the Jewish religion. It would appear that had such provision been made there would not have been the same effort - certainly not from the same quarters - to establish a denominational Home dependent on voluntary efforts. This would seem to indicate that voluntary efforts to satisfy social needs emerge when local or national authorities are unable or unwilling to undertake appropriate responsibilities. Whether or not there are intrinsic advantages in permitting voluntary bodies to retain responsibilities for the care of children when both local and national authorities are ready to undertake them is one of the problems which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The historical survey noted the changes in policy in the care of children during the last hundred and fifty years. In contradistinction to the motive of those administering work-houses, whose aim was mainly negative, i.e. to prevent children becoming permanent burdens on the state, the dominant motive in the Jewish Orphanage was to produce citizens who would be a

credit to Anglo-Jewry. Because of this there was a reluctance to admit children who might not turn out to be good citizens. It was this positive aim which accounted for the provision of an education test, for the need of proof of the respectability of parents, and for the reluctance, during the early years, to admit orphans, and during the later period, to admit destitute, illegitimate and coloured children.

With this pre-occupation with the social product there developed a strong patriarchal interest in the welfare of the children. Members of committees tended to take a personal interest in individual children, particularly when they left the Home and entered employment. The progress of the Home in each aspect of its administration was watched carefully. The aim was ever to make it a model Home and School and within Anglo-Jewry, the Headmastership of the Orphanage was regarded as a post of distinction. This again was in marked contrast with local authority Homes and many Voluntary Homes where, during the Nineteenth Century, the emphasis was on limiting the amenities and facilities to ensure that the children were not given opportunities which were denied to children of the impoverished sections of the community who were living with their parents. Whilst such Homes confined the employment of children to only a few categories, the Jewish Orphanage took pride in the variety and multiplicity of employment and especially in outstanding educational successes.

The education and employment of the children were the major concerns of the members of the various committees, but because they took such a personal interest in the welfare of the children and the administration of the Home, they became acutely aware of the narrowing influence of the Orphanage on the development of personality. Many changes were introduced to minimise the stultifying effects of living within confined bounds and these culminated in the decisions to send the children out to school, to encourage the friendship of people who lived in normal homes, and to board out in private homes those children who would not return to the care of their relatives when they left Norwood.

This concentration on the welfare of the children resulted in the emergence of a professional class which became responsible for carrying out the policies of committees. During the first hundred years of its foundation, apart from the visiting Medical Officer, there did not appear to be any professional advisors. The committees decided not only on who should be admitted, but for many decades they also tested the children in educational attainments; they became their guardians when they left, visited their homes and their places of employment. Gradually, however, the influence and responsibility of the Headmaster increased. After-Care Officers and an Investigating Officer were appointed, and in the years before the last

war a psychiatrist¹ and a psychiatric social worker² were engaged. When, eventually, Houseparents were appointed, the expressed aim was to engage trained and qualified staff.

Thus, although on the one hand one has seen the policy of the Home change from a concern with social considerations, with lay members of the committees playing an active part in caring for the children and deciding who should be admitted, to a concern for the psychological needs of the children, and with a reliance upon professional help and guidance; one has also seen how policy was influenced by the need to obtain the financial support of the public. Because of this need, it has always appeared necessary to provide the kind of proof of the efficacy of the work done which would appeal to the sentiments of the public. In the early years this was done by getting the children to parade their work in front of large gatherings of subscribers: in later years it was hoped to win popular support by encouraging visitors, who would be moved to support the Home after meeting the children.

At one time financial considerations limited the number of children who were admitted and they were used as an argument against admitting pauper children since it was not expected

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1. Dr. Emmanuel Miller was appointed visiting psychiatrist in 1932.
 2. Miss Heynemann was appointed full-time psychologist in 1935.

that they would bring credit to the Home on account of their disreputable social heritage. Throughout its history, the Orphanage suffered from a lack of adequate funds and much of the policy affecting the administration of the Home was influenced by this constant need to curry favour with the community in search of financial support. The prolonged continuation of the admittedly bad practice of electing children upon the votes of subscribers rather than selecting them on the merit of the cases is further example of the difficulty in introducing reforms in face of the possible adverse effect on subscriptions. Because of the intimate character of the Jewish community and because of the persistent appeal for funds, it was inevitable that the children were made aware that they were the recipients of charity.

The Orphanage had a limited capacity and it was obliged to restrict its intake when the number of applicants exceeded the number of vacancies. Because of the emphasis which was placed on education, preference was often given to children with ability. Consequently, admission acquired a prestige value which, in many cases, appeared to offset the stigma which was usually associated with residence in a Home. This consideration, however, disappeared when the Orphanage discontinued its internal schooling and the children were sent to neighbouring schools. It remains to be seen if this major change in policy and the introduction of a 'family' system within the institution

have enabled the administration to bring up the children according to the contemporary aims and principles of child care.

In recent years, the Orphanage has not been restrictive in admissions on account of lack of accommodation or lack of financial support or the social background of the child. The avowed aim has been to administer the Home in accordance with the principles contained in the Home Office Memorandum¹ on the conduct of Children's Homes. The administration has been at pains to get away from the evils of institutionalism and was anxious to introduce measures which would bring the greatest happiness to the children in its care. In the second part of this thesis an attempt has been made to assess the degree of success which has attended its efforts, particularly on the development of the personality and character of the children.

It has been noted that a major contemporary trend in child care has been towards boarding out children in foster homes. The Children Act invokes local authorities to use this method of care in preference to placing children in Homes. This direction was based on two assumptions. One was that life in institutions was unnatural and tended to warp the characters of children. This belief was founded on the work of psycholo-

1. Memorandum by the Home Office on the Conduct of Children's Homes, H.M.S.O., 1951.

gists such as Dr. Bowlby who, however, in collaboration with colleagues with whom he had been engaged in some follow-up studies, recently retracted from some of the major conclusions he had reached in his work - Child Care and Mental Health. These conclusions which corroborated the work of other psychologists were summed up by him as follows: "Numerous investigations in the past twenty years have made it clear that young children, who for any reason are deprived of the continuous care and attention of a mother or mother-substitute are not only temporarily disturbed by such deprivation, but may in some cases suffer long term effects which persist."¹ His recent investigations, however, have indicated that "... statements implying that children who are brought up in institutions or who suffer other forms of serious deprivation and deprivation in early life commonly develop psychopathic or affectionless characters (e.g. Bowlby, 1944) are seen to be mistaken. The present investigation confirms the findings of Beres and Obers and Lewis. Outcome is immensely varied, and of those who are damaged only a small minority develop those very serious disabilities of personality which first drew attention to the pathogenic nature of the experience."²

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1. The effects of mother-child separation: a follow-up study - Bowlby, Ainsworth, Boston and Rosenbluth, British Journal of Medical Psychology - Vol. XXIX, p.211.
 2. Ibid, p.240.

That separation from parents after the age of 5 years was in itself prone to produce serious distortions in character was never assumed by these psychologists. Child psychologists who were Freudians had always been at pains to point out that the foundations of a personality were laid in the first five years of a child's life and more especially during the first two years. So that if a child had the security of mother love during these years, there was little risk of serious damage in later life merely on account of separation from the parent.

If separation from a parent was thought likely to lead to serious impairment of the mental well being and happiness of a child, there would have been an outcry against residential schools, such as preparatory schools, many of which hold a high reputation in the educational world.

The other assumption implicit in the direction of the Children Act was that children, having been separated from their parents, would remain for a very long time under the care of local authorities and would not be likely to return to the care of their parents. It is hardly conceivable that the authorities would wish children to be brought up as a member of another household and to regard the heads of that home as their parent-substitute if the probability was that there would be an early return to their real parents. There is a significant difference between bringing up a child in good homely 'lodgings'

and bringing up a child in a home where the child is expected to regard the heads as parent figures. The former situation emphasises the reality of the child's situation - the latter creates emotional conflicts. The contemporary trend, however, is in the direction of the latter.

The study of the Jewish Orphanage in Part III of this thesis dealt with the nature of the problem as it affected Jewish children who were separated from their parents.

Because the Orphanage did not cater for children under five years of age, no conclusions are offered about this age group. But within the age range of 5 - 15 years, it was found that children were admitted for one or more of very many reasons and that there was a wide scatter of ages among the admissions regardless of the reason for admission. It was found that those whose character was likely to be influenced most by the form of care, i.e., the children of five or six years of age, remained at the Home for the shortest period. Thus, whilst a good case might be made for fostering such children because of their need for individual care, they were separated from their parents for the shortest period.

It was not possible on admission to predict which case would be short term or long term, for it was the policy of the Home to admit only long term cases. Thus, had these young children been fostered with a view to long term placing, one can well visualise the harm which might have been done both to the

children and to the foster-parents. For the attitude and the motives of many foster parents who accept long term placements are very different from those of foster parents who accept short stay cases. Young children, too, are likely to form attachments and acquire affective patterns of behaviour and social habits which are not easily changed when they move from one environment to another. These habits have a deeper emotional significance when connected with a parent figure in a foster home than when related to the more impersonal figures in a children's Home, so that re-adjustment to home life with their natural parents often become more difficult when children return to them from foster-homes than when they return from an institution.¹

The children who, as a group, tended to stay the longest time were those who were admitted after the age of 9 years and, for the majority, there did not appear to be any significant reason for arranging for their fostering. Their basic attachments to their parents were so obvious and there did not appear to be any character defects which could be remedied by complicating the nature of their separation by introducing another parent figure.

The majority of the children were boys, in the proportion

1. See p. 50 and following pps. for further discussion on fostering.

of three boys to two girls. It was found that there was a greater proportion of problem children among the younger boys than among the older ones. The reverse appeared true of the girls. There was also a considerably higher proportion of problem boys than girls. This seemed to indicate that there was need for greater skill in handling young boys than young girls and that it was likely that unless one had foster parents with considerable insight into children's problems and patience in dealing with them, there would be considerable risks in fostering a large number of these younger boys. On the other hand, the investigation showed that these young problem children tended to improve with the years and one is inclined to the view that it was the influence of the institution as a whole rather than the influence of individual Houseparents which accounted for the improvement in character and the development of a healthy personality: although it is difficult to separate the influence of the one from the other in the day to day management of the children. On the other hand, it is possible, that the improvements were due to some undiscovered factors unrelated to the Home or the Houseparent, such as spontaneous adjustment with growth.

The difficulty in determining the causes of improvement in character was referred to by Dr. Cattell in his report to the Child Guidance Inter-Clinic Conference in 1937¹ and by Sir Cyril

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1. Dr. Cattell's Report - Proceedings of the Child Guidance Inter-Clinic Conference, N.A.M.A. - 1937.

Burt in his standard work on delinquency¹ from which it would appear that from the number of children referred for treatment about an equal number improve who do not receive treatment as those who do.

It appeared however that the influence of a large Home went beyond the influence of individual Houseparents. This was apparent because in many cases Houseparents changed and also it was not possible to house children permanently in the one 'family'. Siblings were not necessarily living in close and intimate contact with each other in the same way as they would be in a normal home and administrative reasons rather than the needs of the child were often the determining considerations in his placement in any 'family' group. On the other hand, because of the large number of 'families' in the Home, and because of the number of Houseparents, each of whom had a different personality and approach, it was possible to move a child from an unsatisfactory 'family' and place him in one which had a character to which he could more readily adapt himself and which was under a Houseparent who might have greater insight into his needs. Because the 'families' were all part of the one Home, siblings could feel that security of living together, even

1. Sir Cyril Burt - The Young Development. University of London Press, 1925, p. 651.

though they might occupy different dormitories and sitting rooms. Brothers and sisters often have little in common in their leisure pursuits, but, within the set-up of the Orphanage, they were not inevitably thrust into each other's company and obliged to entertain each other in conversation and games simply because they had blood ties. On the other hand, when they felt the need, they could readily come together and share the experiences common to them because of their common origin.

It was found that among the categories of admissions, the highest proportion of young children was among those who were illegitimate and those who came from broken homes. Children such as these, with difficult backgrounds, need an environment which would not aggravate their emotional problems. Although the majority of the illegitimate children had devoted mothers, sooner or later they displayed their lack of emotional security, and lack of self-confidence through disturbed behaviour. It was found, however, that their self-confidence could be restored by enabling them to establish friendships with strangers through the normal channels of informal personal contacts. On the other hand, the imposition of a relationship akin to that of a substitute parent with a child often aggravated rather than alleviated their problems.

There was a similar problem with children of divorced parents. These children clung the more tenaciously to contact with at least one parent and appeared to resent fiercely those

efforts of Houseparents which might be associated with the responsibilities of substitute parents and which reflected the ineffectual relationship with their own parents and their own obvious insecurity. These children, too, seemed to gain in self-confidence when they acquired friends through normal channels of chance acquaintance.

One looked in vain to establish a link between conduct and the specific cause of separation from parents or the nature of deprivation. Although there were some general conclusions one could draw from the duration of residence and the reason for admission and the age on admission, these could be related only to categories and not to individuals. Thus one could expect the majority of children admitted before the age of eight years to leave before they were eleven and that those admitted after their tenth birthday to remain until their fifteenth year; it was also more likely that children of widowers would remain in long term care. But there was insufficient evidence to indicate the type of case within these categories which would justify a prediction of length of stay.

From an administrative standpoint, one was justified in predicting that the average length of stay of children was four years and that the vast majority of the children would return to the care of their parents.

But the essence of a good normal home life is stability in membership and the existence of an opportunity to adjust

oneself to the changing emotional climate brought about by the birth of siblings. Where one has basic security in relationship with parents prior to the arrival of a sibling, and where one can test successfully the continuation of stable and secure relationships with the parent figures after the birth of the new arrival in the household, there one has the foundation for the building of a healthy personality - and that is what a good normal home can do. The development of relationships with parent figures and siblings in a normal home passes through various phases from birth to adolescence, and, of course, beyond, so that the interplay of personalities has a mutual effect, developing and integrating the character of each member of the family. Emotional patterns of family relationships are formed so that each member fits in and reacts to each other in a conditioned fashion according to the gradually acquired habits of thinking, feeling and acting which become characteristics of the family as well as of the individuals.

The essence of 'substitute homes' - particularly a large Children's Home - is quite different. Children are thrust into each other's company and are under the care of adults at varying stages of emotional development. They tend to react to each other in accordance with patterns and conditioned reactions which originated in a background that had little resemblance to their new situation. They have to re-adjust themselves to a new set of emotional situations as well as to strangers who, likewise,

have to learn how to accept them. The process is a difficult one - and often made the more difficult because both the children and the adults who form the new environment tend to change owing to fluctuation in children and staff.

Consequently a Children's Home has an emotional climate which is a very different one from that of a normal home, and it would seem that its function must be different. The needs of children are different apart from the impersonal ones such as food and clothing. So that the care of them must present a more complicated problem especially as so many have an active and good relationship with parents and anticipate returning to their care.

Because the children who enter a Home are there for so many different reasons, it is obvious that the Home must be called upon to fulfil different functions for different categories of children. The emotional needs of a child whose parents are dead are different from those of a child whose parents have deserted him. A child tends to view adults according to the experiences he must have had of and with his parents. Whoever cares for him would have to be capable either of supplanting or supplementing the influence of parents. But the needs of deprived children such as these (who, incidentally, form a very small proportion of the children in the care of local or voluntary authorities), are fundamentally different from those who have devoted parents who cannot look after the

children because they have no accommodation or are sick, or have to go to work or are divorced or are widowed. But although children from each of the twenty-seven categories listed in the Introduction have different needs, in very few cases is there a need for someone to replace the parent.

It seems clear from a study of the changes in criteria for the admission of children from the early 19th century to date, that society is accepting a wider range of reasons for taking responsibility for the care of children. Although there is a contemporary move to help parents so as to prevent children being separated from them, there is also an implicit recognition of the duty of authorities to care for children under circumstances which would not have resulted in separation in the last century. It might well be that although society is giving more adequate attention to the needs of children and protecting their interests to a greater degree than ever before, it is also recognizing the rights of parents as individuals to lead their own lives as individuals, even though this implies that they must delegate many of their responsibilities as parents to social agencies. On the other hand, it might well be that with the extension of educational services and the greater knowledge that parents have of the problems connected with the upbringing of children, many feel that the welfare of their children can best be safeguarded by entrusting them to the care of others. The richer members of society have done this by bringing in a nurse-

maid governess to care for young children and the older ones have been sent to boarding schools. Nowadays, for not dissimilar reasons, many children are placed in Day Nurseries or in Children's Homes and there is little reason to assume that the basic personality problems of children from either social class is very different.

At the Jewish Orphanage, it was found that the total number of problem children was not great. There were, however, disturbed children and they formed a higher proportion within the Home than one would expect to find among an unselected group of children of the general population. The highest proportion of maladjusted children were those who were in contact with neurotic parents. It would seem that lack of stability in personal relationships with those who meant most to the children, more than any other factor, accounted for maladjustment. Within the Home, there did not appear to be any visible or measurable ill-effects from illegitimacy, or from having divorced parents or from being orphaned or abandoned. It did not appear to have any significant ill-effect if the children saw their relations infrequently (so long as the visits were regular), or heard from them infrequently (so long as the correspondence was regular). It did not matter if parents lived in remote parts of the country which made access difficult. Children did not appear to be affected adversely if their parents came from an unconventional social background, i.e. if they were of foreign

origin or were of a mixed religious affiliation. If the basic affective relationships were good and the children felt reasonably secure that they would eventually return to their care, i.e., if they did not feel totally rejected, they did not manifest signs of maladjustment or of unhappiness.

If, however, the children had been separated from their parents at an early age (i.e. prior to their admission to the Orphanage), and were only children or the youngest of a small family and especially if the parent in contact with them was neurotic, they showed a marked tendency to develop into maladjusted children. Many had come to the Orphanage as disturbed children, but the chances of their developing into normal children seemed to increase the longer they resided at the Home. There did not appear to be any significant connection between maladjustment and the chronic mental or physical illness of parents. This may well have been because these children had been absent from an atmosphere of tension and insecurity.

The nature of the cases of the majority of the children at the Orphanage was such that it would seem justifiable to assume that the healthy development of their personalities could be safeguarded best only by ensuring stability in their relationship with their parents and by providing them with evidence supporting their hopes that they would eventually be re-united. Anything which would detract from either or both of these objectives would seem, to aggravate, if not cause, personality disorders

Thus in the study of Houseparent-child relationships, in those cases where children had a good relationship with parents, although the children did not create any problem because of conduct, it was noticed that even with the most experienced of Houseparents there did not develop any significant basic relationship between them and the children, even though they might have been together as a 'family' for many years. It was not that the children were affectionless, but their basic attachment was strongly rooted to their parents. The Houseparents were regarded more as supervisors, whose task it was to look after them in the absence of their parents. On the other hand, the children who had a good relationship with their parents, quickly established a good social relationship with their Houseparents. Those who had presented difficult behaviour problems invariably had insecure relationship with parents rather than with Houseparents.

This would seem again to raise the question of fostering. The tendency of local authorities is to foster children who do not present any behaviour difficulties. The assumption is that good case work will have been done to ensure that both the parent and foster parent are aware of the full implications - that the foster parent will not come between the parent and child and permit ready access. Because of the good relationship which existed between parent and child prior to separation it is felt that the child will be capable of quick and happy adaptation to other adults.

If the case work has been well done, and the foster-parent is so well adjusted that she is capable of accepting a disinterested responsibility for the welfare of her foster child and is able to accept the child's natural devotion to his parent; and if the parent is so well balanced that she does not regard the foster parent as a rival for the affection of the child and has no sense of guilt which is likely to result in recriminations with the foster parent (who nevertheless is a constant reminder of her own inadequacies as a parent) ... then one still has to weigh in the balance, the advantages to a child of the corporate life of a Home (assuming it to be well administered in the same way as one has assumed the placement of a child in a foster-home has been well arranged.) The financial advantages to the administrators are with foster-home placements. But what are the advantages to the child? It has been shown from this study that children with good family attachments do not appear to suffer personality disturbances as a result of institutional care; on the other hand, they derive the very considerable advantages of social, cultural and athletic amenities which are denied to most children living in a normal home and they have the advantages of community living which are also considerable assets in the development of character.

The difficulties associated with fostering have been described thus by the Children's Officer of Birmingham: "Only

very rarely can she guarantee that any particular child will remain indefinitely in care and available for boarding-out; and, foster homes are, therefore, much more difficult to find ... 'No longer is the work of many of our foster parents a minor variation of adoption, but a civic service needing a deep sense of vocation and a real willingness to help one's neighbours; it is one thing to take an extra child or two with a view to their becoming permanent members of the family, but it is quite a different thing to foster a succession of different children knowing that in due course each will return to his or her own family. Stress and strain within the foster home are much more likely to arise under these conditions - "1

Dr. Hilda Lewis has written that, 'If nearby foster homes could be found to receive various members of a large family who could not go back to their parents, this arrangement usually provided the best compromise between breaking-up the family and sending all the children to a children's home: but it was seldom possible to find suitable foster-homes within a small radius.'2

A child care officer writing on this point put the issue thus: "If the parents visit regularly and the child goes home

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1. Work of the Children's Visitor - E.J. Holmes, Children's Officer for Birmingham, Child Care, April, 1955.
 2. Deprived Children - Dr. H. Lewis, O.U.P., p.7.

for holidays, then the child has a secure background and some experience of home life. Parents of this type usually have the ultimate hope of having their children back to live with them. Some mothers who have been forced to give up the care of the children temporarily for reasons of health, are unable to tolerate the thought of their children being cared for in a foster-home. In such cases there does not seem to be a strong reason for boarding-out the child, and many difficulties are in the way."¹

The difficulty in finding the right kind of foster-parent, and the dangers involved have been described thus by the Head of the School of Social Service Administration in the University of Chicago: "It would seem to follow in some instances an individual's capacity for foster parent-hood can be known only through his experience in that role. This is a harsh fact to accept, knowing as we do the high cost to children of experimentation."²

That the link with the family is more important than the link with the substitute parent has been emphasized by different field workers. Thus Ruth Thomas dealing with problem cases of evacuated children wrote ... "every child wants to belong to

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1. Boarding Out the Institution Child - A child care officer - New Era, Vol. 31, No. 4, April, 1950.
 2. Foster Parents - Professor Charlotte Towle. Child Welfare, U.S.A., Vol. 31, No. 2, p.9.

his own family and to feel that he has a secure and established position with his parents in it. The majority of children who during this time (i.e. six years evacuation) found their way into Homes for difficult children were in most cases not abnormal but rather children who found it impossible to face the separation from their families with equanimity..."¹ As a result of investigations at a later period and with a different set of deprived children Dr. Hilda Lewis came to similar conclusions: "If there is still a close link between him and his parents, it is unlikely that a foster-home will prove successful, because of the rivalry almost bound to ensue between the foster-parents and the natural parents There is to-day a strong move towards using foster-homes on a large scale for deprived children. This move is in the right direction but could be carried too far. However much this course is urged on grounds of economy or of psychological advantage, it would be unwise to extend it wholesale (if this were practicable) to older children who still look to their natural parents for company and affection, or to children who make exceptional demands because they are unresponsive and need more than the average understanding and unremitting patience. Failings which would be overlooked or leniently regarded in a son or daughter may be severely judged

1. Children without Homes - Ruth Thomas, N.A.M.H., 1946, p.15.

in a foster child. The results may be rejection, changes from one foster-home to another, and worsening behaviour of the child. For such children a children's home or boarding school is preferable."¹

The need to ensure that nothing should disturb the basic attachments of a child to his parents and the folly of endeavouring to usurp the functions of parents have been expressed in other words by Dr. Stott: "An attachment known to be temporary cannot strike deep, yet it is upon the deep and stable attachment that composed character and happiness grow."²

Because it becomes obvious in the course of time that they could not usurp the function of parents and act as their substitutes in the development of the personality of children, many ^{houseparents} / tended to become disillusioned and disheartened. The major motive with many of them in their work was not the economic advantages but the emotional satisfaction the work was capable of giving. It would appear that the nature and the requirements of the work have not been adequately understood by, or explained to workers in this field. The emphasis has been wrongly placed on the need to supplant the parent and on the ability to act as his substitute, rather than on the need to assist the child to

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1. Deprived Children - Hilda Lewis, O.U.P., 1954, p.126.
 2. Saving Children from Delinquency - D.H. Stott, U.L.P., 1952, p.130.

adjust himself to his separation from his parents without impairing his basic attachment to them.

It appeared that Houseparents played a secondary role, not only to the parents but to the Home itself. It was found that stability in character and good relationships with Houseparents were related not so much to the length of stay with the one Houseparent, nor to the experience or qualification of the Houseparent, as to the length of stay of the child in the Home. It might be that the influence of the length of residence in the Home should be linked with the continuity of control by the executive officers, i.e., the Principal, the Vice-Principal and the Matron. It might well have been the case that if these individuals who controlled the activities and personified the influence of the Home had changed as frequently as the Houseparents, the children would have been affected adversely and there might have been a larger number of disturbed children. But although it has not been possible to make an assessment of the influence on the character of the Home of the long service of these officials, it seems clear that the influence of Houseparents was less important than that of the Home. In other words, it appears that there were factors other than the influence of Houseparents which accounted for the fact that the longer a child was resident in the Home, the less disturbed he became.¹

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1. It has not been possible to determine by means of follow-up studies whether this improvement persisted after the child left the Orphanage.

This was quite evident to the Houseparents who took up their work with children in the hope that they would become the dominant influence in their lives. They became frustrated and this became a contributory cause to frequency in staff changes, some moving from Home to Home, hoping to find a different situation in their new post.

It would seem desirable that there should be further investigations into the needs of children who are separated from their parents. Where it is found to be the case, as this investigation has found in the case of the majority of the children at the Jewish Orphanage, that children are not so much deprived or rejected but rather separated from their parents, Houseparents should be enlightened as to their precise function which must inevitably be different from that expected of them in dealing with other types of children in care. It would seem desirable that there should be further investigation into the nature of the training of Houseparents so that they can be assisted to understand the nature of their responsibilities to the different categories of children who come into Children's Homes - and to differentiate between those who have been only separated from parents and those who have been rejected and those who have been deprived of the care and affection of parents for reasons beyond the control of either party.

It might well be that different institutions or different systems of care are required for these different categories of

children, for it has been seen how difficult it was for the one Houseparent to cater for the needs of children of different types within the one family. On the other hand it has been shown how difficult it is to determine, on admission, what the characteristics of a child are going to be, and it is questionable if, once having admitted a child into one Home, it is wise to move him to another in any but exceptional circumstances.

The really deprived or rejected child has to create within himself a feeling of security and he needs the stability of a permanent relationship with a parent-figure. He has to refashion his personality out of the clashes of personality and emotional conflicts with the same adults and children who form his newly found family. He probably needs to live in a small home and the Children Act probably justifiably directs that adoption or fostering are the methods most likely to achieve this end. But the insecure child who has parents with whom he is in contact but from whom he has been separated under circumstances which make him feel inferior, seems to need the reassurance which 'friends' alone can give in the way described in the Second Part of this thesis.¹ In a case such as this, it might well aggravate his condition to attempt to add to his inner conflicts by imposing a parent-substitute. On the other hand, with children who have a reasonably happy association with parents, it would seem dangerous to interfere with this relationship by imposing a parent-substitute. In cases such as these it would appear

1. pp.279-282.

desirable to foster, encourage and support the contact between parent and child and to minimise the effect of separation. It would seem that this can best be achieved by enabling the children to establish with those looking after them a friendly but a more objective or impersonal relationship than is usually expected to exist between children and those designated as substitute-parents.

Reference has been made to the complicated nature of the problem connected with the religious upbringing of children in Homes. It would seem to be a major responsibility of those looking after them to bring them up according to the religious convictions of their parents. But complications inevitably arise when the parents have no set convictions and when the staff, too, tend to be more interested in the physical and psychological aspects of child care than in the spiritual development of children. The authorities do not appear to have investigated this aspect of child care. What is the effect on children who live in Homes which reflect a religious atmosphere entirely different from that which prevails in the home from which they came and to which they will return? If religious upbringing is considered a major responsibility, what should be the test for suitability of Houseparents who are expected to have discharge this responsibility? children who are brought up in

The experiences of the Jewish Home seem to show that so long as there is complete frankness on the part of Houseparents,

it matters little from the point of view of the efficacy of internal administration, if they do not possess religious convictions conforming to the needs of the Home, providing the main parent figures hold religious convictions which reflect the official attitude of the Home. But because the children mixed freely outside the Orphanage, they soon recognized that there was an 'official' religion which belonged to institutions such as Synagogues and Children's Homes and an 'unofficial' religion which was practised by ordinary people in their homes. And the practices of the one often bore little resemblance to the practice of the other. Although the children seemed to have resolved this conflict without any apparent ill-effect on the development of their character or personality, this does not appear to be a satisfactory way for authorities to discharge their obligations to ensure that children have a satisfactory religious upbringing.

This problem has not been investigated thoroughly at the Jewish Orphanage - and apart from stressing the need for investigating this aspect of child care, it has not been possible to arrive at other conclusions. It would appear that the situation in local authority and voluntary Homes would be unsatisfactory if the beliefs and practices of the staff did not conform with the religious influences which the Home was expected to have on the children. Furthermore, children who are brought up in Homes where the religious influence is different from that which prevails in the homes where they had lived and to which they will

return, are bound to be influenced by the impact with conflicting attitudes to a fundamental approach to the art of living. It would seem that this aspect of child care also needs thoroughly investigating.

Education and Institutional Care

The primary responsibility of the child care service is to look after the physical, moral and mental welfare of children. But it also has a responsibility to ensure that the children receive an appropriate education. An attempt will now be made to discuss if, so far as the Jewish Orphanage was concerned, these two responsibilities had any mutual effect on each other.

The Education Act of 1945 laid down that every child should receive an education appropriate to his age, aptitude and ability, and conforming to the wishes of the parent. Although there are some Voluntary Homes, such as the Masonic Schools which are well endowed and well supported, which provide an education of a high standard, most Homes, both voluntary and local authority, have complied with the terms of the Education Act by sending children to the local schools. Thus for most of the children in care there is no differentiation between the education provided for them and for the children who live in their own homes. The old Poor Law conception of education for deprived children no longer applies; i.e. it is no longer regarded as axiomatic that such children should receive an

education differing in quality, or in kind, from that received by other children.

At the Jewish Orphanage, the children attended some twenty different schools, which included secondary grammar, technical and modern schools, as well as schools for the physically handicapped and educationally sub-normal. In theory, they mixed as equals with children from the neighbourhood, enjoying the same educational facilities. The Home accepted complete responsibility to provide every support required to enable them to realise their potentialities.

But, in practice, these 'deprived' children both enjoyed advantages and suffered disadvantages over other children. The Orphanage, having undertaken the responsibilities of parents, saw to it that the children participated fully in the corporate life of their schools, and they did not miss any of the facilities which are missed by many children who have poor, uninterested or unco-operative parents. The disadvantages suffered by children who live in unsuitable homes have been summed up thus by a Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) -

"Unhappy and broken homes, family quarrels and lack of sound home discipline can be found in all walks of life and at all levels of society, and they will always tend to have the gravest effect on school work. So will the physical conditions of the home. A child's chances at a grammar school may be very seriously impaired by bad housing or over crowding, the absence of suitable

space for study, inadequate lighting or heating, lack of quiet, the constant distraction of the wireless or television, or other forms of disturbances."¹ The Report proceeds

"It is easy to imagine for instance, that a headmaster may despair of keeping in the sixth form any boy from a particular street, not only because of the poor conditions in the houses but because of the character and atmosphere of the street as a community."²

Children living at the Orphanage were among the best-dressed at their schools and possessed all the required equipment. If they showed any special aptitude or ability, they were supported right up the educational ladder. This contrasts with the national situation where, apparently, over a quarter of the children from ordinary homes (i.e. where fathers were in skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled occupations) fail to complete their course in secondary grammar schools, and are withdrawn by their parents against the wishes of the Head Teacher.³

Within the Orphanage there was such a wide range of

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1. Early Leaving - A Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), 1954, p. 35.
 2. Ibid, p.37.
 3. Table P and Table 7 - Early Leaving - A Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education, 1954.

facilities for recreation that the children were at an advantage compared with others. The Appendix on the leisure activities of the children at the Jewish Orphanage illustrates this point.¹

The Home Office has specified regulations regarding the administration of Homes.² These provide for the physical care of the children in such a way that their health is probably better safeguarded than is that of some children in ordinary homes, for in addition to the facilities of the School Health Service, children in care are under the constant supervision of trained personnel. At the Jewish Orphanage there were usually at least two qualified nurses; and a Medical Officer and a Dentist gave a routine examination to all the children at least once a year, apart from treating those who are referred for special reasons.

Despite these opportunities and facilities, however, these deprived children tended to be in other respects at an overall disadvantage at the local schools. There they were regarded as 'children from the Orphanage' and were openly classed as such by everyone. With the best will, teachers seemed unable to regard them as Susan and Tom, but, at the best as 'Susan and Tom from the Orphanage'.

1. See Appendix on Leisure Activities.

2. Memorandum of Home Office on Conduct of Children's Homes. Section in Part II dealing with this. 1951.

There were, of course, many reasons for such a designation. The children tended to go to school together, in a bunch (although of their own free will and not marched in crocodile fashion under supervision). They usually played together and kept together in and out of school. It has already been shown that there was a higher proportion of 'problem' children among them, so that teachers tended to 'expect' difficulties from them.¹ This usually led to generalisations and the Orphanage children felt that they were 'picked' upon, so that, despite any precautions which might have been taken by the teachers to avoid discrimination, there appeared to be sufficient justification in the circumstances which arose from time to time for the children to regard themselves as a distinctive group.

From one's experience of the reaction of children who lived at the Orphanage one concludes that it is pointless to gloss over or to pretend to them that they are not in a different category from those living with their parents at home. The fact that they attended the same school as others did not create an illusion of equality of status. In fact for many, this succeeded only in aggravating their sense of guilt or of separation, which many of them possessed, and which militated against their success in school because it accentuated any emotional problems they might have had.

1. See Section in Part II dealing with this. Chap.2.

From one's observations at the Jewish Orphanage one is inclined to believe that although it would appear advisable that children should recognise and learn to accept the fact that they are residents in a Home and that nothing should, or need be done to disguise or hide the reality of this situation, yet it would be of considerable assistance to them in adjusting themselves to the enforced separation from their parents, if there were associated with the Home a prestige value which could compensate them for their sense of deprivation and guilt. It appeared that many of the children of the Jewish Orphanage had succeeded in adjusting themselves because there was associated with that Home a tradition of socially acceptable achievements with which the children were able to identify themselves - socially acceptable to their contemporaries, as well as to the adult population. To be cleaner, neater, more punctual or more polite than others, are characteristics which tend to reflect on the administrative ability of those who control the children rather than on the intrinsic personal qualities of the children; besides, such criteria are not regarded with the same degree of importance by children as by adults! It is not easy for children such as these to find acceptance on equal terms by other children through the possession of qualities which reflect, not so much their individuality as their identification with the Home.

On the other hand, in some respects, it might well be that the children who attended the Jewish Orphanage, a large Home which had an acceptable tradition, were at an advantage over children boarded out in small scattered Homes. The children at the Orphanage recognised that they actually had better facilities for sport and recreation than most of the other children at their schools. They were able to put into the field good teams in competitive games. They were able to act as hosts to visiting teams, who often expressed genuine admiration, not only of the prowess of their hosts, but also of the amenities they enjoyed. By their individual efforts they achieved success for themselves and prestige for their Home in local, or even national competitions and tournaments of all kinds. Judging from the reactions of these children, it would appear that they appreciated that they might not have achieved such success if they did not have the facilities which the Home offered.

Advantages such as these helped the children to meet their colleagues at school without a pronounced feeling of inferiority. This was particularly obvious in the case of the Orphanage which had a long tradition of happy association with the neighbourhood, and had produced outstanding personalities who had won public acclaim. In such circumstances, the children tended to be accepted and admired, even before they were known intimately.

Nevertheless, important as these factors were in assisting the children to mix freely and with dignity among their colleagues, they did not eliminate their consciousness of their 'separate identity'; and to that extent they seemed to suffer from a state of emotional disequilibrium, which might have interfered with their educational progress.

Because of their background, sense of guilt and feeling of separate identity, their schooling took place in what was for them an emotionally-charged atmosphere, which was liable to be violently disturbed by incidents beyond anyone's control, but which reminded the children of their special identity.

One wonders whether their educational progress would not best have been achieved by enabling them to participate fully in a residential school system. From a study of this case history, it would seem that the desirability of establishing a national child care system embracing residential schooling for the majority of children in care merits further investigation.

During the discussion on the types of children who are nowadays admitted into Homes, it was pointed out that the provision of care for children by local authorities and voluntary bodies now produces a more acceptable emotional tone than was the case a half century ago - and it might well be that such for residential schools, to which reference has just been made, would attract a wider public, which, at present, send their

children to inferior boarding-schools for similar reasons that others send their children to Homes. It is noteworthy that the 1954 Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education on Early Leaving recommended that 'Local Education Authorities should be ready to offer boarding facilities and to do their best if necessary to persuade parents to accept them, where genuine talent would otherwise be wasted for reasons of home background'.¹

On the other hand, in those cases where children are really only separated from parents and where there is frequent and regular contact, it would appear desirable to investigate as to whether the group living of children between the ages of about eight and twelve years might not be of decided advantage in the development of a healthy personality. Eve Lewis writing on the functions of group play during middle childhood in developing the ego has stated that: "The most universal and striking feature of child behaviour during these years is the strong impulse to congregate in groups whose robust and noisy proceedings give little apparent evidence of serious intentions."² "In the service of ego development he now seeks to leave the

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1. Early Leaving - Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education, 1954, p.61, para. 186 (vi).
 2. The function of Group Play during middle childhood in developing the Ego Complex. - Eve Lewis - British Journal of Medical Psychology, Vol. 27, p.15.

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1. The function of Group Play during middle childhood in developing the Ego Complex. - Eva Lewis - British Journal of Medical Psychology, Vol. 27, p.15.

2. Ibid, p.28.

comfort and security of infantile relationship with the mother for the perils and uncertainties of an equal status with his peers":¹ "The group organisation is of fundamental importance to the child at this stage of development. It helps him to separate from the mother: to establish his best attitude and function: to enrich and intergrate the ego by profound experience of inner and outer reality".²

Whilst under normal circumstances it might be best that the child participates in group play at school and during his leisure and returns to the security of his mother at home, the fact that the children under consideration are obliged to be separated from the physical care of their parents would make one inclined to feel that such separation could be used to good effect if it were associated with the need for schooling. Residence at a boarding school is socially approved and may not involve the sort of emotional conflicts one connects with foster home placements or residence in a Children's Home.

Because of the widened interpretation of the need for children to be taken into care and because of the extended range of social classes whose children would be accepted, the stigma attached to these institutions might tend to diminish still further, and with this diminution there would lessen the sense of guilt which parents and children feel on separation.

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1. The function of Group Play during middle childhood in developing the Ego Complex. - Eva Lewis - British Journal of Medical Psychology, Vol. 27, p.15.
 2. Ibid, p.28.

Some children feel hurt because of the nature of their early upbringing, and their personalities become seriously affected by the very fact of their separation from parents - and this applies regardless of the place to which they are sent. It applies equally to some children who attend Public Schools, as well as to those who go to local authority Homes.¹ Many of the children at Boarding Schools realise that they are there because their parents are unable to care for them at home and not because they wish them to have the advantages of a residential school training. The effects of separation in cases such as these will not be obviated by this scheme. But the introduction of a co-ordinated and efficiently administered Child Care Service might provide the conditions which would enable administrators to gauge more accurately the nature of child care problems, and so help to introduce more efficacious methods to safeguard the welfare of such children.

It would appear desirable that in the Child Care Residential Schools there should be at least as much emphasis on the emotional problems of the children as on their education. And in dealing with the training of their characters, cognizance would have to be taken of the nature of their deprivation and of the kind of relationship which exists between them and their

1. In my solitary Life - Augustus Hare. Edited by Malcolm Barnes, published by Allen and Unwin. 1953.

relatives. Therefore, whilst it is not possible without fuller investigation to define the kind of educational facilities which should be provided - as to whether they should be co-educational, all age schools, separate primary and secondary schools, or whether the secondary schools should be comprehensive, unilateral or bilateral, it would appear to be desirable that wherever possible, the living accommodation should make provision for brothers and sisters to live near each other if not actually in the same house. The nature of the accommodation should be similar to that which exists in ordinary homes. It appears desirable to investigate afresh if, with the introduction of variations which experience would show as desirable, the 'cottage home' system with a school or schools in the compound and situated in urban areas might not best suit the needs of the majority of the children in care.

One would need to determine the specific function of this type of residential school and the extent to which it should be administered differently from that of conventional Boarding Schools or Public Schools, where part of the training is to condition the child to long absences from a parent, who, however, are reunited for long holidays. It would be advisable to determine if such residential schools should be regarded as part of the child care service, fulfilling a child-care function for deprived children rather than as part of the educational system. Ways would have to be found of maintaining a close contact with

parents to offset the feeling of rejection such children as these may feel. It has been shown that the children of the Orphanage derived many advantages from mixing with children from normal homes and it might be found advisable that these schools should also encourage day pupils to enable the children to cultivate the friendship of children who lived in the vicinity and so make possible invitations into the homes of the neighbourhood. There is a fundamental difference between Home children going out to school and mixing with others when they feel 'outsiders', and mixing in 'their own' schools where the teachers are 'their teachers'. The emotional setting is different and might be more favourable to the development of personality.

It is generally agreed that children should have the maximum freedom for going out of the Home and sharing the wider experiences of the every-day world and this might be even easier where the school is in the compound of the Home. Under present conditions, children spend a great deal of time going to and from school, and they have to hurry to fit in with the inevitably rigid schedules of a Home, whereas the children from ordinary homes are able to linger more often and for longer periods on the homeward-bound journey. Children often gain so much in experience and self-confidence from such casual journeys in the busy thoroughfare and the highways of town and country-

side. If children in a Home had a school in its compound they would have quick access to their meals and they could then be free to spend more time in casual unsupervised strolls out of the compound and in the neighbourhood.

The staffing of such schools would present many problems. Careful consideration would have to be given to the advisability of having as a basic staff, who should be in control of the general administration of each 'Cottage', a married teacher engaged at the school who would be able to have his wife and family living with him. His function within the Home would have to be carefully defined and if it were to be mainly that of providing with his wife and children the atmosphere of family life, the detailed administration of the home and the responsibility for attending to the intimate needs of the children would have to be assigned to the sort of person who is now designated as Houseparent.

It is generally agreed that there should not be a frequent change of personnel among the people intimately connected with the children, to whom they can turn when in difficulties, and whose example they can emulate. It has been shown that, at present, there is considerable turnover in Houseparent Staff, and that, in the case of the Jewish Orphanage this was greater when it was exclusively a Home than was the case when it was also a school and there was a residential teaching staff. In

the method of child care now suggested, by identifying the teacher with the home life of the children, there might be more likelihood of permanency in adult-child relationship.

On the other hand, because it would not be desirable that teachers (who are fully engaged during the day and who, at present, in any event, are not trained to deal with the problems of child care), should have the responsibilities of caring for the intimate needs of children after school, it would be necessary to have a specially trained staff as Houseparents. Fortunately, this is gradually being created as a result of the Home Office training schemes.

Until recently the majority of the men and women who had the strongest sense of vocation entered the child care service with a sense of mission hoping to become 'substitute parents' to children who had no parents, and who would consequently look to them for all the affection and guidance they needed.

Nowadays, however, there is a greater tendency for people to take up this work feeling less emotionally involved, and to regard the work not only as a vocation but as a profession. It has already been pointed out that it would appear desirable that they should be trained to accept their role as a supporting role to the parent for they have to act more as mentors to the children and partners to the parent. They should be capable of establishing good relationships with both children and parents, as well as being able to accept the advice of, and give

apt information to, psychiatrists, case-workers and teachers.

It would appear that a new kind of social worker is required - a Houseparent who can act as a kind of liaison officer, and who should be attached to a child from the moment he is brought to the notice of the authorities as a potential admission (for it would be obviously desirable that the Houseparent should establish a bond with the child from the time the child realises that he might have to leave his parents until he leaves the Home - and even then he should keep in close touch, at least until the child is of age especially if the child is not returned to a secure home). It would seem desirable that, as part of their training, Houseparents should acquire some form of mental health qualification, so that they should be capable of assisting the parent, the child and the teacher to make appropriate adjustments to difficult circumstances, for there are bound to be periods of acute anxiety and frustration for the three parties concerned. In this task, Houseparents should be capable of understanding and acting upon advice which might be given by psychiatrists or other professional advisers.

One visualises difficulties in personal relationships between the teacher who would be the father figure in the Home and the Houseparent who would have to attend to the physical and emotional needs of the children. These difficulties might be reduced if the Houseparent had special training, which apart from helping him to anticipate problems of human relationship

and training him how best to cope with them, would also result in his acquiring qualifications which would give him professional status. To achieve this it might be necessary to provide a new name for his calling - in America such a person is sometimes called 'counsellor'.

Further investigation might show that by imposing a dual control over the children, their lives would be made more difficult, for they would have to adjust themselves to many people responsible for their welfare - and the 'home' atmosphere would tend to disappear in this somewhat impersonal set-up.

But it must be reiterated that this scheme is suggested primarily to cater for those children in Homes who, like the majority of children at the Jewish Orphanage, have a good relationship with relatives. Insofar as Homes are designed to supplant the position of the parent, they would be likely to be a bad influence on children such as these. It has already been suggested that if a child has an undesirable parent, or has been abandoned, or is unlikely ever to return to his parent, then the best method of care might well be that of adoption or fostering - the policy recommended by the Curtis Report and accepted by the Children Act.

But once a child is brought up in a Home such as the Jewish Orphanage (and this might apply to most Children's Homes of all types) it will be inevitable for him to make relationships with many people, and he will be obliged to make adjust-

ments similar to that which might be necessary in the scheme that is now suggested. For in small Homes, as well as in large ones, apart from a Houseparent in charge, there is usually an Assistant Houseparent and a Relief Houseparent, who may each have different approaches to the same aspect of administration or behaviour situation. And there is the inevitable turnover of staff, which requires a child to make fresh adjustments. This situation is unfortunate but it must be accepted as an inevitable result of the turnover of staff, which requires a child to make fresh adjustments. This situation is unfortunate but it must be accepted as a current feature of child care, and, although it might not be so bad in the proposed set-up, there is no pretence that it will not exist. If a child is separated from his parents, it would seem inevitable that there will be difficulties such as these connected with his upbringing. The difficulties, however, are likely to be reduced to a minimum when those looking after him are carefully selected and adequately trained, and particularly when it is recognised by those looking after him that the parent occupies the pre-eminent position in the mind of the child. It would appear from a study of this case history that so long as those responsible for the care of children are capable of directing their efforts towards cementing good parent-child relationships, and make no attempt at supplanting the parent, the other difficulties need

1. See Chapter on Houseparent-Child relationship, Part II, Ch. 4.

not vitally affect the care and welfare of the children.¹ For the child regards the parent as the one persistent tie, giving him a link with his past and offering him hope for his future, even though in fact he may never succeed in establishing close and effective contact. Where, however, that contact is present, it would seem unwise as well as futile to attempt to establish a permanent substitute and the influence of those having temporary care of him would appear to be superficial.

From what one has observed of the life of children in the Orphanage it would appear desirable that within residential child care schools the children should be housed in reasonably small Homes, in which a school teacher and his family would live, and set the tone of family life; whilst their special needs would be attended to by 'supervisors' or 'counsellors', who would perform most of the work currently associated with the responsibilities of Houseparents.

In this way, the children would feel that the people looking after them were dedicated to a service and not to them individually. There would not be so great a demand on their personalities, and there would be no strain on their basic attachment to their parents. There would still be present the opportunities for the promotion of fruitful friendships, and the children would have the opportunity of observing and imitating desirable patterns of life. Rehabilitation with

1. See Chapter on Houseparent-Child relationship.
Part II, Ch.4.

parents might be easier, for the latter would not suffer from a feeling of guilt or anxiety lest the affections of their children were being alienated; and the children would be free from conflicting emotional pressures.

The conditions of child care would be faced more realistically for since the majority of children feel keenly their separation from their parents, no system can disguise the fact that they consider themselves living at home only when they are with their parents. No one can take their place, and attempts at replacing the parents and a 'home' atmosphere might do more harm than good.

It would appear to be advisable that children should be educated to face up to ^{the} realities of their situation, and to accept the provisions being made for their general welfare in the same way as they accept the provisions made for their education and health. Within the framework of a residential school system, their care would be closely linked with their education and there might be less risk of adults attempting to create the illusion of being 'father' and 'mother'.

In order to create the right attitude in the mind of both children and adults towards the care of separated children, the facilities of the Child Care Service should be made known generally, to children and adults alike, as part of their education in civics, so that the provisions made for children

should be regarded in no more sentimental a manner than provision made for their education and health.

One wonders if the Child Care Services were accepted in a more detached way by the community and regarded in the same emotional tone as other parts of the social services, many more children in need might be cared for adequately, but who are now inadequately cared for in unsuitable boarding-schools or otherwise.

The Financial Contribution of Guardians

The case history of the Jewish Orphanage has shown that there were many changes of function during its development and one of the changes was reflected in the emphasis which came to be placed on payment by parents. Originally, local authority Homes and voluntary Homes were charitable organisations in the sense that they came into existence to look after children who were orphaned, abandoned or who could not be supported financially by their legal guardians. Those who could support their children or wards placed them in boarding schools or fostered them privately. This, of course, happens in contemporary times, and boarding schools contain large numbers of children who are there for the same reason that others are in Children's Homes. But, to some extent, because the law makes private fostering more difficult, a greater variety of parents appear to be approaching Children's Officers and Voluntary Homes.

Partly because the function of these Homes has changed from that of caring exclusively for destitute children and, partly because of the increase in the cost of maintaining them, local authorities and most Voluntary Homes, have assessed guardians who are expected to contribute towards the cost of maintaining their children according to their income and essential expenses. This has introduced a comparatively new aspect to the care of deprived children.¹

It is noteworthy that in other spheres of child welfare such as education, there is no suggestion that in the case of children of compulsory school age, once there has been established the need for a particular kind of education, parents should be obliged to contribute to the cost of that education in accordance with a Means Test! Indeed, if it can be demonstrated that a child needs to be separated from his parents, and would benefit from attendance at a residential school, such an education may be provided free of charge, and at the expense of the local authority. Many authorities have residential schools, and admit children free of charge because, for one reason or another, it is felt that they would benefit by living away from their parents and from the special kind of training given at these schools. Such children may be

1. See Part I, Chapter 7 for an account of early objections at the Jews' Hospital to the introduction of payment by parents. pp.36-7.

physically handicapped, educationally sub-normal, maladjusted, very intelligent, or may come within the restricted category of 'deprived' children who are accepted at one or another of the many different types of residential schools recognised by the Ministry of Education. In such cases it is felt that children should not be permitted to suffer from the limited resources of their parents, and they should receive medical attention and the educational opportunities deemed advisable by such authorities, provided they conform to the reasonable wishes of the parents. And the authorities receive the money to carry out their obligations from some form of local or national taxation. Thus in the residential schools for handicapped children of one kind or another which are administered by the London County Council, the parents are not required to make any financial contribution but are expected only to provide clothing, which however may be supplied by the authorities at a maximum charge of two shillings and sixpence a week. But, because a different procedure has been followed, many children who might be eligible for one of the schools referred to above, are placed in Children's Homes as 'fee-paying' residents. Parents are assessed by local authorities and Voluntary Homes because it is felt that they are basically responsible for bringing up their children, and although there might be good reasons for relieving them of the responsibilities connected with their physical care, it is not considered desirable that they should escape their financial obligations.

It is also thought that if they were completely relieved of their financial obligations they would divest themselves of interest in the welfare of their children. Consequently it is expected that, to the best of their ability, they should pay for their upkeep. As it has been pointed out, however, there do not appear to be such implications in the placement of children by education or health authorities.

In some of the other branches of the social services, the concept of a means test has been discarded in favour of compulsory insurance or taxation. Thus although the National Health Service scheme was amended so that payment has now to be made for some services, the payment is made according to the service required and not according to the income of the recipient.

But in the Child Care Service a Means Test operates,¹ and this has some disconcerting consequences.

Voluntary organisations, especially, are placed in an invidious position. They were formed as charitable organisations to which people subscribe so that children may be cared for free of all charge. Under the scheme of assessment, however, a parent, if he has the means, is expected to pay the complete

1. See The First Seven Years - Report of Cheshire County Council Children's Committee for a detailed account of how the Means Test operates there - pp. 68-69.

cost of maintaining his child. To the extent that he makes a contribution he cannot be regarded as a recipient of charity. Although a local authority might not be sensitive about taking legal action in cases where parents fall into arrears, it is very rarely that a Voluntary Society would wish to enforce payment, for the publicity of a court case would involve considerable risks to goodwill. Consequently, although assessments are made when children are admitted, arrears often accumulate, and are usually written off.

Of the 161 children on roll at the Jewish Orphanage during October 1956, 45 were in the care of local authorities, who received payment according to their scales; 23 were received without any assessment being made, because the Committee considered that the guardians were not in a position to make any payment; 3 were paid for through the court or some other agency; and the remaining 90 were assessed at amounts varying from 4/-d. to £2 per week. Below is an analysis of the scale of assessments:-

It will be noted from the above table that (apart from the payments made by the local authorities), the payment received each week from relatives was £66.10. 0. In point of fact, because of those who were not paying, the actual

SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS OF 90 CHILDREN

<u>Amount</u>	<u>No. of Children</u>	<u>No. in arrears</u>
£2. 0. 0.	5	1
£1.11. 6.	4	3
£1.10. 0.	4	2
£1. 5. 0.	1	-
£1. 1. 6.	1	-
£1. 0. 0.	13	4
19. 0.	2	-
18. 0.	6	3
17. 6.	2	-
15. 0.	5	4
14. 0.	2	2
12. 6.	5	-
12. 0.	1	1
10. 0.	14	2
8. 0.	5	3
7. 6.	2	-
5. 0.	12	5
4. 0.	6	-

It will be noted from the above table that (apart from the contributions made by the local authorities), the payment anticipated each week from relatives was £66.10. 0. In point of fact, because of those who were not paying, the amount

actually received was less than £40, with outstanding arrears amounting to over 40% of the estimated income from parents.

The effect of such arrears, however, has been to add to the sense of guilt which most of the parents had for other reasons and they usually passed this on to the children in a most undesirable way. This happened too, when their financial position improved and they were reluctant to inform the authorities, in case they made a re-assessment. Some children were warned by their parents not to divulge to their House-parents such information as that they had bought a television set, or had been away on holidays, or had bought new clothes, in case it came to the ears of the authorities who might assume that they were now in a position to make a more substantial payment.

On the other hand, some children whose parents payed a considerable sum, often felt that they were differently placed from other children, and should receive different treatment, because 'my mum pays for me!'

From the standpoint of child care and the interpretation of the Children Act, the unwillingness, or the inability, of a parent to pay should not affect the nature of the care of the child. Most parents knew this. The result was that the conscientious ones payed; the others avoided, or endeavoured to avoid payment. This system of contributions penalised the better type of parent and, indirectly, affected adversely all

the children in care because they were influenced by the reactions of the parents of other children to the problems connected with payment. It introduced a factor which was quite alien to the needs and function of a child care service, and appeared to militate against the successful operation of the Act.

The amount received from parents has been small compared with the cost of the administration of the service and, experience at the Jewish Orphanage showed that payments bore little relationship to the interest, affection or sense of responsibility of the parents to their children. One has not discovered any evidence to prove that insistence on payments has succeeded in developing in parents a greater sense of responsibility towards their children.

The limited extent to which the financial contribution of guardians assist in the maintenance of child care establishments can be gauged from the following data:-

The gross expenditure of the Children's Committee of the Cheshire County Council for the years 1951/2 was £191,655; 1952/3 was £195,316; and 1953/4 was £207,294; whilst parents' payments for the same years were £5,634, £6,492 and £8,228.¹

The gross expenditure of the Children's Committee of the L.C.C. for 1954/5 was £2,678,000 and for 1955/6 was £2,847,000; whilst the payments of contributions by parents

1. The First Seven Years - The Cheshire County Council Children's Committee, 1954.

during these years were £91,000 and £105,000.

"The amount of parental contribution collected by local authorities in respect of children in care under the Children Act or committed to their care by a court was £720,732 - an average 4/6d. a week for each child in care."¹ The average cost of keeping a child in a local authority home in the year 1955/6, excluding administrative charges was estimated at £6. 9. 9.²

It has not been possible to obtain a detailed account of the nett saving to the nation of the deduction in national expenditure in child care by the return of Family Allowances to the local authorities. It has been the customary practice in Voluntary Homes and in Local Authority Homes as it was in the Jewish Orphanage that where a parent received Family Allowance in respect of a child in care, that this money was passed on to the authority as a contribution towards upkeep. But, if a parent can prove that he is involved in any expenditure connected with the maintenance of the child, he might be permitted to retain part or the whole of the Allowance; for example, if he purchases any clothes for the child or if he provides food during regular visits home. On the other hand, despite the

1. Children in Care of Local Authorities in England and Wales, March 1956, Cmd.9881, H.M.S.O., p.3.

2. Ibid, p.8.

fact that a child may be living completely away from a parent and never makes home visits, a parent may claim tax allowance for a dependent. This, however, does not appear to be taken into account when assessments are made by the child care authorities, probably because there are few parents who are likely to be affected. But a return of such parents who are affected might reveal anomalies.

To arrive at a clearer picture as to the net contribution these payments make, one should also deduct the costs involved in maintaining staff to assess and collect these payments.

But the Voluntary Homes¹ and the children in their care suffer not only from the disadvantages of this system of payment, but also from the consequence of publicity necessary to raise adequate funds. In the Section on Financial Problems of the Jewish Orphanage, a brief account was given of the attempts made to raise funds, and how these efforts influenced the lives of the children in the Home.

It will be noted that beyond a certain point, publicity and fund-raising activities had undesirable effects on the development of the character of the children, who tended to be brought up in an atmosphere different, and inferior in quality, from that which prevails in boarding schools and in the best type of local authority Homes.

One is inclined to the conclusion that the quality of child care would have improved at the Jewish Orphanage if it

1. Part (I), Ch.2.

could have been administered as a direct charge upon the community as a whole - as part of those social services of the nation, designed to help children according to their needs and potentialities and without reference to the financial circumstances of their guardians.

It might be argued that such a system would remove a vestige of self-respect which is associated with payment for services rendered. But this is the sort of argument which was used against the abolition of fees for education, the introduction of family allowances, the granting of unemployment and sickness benefit, the provisions of the National Health Service, and, indeed against other social provisions of the State which were made in the last two centuries. If one accepts the principle underlying the establishment of such social services, it would appear to be but a logical step forward to extend the responsibilities of the State to include the ramifications of the Child Care Services.

Society has accepted and has become accustomed to the free provision of all the necessities connected with the growth and development of children. And the connotation of necessities is being ever extended with the increase of knowledge as to what is necessary. It seems to be but a short step in incorporating residential care in the social services, without the complications of payment.

It might be suggested that if they were not expected to make any payments, parents would be eager to relinquish their obligations to their children, and there would be a considerable demand for places in these schools, especially since they might have many advantages over Day Schools; for the same reason, many who had succeeded in placing their children there might be reluctant to withdraw them.

There still lingers a punitive and deterring social philosophy in connection with child care which, while it no longer assumes that children in care should be punished, certainly assumes that their parents are guilty of a moral crime and should be punished. This accounts, in part, for the emphasis that is continually being placed on the need to compel parents to accept the responsibility for bringing up their children in their own homes. This attitude is also associated with the need to enforce some form of payment by parents. But surely this places an emphasis on the wrong aspects of child care!

What should be uppermost in the mind of society is the need of the child. The dominant question surely must be: "What is in the best interests of the child?" It is readily admitted that a devoted and understanding parent is the one best fitted and suited to bring up his child. But where a parent has not the ability or the inclination to discharge his obliga-

tions, any pressure brought to bear by tactics such as enforcement of payments, will not necessarily create the right kind of parent.

Children suffer grievous harm when an inadequately prepared rehabilitation takes place. This has been illustrated by the number of cases of readmission and by the number of breakaways from home after an ill-prepared reunion has been effected.

Although it has not been possible to engage in an exhaustive follow-up survey of children who have left Norwood to live with their parents, many cases of breakdowns have been brought to one's attention. The figures given in the data relating to 'leavers' give some indication of the nature of the problem.¹

In dealing with the welfare of children, it is accepted as part of the social pattern of society, that parents do not discharge their responsibilities to their children in the best way by undertaking personally all aspects of their care. They look after their health and education by ensuring that they are placed in the care of experts, and they ensure the respect and affection of their children by demonstrating to them that there is complete accord between them and their doctors and teachers.

1. See section on After Care. Appendix 26.

Likewise, the Children Act accepts that it might be in the best interests of some children if parents were to delegate their responsibility of looking after their physical and general welfare to other people. This need not - and, as this case history has indicated, it should not - mean that they should cut themselves off from them nor should this imply that, because they have delegated their responsibilities they love them the less.¹ But if it becomes necessary for other people to care for these children, it should be regarded as imperative to create the impression in the eyes of the children that there is complete harmony between those who looked after them and their parents. Yet it would appear from one's investigations, that this had been made more difficult by the complications which the system of payment introduces.

One is inclined to the view that the system of payment for children who are accepted into care under a section of the Children Act or by one of the Voluntary Children's Homes evokes different emotional reactions from both parents and children from the system of payments connected with boarding schools or Public Schools which exist ostensibly to provide education and to train character as distinct from resolving child care pro-

1. "The seamier side of child care is so often brought to the public eye that the reasonably thoughtful group of people tends to be overlooked". "The First Seven Years" - Cheshire Children's Centre, p.64.

blems. A child is placed in the former institutions because of the limitations of his parents or because of his own defects; but he is accepted in the latter because of the assets of his parents and on account of his own creditable potentialities.

It would thus appear that the wisdom of assessing parents for payment is open to doubt and this aspect of child care warrants further investigation.

The need for skilled case-workers.

It is obvious that the acceptance and retention of a child in care should always be subject to careful scrutiny by skilled case-workers, so that a child would be accepted by an authority or reunited with a parent only if it were considered to be in the best interests of the child. Where there is a good parent-child relationship, there will be less chance of separation, and there will be a greater urge to reunion and rehabilitation.

And it has been shown from an examination of the situation at the Jewish Orphanage that there was a very high rate of rehabilitation, despite the fact that there was little or no pressure on the part of the administration to press for payment or for the withdrawal of children. The pressure came entirely from the parents and the children. It would thus seem to be a primary function of the authorities to encourage and to help maintain the closest contact between the parent and child.

What applies to rehabilitation applies to separation. Where there is a good relationship, one is inclined to the view that the amenities of a good Children's Home however attractive they may appear would not precipitate the separation of parent and child, but they might encourage parents to seek help in cases where separation is desirable.

It might well be that voluntary bodies would benefit if they were incorporated into a National System of Child Care and they were given Aided Status similar to that enjoyed at present by Voluntary Schools. One recognises that they would be loath to relinquish their existing status unless they were granted considerable latitude in determining both the conditions of acceptance and discharge of children. At the same time it should be recognised that many of the larger Voluntary Homes in return for payment are accepting a form of limited control over some of their children by admitting 'local authority' children under conditions laid down by those authorities. Thus, on 31st March, 1956 there were 4,584¹ such children in Voluntary Homes despite the fact that these could take no vital step in planning their education, fostering, or even holidays, without first obtaining the approval of the appropriate Children's Officer.

1. Table 1 - Children in the Care of Local Authorities in England and Wales - Cmd.9881. 1956.

There has, however, already imperceptibly emerged a wider measure of agreement than existed hitherto, because of the larger number of trained case-workers employed by both local authorities and voluntary bodies who are thus able to ensure a measure of conformity and agreement on fundamental principles.

It would seem desirable to insist on a basic standard of competence on the part of case-workers, whether they were employed by voluntary bodies or local authorities, for it would depend largely on their recommendations whether children were admitted.

Through the acquisition of objective standards of judgment, which must be the aim of a professional course of study, one could expect a uniform approach to child care problems by child care workers regardless of the type of authority they served. It would appear tragic that although there is a general insistence on recognised training and competence for people engaged in caring for the health of children either in the home or in institutions, and for those concerned with teaching children, there is no insistence on appropriate training and qualifications for those engaged as Welfare Officers in finding homes for children or for those engaged in caring for them in Homes.

The inclusion of voluntary organisations in a national system of child care might be a further means of ensuring a larger number of trained and qualified staff, for it should be

easier to insist on uniform conditions of service and training and it would facilitate arrangements for the training of personnel.

It has been pointed out that one of the disadvantages of the present system is that there is a considerable shortage and movement of staff. Because of this, it has not been easy for organisations to release staff for training, for this would mean aggravating staffing difficulties; and their release might also enhance the risk of losing their services permanently.

Under a National Child Care Service, worked perhaps through area councils, it might be possible to create a local pool of Houseparents and for voluntary bodies to call upon it in the same way as Voluntary Aided Schools can call upon the local education committee to send supply teachers. If such a pool could be established it might be able to ensure adequate staffing to cover all contingencies, including those connected with the effective training of personnel.

Thus it would seem advisable to investigate the possibilities of such a scheme whereby the voluntary bodies would be freed from a major portion of the financial burdens of maintenance and administration. The voluntary homes would no longer feel the need to appeal for large funds by resorting to those methods which were responsible for the stigma of charity which is associated with child care, and which embittered many of the children in care. They would be able to concentrate on

caring for the needs of children.

Because of the moral and religious factors which are regarded as of primary importance in the care of children, it would seem desirable to investigate as to whether all Homes should be administered by voluntary bodies, but as a part of a national Child Care Service, in order to ensure among other safeguards that the staff would have to satisfy the authorities on matters of training, and that they should be paid on a national scale by local authorities, in the same way as teachers are paid.

It might be worth investigating if under such a comprehensive system there would be a greater guarantee of effective child care, at the same time satisfying the legitimate demands of the religious conscience of the nation and encouraging voluntary effort which has, certainly in the case of the Jewish Orphanage, been responsible for so many improvements in child care.

It would seem desirable that the welfare of children should become the responsibility of professionally trained social workers who would combine knowledge and experience with sympathy and interest.

In the past, the care of children depended largely on the insight of individuals who had an intuitive grasp of principles and who were devoted to the welfare of children. The result can be summed up in the observations of a consultant on

the staff of the Child Welfare League of America ".... a man brought up in a large congregate institution inaugurated an epoch making movement looking forward toward the provision for the care of children in their own homes or in foster-family homes. Almost simultaneously a man in another part of the country who had been literally farmed out to a foster-family home in which he had unhappy experiences, instituted an activity for building tremendous institutions". A perusal of the literature dealing with the founding of the different voluntary Homes will show how the policy of administration has been influenced by individual experience.

The Curtis Report which was the last major survey undertaken in this country to investigate the problems associated with institutional care, certainly did not cover all the problems dealt with in this case History and it might well be that further investigation of this kind might indicate the need for a further change of attitude towards the nature of the care needed for separated children.

In the final analysis, however, one is inclined to agree with the findings of the Board of Education which were contained in the Royal Commission Report, 1909:-

"We are of the opinion that the truth lies with those who hold that more depends upon the administrators than upon the system. There is no doubt that there are advantages peculiar in every way in which the Poor Law children can be obtained -

boarding-out, 'barrack' schools, cottage homes, scattered homes - all have various merits. The success or failure of any system must depend entirely on the people by whom it is administered."¹

There is only one rider that one feels one must add, and that is that the people who count most in determining the well-being of the children are the parents. And from the study of this Case History it would seem that the success, or otherwise, of any system of care will, eventually, depend on the ability of those who look after the children, to exploit to the best advantage the parent-child relationships.

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APPENDIX I

Appeal to Jews and Christians for Funds.

J E W S' H O S P I T A L, M I L E - E N D .

For the Support of the Aged, and Education
and
Employment of Youth of both sexes.

- - - - -

The dilapidated state of the J E W S' HOSPITAL, at Mile End, and want of room to meet increasing demands necessitate its being rebuilt, and therefore it has been resolved to remove the Institution to a more healthful and less crowded locality.

A plot of ground of $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres, at Lower Norwood, on which to build the contemplated edifice, has been most generously presented by Mr. and Mrs. Barnett Meyers. The sum of £20,000 is required, towards which £12,000 have been voted from the funds of the Institution, and the Committee seek to raise the remaining portion by public contributions.

In appealing to their friends for assistance, the Committee beg to urge the strong claim of this valuable institution which provides for a large number of Jewish youth of both sexes, and trains them to mechanical and industrial pursuits, and also affords a home and maintenance to the aged and infirm in their declining years. The Institution was originally founded in 1806 by the combined philanthropic exertions of Jews and Christians (vide accompanying list); and the Committee of the present day, therefore, confidently appeal to the charitable feeling of their Christian friends, assured that, prompted by the true spirit of benevolence which ignores all differences of creed and race, they will readily assist in promoting this great object.

Trusting to your generous co-operation and early response,

We beg to remain,

HENRY FAUDEL, Chairman,

HENRY L. KNEELING,

LAWRENCE MYERS,

S. L. DE SYMONS, Hon. Sec.,

}
} Treasurers,

} Building Committee.

Office: 2, Monument Yard, London, E.C.

June, 1860.

APPENDIX 2.

Data - Illustrating Growth of Orphan Aid Societies attached to the Jewish Orphanage

Date	London and Greater London	The Provincial Towns
1888	-	Birmingham
1896	East London.	Birmingham, Bristol and West of England, Cardiff, Edinburgh, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Newport (Mon) and District, Nottingham, Sheffield United, Shields, Stockton-on-Tees, Sunderland, West Monmouth and Breconshire, Wolverhampton.
1919	East London, North West London, Notting Hill, Norwood 'Old Boys', West Central, Brondesbury and Cricklewood, Central, Hampstead, Hammersmith, Maiden Lane, New West End, North London, South East London, West London.	Birmingham, Hull, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Newport (Mon), Nottingham, South Shields, Stockton-on-Tees, Sunderland, West Monmouth and Breconshire, Wolverhampton Port Elizabeth (S. Africa).
1936	Central, Clapton, Cricklewood & Brondesbury, Ealing and Acton, East London, Finsbury Park, Hammersmith, Hampstead, Hendon and Golders Green, 'Jewish Chronicle' Staff. North London, Notting Hill and Bayswater, Norwood 'Old Boys', Norwood 'Old Girls', Richmond, South East London, South West London, Stamford Hill, Walthamstow, Leyton and District, Western Synagogue, West Ham, East Ham and Ilford, West London Synagogue (Classes).	Birmingham, Brighton and Hove, Hull, Liverpool, Manchester, Middlesborough, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Plymouth, South Shields, Stockton-on-Tees, Sunderland.
1954	Clapton, Cricklewood, Brondesbury and Willesden, Ealing and Acton, East London, Edgware, Finchley, Hammersmith and West Kensington, Hampstead,	Birmingham, Bournemouth, Brighton and Hove, Croyden, Hull, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Middlesborough, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Newport and Monmouth, Nottingham, Plymouth, Southend, South Shields, Swansea.

1954 (Contd.)

Hampstead Garden Suburbs,
Hendon and Golders Green,
North London, South Essex,
South West London, West
London.

Data taken from Annual Reports of the Jewish Orphanage.

APPENDIX 2

Children's Orphan Aid Societies

Data illustrating Formation and Decline

1896 Bayswater Synagogue Branch.

Borough New Synagogue, "

Central Synagogue, "

Hampstead " "

Maiden Lane " "

New West End " "

North London " "

South East London " "

West London " "

1919 Bayswater Synagogue Branch

Borough " "

1930 None in existence.

APPENDIX A 3 (pages 1-15)

Case Histories of applicants as presented to House Committee during the second half of 1954, illustrating the variety of types seeking admission and the decisions of the Committee for admission or rejection.

APPENDIX 3.

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

NAME: M.H.B.

AGE: 7.8

ADDRESS:

PARENTAGE: Mother (P.) 47.
Father (J.) Non-Jewish, Committed suicide 1948.

INCOME: Barmaid in Club. Wages £4. plus £4/5 per week tips.

RENT: £7.16. 0. per month. 3 rooms, kitchenette, etc.
(Friend shares with her - pays £2. per week).

REMARKS: Mrs.B. has a very well-furnished flat which she shares with a woman friend for financial reasons. There are two living rooms and one bedroom. When M. comes home he sleeps on a divan in one of the living rooms.

Mrs.B. husband committed suicide about six years ago and M., who is the only child of the marriage, has been living with non-Jewish foster-parents with whom he was placed by his mother. Mrs.B. feels now that the child's affections are being alienated by the foster-parents. The foster-mother is very fond of M. and would feel his leaving her very keenly, and M. is equally devoted to the foster-mother. The child calls his foster-parents "Mummy and Daddy" and he also calls Mrs.B. "Mummy". The foster-parents are nominally members of the Church of England but they do not attend Church and M. has had no religious upbringing, although he is said to be registered at school as Jewish.

Mrs.B. wishes to place M. in a Jewish environment and, although the Jewish Board of Guardians offered to place him in their home at Hamel Hampstead for six months, she refused to accept this as she is anxious that M. should be placed permanently in a Jewish Home.

This case was admitted.

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

NAME: M.J.G.

AGE: 10.7

PARENTAGE: Father (A.) 50.

Mother died in childbirth. Father re-married non-Jewish

REMARKS: M. mother is dead and Mr. C. has married again, a non-Jewish woman with an adopted daughter of 15, but they are unable to live together owing to lack of accommodation. Mr. C. occupies a small bed-sitting room at the top of a house and he and the boy sleep together in a single bed. The cooking is done in this room. In view of these circumstances the boy has been accepted into care by the Children's Officer, London County Council. The Application has been twice withdrawn by the father.

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

NAME: P.J.D.

AGE: 10.4

ADDRESS:

PARENTAGE: Mother (R.) 42.

Father (R.) 54 Separated (no Court Order).

INCOME: £7.10. 0. clear (Saleswoman)
£3. 0. 0. from Mr. D.
£1. 0. 0. from G. (a daughter).

RENT: £1. 1. 8. 2 rooms and kitchen.

REMARKS; P. parents have been separated for six years. She and her sister G., aged 17, lived with their mother in --, until 4 years ago, when they moved to London to stay with a sister of Mrs. D., the reason being that there were no Jewish contacts in --, and also the difficulty of Mrs. D. having to work in London and not reaching home until late in the evening. Mrs. D. sister recently had a very serious operation and she could no longer care for the girls; they therefore returned to their home in --. G. travels to London daily where she is working for an export firm in a clerical capacity, earning £4. weekly.

Mrs. D. is very concerned because she is unable to make provision locally for P., and would like her admitted to Norwood until, such time as she is successful in finding accommodation in London. Mrs. D. has tried to register for rehousing with the L.C.C. for a flat in London, but they would not accept her application since she has adequate accommodation where she is now living.

The case is recommended by the Jewish Board of Guardians.

This case was admitted.

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

NAME: Re.J. 6.5
R.J. 4.10

ADDRESS: Jewish Temporary Shelter, Mansell Street, London E.1.

PARENTAGE: Mother (A.) 25.
Father (I.) 74 (in India) His second marriage.

INCOME: £2.18. 0. from National Assistance.

REMARKS: Mrs.J. has just arrived in England from India with Re. and R. and is staying at the Jews' Temporary Shelter, Mansell Street, E.1.

She states that when she had rheumatic fever in 1945 in Bombay, Mr. J., who had a small bakery on the ground floor of the house in which she lived with her family, advised her mother to send her to hospital, and when she recovered he said she ought not to work any more. Until then he was not known to her, but as her family were very poor, he talked things over and eventually married her. He had children by his first wife, and this young woman cared for his boy of 9 who has now gone to Israel.

Since the British left India conditions have worsened so much that Mr. J. cannot make a living, and the home was sold up to enable his wife and children to pay their passage to England, he himself remaining in India.

The children, who speak English, seem very adaptable and are happy at the Shelter. Mrs. J. pays £2. to the Shelter out of her National Assistance allowance of £2.18. 0. She will obtain work as soon as she can.

Case admitted.

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

NAME: S.M.S.

AGE: 10.4

ADDRESS:

PARENTAGE: Mother (P.) 41.
Father (D.) formerly --, deserted 1946.
Mrs. S. obtained divorce March 1952.

RENT: £1. 0. 0. 2 rooms and kitchen.

INCOME: £7. 0. 0. per week Shorthand typist (less 10/- I. Tax and
Nat. Insurance).
£2. 0. 0. per week Court Order (only paid occasionally).

REMARKS: The house in which Mrs. S. lives was bought on mortgage in 1944. The weekly payment of £2. is covered by the rent from the upstairs tenant. The house was bought by the grandmother, who is an Old Age Pensioner, and Mrs. S. gives her £1. per week as her share of the rent.

The rooms are well-kept and nicely furnished. S. shares her mother's bedroom and will not go to bed until her mother does - this is said to be nearly midnight. The grandmother living in the East End has the child during the day at holiday times. If S. remained at home the Board would send her away for holiday periods, but Mrs. S. now feels that the child is with her too much and should be removed.

Mrs. S. does not get home from work until approximately 7.30 p.m. and S. is therefore alone when she returns from school. A nice couple live in the flat above and the woman returns before Mrs. S. and gives the child tea if she wants it.

The Jewish Board of Guardians do not consider this is a case for Norwood.

S. is devoted to M. and, if he is admitted to Norwood, she would want to visit him regularly and have him come whenever possible. She offers to contribute £1. per

This case was not admitted - it was felt that arrangements could be made for the child to be with the mother.

The case is recommended by the Jewish Board of Guardians.

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

NAME: S.W.T.

AGE: 7.10

PARENTAGE: Mother (A.) 43.
Father (A.) 45 In Mental Hospital since 1951. At present under certification.

INCOME: £1.16. 6. National Insurance
£7. 0. 0. if full time (but has frequently to take time off).

RENT: £1. 2. 8. 2 rooms and kitchenette.

REMARKS: Mrs. T. who is a frail woman is working hard to keep the home going while her husband is away. Her rooms are nicely furnished and spotlessly clean and as she takes work home to augment her income (at present she is working part-time) she has very little time for rest. Mrs. T. visits her husband every other Sunday and the fare to Epsom and gifts cost at least 15/-. She also sends this sum to him during the week she does not visit.

S. is a lively and intelligent lad who outwardly shows no sign of being disturbed, but his mother had heard him crying in his room and talking aloud about his father being away.

The Jewish Board of Guardians state that Mrs. T. is unable to make satisfactory arrangements for S. to be looked after during the holidays and week-ends, although she has tried to do so with various neighbours. During the last few months S. has become very unruly; he truants from Hebrew Classes and causes his mother much worry as she has to search the neighbouring streets for him. The School reports that he is a boisterous boy whose mother is not strong enough to handle him.

Mrs. T. is devoted to S. and, if he is admitted to Norwood, she would want to visit him regularly and have him home whenever possible. She offers to contribute £1. per week towards his maintenance.

The case is recommended by the Jewish Board of Guardians.

Case admitted.

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

NAME D.L.W.

AGE: 5.5

ADDRESS:

PARENTAGE: Mother (J.) 27.
Father (R.) 27 Separated October 1952.

INCOME: £2.15. 0. under Court Order.

RENT: £1. 0. 0. per week. 1 room and use of kitchen.

REMARKS: Mrs.W. is Jewish and was born in Israel. Her husband (non-Jewish) was formerly a member of R.M.Forces stationed there. They have been in England for the past six years, but owing to the unfaithfulness of her husband, Mrs.W. is now living apart from him and is suing for divorce. She has endeavoured unsuccessfully to obtain part-time clerical employment. The case is known to the Liverpool Jewish Board of Guardians.

This case was admitted.

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

NAME: E.F.

AGE: 10.3

PARENTAGE: Mother (A.) aged 48.
Father (F.) died in 1.2.47.

DEPENDENTS: 2 (older child R. admitted to Norwood Nov. 1949).

INCOME National Assistance £2.11.0. per week,
OF PARENT: Family allowance 8/- per week.
(3/- retained by Czech Refugee Fund)
Received financial assistance from the Fund.

REMARKS: Mrs.F. is a widow living on an allowance from the Czech Trust Fund. She has the two children R. and E.

The older child, R. has been at the Orphanage since Nov. 1949. Mrs.F. has previously opposed application being made for the R. admission to Norwood on account of the child's ill-health and the fact that she herself did not wish to be left without either child for company.

She is a highly nervous woman. She suffers from high blood pressure, diabetes and a nervous eczema for which she is under constant treatment. Owing to her condition she is unable to follow any employment. When in better health she has worked as a cook and as a domestic, but owing to her nerves has now worked for many months.

Mrs.F. who came from Czechoslovakia, has never assimilated herself to life in this Country. She and her husband were preparing to return in 1947, when her husband became seriously ill and died, leaving her without any means to bring up her two little girls. She has been supported through the N.A.B. via the Czech Trust Fund, the Board assisting at various times with grants, gifts in kind, etc.

Mrs.F. has now reached the stage where she feels it would be in the best interests of E. to join her sister at Norwood. It is advised that quick action be taken in regard to this as it is quite likely that Mrs.F. will have second thoughts on the matter and change her mind.

The mother withdrew application. Sister was withdrawn to help at home.

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

NAME: W.W.

AGE: 10.6

PARENTAGE: Father (H.)
Mother (H.)

MOTHER'S ADDRESS: -

FATHER'S ADDRESS: Prison.

SISTER: S. (B. 23.12.40)
living with mother.W. is living temporarily in Leicester.

REMARKS: The W. family has been known to the Board for a period of five years, having first come to our attention when Mr. W. was serving a four year prison sentence at Strangeways Prison, Manchester, for receiving stolen goods.

Mrs.W. became ill owing to the worry and strain. She was in hospital on 2/3 occasions when the children were taken into care, being first placed in a school in Gloucestershire, where they remained for three months. On a subsequent occasion when the children were again taken into care by the M.C.C. they were admitted to the Board's Home, Tudor House, Grayshott.

Towards the end of 1953, when Mr.W. had been discharged from prison the matrimonial position became very difficult, Mrs.W. going about in fear of her husband who was alleged to have a violent temper. Early in 1954 Mrs.W. decided to institute divorce proceedings against her husband. Later that year she obtained a divorce, being given the custody of S., and according to Mrs.W., as she could not accommodate both children, agreed to Mr. W. having the care of W.

Mr.W. subsequently married a non-Jewish woman by whom he now has another child. In September 1955 we were informed by Mrs.W. that her ex-husband was again in prison for housebreaking, and she was very concerned about W. who had been sent to stay with the second Mrs. W. relatives in Leicester.

She also heard from the second Mrs.W. that she herself was unable to look after the boy and would be glad if the first Mrs.W. could make arrangements for him. We understand that Mrs.W. is applying to Court for the revocation of the Custody Order in regard to W., but as she has no home to offer him and is most anxious that he should be placed in a Jewish environ-

REMARKS (Cont'd).

ment, the case was considered by the Children's Committee when his admission to Horwood was recommended.

When the boy was in London living with his mother, he attended — School, E.W.6. but we have no knowledge of the schools he has attended when in the care of his father.

Case admitted.

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

NAME: M.B.

AGE: 10

PARENTAGE: Mother (S.) 36.
Father (S.) 36. Divorced March, 1952.

RENT: £1. 8.10. 3 rooms and kitchenette.

INCOME: £6 per week less Insurance 5/- (£2 plus £1 for M.)
£3 - under Court Order, but Mother states that for some months she has received only £1.

REMARKS: Mrs.B. shares the home with her Mother who is neurotic and who is unable to care for M. during his Mother's absence at work. He shares his grandmother's bedroom (single beds). Grandmother is in receipt of Old Age Pension. She buys food for herself but cannot contribute otherwise.

M. created an impression of being a pleasant placid boy who would fit in anywhere. His mother says he has a bad temper and refuses to obey his grandmother. The grandmother was for some time a patient in Claybury Mental Hospital and is said to nag M. a great deal. Case not known to the Jewish Board of Guardians since 1949.

Case admitted.

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

NAME: F.B.

AGE: 6.9

PARENTAGE: Mother (F.) 43 (nee Cohen)
Father (J.) Deserted 1948. Whereabouts unknown

RENT: 13/6d per week for bed at Hostel.

INCOME: £2. 8. 6. National Assistance Board
£3. 0. 0. Part-time work (washing up)

REMARKS: Mrs.B. was originally known to the Jewish Association in 1947. She was said to be married but separated from her husband and stated that F. was illegitimate. She was assisted by the Association during her pregnancy and sent out of London. She later returned to her Parents, Mr. & Mrs.C. and was said to be very neurotic and difficult. During this time F. was at the Ladywell L.C.C. Nursery. In 1949 he was sent to the Downs Hospital Nursery whilst his mother was at the St. Pancras Hospital, and he remained there until May 1950.

Mrs.B. then returned to her parents' flat and received National Assistance, her mother having died and her father having gone to live with relatives. The home appeared neglected with broken windows, and F. was always dressed untidily. It was felt by the Day Nursery which he was attending, and later by the Headmistress of the Marylebone Primary School, that Mrs.B. was not looking after him adequately. Nevertheless the Nursery and the School stated that with them he was a well-behaved, friendly little boy, although he was wild and unruly when with his mother. The School Care Committee eventually reported the case to the N.S.P.C.C., who maintained regular supervision. The N.S.P.C.C. Inspector felt that the home was quite unsuitable for F. Women Police from Tottenham Court Road Police Station were also aware of the position, as they had frequently been called by neighbours who complained that Mrs.B. was a nuisance. It was the impression of the police that Mrs.B. was leading an immoral life but they had no evidence on which to take action.

In November 1953 Mrs.B. was evicted as the flat was not in her name, and she then went to an Institution with the boy and has since been in three other Institutions. She then approached the Jewish Board of Guardians and, whilst refusing to go to any authority such as the L.C.C. or N.S.P.C.C., she

REMARKS (Cont'd)

was willing for F. to be placed by the Board. It was agreed that he should go to Grayshott, but Mrs.B. insisted that if she could provide a home for F. she would take him. The mother appears to be genuinely fond of the child; she would not sign the application form for F. admission to Herwood in case she was "signing her boy away".

Case admitted.

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

NAME: M.C.

AGE: 10.6

PARENTAGE: Mother: F. 41 (known as C.) unmarried.
Father: A. - deserted.

RENT: 9/3d. 2 rooms and kitchen.

INCOME: £2.18. 0. National Assistance Board.
10. 0. Affiliation Order made in 1944, paid very irregularly.

REMARKS: M. mother is stone deaf and her speech very indistinct. She is also of low mentality and is said to have been rather difficult always. M. father was a widower believed to be a non-Jew, with whom she lived for some time and who deserted her very soon after the birth of the child. Mrs.C. has never been separated from M., but it is thought that he should now be placed in more normal surroundings. The only means of communication between the mother and child is by lip-reading, and on account of her disability she has great difficulty in controlling him. When M. is disobedient she has a tendency to shout, and as she is deaf she makes more noise than she realises, which frightens him and makes difficulties with the neighbours.

The home is well-kept, though poorly furnished. M. has a separate bed in his mother's room.

Case admitted.

M.C.C. APPLICATIONPRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

NAME: M.C.

AGE: 10.10

PARENTAGE: Mother: M. (34)
Father: M. (Non-Jew, French Canadian) Not known if alive.

CHILDREN: M. 10.10
B. 5

RISE: 21.12. 8. 4 rooms, kitchen & bath.

INCOME: 24.10. 6. per week. Speciality Machinist.

REMARKS: M. mother has married and there is a half-sister, B. aged 9. Stop-father is said to be very cruel to M., but punishes and spoils M. Mother is fond of M. but has become irritated with him lately. M. is said to be very fond of B. and looks after her whilst mother is at work. The home is a very unhappy one - stop-father drinks heavily and at times is very cruel to the mother, who has a weak heart. Mrs.C. went to South Africa after her marriage and took M. with her. She returned in 1948 when pregnant, owing to her husband's cruelty. He joined her in England in 1949.

Mrs.C. is genuinely concerned about M. as she fears not only for his personal safety but also for the effect the scenes he witnesses may have on him. It is stated by the Education Officer that M., who has been ascertained to be maladjusted within the meaning of the Education Act 1944, is felt to be in urgent need of residential placement. The Education authorities would make themselves responsible for his maintenance if he were accepted by the Orphanage.

Case admitted.

L.C.C. APPLICATIONPRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

NAME: S.G.

AGE: 6.7

PARENTAGE: Mother: S. (38)
Father: J. divorced. Decree absolute 5.4.52.CHILDREN: A. 17 Office clerk (new employment - wages not known)
L. 15 (nearly)
S. 6.7 Applicant.RENT: £l. 1. 6. 3 rooms and kitchen. (being dealt with by
Almoner).

INCOME: Nil.

REMARKS; Mrs.G. is in the London Hospital and S. has been admitted
to Wood Vale Reception Home. The Application for S.
admission to Norwood has been made through the Children's
Department, London County Council, who will accept
financial responsibility.

Case admitted.

APPENDIX 4

ANALYSIS of OUT OF SCHOOL LEISURE ACTIVITIES of 158 CHILDREN on ROLL JUNE 1956

1.	No. been to see:	Play	Panto	Variety	Opera	Ballet	Circus	Open Air Theatre
		66	147	26	27	31	153	22
2.	No. been to:	Art Gallery	Museum	Zoo	Aerodrome	Swimming Bath		Tower of London
		68	98	127	72	124		79
3.	No. who can:	Ride a bicycle	Roller Skate	Ice Skate	Row a boat			
		96	94	29	64			
4.	No. who have:	Been on a boat trip up the Thames.						
		136						
5.	No. who have:	Had holiday out of London.		Had holiday at seaside.		Had holiday on farm.		Camping holiday.
		117		148		64		94
6.	No. who play:	Cricket	Football	Badminton	Tennis	Table Tennis	Billiards	Netball
		76	66	52	42	99	96	46
7.	No. who have:	Taken part in concerts or displays before grown-ups.						
		142						
8.	No. who play instrument	Piano/Violin	Recorder	Mouth Organ	Wind instrument	Percussion instrument.		
		14	7	19	12	8	42	

APPENDIX 5

(1)

MEDICAL STATISTICS

Year to 30th Sept., 1954		Year to 30th Sept., 1955
195	Average number of children resident	184
33	Average number of resident staff	32
	A. Medical	
106	Routine visits paid by Medical Officer ..	100
19	Emergency visits by Medical Officer ..	36
68	Minor accidents treated at Orphanage ..	96
10	Accidents requiring hospital attention ..	41
3898	Daily treatments carried out in own Sick Bay (approx).	4116
83	Children remaining in Orphanage Sick Bay for periods of more than one week	85
200	Children remaining in Orphanage Sick Bay for under one week	205
5	Staff admitted to Orphanage Sick Bay.. ..	17
20	Staff treated for accidents	19
	B. Dental	
34	Routine visits made by Dental Surgeon. ..	36
-	Special visits to Dental Surgeon	20
1 (and all children on admission)	Number of full dental inspections of all children 1 (and all children on admission)	1 (and all children on admission)
34	Extractions under gas	38
47	Special extractions with local anaesthetic	76
139	Dental fillings	171
3	Number of children receiving orthodontic treat- ment	6
	C. Ophthalmic	
140	Attendance at Eye Clinic	114
5	Number of children wearing spectacles for reading only	12

Year to
30th Sept.,
1954

Year to
30th Sept.,
1955

35	Number of children wearing spectacles constantly ..	22
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1. Extract from the Annual Report of the Jewish Orphanage 1954/5.

APPENDIX 6

SCALE OF POCKET MONEY. 1955.
(including money for sweets).

AGE.	MONEY
5 - 6	10d
6 - 7	11d
7 - 9	1/-
9 - 10	1/3
10 - 12	1/6
12 - 13	1/9
13 - 14	2/3
14 - 14½	2/9
14½	3/3
Last 6 weeks at Home	3/9

Each child was permitted to post two letters per week free of cost for stamps.

Travelling expenses to visit relatives were met by the Orphanage.

APPENDIX 7SAVINGS OF CHILDREN

June 1956.

Name of Family	No.	Age Range	Total Savings	Average Savings per child.
Ruth	14	12-14	£121.12. 0.	£ 8.13. 0.
Naomi	12	9-13	65.12. 0.	5. 9. 0.
Rachel	11	12-14	80. 4. 8.	7.15. 0.
Miriam	12	9-10	44. 7. 1.	3.14. 0.
Judah	15	11-14	91.12. 7.	6. 2. 0.
David	15	10-14	116.15. 0.	7.14. 0.
Samson	17	9-14	103.13. 1.	6. 2. 0.
Alexander	16	10-14	123. 5. 7.	7.14. 0.
Samuel	12	9-10	73. 2. 9.	6.13. 0.
Jonathon	10	8-10	53.12. 6.	6. 9. 0.
Peter Pan	10	5-8	25.13. 9.	2.11. 0.
Robin Hood	14	7-9	44. 7. 3.	3. 3. 0.
			<hr/>	<hr/>
			£937.16. 0.	£5.18. 0.

APPENDIX B.

VISITS BY CHILDREN HOME, OR, BY PARENTS TO ORPHANAGE, AS ON APRIL 1956

Name of Family	No. on Roll	Week-end Visit home			Day Visits home			Parents Visit Orphanage			See parent on holidays only	Rarely or never see parent or relative
		Every w/e	More than 1 w/e a month but not every w/e	1 w/e a month only	Every Sun.	More than 1 Sun. a month	1 Sun. a mth. only	Every Sun.	More than 1 Sun. a month	1 Sun. a mth. only		
Eather	12	0	1	0	2	3	0	2	3	1	1	1
Ruth	14	3	2	3	4	1	2	2	0	0	2	0
Miriam	13	0	1	1	3	0	1	4	3	1	1	0
Rachel	11	0	1	4	2	1	1	2	0	0	2	0
David	14	0	0	1	2	4	2	1	2	1	2	1
Jonathon	10	0	0	1	3	5	1	0	2	0	0	0
Judah	16	5	2	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	3	0
Samson	17	0	1	2	3	2	0	2	3	1	0	1
Alexander	17	0	0	4	0	2	6	1	1	0	3	3
Samuel	12	0	3	0	1	1	1	2	1	2	0	2
Peter Pan	10	1	0	1	0	1	0	5	1	2	1	0
Robin Hood	14	0	1	1	2	3	1	4	5	0	1	1
TOTAL		9	12	18	23	24	15	25	23	9	16	9

APPENDIX 9

ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN ACCORDING TO (1) AGES AT WHICH THEY WERE ADMITTED

(2) REASONS FOR ADMISSION

1946-1953

Age on Admission.	1 L.R.T.	2 L.R.T.	3 L.R.T.	4 L.R.T.	5 L.R.T.	6 L.R.T.	7 L.R.T.	8 L.R.T.	9 L.R.T.	10 L.R.T.	Total L. R.	Grand Total
5	12.14.26	3 4 7	3 1 4	4.12.16	7.6.13	3 3 6	5 3 8	2 1 3	3 6 9	2 3 5	44 53	97
6	3 7 10	2 1 3	- 1 1	9 6 15	7 7 14	7 9 16	1 3 4	- - -	2 2 4	6 3 9	37 39	76
7	3 4 7	1 1 2	2 2 4	5 7 12	3 7 10	6 5 11	1 5 6	1 - 1	1 2 3	2 2 4	25 35	60
8	4 3 7	- 2 2	1 - 1	3 3 6	8 5 13	5 3 8	1 2 3	- - -	2 1 3	2 1 3	26 20	46
9	1 1 2	1 - 1	1 - 1	5 1 6	9 3 12	3 - 3	3 3 6	- 1 1	1 1 2	2 2 4	26 12	38
10	- 4 4	- 2 2	1 - 1	3 3 6	5 4 9	1 7 8	2 1 3	4 1 5	1 2 3	1 1 2	18 25	43
11	- 2 2	2 - 2	1 - 1	5 - 5	2 1 3	5 1 6	1 - 1	2 1 3	3 - 3	4 2 6	25 7	32
12					4 1 5	2 1 3	- - -	1 - 1	3 - 4	1 - 1	11 3	14
13				1 - 1			1 - 1			1 - 1	3 -	3
	23 35	9 10	9 4	35 32	45 34	32 29	15 17	10 4	16 14	21 14	215 194	
	58	19	13	67	79	61	32	14	31	35	409	409

N.B. Number of boys and girls were in ratio of 3:2

I. Those who had left;

R. Those on roll;

2. Total.

APPENDIX 9 a

A. ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN ACCORDING TO (1) AGE AT WHICH ADMITTED.
(2) AGE AT WHICH LEFT.

Age at which joined.	AGE AT WHICH CHILDREN LEFT.												Total		Grand Total
	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	b. g.			
	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.		
5	1 4	- -	- 1	1 -	5 1	- -	3 3	2 1	6 5	5 1	3 2	26	18	44	
6	4 5	1 1	1 -	1 -	1 1	1 1	2 2	5 5	4 1	1 -	- -	21	16	37	
7	3 4	- -	3 -	1 -	2 2	- 1	1 -	2 4	1 1	- -	- -	13	12	25	
8	9 1	- 3	1 -	1 1	2 1	2 1	1 2	1 -				17	9	26	
9	4 5	1 0	2 2	2 -	4 2	3 -						16	10	26	
10	3 5	1 1	4 -	1 -	2 -	1 -						12	6	18	
11	4 11	1 -	3 -	4 -	1 1							13	12	25	
12	7 3	- -	- 1									7	4	11	
13	1 1	1										2	1	3	
14															
<hr/>															
	36 39	5 5	14 4	11 1	17 8	7 4	7 7	10 10	11 7	6 1	3 2				
	75	10	18	12	25	11	14	20	18	7	5	127	88	215	

APPENDIX 10

ANALYSIS OF REASONS FOR CHILDREN LEAVING NORWOOD

Age left	Parent re-married	To live in F/Home to continue educa- tion.	To live with relative.	To live in a foster home.	To be adopted	Misc. reasons	Grand Total	
	b. g. T.	b. g. T.	b. g. T.	b. g. T.	b. g. T.	b. g. T.	b. g.	
5			1 2 3		1 1	1 1	3 2	5
6			3 1 4		1 1	2 - 2	6 1	7
7	3 3		8 2 10		3 1 4	1 1	11 7	18
8	3 4 7		4 3 7		1 2 3	2 - 2	10 9	19
9	5 3 8		2 3 5			1 1	7 7	14
10	1 - 1		5 3 8		1 - 1	1 1	7 4	11
11	1 4 5	4 - 4	8 3 11	1 - 1	- 1 1	4 1 5	18 9	27
12	2 1 3	1 - 1	5 - 5	1 - 1	2 - 2	1 - 1	12 1	13
13	1 - 1	2 1 3	6 3 9			5 - 5	14 4	18
14	1 - 1	1 1	2 3 5			2 1 3	5 5	10
15	1 1		18 21 39	8 14 22		8 3 11	34 39	73
Grand totals	14 16 30	7 2 9	62 44 106	10 14 24	9 4 13	25 8 33	127 88	215
	30	9	106	24	13	33	215	<u>215</u>

APPENDIX 11

COMBINED FIGURES OF THOSE ON ROLL AND THOSE WHO HAD LEFT

DURATION OF RESIDENCE AND AGE ON ADMISSION

R = Those on roll.

L = Those who have left.

Adm. Age.	0 - 1		1 - 2		2 - 3		3 - 4		4 - 5		5 - 6		6 - 7		7 - 8		8 - 9		9 - 10		R.		L.	Total.
	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.	L.	R.		
5	7	10	7	5	9	6	5	9	3	8	4	4	3	7	1	3	0	1	5	0	44	53		97
6	4	11	10	8	5	1	1	4	3	4	2	5	1	1	1	4	9	1	1	0	37	39		76
7	4	9	5	2	2	4	1	7	3	6	2	2	1	4	6	1	1	0			25	35		60
8	3	3	4	3	2	1	2	3	2	1	2	5	11	0							26	20		46
9	1	2	5	2	3	4	4	1	3	4	7	0	3	0							26	13		39
10	3	7	1	6	2	2	2	5	10	4											18	24		42
11	3	1	4	3	3	1	12	2	3	0											25	7		32
12	0	1	1	1	7	1	3	0													11	3		14
13			1	0	2	0															3	-		3
<hr/>																								
	25	44	38	34	35	20	30	31	27	27	17	16	12	19	8	8	10	2	6	0	215	194		409
	69		72		55		61		54		33		31		16		12		6		215	194		409

APPENDIX 12

ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN ON ROLL IN NOVEMBER 1953.

DURATION OF RESIDENCE ACCORDING TO AGE ON ADMISSION.

Age on admission	Duration of residence									Total Boys.	Total Girls.	Grand Total.
	0-1 yrs.	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7-8	8-9			
	b.g.	b.g.	b.g.	b.g.	b.g.	b.g.	b.g.	b.g.	b.g.			
5-6	4 6	5 -	3 3	8 1	5 3	2 2	6 1	2 1	1	35	18	53
6-7	7 4	4 4	- 1	3 1	3 1	4 1	1 -	3 1	1 -	26	13	39
7-8	8 1	1 1	1 3	2 5	3 3	- 2	2 2	1 -	- -	18	17	35
8-9	1 2	4 3	1 -	1 2	1 -	2 3				10	10	20
9-10	2 -	1 1	2 1	- 1	4 -					9	3	12
10-11	3 4	3 3	1 2	2 3	2 2					11	14	25
11-12	1 -	2 1	- 1	- 2						3	4	7
12-13	1 -	- 1	- 1							1	2	3
13-14												
14-15												
	27 17	20 14	8 12	16 15	18 9	8 8	9 3	6 2	1 1	113	81	194
	44	34	20	31	27	16	12	8	2			

APPENDIX 13

C. ANALYSIS OF DURATION OF RESIDENCE OF CHILDREN WHO HAD LEFT 1946 - 1953 ACCORDING TO AGE ON ADMISSION

Age on admission	YEARS										Total Boys.	Total Girls.	Grand Total.
	0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	6-7	7-8	8-9	9-10			
	b.g.	b.g.	b.g.	b.g.	b.g.	b.g.	b.g.	b.g.	b.g.	b.g.			
5-6	5 2	5 2	5 4	3 2	1 2	3 1	3 0	- 1	- -	1 4	26	18	44
6-7	3 1	5 5	4 1	- 1	2 1	1 1	1 0	- 1	4 5	1 -	21	16	37
7-8	1 3	3 2	- 2	1 -	2 1	2 0	1 0	2 4	1 0	- -	13	12	25
8-9	1 2	3 1	2 0	1 1	1 1	- 2	0 2				17	9	26
9-10	- 1	5 0	1 2	3 1	2 1	4 3	1 2				16	10	26
10-11	3 0	1 0	2 -	2 -	4 6						12	6	18
11-12	2 1	4 -	3 -	4 8	- 3						13	12	25
12-13	- -	- 1	6 1	1 2							7	4	11
13-14	- -	1 -	1 1								2	1	3
	15 10	27 11	24 11	15 35	12 15	10 7	15 4	2 6	5 5	2 4	127	88	215
	25	38	35	30	27	17	19	8	10	6		215	

APPENDIX 14

Tables 1 - 10 providing an analysis of children who had left or were on roll according to

- a) reason for admission
- b) age on admission
- c) age on leaving
- d) duration of residence

TABLE 1

ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN ADMITTED FOR MISCELLANEOUS REASONS

15 boys.

6 girls.

Age admitted	No. boys	No. girls	Age left	Duration of Residence										
				Less than 1 year	1-2yr.	2-3yr.	3-4yr.	4-5yr.	5-6yr.	6-7yr.	7-8yr.	8-9yr.	9-10yr.	10-11yr.
5	1		9					1						
	1		5	1										
6	1		10					1						
	2		8			2								
	1	1	7		2									
	1		6	1										
7	1		15									1		
	1		11					1						
8	1		15								1			
		1	9		1									
9	1		15							1				
	1		11			1								
10		1	14					1						
11	1	1	15					2						
	1		14				1							
	1		12		1									
12		1	13		1									
13		1	15			1								
	15	6		2	5	4	1	6		1	1	1		

ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN OF PARENTS IN MENTAL HOSPITAL

12 boys.

4 girls.

TABLE 2

Age admitted	No. boys	No. girls.	Age left	Duration of Residence									
				Less than 1 year.	1-2yr.	2-3yr.	3-4yr.	4-5yr.	5-6yr.	6-7yr.	7-8yr.	8-9yr.	9-10yr. 10-11yr.
5	1	1	7			2							
	1		5	1									
6	1		15										1
		1	11						1				
7	1		8		1								
8	1		11				1						
	1		10			1							
9	1		10		1								
10	1		13				1						
11	1	2	15					3					
12	3						3						
	12	4		1	2	3	5	3	1				1

APPENDIX 14.

TABLE 3.

ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN OF DIVORCED PARENTS.

18 boys.

17 girls.

Age admitted	No.boys	No.girls	Age left	Duration of Residence										
				Less than 1 year.	1-2yr.	2-3yr.	3-4yr.	4-5yr.	5-6yr.	6-7yr.	7-8yr.	8-9yr.	9-10yr.	10-11yr.
5	1		12								1			
	1	1	7			2								
	1		6		1									
6	1	2	9				3							
	1	3	8			4								
	2		7		2									
7		1	15									1		
		2	11					2						
		1	10				1							
8	1		9			1								
	1	1	12					2						
	1		8	1										
9		1	15							1				
	2	2	11			4								
10		1	15						1					
	1		14					1						
	1		13				1							
11		2	15					2						
	2		13			2								
	1		12		1									

Table 3 contd.

TABLE 3 (Contd.)

APPENDIX 14.

2.

Age admitted	No. boys	No. girls	Age left	Duration of Residence										
				Less than 1 year	1-2yr.	2-3yr.	3-4yr.	4-5yr.	5-6yr.	6-7yr.	7-8yr.	8-9yr.	9-10yr.	10-11yr.
13	1		14		1									
	18	17		1	5	13	5	7	1	1	1	1		

APPENDIX 14.

TABLE 4.

ANALYSIS OF ORPHANS

6 boys.

4 girls.

Age admitted	No. boys	No. girls	Age left	Duration of Residence										
				Less than 1 year	1-2yr.	2-3yr.	3-4yr.	4-5yr.	5-6yr.	6-7yr.	7-8yr.	8-9yr.	9-10yr.	10-11yr.
5		1	13									1		
	1		7			1								
7		1	15									1		
10	1	1	15						2					
	1		13				1							
	1		12			1								
11		1	15					1						
	1		12			1								
12	1		15				1							
	6	4				3	2	1	2			2		

TABLE 5

ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN DESERTED BY MOTHER

9 boys.

0 girls.

Age admitted	No. boys	No. girls	Age left	Duration of Residence										
				Less than 1 year	1-2yr.	2-3yr.	3-4yr.	4-5yr.	5-6yr.	6-7yr.	7-8yr.	8-9yr.	9-10yr.	10-11yr.
5	1		11								1			
	1		8				1							
	1		5	1										
7	1		13								1			
	1		7	1										
8	1		15									1		
9	1		10		1									
10	1		11		1									
11	1		13			1								
	9			2	2	1	1				2	1		

APPENDIX 14.

TABLE 6.

ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN OF SEPARATED PARENTS

9 boys.

6 girls.

Age Admitted	No.boys	No.girls	Age left	Duration of Residence										
				Less than 1 year	1-2yr.	2-3yr.	3-4yr.	4-5yr.	5-6yr.	6-7yr.	7-8yr.	8-9yr.	9-10yr.	10-11yr.
5		1	15											1
		1	9					1						
	1	1	7			2								
	1		6		1									
6		1	10					1						
7	1		8		1									
8		1	9		1									
9	2		12				2							
	1		10		1									
10	1		15						1					
	1		11		1									
11		1	15					1						
13	1					1								
	9	6			5	3	2	3	1					1

APPENDIX 14.

TABLE 7.

ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN DESERTED BY FATHER

6 boys.

3 girls.

Age admitted	No. boys	No. girls	Age left	Duration of Residence										
				Less than 1 year	1-2yr.	2-3yr.	3-4yr.	4-5yr.	5-6yr.	6-7yr.	7-8yr.	8-9yr.	9-10yr.	10-11yr.
5	1	1	6		2									
	1		9					1						
6	2		8			2								
7		1	8		1									
9	1		11			1								
11	1	1	15					2						
	6	3			3	3		3						

TABLE 8.

APPENDIX 14.
ANALYSIS OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

9 boys.

14 girls.

Age admitted	No.boys	No.girls	Age left	Duration of Residence										9 boys.	14 girls.
				Less than 1 year	1-2yr.	2-3yr.	3-4yr.	4-5yr.	5-6yr.	6-7yr.	7-8yr.	8-9yr.	9-10yr.	10-11yr.	
5		1	5	1											
	1		6		1										
	1	2	7			3									
		1	8				1								
	1	1	9					2							
	1	1	11							2					
	1	1	15												2
6		1	14												
		1	8			1							1		
	1		7		1										
7	1	1	15										2		
		1	8		1										
8	1		15									1			
		1	11				1								
		1	10			1									
	1		9		1										
9		1	15								1				
	9	14		1	4	5	2	2		3	1	3		2	

APPENDIX 14.

ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN OF WIDOWS

27 boys.

18 girls.

TABLE 9.

Age admitted	No. boys	No. girls	Age left	Duration of Residence									
				less than 1 year	1-2yr.	2-3yr.	3-4yr.	4-5yr.	5-6yr.	6-7yr.	7-8yr.	8-9yr.	9-10yr. 10-11yr.
5		1	15										1
	3		11							3			
		1	9					1					
	1		8				1						
		1	5	1									2
6	1	1	15									1	
	1		14								1		
	1		13										
	1		12							1			
	1		9				1						
7		1	8			1					2		
	1	1	15										
	1		11					1			4		
8	4		15										
		3	14							3			
	1		13						1				
9	3	2	15							5			
	2	1	13					3					
		1	10		1								
10	1	2	15						3				
	1		13				1						
	1		10	1									
11		1	15					1					
	1		11	1									
12	2	2	15		4								
	27	18		3	5	1	3	6	4	12	7	1	2

APPENDIX 14.

ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN OF WIDOWERS

16 boys.

16 girls.

TABLE 10.

Age admitted	No. boys	No. girls	Age left	Duration of Residence									
				Less than 1 year	1-2yr.	2-3yr.	3-4yr.	4-5yr.	5-6yr.	6-7yr.	7-8yr.	8-9yr.	9-10yr. 10-11yr.
5		1	15										1
	1		6		1								
	1		7			1							
6	2	4	15						1				6
	1		11										
7	2		13							2			
	1		12						1				
		2	8		2								
		1	7	1									
8	2	1	15								3		
	1		11				1						
	1		10			1							
9		1	15						0	1			
	1		14						1				
		1	13					1					
10		1	15						1				
11	1	2	15					3					
		1	11	1									
	1		12		1								
12	1	1	15				2						
	16	16		2	4	2	3	4	4	3	3	6	1

APPENDIX 15.

CLASSIFICATION OF CHILDREN ON ROLL ON 23rd NOVEMBER 1953 ACCORDING
TO THE DURATION OF RESIDENCE, REASON FOR ADMISSION AND AGE ON
ADMISSION.

TABLE 1.

APPENDIX 15.

Length
of stay
at Norwood

REASONS FOR ADMISSION OF THOSE ON ROLL

Admitted at 5 yrs.

Years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	TOTALS	
	b.s.	b.s.	b.s.	b.s.	b.s.	b.s.	b.s.	b.s.	b.s.	b.s.	b. s.	b. s.
0 - 1	1 2			1 -	1		1	1	1	1	4 5	9
1 - 2	2	1			1				1		4 1	5
2 - 3	1			1 1	1	1	1				3 3	6
3 - 4	2	1		2		1	1		1 1		8 1	9
4 - 5	2	1		1 2	1				1 1		6 3	9
5 - 6	1 1			2						1	3 2	5
6 - 7	1	1	1	2						1	5 1	6
7 - 8					1 1	1					2 1	3
8 - 9	1										1	1
<hr/>												
	9 5	3 1	1 -	9 3	3 3	3 -	3 -	1	4 2	- 3	35 18	53

TABLE 2.

REASONS FOR ADMISSION OF THOSE ON ROLLAdmitted at 6 yrs.Length of
stay at
Horwood

<u>Years</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	<u>TOTALS</u>	
	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b & g
0 - 1	1			1	1 1	2	2		1	1 1	7 4	11
1 - 2	2	1		1 1		2			1	1	5 4	9
2 - 3												
3 - 4	2			2		1					3 2	5
4 - 5	1				1						1 1	2
5 - 6	1		1	1		1	1				4 1	5
6 - 7					1	1					2 -	2
7 - 8					2 1	1					3 1	4
8 - 9						1					1 -	1
	4 3	1 -	- 1	5 1	4 3	7 2	3 -	- -	1 1	1 2	26 13	49

APPENDIX 15.

TABLE 3.

Length of
stay at
Norwood

REASONS FOR ADMISSION OF THOSE ON ROLL

Admitted at 7 yrs.

Years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	TOTALS	
	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b & g
0 - 1				2 1	1	1	2		1	1	8 1	9
1 - 2					1	1					1 1	2
2 - 3			1		1		1				1 2	3
3 - 4	1 1	1			1 2		1			1	2 6	8
4 - 5	1			2	1		1		1		3 3	6
5 - 6			1	1							2	2
6 - 7	1			1		1 1					2 2	4
7 - 8						1					1 -	1
	3 1	1	2	2 5	3 4	4 1	3 2	-	2 -	1 1	18 17	35

TABLE 4.

Admitted at 8 yrs.

0 - 1					1	1	1				1 2	3
1 - 2	1	1		2	1		1			1	4 3	7
2 - 3	1										1 -	1
3 - 4		1			1	1					1 2	3
4 - 5					1						1 -	1
5 - 6	1			1	1	1			1		2 3	5
	1 2	1 1	- -	2 1	3 2	1 2	2 -	- -	- 1	- 1	10 10	20

APPENDIX 15.

TABLE 5

REASONS FOR ADMISSION OF THOSE ON ROLLAdmitted at 9 yearsLength of
stay at
Norwood

	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		<u>TOTALS</u>		
	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b & g
0 - 1									1										1		2		2
1 - 2							1												1		1	1	2
2 - 3													1	1			1				2	1	3
3 - 4									1												1		1
4 - 5	1								1				1		1						4	-	4
	1	-	-	-	-	-	1		2	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	1	-	2	-	9	3	12

TABLE 6

Admitted at 10 years

0-1	1	1			1		1	1	1	1							1		3	4	7				
1-2					1		1	1	1	2						1			3	3	6				
2-3				1			1							1					1	2	3				
3-4	1			1		1				2									2	3	5				
4-5	1						1								1		1		2	2	4				
<hr/>																									
	3	1		-	2		-	-	3	-	2	2	2	5	-	1		1	1	1	-	1	11	14	25

TABLE 7

APPENDIX 15.

Length of stay at Norwood	<u>REASONS FOR ADMISSION OF THOSE ON ROLL</u>										<u>Admitted at 11 yrs.</u>	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	<u>TOTALS</u>	
	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b & g
<u>Years</u>												
0 - 1										1	1 -	1
1 - 2	1 1									1	2 1	3
2 - 3						1					- 1	1
3 - 4					1			1			- 2	2
	1 1	- -	- -	- -	- 1	- 1	- -	- 1	- -	2 -	3 4	7

TABLE 8

											<u>Admitted at 12 years</u>	
0 - 1										1	1 -	1
1 - 2					1						- 1	1
2 - 3						1					- 1	1
	- -	- -	- -	- -	- 1	- 1				- 1	1 2	3

APPENDIX 16

TABLES 1 - 11 providing a classification of 215 children who had left
between 1946 - 1953 according to a) reason for admission
b) age on admission

1. Illegitimate children.
2. Children deserted by father.
3. Children deserted by mother.
4. Children of divorced parents.
5. Children of widowed mother.
6. Children of widower.
7. Children of separated parents.
8. Orphaned children.
9. Children with mother &/or father in mental hospital.
10. Miscellaneous reasons.

THOSE LEFT AT 15.

REASON FOR ADMISSION

Age Admitted	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		TOTALS				
	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.			
5	1	1							1		1		1								1	4	5		
6									1	1	2	4					1				4	5	9		
7	1	1					1		1	1					1				1		2	4	6		
8	1				1				4		2	1							1		9	1	10		
9		1					1		3	2		1							1		4	5	9		
10							1		1	2		1		1	1						3	5	8		
11			1	1			2		1		1	2		1		1	2		1	1	4	11	15		
12									2	2		1	1			1		3			7	3	10		
13														1						1	1		2		
14																									
15																									
<hr/>																									
	3	3	1	1	1		5	12	10		6	11	2	2		2	3	5	2		4	2	36	39	75
	6		2		1		5	22			17		4			5		7			6		75		

APPENDIX 16.

TABLE 2.

THOSE LEFT AT 14.

REASON FOR ADMISSION

Age on admission	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	TOTALS		
	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b & g
5													
6	1				1							1	1 2
7													
8					3							3	3
9						1						1	1
10				1						1		1	1 2
11										1		1	1
12													
13				1								1	2
14													
<hr/>													
	1	-	-	2	1 3	1				1 1		5 5	10

THOSE LEFT AT 13.

REASON FOR ADMISSION

Age on admission

Mission	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	TOTALS	
	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b & g
5								1			1	1
6					1						1	1
7			1			2					3	3
8					1						1	1
9					2 1	1					2 2	4
10				1	1			1	1		4	4
11			1	2							3	3
12										1	1	1
13												
14												
			2	3	5 1	3		1 1 1		1	14 4	18

TABLE 4.

APPENDIX 16.

THOSE LEFT AT 12 yrs.REASON FOR ADMISSION

Age on admission	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		<u>TOTALS</u>	
	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.
5							1														1	1
6									1												1	1
7											1										1	1
8							1	1													1	1
9													2								2	2
10															1						1	1
11							1				1				1				1		4	4
12																						
13																						
14																						
							3	1	1	-	2		2		2				1		11	1
																					12	

TABLE 5.

APPENDIX 16.

THOSE LEFT AT 11 yrs.

REASON FOR ADMISSION

<u>Age on admission</u>	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		<u>TOTALS</u>		
	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b.	g.	b & g
5	1	1			1				3												5	1	6
6											1						1				1	1	2
7							2		1										1		2	2	4
8		1									1						1				2	1	3
9			1				2	2											1		4	2	6
10					1								1								2		2
11									1		1										1	1	2
<hr/>																							
	1	2	1	-	2	-	2	4	5		2	1	1				1	1	2		17	8	25

TABLE 6.

THOSE LEFT AT 10 yrs.

5																							
6													1					1			1	1	2
7						1															1		1
8		1									1							1			2	1	3
9				1					1				1					1			3	1	4
10									1												1		1
<hr/>																							
	1			1			1		1	1			1	1			2		1		7	4	11

APPENDIX 16.

TABLE 7.

THOSE LEFT at 9 yrs.

REASON FOR ADMISSION

Age on admission	1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		TOTALS		
	b.	s.	b.	s.	b.	s.	b.	s.	b.	s.	b.	s.	b.	s.	b.	s.	b.	s.	b.	s.	b.	s.	b. & s.
5	1	1	1						1				1						1		3	3	6
6							1	2	1												2	2	4
7							1														1		1
8	1												1						1		1	2	3
9																							
	2	1	1	-	-	-	2	2	1	1	-	-	2		-	-	-	-	1	1	7	7	14

TABLE 8.

THOSE LEFT AT 8 yrs.

5	1			1				1													2	1	3
6	1	2				1	3		1										2		5	5	10
7	1		1								2	1						1			2	4	6
8							1														1		1
	3	2	1		1	-	2	3	1	1	2	1	-		-	-	1	-	2		10	10	20

TABLE 9.

THOSE LEFT AT 7 yrs.

5	1	2				1	1			1		1	1								6	5	11
6	1						2											1	1		4	1	5
7					1						1										1	1	2
	2	2	-	-	1	-	3	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	11	7	18

APPENDIX 16.

TABLE 10.
THOSE LEFT AT 6 yrs.

REASON FOR ADMISSION

Age on admission	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	TOTALS	
	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b & g
5	1	1 1		1		1	1				5 1	6
6										1	1	1
	1	1 1	- -	1 -	- -	1 -	1 -	- -	- -	1 -	6 1	7

TABLE 11.
THOSE LEFT AT 5 yrs.

5	- 1	1 -		- 1			1 -	1 -	3 2	5
---	-----	-----	--	-----	--	--	-----	-----	-----	---

APPENDIX 17

ANALYSIS OF REASONS FOR CHILDREN LEAVING NORWOOD CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO REASONS FOR ADMISSION.

Reasons for leaving.	1 b.e.t.	2 b.e.t.	3 b.e.t.	4 b.e.t.	5 b.e.t.	6 b.e.t.	7 b.e.t.	8 b.e.t.	9 b.e.t.	10 b.e.t.	Totals b. e.	Grand Total.
To live with relatives.	4 8 12	2 2 4	5 - 5	10 4 14	16 12 28	8 12 20	5 2 7	1 1 2	5 - 5	6 3 9	61 44	106
To live in foster homes	2 1 3	---	---	- 2 2	1 2 3	1 4 5	2 1 3	1 2 3	2 2 4	1 - 1	10 14	24
Adopted	2 2 4	---	---	- - -	1 - 1	- - -	---	3 - 3	3 2 5	---	9 4	13
Miscellaneous reasons (e.g. to live in hostel)	- 1 1	1 1 2	1 - 1	5 - 5	6 2 8	1 - 1	1 1 2	1 - 1	2 - 2	7 3 10	25 8	33
To live in foster homes on educational grounds.	- 1 1	---	1 - 1	- - -	2 - 2	3 - 3	1 - 1	- 1 1	---	---	7 2	9
Parents remarried - returned home.	1 1 2	3 - 3	2 - 2	3 11 14	1 2 3	3 - 3	- 2 2	---	---	1 - 1	14 16	30
Totals	9 14	6 3	9 -	18 17	27 18	16 16	9 6	6 4	12 4	15 6	127 88	
Grand Totals	23	9	9	35	45	32	15	10	16	21		215

APPENDIX 17

ANALYSIS OF REASONS FOR CHILDREN LEAVING NORWOOD CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO REASONS FOR ADMISSION.

Reasons for leaving.	1 b.g.t.	2 b.g.t.	3 b.g.t.	4 b.g.t.	5 b.g.t.	6 b.g.t.	7 b.g.t.	8 b.g.t.	9 b.g.t.	10 b.g.t.	Totals b. g.	Grand Total.
To live with relatives.	4 8 12	2 2 4	5 - 5	10 4 14	16 12 28	8 12 20	5 2 7	1 1 2	5 - 5	6 3 9	61 44	106
To live in foster homes	2 1 3	---	---	- 2 2	1 2 3	1 4 5	2 1 3	1 2 3	2 2 4	1 - 1	10 14	24
Adopted	2 2 4	---	---	- - -	1 - 1	- - -	---	3 - 3	3 2 5	---	9 4	13
Miscellaneous reasons (e.g. to live in hostel)	- 1 1	1 1 2	1 - 1	5 - 5	6 2 8	1 - 1	1 1 2	1 - 1	2 - 2	7 3 10	25 8	33
To live in foster homes on educational grounds.	- 1 1	---	1 - 1	- - -	2 - 2	3 - 3	1 - 1	- 1 1	- - -	---	7 2	9
Parents remarried - returned home.	1 1 2	3 - 3	2 - 2	3 11 14	1 2 3	3 - 3	- 2 2	---	- - -	1 - 1	14 16	30
Totals	9 14	6 3	9 -	18 17	27 18	16 16	9 6	6 4	12 4	15 6	127 88	
Grand Totals	23	9	9	35	45	32	15	10	16	21		215

APPENDIX 18

ANALYSIS OF REASONS FOR ADMISSION OF CHILDREN ON ROLL - NOV. 1953

<u>Age on admission</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total	Total	Grand
	<u>Ill</u>	<u>F. de-</u> <u>serted.</u>	<u>M. de-</u> <u>serted.</u>	<u>Di-</u> <u>versee.</u>	<u>Widow</u>	<u>Widower</u>	<u>Separated.</u>	<u>Orphan</u>	<u>M. or F.</u> <u>in M. Hosp.</u>	<u>Other</u> <u>reasons</u>	<u>boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>b. g.</u>	<u>b. g.</u>	<u>b. g.</u>	<u>b. g.</u>	<u>b. g.</u>	<u>b. g.</u>	<u>b. g.</u>	<u>b. g.</u>	<u>b. g.</u>	<u>b. g.</u>			
5	9 5	3 1	1 -	9 3	3 3	3 -	3 -	- 1	4 2	- 3	35	18	53
6	4 3	1 -	- 1	5 1	4 3	7 -	2 3	- -	1 1	1 2	26	13	39
7	3 1	- 1	- 2	2 5	3 4	4 -	1 3	- -	2 -	1 1	18	17	35
8	1 2	1 1	- -	2 1	3 2	1 2	2 -	- -	- 1	- 1	10	10	20
9	1 -	- -	- -	- 1	2 1	- -	2 1	1 -	1 -	2 -	9	3	12
10	3 1	- 2	- -	3 -	2 2	2 5	- 1	- 1	1 1	- 1	11	14	25
11	1 1	- -	- -	- -	- 1	- 1	- -	- 1	- -	2 -	3	4	7
12	- -	- -	- -	- -	- 1	- 1	- -	- -	- -	1 -	1	2	3
13													
	22 13	5 5	1 3	21 11	17 17	17 12	13 4	1 3	9 6	7 8	113	81	194
	35	10	4	32	34	29	17	4	15	15			

ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN WHO LEFT HUNGARY 1946 - 1953 ACCORDING TO REASONS FOR ADMISSION

Age on admission	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total	Grand Total
	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	b. g.	
5	5 7	2 1	3 -	3 1	4 3	2 1	2 3	1 1	2 1	2 -	26 18	44
6	1 2	2 -	- -	4 5	5 2	3 4	- 1	- -	1 1	5 1	21 16	37
7	1 2	- 1	2 -	1 4	2 1	3 3	1 -	- 1	1 -	2 -	13 12	25
8	2 2	- -	1 -	2 1	5 3	4 1	- 1	- -	2 -	1 1	17 9	26
9	- 1	1 -	1 -	2 3	5 4	1 2	3 -	- -	1 -	2 -	16 10	26
10	- -	- -	1 -	2 1	3 2	- 1	2 -	3 1	1 -	- 1	12 6	18
11	- -	1 1	1 -	3 2	1 1	2 3	- 1	1 1	1 2	3 1	13 12	25
12	- -	- -	- -	- -	2 2	1 1	- -	1 -	3 -	- 1	7 4	11
13	- -	- -	- -	1 -	- -	- -	1 -	- -	- -	- 1	2 1	3
14												
15												
	9 14	6 3	9 -	18 17	27 18	16 16	9 6	6 4	12 4	15 6	127 88	
	23	9	9	35	45	32	15	10	16	21		215

APPENDIX 20

SUMMARY OF DATA REGARDING LENGTH
OF RESIDENCE ACCORDING TO REASONS FOR ADMISSION.

<u>Category.</u>	<u>Duration of stay</u>	<u>Degree of predictability.</u>
1	66% on roll in residence for less than 4-years 50% of leavers " " "	Not certain.
2	80% on roll " " " 66% of leavers " " "	Remain less than 4-years.
3	25% on roll " " " 66% of leavers " " "	Not certain.
4	60% on roll " " " 66% of leavers " " "	Remain less than 4-years.
5	66% on roll " " " 44% of leavers " " "	Likely to remain more than 4-yrs.
6	66% on roll " " " 33% of leavers " " "	Likely to remain more than 4-yrs.
7	82% on roll " " " 66% of leavers " " "	Likely to remain less than 4-yrs.
8	50% on roll " " " 50% of leavers " " "	Likely to remain more than 4-yrs.
9	70% on roll " " " 70% of leavers " " "	Likely to remain less than 4-yrs.
10	83% on roll " " " 57% of leavers " " "	Likely to remain less than 4-yrs.

APPENDIX 21

ANALYSIS OF LENGTH OF STAY OF THOSE ON ROLL AND OF THOSE WHO HAVE LEFT CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE REASONS FOR ADMISSION.

Category

Length of Residence

Less than 1-2 2-3 3-4 4-5 5-6 6-7 7-8 8-9 9-10 10-11

1 YEAR. YRS. YRS. YRS. YRS. YRS. YRS. YRS. YRS. YRS.

1. On Roll

Left

2. On Roll

Left

3. On Roll

Left

4. On Roll

Left

5. On Roll

Left

6. On Roll

Left

7. On Roll

Left

8. On Roll

Left

9. On Roll

Left

10. On Roll

Left

Total on Roll:-

Left:-

6

1

-

-

-

2

6

1

7

3

6

2

6

1

-

1

-

3

1

8

2

43

12

7

4

3

1

1

2

6

5

1

5

6

4

1

-

-

-

3

2

4

5

35

31

2

5

1

3

1

1

2

6

13

3

5

1

7

2

6

4

2

5

18

38

7

2

4

1

3

1

5

7

6

1

3

1

2

6

4

2

1

5

18

38

2

5

1

3

1

1

2

6

13

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5

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7

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4

2

5

18

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13

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7

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6

4

2

5

18

38

1

1

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-

-

2

6

13

3

5

1

7

2

6

4

2

5

18

38

APPENDIX 22

EXAMPLES OF TYPES OF CHILDREN IN THE ORPHANAGE.

1. L. & A. - Siblings of well-educated parents, but whose mother is in a mental hospital. Grammar school children (Local Authority case).
2. M.C. - A maladjusted boy, sent to Orphanage because no vacancy in School for Maladjusted Children. (Local Authority case).
3. S.B. - A maladjusted boy, unsuccessfully rehabilitated with parents. Parents in comfortable position. (Local Authority case).
4. R.R. - Three sisters refused to be accepted in care by local authority because course of separation partly due to religious differences between mother and step-father. (Voluntary case).
5. R.F. - Twins of widower, who was a commercial traveller. Grammar School children. (Local Authority case).
6. G.W. - Care and Protection Case - due to immoral life of mother. E.S.N. child. (Local Authority case).
7. W.W. - Father in prison. Had divorced mother. Had been in comfortable financial position. (Voluntary case).
8. S.B. - Parents divorced. Custody to father who, while working, was well-to-do, but had become chronic invalid. (Voluntary case).
9. C. & M. - Parents divorced. Mother living with grandmother. Both were working, and no one to look after the children. E.S.N. child. (Voluntary case).
10. B.S. - Mother divorced - an itinerant actress - earning good wage. (Voluntary case).
11. M.D. - A dwarf - son of widower in well established business. (Voluntary Case).
12. R. & E. - Siblings of well-educated and devoted widowed mother living in one room and kitchenette - considered wrong to have son and daughter with her as permanent arrangement. (Voluntary case).
13. R. & M. - Divorced mother - elder married daughter at home - accommodation two rooms - considered inadvisable to have son and daughter at home except for occasional weekends. (Voluntary case).
14. H.S. - Widowed mother - weak personality - unable to control daughter who had appeared several times before court because of truancy - Local Authority made custodian in control of child. (Local Authority case).

APPENDIX 23.

OCCUPATIONS OF YOUTHS in 1954 WHO HAD LEFT
NORWOOD OVER 3 YEARS

	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>No.</u>
GIRLS	Clerk	20
	Dressmaking	7
	Salesgirl	6
	Nursing	2
	Student	2
	Tailoring	1
	Machinist	<u>1</u>
		<u>39</u>
BOYS	Clerk	8
	Tailoring	4
	Handbag manuf'g	3
	Warehouse	3
	Catering	2
	Electric Engin- eering	1
	Cutter	1
	Scientific Instrument Maker	1
	Student	1
	Engineering	1
	Cabinet Maker	1
	Photography	1
	Architect	1
	Gown Trade	1
	Unknown	<u>7</u>
		<u>36</u>

APPENDIX 24

No. OF CHANGES OF OCCUPATION DURING FIRST
THREE YEARS OF LEAVING NORWOOD RECORDED IN
1954.

No. of Changes	?	0	1	2	3	4	5	Or more	Total
No. of Boys	10	12	8	2	-	-	-	4	36
" " Girls	4	21	10	2	2	-	-	-	39

APPENDIX 25

RESIDENTIAL PLACING OF LEAVERS DURING FIRST 3 YEARS AS RECORDED IN 1954.

Returned Home	Fostered	No. of Changes of Foster Homes.					Hostel	Fostered after returning home.	Returned home after being fostered.
		0	1	2	3	4	5		

Boys

12 16 7 3 3 1 1 1 6 0 0

Girls

14 21 0 0 1 4 0 0 5 9 5

1 girl married before age of 18 years.

1 " sent to Approved School.

1 " sent to Hospital for Mental Defectives.

The AFTER - CARE work of the Jewish Orphanage.

This is a brief description of the work of the After-Care Department, of the Jewish Orphanage with some relevant statistics to illustrate its work.

There are two After-Care Officers, a man in charge of the boys and a woman who looks after the girls. The latter is also the Investigating Officer, so that she is concerned with a child from the time an application is made for admission until the time he passes out of the care of the Home. Since she shares the same office as her colleague, he is able to obtain all relevant information about the background of the boys who come under his guidance.

As a general rule the Home does not concern itself with boarding-out children of school age. Until the Boarding-out Regulations of 1955 came into operation, where children below school-leaving age were fostered, or if they rejoined their parents, the Home ceased to take an active interest in them. These cases were known as 'withdrawals', and the Jewish Board of Guardians were notified, so that their Welfare Officer took over the cases, in case supervision was thought necessary.

There was, however, a certain class of child whom the Home boarded out as part of its policy, and who, therefore, came under the control of the After-Care Department. Where a child was likely to remain at School beyond the normal school-leaving age, it was considered desirable to board the child out if possible at 11 years of age, if not at 13. It was felt it would militate against the best interests of a grammar school boy, if he was to leave the school at 15, when he was at a critical stage in his school education, for it was the policy that no child should remain at the Home after the end of the term following his fifteenth birthday. In addition to confronting him with the emotional problems connected with the adjustment to a new 'home' environment, he might have to change his school, if the most suitable foster-home was found in another district.

Consequently the After-Care Officer was confronted with the task of finding suitable foster-homes for children who were selected for a higher secondary school education after their Common Entrance Examination. In practice, however, many such children remained at the Home until the age of 13 and some until the age of 15. This was because:-

- a) there were insufficient number of foster-homes;
- b) the parents objected to their removal;
- c) it was generally considered advisable that they remained because: (1) of personality problems; e.g. chronic enuresis; or (2) there were siblings at the Home, and it was considered inadvisable to separate them.

Appendix 26.

The number of Grammar School children fostered = 16⁽¹⁾
The number of Grammar & Central School children
at the Home = 22⁽¹⁾

Children who displayed special merit were awarded special grants, which enabled them to pursue academic courses to the University, and if necessary to advanced education.

The normal school leavers at the age of fifteen, however, formed the major concern of the After-Care Officers. Intimate contact is made with these children before they leave Norwood. The Head Teacher and the Guardian are contacted, to obtain an assessment of ability, and an indication of the occupation that should be most profitably followed. The children, together with their Guardians are then summoned to a special meeting of the respective After-Care Committees, when their future is discussed. The Committee has the report of the Principal, the Head Teacher, the Medical Officer of the Home and the After-Care Officer. If the child is in the care of the local authority, the Children's Officer is invited to attend. At this meeting the future of the child is discussed, and it is determined:-

- (a) whether the child should return home to the guardians;
- (b) if it should be boarded out in a foster home;
- (c) if it should go to a hostel and, finally,
- (d) what sort of occupation it should follow.

The main point emphasised in the meetings is that the child and the Guardian should take confidence in the knowledge that whatever difficulties lay ahead, the support of the Home could always be relied upon.

An indication of the variety of work found and of the degree of stability of their work will be found in Appendix 23 & 24.

The problems connected with finding suitable foster-homes will be found in Appendix 25.

The data is incomplete, because many of the children went to live in areas beyond reasonable access of the After-Care Officer, and some of those who returned to their parents did not find it necessary or desirable to maintain contact. But of the cases known, there appeared to be reasonable stability in occupation, but a disconcerting instability in settling down in their new homes.

Thus six of the sixteen boys fostered experienced at least two changes of foster-homes, whilst the girls experienced the most difficulties of all. Of the fourteen who returned home nine left to be boarded out; whilst of twenty-one who were fostered, five went home, a further

(1) As in Sept. 1956

five had to be placed in a hostel, and a further five had at least two changes of foster-homes. This appeared to reflect the greater difficulty of adjustment which adolescent girls appear to have.

APPENDIX 27.

CHARACTER PROFILE.

Class.

Name of Child.

(Underline the word or words most suitable in each section).

CONDUCT: Very good, Satisfactory, Bad.

INDUSTRY: Good worker, Average, Lazy.

ENERGY: Slow, Adequate, Energetic.

LEADERSHIP: Follower, Uncertain, Born Leader.

TEMPER: Quick, Moody, Even.

PERSONAL: Clean, Dirty, Well-mannered, Uncouth, Tidy, Untidy.

SPORTS, GAMES, ECT. Keen, Interested, Lacks enthusiasm.

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS

- A. Co-operative, Non-co-operative, Rebellious.
- B. Timid, Self-reliant, Aggressive.
- C. Inattentive, Adequate concentration.
- D. Constantly worried, Normal, Carefree.
- E. Avoids difficulties, Faces up to ordinary conditions, Perseveres.
- F. Candid, Evasive, Steady, Irresponsible, Associates with bad types, Troublesome in minor details.
- G. Good mixer, Solitary, Talkative, Reserved, Sensitive.
- H. Sense of Humour:- Good, Average, Poor.
- I. Sense of Discipline:- Good, Average, Poor.
- J. Good loser, Bad loser, Popular, Unpopular.
- K. Anxious to please, Resents/Accepts correction.

Date:.....

Initials of Assessor:.....

APPENDIX 28 (a)

CHARACTER PROFILES

An analysis of the assessment by school teachers in Primary School.

	<u>Norwood Children</u>		<u>Other Children</u>	
	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Total No. in group	43	34	359	269
Very good conduct	4	9	91	86
Satisfactory "	29	20	188	172
Bad "	10	2	35	6
Good industrious worker	7	10	119	83
Average " "	23	18	121	129
Lazy " "	14	5	62	59
Quick tempered	12	5	41	27
Moody "	11	7	34	48
Even "	20	20	237	193
Co-operative	27	25	268	229
Non-co-operative	10	6	32	18
Rebellious	6	3	10	13
Timid	9	9	81	93
Self-reliant	23	18	188	143
Aggressive	9	4	39	33
Inattentive	21	8	115	68
Adequate concentration	22	26	201	195
Avoids difficulties	15	9	93	65
Faces up to ordinary conditions	26	15	199	133
Perseveres	1	3	74	65
Good sense of discipline	4	10	90	119
Average " "	26	12	178	136
Poor " "	13	7	39	14
Resents correction	15	7	26	30
Accepts " "	28	28	285	268
Good mixer	12	10	179	127
Solitary	5	7	21	20

Where a teacher has not felt able to assess a characteristic, no indication was given, and no account has been taken in this table, for the purpose is to give a picture of the outstanding characteristics of the children, to determine if there are any marked differences in character of:-

- (a) Norwood children. (b) Other children.
(c) Boys, and, (d) Girls.

APPENDIX 28 (b)

ANALYSIS OF CHARACTER PROFILES

Indicating the approximate proportion of Orphanage children and other children, having similar characteristics.

	<u>Norwood</u> <u>Boys</u>	<u>Kingwood</u> <u>Boys</u>	<u>Norwood</u> <u>Girls</u>	<u>Kingwood</u> <u>Girls</u>
Very good conduct	1:11	1:4	1:4	1:3
Satisfactory "	3:4	1:2	2:3	2:3
Bad "	1:4	1:10	1:19	1:43
Good industrious worker	1:6	1:3	1:3½	1:3
Average "	1:2	1:3	1:2	1:2
Lazy "	1:3	1:6	1:5	1:4
Quick tempered	1:3½	1:5	1:7	1:10
Moody	1:4	1:10	1:5	1:5½
Even "	1:2	2:3	4:7	3:4
Co-operative	2:3	2:3	5:7	23:26
Non-co-operative	1:4	1:11	1:6	1:15
Rebellious	1:7	1:36	1:11	1:20
Timid	1:5	1:4½	1:4	1:3
Self-reliant	1:2	1:2	1:2	1:2
Aggressive	1:39	1:9	1:8½	1:8
Inattentive	1:2	1:3	1:4	1:4
Adequate concentration	1:2	2:3	5:7	3:4
Avoids difficulties	1:3	1:4	1:4	1:4
Faces up to ordinary conditions	2:3	4:9	3:7	1:2
Perseveres	1:43	1:5	1:11	1:4
Good sense of discipline	1:11	1:4	1:3½	6:13
Average " " "	5:9	2:3	1:3	1:2
Poor " " "	1:3	1:11	1:5	1:20
Resents correction	1:3	1:12	1:5	1:9
Accepts correction	2:3	4:7	1:2	3:5
Good mixer	1:3½	1:2	1:3½	1:2
Solitary	1:9	1:18	1:5	1:18

Only a reasonably close approximation has been given in this table, for the purpose is to show only very marked differentiations:-

(a) between Norwood children and the others;

(b) between boys and girls.

APPENDIX 28 (c)

CHARACTER PROFILES

Indicating agreement or disagreement with the school assessment of
Orphanage children by House Parents.

	<u>BOYS</u>		<u>GIRLS</u>	
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Very good conduct	4	-	4	4
Satisfactory	22	2	22	1
Bad "	-	10	1	1
Good industrious worker	3	-	3	6
Average " "	20	2	15	3
Lazy " "	4	9	3	3
Quick tempered	4	5	3	3
Moody	9	4	5	-
Even tempered	7	9	13	6
Co-operative	19	4	19	4
Non-co-operative	3	7	3	4
Rebellious	-	5	-	1
Timid	3	5	2	5
Self-reliant	13	4	12	6
Aggressive	1	8	2	3
Inattentive	6	12	3	4
Adequate concentration	12	2	21	4
Avoids difficulties	4	8	1	8
Faces up to ordinary conditions	15	4	16	1
Perseveres	-	-	2	2
Good sense of discipline	3	-	6	3
Average " "	18	4	11	4
Poor " "	1	9	3	5
Resents correction	-	10	3	4
Accepts	23	3	20	2
Good mixer	5	1	6	1
Solitary	2	1	1	6

Not all assessments of House Parents gave a definite indication of agreement or disagreement with assessment of school teacher. Only clearly indicated agreement or disagreement has been indicated in this table.

APPENDIX 29

A COMPARISON OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF 'WELL-BALANCED' AND 'DISTURBED' CHILDREN.

Table X_1

Position in family	Well-balanced Total - 30	Ratio	Disturbed Total - 10	Ratio
Only child	9	1:3-1/3	3	1:3-1/3
Younger of 2 children	2	1:4-2/7	3	1:2
Youngest of 3 children	4		-	
Youngest of 4 "	1		-	
Older of 2 "	3	1:6	1	1:10
Oldest " 4 "	1		-	
Oldest " 6 "	1		-	
In-between 3 "	4	1:7 1/2	1	1:10
Third youngest of 4 chn.	1	-	-	-
Second oldest " 4 "	1	-	-	-
Second youngest " 5 "	1	-	-	-
Third oldest " 6 "	1	-	-	-
Twin	1	-	1	1:10

<u>Category of Parent</u>	<u>Table X_2</u>		X_2	
Widow	4	1:7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1:3-1/3
Widower	5	1:6	1	1:10
Non-Jewish father	8	1:3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3	1:3-1/3
Divorced	10	1:3	3	1:3-1/3
Neurotic	7	1:4-2/7	4	1:2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mental hospital	2	1:15	0	-
Foreign parentage	5	1:6	0	-
Chronic invalids	6	1:5	1	1:10
Unmarried mothers	6	1:5	3	1:3-1/3

Table X_3

Category of Child.				
Illegitimate	8	1:3 1/2	2	1:5
(None of the children were aware of their status).				

APPENDIX 29 (Contd.)

Contact with Parent

Table X
4

Frequent & regular visits	13	1:2-1/3	5	1:2
Parents live in provinces	4	1:7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	1:3-1/3
" " abroad	3	1:10	0	-
" correspond regularly	15	1:2	6	1:1-2/3
" rarely correspond	9	1:3-1/3	1	1:10
" rarely see children	5	1:6	1	1:10

APPENDIX 29.

A COMPARISON OF CHARACTERISTICS OF 'WELL-BALANCED' AND 'DISTURBED' CHILDREN.

Table X₅

Y E A R S.

<u>Age when assessed</u>	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Less than 1
Balanced	8	4	6	7	3		2								
Disturbed	-	1	2	-	3	2	2								

Table X₆

Age when admitted

Balanced	-	-	2	1	7	4	7	4	2	3					
Disturbed	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	2	1	5					

Table X₇

Duration of stay

Balanced	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	2	6	6	7	4	-	1
Disturbed	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	3	2	-	1	-	2

APPENDIX 30 (a)

Case Histories.

A. The ten children assessed as problem children by both teachers and Houseparents.

(1) FRANCES B. The assessment took place when she was 9½ years of age. She was conceived whilst her mother was contemplating divorcing her husband, whom she had grown to loathe. The mother admitted that she hated this child, who was conceived of lust from a partner she hated. Frances was sent to Norwood, some 200 miles from home, at the age of 5, together with her brother. She was, and remained, a chronic enuretic. She was not amenable to discipline: during her first years was contra-suggestible, aggressive and defiant. Her teachers found her rude, with a defiant attitude. She improved considerably, and participated in social activities, being susceptible to praise and fondling. Continually expressed her detestation of everyone - although her actions belied her words. Frequently expressed her longing for her mother, and desired to rejoin her, although she knew this to be impossible. There have been no delinquent tendencies. Her brother was one of the most popular boys, and had been assessed as having a most balanced personality. His enuresis had disappeared.

(2) ROSE D. The assessment took place when she was 12 years of age, after she had been at the Orphanage for over 7 years, being admitted at the age of five years. Her mother was a widow, with a somewhat dull intellect. All the maternal relatives had married out of the faith. Rose was an only child, and had been a chronic enuretic that had latterly been cured. She had passed through many phases of delinquency, although she had improved in recent years. Some few years ago she claimed that an 'elderly man' had masturbated in front of her. The story was corroborated by another girl, but no man was found for identification. The mother was over-indulgent and visited regularly. Rose tended to be sly, but this attitude was probably due to a conspiracy between mother and daughter to keep secret the nature of the home background. Although at one time she was a solitary girl, she recently developed more normal social tendencies, and participated in the corporate life of the Home. Her sullen resentment of regulations lessened, but she retained her delinquent tendencies, and she has not rid herself of her negative qualities, as the assessment revealed.

(3) DENISE D. The assessment took place when she was ten years of age, and had been at Norwood for five years. Her conduct varied from being very sweet to having uncontrollable tantrums. She was the younger of two daughters of a mixed marriage. Her father, to whom she appears to have been very devoted, was a Roman Catholic, whilst her mother's family had close contact with the Jewish Community. The mother had casual employment during the summer months, and had been able to see her daughters during the winter holidays only. The relatives on both sides have shown a keen interest in the welfare of the children. The elder daughter has 'mothered' Denise at the Orphanage. When frustrated, Denise has burst into severe temper-tantrums and has been almost completely unmanageable. The elder sister was the

the reverse of her sister in most ways - sweet, equable temperament, popular at school and at the Home, both with children and staff.

(4) FAYE G. The assessment took place when she was ten years of age, and had been at Norwood for but a few months. She was the younger of twins, and, in addition, has two elder brothers, one at home with the father and one abroad. Her father was a widower, who found her unmanageable at home, and referred her to a Child Guidance Clinic. He has not maintained frequent contact with her, either by visits or correspondence since admission. Faye was a high-spirited girl, who made a keen effort to attract admiration by her tales about her capabilities, but for a long time refused to participate in corporate activities. She made few friends, and was moody and defiant. Since the assessment she has improved, having had a change of class teacher and housemother. She has also made friends, although she was still somewhat withdrawn and inhibited. Her twin brother presented no problem; adapted himself and became popular very quickly with both staff and children.

(5) MAUREEN C. The assessment was made when she was thirteen years of age, and had been at Norwood for about 8½ years. She was an in-between of three daughters. The youngest is her step-sister.

Her mother was a widow in the poorest of circumstances, and the children were brought up in nurseries, prior to admission to Norwood. Maureen was ill-nourished as an infant. The mother was an ignorant, uncouth woman, who led an immoral life, and her daughter suspected that she and at least one of her sisters were illegitimate. Maureen became ashamed of her mother, of her poverty, of her ignorance, her repulsive figure, the more especially as she grew older, and began to feel that she was growing to resemble her features. At the same time she confessed to jealousy of her mother's preference for her younger sister, and she felt sensitive about her mother's relationships with men.

Maureen developed delinquent tendencies and always suspected people's motives. An intelligent girl, - she quickly won the affection of would-be friends, but she would soon test their reactions and snub and defy them after a while, as though unwilling to believe that they could be sincere in their offer of friendship. She was often defiant and insolent, and a ring-leader in any 'conspiracy' against authority. She had quite a domineering personality, with qualities of leadership.

Her elder sister was a delinquent, and developed a cyclic depressive temperament. She had been worried about her illegitimacy.

The youngest sister had not developed any markedly negative characteristic, but displayed a similar bent for leadership.

(6) IRVING W. This boy was assessed at ten years of age. He was the only child of a divorced mother, who had been deserted by her husband after he had served a term of imprisonment. The mother had always been attached

to the boy. For some considerable period they slept in the same bed, and it was thought that much of his disturbed behaviour was due to the excessive sexual interest aroused in the boy through these sleeping habits. Irving was retarded. He had a sweet nature, when not crossed, but when frustrated he developed temper-tantrums, became extremely violent and dangerous. He was a chronic enuretic. He was an out-patient at Maudsley and, at one time, was considered for admission as an in-patient. But, latterly, he improved, and was receiving only intermittent treatment.

(7) ALAN M. Alan was assessed at the age of ten. He was the illegitimate son of a devoted mother who, since the test has taken him to Australia. There was a close bond of friendship between him and his mother. He took an active part in the corporate life of the Home, and was popular with the staff and children, but was prone to outbursts of temper and defiance of authority.

(8) STANLEY B. He was assessed at 13 years of age, having been admitted at the age of twelve when he was taken in care as being beyond control. He had been in a school for maladjusted children, but made such good progress that he was returned home. Owing to the discord there, he soon deteriorated. His father was a chronic invalid who, it is alleged, got drunk and quarrelled violently with his wife. Stanley had two married sisters in comfortable positions, who had little voluntary contact with him, and his unmarried brother lived away from home, finding it impossible to stand the strain of the constant quarrels. Stanley was eager to go to his mother on every available opportunity, but when there quarrelled with his father whom he has sworn 'to kill' when he grows up. Stanley was intelligent, but felt uncertain in the company of contemporaries. He antagonised boys and demonstrated his sense of insecurity by his constantly irritating conduct. He felt secure in the company of young children and girls; otherwise, and when in a quiet mood, he became solitary.

(9) IVAN V. He was eight years old when assessed, and had been at Norwood for but a few months. He was taken into care because his mother was in a bad nervous condition, and unable to look after him, although physically he was in good condition. He is illegitimate. The mother divorced her husband, and had no contact with him, or with the daughter of her marriage. Ivan was a pleasant boy, when not defiant and up to mischief. His contra-suggestibility was marked before coming to Norwood, and he improved considerably.

(10) LAURIE S. His mother married by proxy an American soldier. She attempted to join her husband, but was obliged to return because he refused to maintain her or her child. She had another child in America, but had him adopted shortly after his birth. After she returned to England, Laurie was placed in a nursery, but gradually he became out of hand. The mother claims he was slow to walk and talk, and slow in his social development. He remained retarded at Norwood, and the difficulties in his conduct may be attributed in

some degree to his retardation. The mother re-married, and had a child of this second marriage. The mother stated that Laurie was extremely jealous of the first baby in America, and has shown similar signs of jealousy with this one.

APPENDIX 30b

Case histories of ten of the thirty children who were assessed as
'well-balanced' by both teachers and houseparents

- (1) MICHAEL B. Date of birth 28.2.42 Admitted 17.4.47. Duration of stay, 7 years.

The background of this case was the same as that of his sister, Frances, which has been given in the group of 'disturbed' children.

On his admission he was retarded. He attempted to ingratiate himself by 'sneaking', although he himself was often involved in the trouble, which was usually of a trivial nature. He was very timid, and always sought affection and the attention of adults. He was weak in health and enuretic. His mother was intelligent, but over-anxious. She took a keen interest in his welfare, wrote regularly and saw the children at intervals.

Although he was classified as retarded when first at school, he improved so considerably as to win a place in a Central School, where he has done extremely well. He has taken an active part in the corporate life of Norwood, and was popular with boys and staff. He has had the same Houseparent in charge of him and had had a constant Foster Uncle, since admission.

- (2) ISRAEL B. (d. of b. 23.4.40. Admitted 11.10.50. Duration of stay, 3 years.

Israel was the illegitimate son of a Dutch woman, who was raped when 14 years of age. The child was fostered with Christians during the Nazi occupation of Holland, although the mother regularly visited him as a 'friend'. As a result of the intervention of the grandparents, who were observant Jews, a Court Order was obtained for custody of the child, and suddenly Israel found himself with a Jewish mother leaving for England, where he was placed as a pupil in an Orthodox Jewish Residential School. The mother became a housekeeper, and Israel was eventually placed in Norwood. She wished to marry, and felt that Israel was a burden to her. There was little display of affection on either side, and eventually the grandfather adopted him. Unknown to Israel, the mother married, and after becoming pregnant, became depressed whenever she was expected to see her son. Eventually, she emigrated with her husband, and severed all connection with her son. Meanwhile, his grandparents returned to Holland, and eventually emigrated to Australia, where they had another daughter. They promised to send for Israel when they settled down.

Letters were sent to Israel very intermittently, and at times he felt completely rejected. He complained bitterly at first about his being taken from the home of the Dutch people who had looked after him from infancy, and whom he regarded as his natural parents. He confessed to having little feeling for his mother, but to having some affection for his adoptive parents. Intermittently, he had long moods of depression, and was quite solitary, giving expression to his rejection by excessive masturbation and displaying some homosexual tendencies.

He showed a keen interest in school work, and latterly developed powers of leadership, and, as fresh evidence became available of the

sincerity of his adoptive parents, he became more sociable. From being contra-suggestible, irreligious, cynical and negative in his approach to routine matters, he became a most reliable family leader, and almost devout in his religious practices. Although at first he found it difficult to establish social relationships, and often refused to respond to the offers of friendship by well-meaning prospective 'foster uncles', he eventually established good relationships, and responded warmly to offers of friendship.

(3) JEANETTE C. (D. of birth 29.4.40. Admitted 28.4.52. Duration of stay: 2 years. Jeanette's father was killed in a plane accident in 1946. Her mother became converted to Christianity before his death, and later had a nervous breakdown. She had four illegitimate children. The relatives were all in comfortable financial positions. Because of the way of life of the mother, the children were all taken from her. Two were in Israel, one was with an aunt, a younger brother was at the Orphanage, and Jeanette has passed from the care of one aunt to another. It had been the intention to send Jeanette to Norwood at the same time as her younger brother, but she refused to leave her mother, to whom she has always been attached. She loathed her eldest aunt, who was her self-appointed guardian, and who, occupying a prominent position in public affairs, was ashamed of the family scandal, and lost no opportunity of emphasising her 'noble' role, and the disgrace brought about by her sister.

Jeanette was a very attractive, intelligent child, accomplished in all forms of sport. She was extremely popular with staff and children, without going out of her way to attract popularity. She remained very attached to her mother. Her relatives took a consistent interest in her, and she spent all her school holidays with them. At times she was depressed, especially when thinking of her mother; but she quickly recovered and did not go to extremes of over-exuberance.

(4) HOWARD K. (D. of b. 10.9.43: Adm. 28.4.52. Duration of stay - 2 years.)

Parents were separated at time of admission, and had since been divorced. Mother was living with sister, with close contact with her father. An excellent family background - all closely attached. The mother was in a neurotic condition when admission was sought, and she consented to the parting with her son with great reluctance. At first, Howard told his mother that he was neglected at the Orphanage, in order to persuade her to withdraw him, but he since settled down extremely well. The mother saw him weekly. Howard spent part of all school holidays with his mother. He became extremely happy, and was very popular with boys and staff. The mother was courting, and her fiancé took a keen interest in Howard, who returned his affection.

(5) TERENCE P. (D. of b. 3.4.41; admitted 15.6.49. Duration of stay - 5 years).

Was in Banstead Residential School 7.3.46. He was an illegitimate son, with two illegitimate brothers, one older and one a year younger. The putative father was a Scandinavian sailor, who never returned to England.

The mother married, and had a daughter by this marriage. The two illegitimate children were placed in a Residential Nursery, the younger being adopted when a few months old by relatives. There was no contact with the mother until 1954 when, as a result of a follow-up of a housing application made in 1945 by the mother, the L.G.C. drew her attention to the presence of her son at Norwood. Contact was then made with a view to the son returning to his mother. Terence, in view of what appeared to be his desertion by the mother, had been considered suitable for fostering, if not adoption, and keenly interested friends had been found. The reunion with the mother was a puzzling situation for him, and, at first, he registered little response, confessing that his mother seemed to mean little to him. Since then, he visited her regularly, and spent occasional holidays with her. He was a cheerful boy, with a good sense of fun, and a keen sportsman. He was popular with boys, girls and staff.

During his first years at the Orphanage, he seemed to resent correction, and was a source of concern both there and at School. He was regarded as slow at school, but it was found in 1954 that there had been a mistake in his date of birth, making him a year older than he actually was. His character and scholarship progressively improved to reach the stage where he became regarded as a very well-balanced boy.

- (6) STEPHANIE G. (D. of b. 2.7.43. Adm. 6.8.52. Duration of stay - 2 years.)

Parents divorced. The father had been in prison. The mother was always devoted. She lived with grandparents, who could no longer tolerate or care for the children. The relatives were in a comfortable financial position, but unable or unwilling to assist. Stephanie was above the average in intelligence, she was a chronic enuretic. The mother visited the child weekly, and had her home during the holidays for as long as possible. Stephanie had a younger brother at the Orphanage, with whom she did not get on very amiably.

- (7) CHARLOTTE K. (Born 5.6.43. Adm. 9.8.50. Duration of stay - 4 years.)

Charlotte's eldest three brothers died. Her parents were divorced and the father was in Australia. The mother left the children at the Orphanage and went to live in India. She wrote regularly. She had a cousin and other relatives, who, at one time, showed interest, but partly on account of mother's objection, and, partly on account of other reasons, they all gradually passed into the background. Charlotte made excellent contacts with a Foster Aunt. She had a younger brother at the Orphanage with whom she maintained a fairly good relationship.

- (8) DORIS W. (D. of b. 7.10.39. Adm. 11.8.48. Duration of stay - 6 years)

Was admitted to a local authority Home in 1944. It is uncertain as to whether she was an orphan or illegitimate. The alleged father is dead, and mother was in a mental hospital. In 1949 arrangements were made for her to be boarded out, with a view to adoption, but they fell through. She passed through many phases of being rude, defiant, self-willed and untidy,

but was always acknowledged as being generous and co-operative. She became Captain of girls in sports, and eventually was most popular with staff, with boys and girls. She established good relationship with a Foster Aunt. She spent all her holidays with her, but indicated a preference to live in a hostel when she left with a view to emigrating.

(9) RAYMOND F. (D. of b. 13.4.42. Adm. 22.3.48. Duration of stay - 6 years.)

The mother deserted her three sons for the second time when Raymond was 4 years of age. She deserted the first time when he was 2 years of age. The children were in an L.C.C. Home, and were transferred to Norwood from there. Raymond was admitted to the first Home when he was 4 years and 3 months. The father was a regular soldier. The maternal grandmother took a keen interest in the children. The elder brother had many serious illnesses, which accounted for considerable attention being shown him by relatives. The father has shown interest, but has not been so devoted as grandmother. There has never been any markedly brotherly attachment between any of the three brothers towards one another. Raymond was keen on all forms of sport. He has been about average in school attainments, but was always eager to perform all monitorial tasks, and discharged well responsibilities he was eager to hold. He had a bright and cheerful disposition.

(10) PHYLLIS L. (D. of b. 27.10.42. Adm. 26.7.50. Duration of stay - 4 years).

Putative father died eight weeks after her birth. The mother was an old Norwood girl, who had two children prior to the birth of Phyllis, both of whom were adopted. She married, when Phyllis was 7 years old, but was separated after a few weeks.

The doctor thought that bringing up Phyllis was too great a strain, and the mother complained that Phyllis was getting out of hand.

She was somewhat retarded in her school work, but she liked to participate in all school and class activities. A lively nature, she easily made social contacts, anxious to please, ready to grumble, but with a good sense of humour. She had a good relationship with mother, who was frequently in and out of hospital. She had a regular foster aunt, but has never spent an over-night visit with her. She regularly expressed a longing to spend a holiday with people in a 'normal home.' She was always longing to live a 'normal life', but adapted herself with a smile to the inevitable. Her readiness to grouse and grumble, and her ability to form easy social contacts, were her outstanding personal characteristics.

ANALYSIS OF RELATIONSHIPS OF CHILDREN ACCORDING TO

- a) Length of stay at the Home Orphanage
 b) " " " with Houseparent

		Good Relationships with H/parent				Poor Relationship with H/parent				Those who had 'friends'				Those who had no 'friends'				Good Relationships with relatives			
Length of stay at Home		Boys	Girls	Gab.*	Tot.	Boys	Girls	Gab.*	Tot.	Boys	Girls	Gab.*	Tot.	Boys	Girls	Gab.*	Tot.	Boys	Girls	Gab.*	Tot.
Under 12 mths.	Total	3	2	8	13	4	7	0	11	0	0	2	2	7	9	6	22	6	8	8	22
1 - 2 yrs.	23	5	3	9	17	5	1	0	6	2	1	1	4	8	3	8	19	7	2	8	17
2 - 3 yrs.	30	13	3	5	21	5	4	0	9	6	2	1	9	12	5	4	21	17	6	4	27
3 yrs & over	82	34	18	2	54	16	12	0	28	24	15	0	39	26	15	2	43	47	31	3	81
Total	159	55	26	24	105	30	24	0	54	32	18	4	54	53	32	20	105	77	47	23	147
Length of stay with H/parent.																					
Under 12 mths.	88	30	16	16	62	13	13	0	26	14	5	3	22	29	24	13	66	37	28	16	81
1 - 2 yrs.	37	16	5	6	27	6	4	0	10	9	5	0	14	13	4	6	23	20	9	5	34
2 - 3 yrs.	22	6	4	2	12	9	1	0	10	8	5	1	14	7	0	1	8	14	5	2	21
3 yrs & over	12	3	1	0	4	2	6	0	8	1	3	0	4	4	4	0	8	6	5	0	11
	159	55	26	24	105	30	24	0	54	32	18	4	54	53	32	20	105	77	47	23	147

* Gab - refers to children 6 - 9 yrs. of age separately housed in the Gabriel Home.

APPENDIX 32.

ANALYSIS OF PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP OF CHILDREN AND a) Houseparent; b) relatives; c) friends

Name of H/M	Length of Service at home	Period in chg. of 'Family'	Roll of Family	Age Range of children	Period in Family under care of H/M							No. with H/M since adm.	Good re-lation-ship with H/M	Poor re-lation-ship with H/M	Wager to see parent & discuss problems	Indiff. to	No friend	Good re-lation-ship with friend	Indiff. relation-ship with friend		
					less than 1 yr.	1-2yr.	2-3	4-4	4-5	5-6	6 & over.										
Miss Armstrong	3 yr.	1 mth	12	8½-10½	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	10	2	11	1	11	1	0		
" Saalfeld	3½ "	3½ yr.	14	12-14½	0	5	1	8	-	-	-	3	4	10	13	1	7	5	2		
" Morgan	3½ "	3½ "	13	9-13	5	1	3	4	-	-	-	7	3	10	13	0	5	8	0		
Mrs. Jacobs	9 "	2 "	11	12-14½	3	8	-	-	-	-	-	0	8	3	9	2	6	3	2		
Miss Gibson	14mth	14mth	14	6½-9	10	4	-	-	-	-	-	7	14	0	13	1	11	2	1		
" Wynne	10yr	3 yr.	10	6-8½	6	2	2	-	-	-	-	7	9	1	10	0	9	1	0		
Mr. Williams	6yr.	6 yr.	17	10½-14½	1	3	8	0	2	3	-	2	10	7	14	3	10	5	2		
Miss Appleby	6mth	6mth	12	8½-10½	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	8	8	4	9	0	3		
Mrs. Bolton	1yr.	6wks.	10	8-10½	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	10	0	10	0	5	4	1		
Mr. Crowther	1yr.	1 yr.	14	11-14½	2	12	-	-	-	-	-	0	14	0	13	1	5	9	0		
Mr. Longstreath	1yr.	4mth.	16	11-14½	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	14	2	14	2	10	6	0		
Mr. Carlbach	5yr.	3 yr.	17	9-14	4	7	6	-	-	-	-	6	5	12	17	0	13	0	4		
					160	6-14½	81	42	20	12	2	3	-	34	105	55	145	15	101	44	15

APPENDIX 33.

Extract from letter of 'Old Boy'.

True enough, as you yourself and others have told me, this is a country of great opportunities, but so far only material. Please get one fact clear. I came to Australia in the hope that I would be accepted by my grandparents as the son they had been waiting for, and that I would be treated as such. Instead, I have been treated as an unwanted outcast, an illegitimate child, and one who is despised because he has spent the first nine years as a Christian (A fact which came about through circumstances, and not my own choosing). In the 17 years that I have lived on this earth, religion has caused me as much trouble as I would ever want. There were many times when I sat through the Service in the Synagogue at Norwood, really enjoying it, but constantly reminded of the fact that there were a large majority of beings who were in there for reasons other than their own choosing, a fact which, as you know, spoilt every Service. Many children will leave Norwood wishing never to see another Synagogue again, because of being forced to submit to religion.

Appendix 34
List of Occupations of Girl Leavers.
1872 — 1935
Data extracted from Annual Reports.

Occupations	1872	1878	1882	1884	1885	1887	1888	1901	1907	1910	1911	1912	1927	1935
	①	Number entering in year												②
Domestic Service	✓								5	5	3	3		✓
School Teaching	✓	2	2		1		1							
Dressmaker		1	1					2	6	6	3	2	5	✓
Cook		1	1					1						
Milliner		1												
Home Duties		1	5				1	1				1	2	✓
Tailoress			3	1									1	✓
Shoe Machinist			1											
Nursery Maids			2	1		1								
Mantle Maker			1		1							2		
Button-hole Maker				1										
Feather Maker				1							2			
Draper					1									
Nursery Governess						1								
Artificial Flower Maker						1								
Nursing								3						
Book-keeper								1			1			
Machinist								1			1			✓
Fancy leather Trade									1					
Corset Making									1		1			
Hairdressing									1			2	1	✓
Cigarette Making									1			5		
Show-room Assistant									1					✓
Clerk										1		1	3	✓
Shoe Trimmer										1	1			
Workroom										1				
Sweet Packer										1				
Jewellery Polisher										1	1			
Sponge Factory										1				
Underclothing Business											1		1	✓
Cashier											1			
Outfitting											1			
Grocery Shop											1			
Shorthand-typist												1	2	
Florist												2		
Dressing-gown Maker												1		✓
Blouse Maker												1		
Waistcoat Maker												1		
Shop Assistant												1		✓
Leather Work														✓
Beauty Culture														✓
Pearl and Bead Stringing														✓
Upholstery														✓
Forewoman in factory														✓
Cutting and Designing														✓
Canvassing														✓
Sports Wear Making														✓
Commercial Traveller.														✓

① Exact Number not given in Annual Report.

② This is an analysis of 153 girls under the supervision of the Girls After-Care Committee. The exact number in each occupation is not given in the Annual Report which, however, stated that there was 'a very small number in Domestic Service.'

Appendix 35

Data extracted from Annual Reports.

Occupation.	1872.	1882	1884	1885	1887	1888	1901	1906	1908	1909	1910	1912	1935
	Number entering in year												
City of London School	1												
Carpenter	1							1		1			
Shoemaker	1	3		1	1	2							2
Tailor	1	5	3	2	1	1	1	1			1	4	
Diamond Cutter	1											1	
Carver and Gilder	1												
Warehouseman			1		2	2		3	2		1	7	23
Metal Worker		1											
Woodcarver		1					1						
Chair and Coach Maker		1											
Fancy Warehouseman		1											
Saddler		1											
Cabinet Maker		2		3			2	1		1	1	3	
Student at Jews' College		1				1							
Assisting Parents at home		3											
Clerk.			1		1		2	4			1	1	11
Art Publishing			1										
Gas fitter and plumber			1					1					
Barometer maker			1										
Pawnbroker			1										
Optical Instrument Maker				2	1								
Jewellers.				2				1	1				
Slipper Maker				1									
Upholsterer				1		1	1						1
Furrier				2							1	1	2
Watchmaker				1		1	1	2			1		4
Ticket Writer				2	1								
Engraver				1	1				1		1	1	
Diamond Polisher					1			1					
Tin plate Worker					1		1						
Gun and general engraver					1								
Ornamental glazier					1	1							
Hairdresser					1				1	1		1	3
Fancy Cabinet Maker						1		2					
Looking-glass maker								1					
Printer								1	1	1			7
Silversmith									2				
Medallist and Jeweller							1						
Iron moulder							1						
Leather faector							1						2
Printer's reader							1						
Engineer							1		1	2	2		6
Potter's gilder							1						
Potter's modeller							1						
Lead light maker								2	1	1			
Spectacle frame maker								2					1
Electrical engineer								2	2		1		
Dental Mechanic								1	2	1	4	2	
Stock mounter								1					
Shop fitter								1					
Typist									3				
Measure Cutters									3		1		
Optician									3				
Locksmith									2				
Electro plater									2	1			
Toolmaker									1				
Hot water fitter									1				
Van builder									1				
Fret Cutter									1				
Heraldic Engraver									1				
Chemist										1			
Locksmith										1			
Instrument Maker										1			
Measure Cutter										2			
Metal Spinner										1			
Smith										1			
Facia Letter Maker										1			
Electrician										1			
Plasterer										1			
Monumental Masons											2		
Electric clock makers											2		
Waterproofer											1		
Metal Enameller											1		
Glass Embosser											1		
Training Ship													
Hat Maker												2	2
Outfitter												1	12
Page Boy												1	
Portmanteau maker												1	
Gold locker													
Secondary Grammar Schools													11
Wireless													10
Army and Mercantile Marine													6
Fruit Merchant													1
Post Office													1
Catering													1
Dentistry													1

נוח צדק

JEWS' HOSPITAL & ORPHAN ASYLUM.

LOWER NORWOOD.

(Removed from Mile End and the Tenter Ground),

For the Support of the Aged, and for the Education and Employment of Youth.

REGULATIONS

WITH RESPECT TO THE ADMISSION OF

CANDIDATES FOR ELECTION TO THE BENEFITS OF THIS CHARITY.

1.—Each applicant, whether for a pension or for the admission of a child, must send a petition to the Secretary on the printed form, to be obtained from him, duly signed by two or more Governors, and must produce certificates in accordance therewith.

2. Adults must be bachelors or widowers, spinsters or widows, 55 years of age or upwards, and must produce such certificates of character and age as shall be satisfactory to the Committee. They must be either British subjects, or must have resided in the United Kingdom for at least 10 consecutive years, immediately prior to the application.

3. Adults if receiving assistance from any other Charity, or possessing a permanent income of £12 per annum, must, if elected, within 3 months after election, relinquish such charitable assistance or permanent income, or their election will be void.

4.—Children deprived of one parent may be admitted as candidates between the ages of 2 and 11; children whose parents are both living may be admitted as candidates: if boys, between the ages of 9 and 11; if girls, between the ages of 8 and 12.

5.—Children cannot be admitted as Candidates for election unless one parent is or was a British subject, or has for at least two years immediately prior to such admission, or for the last two years of his or her life, been resident in the United Kingdom.

6.—Boys will not be retained as inmates after the age of 14 years, nor girls after the age of 15 years.

7.—Not more than three children of the same parents shall be allowed to be inmates at the same time, nor shall more than two children of the same parents be candidates at any one election.

8.—Children before being accepted by the Committee as candidates, must produce certificates of attendance and conduct from the Masters or Mistresses of such schools as they may have attended, and must pass an examination according to the following scale. That is to say:—

Between 7 and 8—*English*: Reading, and spelling words of one syllable. *Hebrew*: Joining letters and points. *Arithmetic*: Simple addition.

Between 8 and 9—Proportionately more advanced in education.

Between 9 and 10—*English*: Reading, and spelling words of two syllables. *Hebrew*: Reading easy passages. *Arithmetic*: Addition, subtraction, and multiplication table up to 6 times 12.

Between 10 and 12—*English*: Reading and spelling fluently from an easy book, such as is used in the Government 3rd Standard. *Hebrew*: Reading passages from the Daily Prayers, and showing some knowledge of the Ten Commandments. *Arithmetic*: First four simple rules.

9.—Children applying for admission as candidates, must be examined and approved by the Medical Officer of the Institution. Should any serious physical or mental defect occur after such examination, and before admission, the child so affected will not be admitted as an inmate, nor have any claim on the funds of the Charity. The election, however, shall not be declared void, but shall remain in abeyance for 6 months, during which time, if the child shall produce a satisfactory certificate from the Medical Officer, that such infirmity is entirely removed, he or she shall be received as an inmate; but failing such certificate the election will, at the expiration of such 6 months, be void.

10.—On a child's election and prior to its admission, at least two respectable persons shall engage on its behalf to remove such child without any expense to the Charity, or to provide for its maintenance, or to pay the Charity for its support, if they or either of them shall be called upon to do so by the Committee.

11.—The Committee have the power to reject the petition of any applicant.

12.—All applications for the admission of children as inmates must be accompanied by the following certificates, viz., certificates of birth of such child, and marriage of its parents, and, in the case of an orphan, of the burial of its parent or parents, and such other evidence as to nationality, residence, &c., as the Committee may require.

13.—Votes recorded in favour of an unsuccessful candidate, will be carried forward and added to the number of votes which may be given to such candidate at the two elections following the first, at which he shall have been a candidate. But this provision shall not relieve a candidate from the necessity of complying at each election with all the foregoing regulations.