

AUG 8 1983

Public Welfare

in

New Jersey

1630-1944

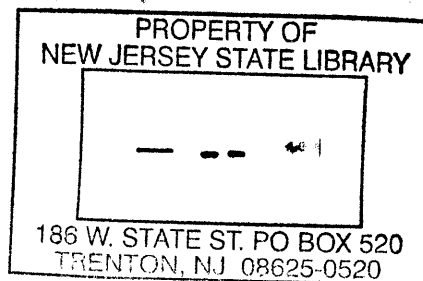
By

WILLIAM J. ELLIS*

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DEPARTMENT OF INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES
STATE OF NEW JERSEY

*Previous to the death of Mr. William J. Ellis on March 11, 1945, he served as Commissioner of the Department of Institutions and Agencies for a number of years.

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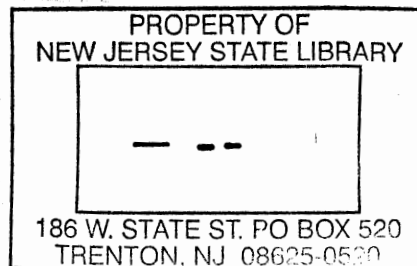
New Jersey

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By

WILLIAM J. ELLIS

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CHAPTER I

Public Welfare in New Jersey, 1630-1944

By William J. Ellis,

Commissioner, New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies

I

THE BEGINNINGS OF PUBLIC WELFARE IN NEW JERSEY

The evolution of welfare institutions and agencies from those of Colonial days to the extensive organization required today has resulted from and at the same time contributed to the growth of New Jersey into a populous and highly industrialized Commonwealth.

The State has developed a fundamental policy which has two main objectives: prevention and restoration. The aim has been to reduce and prevent the occurrence of poverty, disease, and crime. The restoration to self-sufficiency of victims of these social ills has been consistently sought. The purpose of this chapter is to trace the course of public welfare progress in New Jersey.

The Renaissance Roots of New Jersey's Welfare System—The methods New Jersey has used to implement welfare objectives have been modified as experience and the findings of research have given direction to the development of self-government. Having been settled largely by Dutch and British subjects, New Jersey inherited a welfare system which had its roots deep in the Humanist movement of the late Renaissance.

Poor relief and related procedure both in Great Britain and in the Netherlands owe much to one of the less known scholars of the early sixteenth century, Juan Luis Vives. Vives, a Spanish Friar, who came to England in the train of Katherine of Aragon, Henry VIII's first wife, was an associate of More and Erasmus. His special interest was the reform of social institutions. He was an early advocate of equality between the sexes in matters of education, and his educational theories were applied by the tutors of Henry VIII's two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, who became Queens of England. His

educational studies and his theories of insanity and mental deficiency led a recent British educator to call him "the father of modern psychology." He was also in the same sense "the father of modern social welfare."

Writing at the request of the city of Bruges, Vives in 1526 declared that it was unthinkable for a powerful city to tolerate squalor, disease, poverty, or vice. He urged the appointment of officials to search out all whose means were inadequate, to provide assistance, and to provide training and guidance to enable them to attain self-sufficiency. He proposed the vocational retraining of the physically handicapped; his program of aid to the blind has not yet been surpassed. Hospitals, to be as truly medical and psychiatric institutions as scientific knowledge would permit, were to be part of his scheme. Vives' proposal constituted a rising challenge to a world in which individual rights were being established and capitalism was replacing feudalism as the dominant social order.

The low countries took up this challenge. The Vives program still constitutes the basic welfare code of the Netherlands and Belgium. In Britain, too, Vives' proposals were eagerly scanned. A number of British cities, notably Exeter and Southampton, already had inaugurated systems which were similar in many respects to the Vives plan.

In 1572, the first Elizabethan poor law was enacted, to institute almost literally the precepts of Vives. In practice, however, the Law of 1572 was found within a few years to have serious administrative inadequacy. Admirable in a community which analyzed its problems and accepted its responsibilities, there were too few communities ready to comply. A reluctant community could easily evade its welfare responsibilities by closing its eyes to needs.

The second Elizabethan poor law, enacted in 1601, provided the necessary better administration. Declaring that each individual was entitled to relief in a community where he had roots (settlement), the Act established the office of overseer of the poor. It recognized three classes of indigent persons: those who are poor by impotence, for whom long term aid might be required; the poor by casualty, who needed help to get back on their feet; and the wilful or thriftless poor who should be subject to prosecution as vagrants; thus providing that those who were poor for causes beyond their control should be generously aided, while protecting the community against malingerers. A right of appeal to the justices of the peace was written into the law as a means of protecting the indigent against arbitrary refusal to extend aid.

Welfare Under the Dutch—Brief though the control of the Dutch was in New Jersey, from the first, settlers from the Netherlands faced the necessity for developing at least rudimentary welfare services. One of the earliest community functionaries in the small settlements which the Dutch made on both banks of the Hudson River was the "Sieckentrooster." This office, which might be translated as "Comforter of the Sick," was created under the "Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions," granted in 1629.

The "Sieckentrooster," a church official, was charged by law with the duty of seeking out the sick and the poor and obtaining appropriate assistance suited to their needs. Under the poor-relief legislation of the Netherlands, the State Church and its clergy were responsible for seeing that those persons to whom their attention had been called by the Sieckentrooster received aid. Such aid was financed by voluntary church collections, supplemented on occasion by compulsory levies.

Freedom of religion was practiced to some extent in New Netherlands, although the Dutch Reformed Church was established by law. One problem of freedom of worship was to reconcile the peculiar statutory responsibility of the State Church to finance relief regardless of the dependent's religious affiliation while the dissenting churches had the economic advantage that their members were not being solicited to contribute to relief funds.

Alms-houses, intended as homes for the impoverished aged, were operated by the Dutch Colonists, although it is not indicated in the available records that any of these institutions were located within the boundaries of what is now New Jersey.

Another welfare official in New Netherlands was the "Orphan-master." His duty was to conserve the property of widows and orphans, so as to avoid the necessity of public assistance. If an orphan had no property, the orphan-master notified the regular relief authorities. Usually orphans were "placed," that is, they were bound out under indenture to a master for whom they must work in return for maintenance and at least minimum schooling. Occasionally, the orphan-master would "bind out" children without referral to the relief authority.

Several shiploads of orphans were received in the Colony from the overseers of the poor in Amsterdam. These children were bound out under what seemed at the time to be equitable terms. They were to receive adequate food and clothing, and were to be instructed in a useful trade. On attainment of their majority, they were to receive

a cash benefit or a grant of land. Although the term of service would be shorter, the colonists preferred older children, and a report to the home officials asking that more children be sent for indenture urged that "none ought to come under 15 years."

As early as 1638, a public midwife was employed in New Amsterdam, and a hospital chiefly for soldiers and negroes was erected sometime between 1658 and 1660. Settlers west of the Hudson had to come to the capital to enjoy the use of these facilities, however.

To provide employment for the indigent, Peter Stuyvesant, in 1658, ordered that those who could not find other work be employed in the construction of a granary, in the enlargement of the church, and in the harvesting of farm crops. Although the project was operated chiefly in the "city" of New Netherlands, its effects were felt throughout the Colony. This is probably the first use of wage-paid work relief on this side of the Atlantic Ocean.

Provisions for the poor in New Netherlands were codified and standardized by the poor relief ordinance of 1661, promulgated by Peter Stuyvesant.

All-in-all, the Dutch settlers succeeded in developing a well-diversified system of public welfare in which the various needs of the poor received recognition. The extent of the provision made for the poor indicates further that the lot of the early Dutch settlers was a difficult one with much poverty. Stuyvesant complained that many settlers were "traders . . . unaccustomed to labor," when farmers and artisans were needed. But against this picture of widespread misfortune, there stood the indomitable resolve to overcome the causes of poverty and its attendant distress by those humane methods traditionally employed by the City-States of the Netherlands.

Welfare in the British Régime—The change from Dutch to British rule brought about many changes in the Colony's social institutions. The churches continued to exercise great influence and to provide material aid as well as spiritual counsel. The Elizabethan poor law became the standard for action, however, when public aid was necessary.

Between the death of Elizabeth and the period of the British conquest of New Netherlands, a revolution had occurred in the social attitudes of Britain. The austere code of the Puritans had replaced the open-handed and expansive attitude of the Elizabethan cavaliers. Labor and self-discipline were the accepted virtues of the period. Little sympathy was felt for those who were unable to meet commu-

nity standards. Inability of the able-bodied to support themselves and their dependents was considered as reprehensible as stealing.

Consequently, by the time New Jersey became a British Colony, the welfare legislation which started out to be a guarantee of social security had become a series of barriers to the obtaining of assistance.

Stafford in his "Government and the Needy" commented as follows on the undifferentiated treatment of crime and poverty in Colonial New Jersey:

"The popular notion that able-bodied pauperism was attributable solely to individual indolence gave rise at the very start to an intermingling of penology and poor relief. In the common struggle to survive the hardships of the frontier, there was no room for the indolent, no sympathy for the thriftless."

The Elizabethan poor-relief law, therefore, became the expression of a severe social policy. The provision that the decisions of the overseer of the poor be subject to judicial review evolved into a practice which involved concurrence by the justice of the peace, never in New Jersey a position enjoying the dignity it possesses in England, in decisions to grant relief. Instead of the justices serving to hear appeals against arbitrary refusals of relief, the indigent person who persuaded the overseer of the poor that he was entitled to aid had then to persuade the justices of the peace also. Slowly, an application for relief began to take on the color of a criminal prosecution in which an adult, if found guilty of requiring aid, would be given grudging assistance, but would be segregated from the general population by the severance of civil rights and by the wearing of the pauper badge.

It was customary to hold public auctions of the poor. The community asked for bids to provide food, shelter, clothing, and other necessities for the poor, who were then farmed out to the lowest bidder.

If poor families had children, it was customary to help the parents, but indenture the children to householders, who were required to instruct them in habits of industry and thrift, provide moral instruction and instruction in reading and writing, and to furnish food, clothing, and shelter. In return for this support the children were expected to perform such work as might be assigned them. Not only poor children were "bound out," but also those suffering from neglect and abuse.

The overseers of the poor were expected in a general way to see that both parties fulfilled their obligations. This plan of publicly supervised child indenture is a prototype of modern foster home placement services.

New Jersey's location between New York and Philadelphia led to an early contravention of the intent of the settlement provisions of the poor law, changing these from a guarantee of rights of the indigent to a means of limiting eligibility for aid to long term residents of the community where aid was sought. Persons deemed likely to become indigent in the Colony were transported to their original homes, or, at least, sent outside the boundaries of New Jersey. Although the Colony desired inhabitants, there seems to have been a general fear that the favorable climate and other desirable features would attract irresponsible persons, who would require public aid.

The West Jersey Colony believed in requiring the poor to work for the community and adopted an Act calling for the establishment of "workhouses" as early as 1681. When the Colony was united, the instructions to Lord Cornbury, Royal Governor in 1702, called for the establishment of "workhouses" for the "employment of the poor." But the first such institution was not established until 1748. Then Middlesex County opened an institution for "the education and bringing up of poor children . . . for the self-maintenance of disorderly persons, vagabonds, and vagrants, for the punishing of runaway slaves, and as a house of refuge for paupers, and insane persons." Stafford considers this institution the "forerunner of the nineteenth century almshouse."

The treatment of slaves in the Colony was moderate. Little evidence of the fear of slave revolts which led to the repressive measures encountered in other states is to be found in New Jersey archives. Even runaway and criminal slaves seem to have received sympathetic hearings.

The case of Marmaduke, which occupies many folios in the Colonial records of Gloucester County, is but one of many cases illustrating this point. Marmaduke, who had run away from his master in Maryland, was detected hiding in the cellar of a Gloucester County farmer, Mr. Collings. In resisting capture he seriously injured Mr. Collings. Brought to trial before the special court—slaves were tried by a panel of justices of the peace and freeholders, not by jury—he pleaded guilty to a charge of assault with intent to kill.

Completely contrary to common-law practice, Marmaduke was acquitted of this charge despite his plea. It is plain that the court

did not consider that the struggles of a runaway slave to preserve his freedom were a sufficient menace to Colonial peace and dignity to justify his execution.

There was no central prison or State penal institution during the Colonial period. Punishment was limited to the infliction of pain. This took the form of corporal punishment in its various phases—death, whipping, or public exhibition. Although each of the thirteen colonies had at least one jail, these were seldom used for the punishment of convicted prisoners, but as places of detention for offenders awaiting trial, and for the care of debtors.

The imprisonment of debtors, of course, had a close relationship to poor relief. Jails were akin to poor houses, since debtors were impoverished and were likely to remain in confinement almost indefinitely.

The local jails were usually flimsy, inflammable affairs, of frame construction. Escapes were frequent. From the "Pennsylvania Gazette" of August 4, 1737, an advertisement for the return of an escaped prisoner describes the subject as "of middle stature, hollow mouthed, his nose and chin inclined to meet . . . a weaver by trade but pretends to be a Quaker Preacher." "A forger," escaped from the Essex County sheriff, was said to be "full of palaver when drunk which is as often as can be."

Except for the occasional workhouses, there was no provision for the useful employment of prisoners, and until the close of the eighteenth century, these few facilities were used for the most part to provide relief rather than punishment.

None the less, at the end of the Colonial period, there was an organized welfare system by which the needs of those who were dependent for causes outside their control could be met. In Newark, Woodbridge, and Hopewell, where old records of poor relief are extant, the number of persons aided was considerable, and expenditures for welfare purposes represented the chief item in local government budgets.

Welfare in the Young Republic—National independence, at first, had slight influence on New Jersey's domestic institutions. From 1776 to 1789, the infant State was too busy waging a war and creating a free civil government to pay much attention to welfare legislation.

By the 1790s, however, New Jersey had become a well-established political organization. The new Federal Constitution was operating with every indication that it would endure.

Moreover, revolutionary doctrines were in the air. Even in America the French Revolution touched fundamental social and political issues which our Revolutionary War of national liberation had left untouched.

The first social institution to feel the effects of the new philosophy was in the field of correction. New Jersey, in common with other American states, and, indeed, in common with the remainder of the western world, heeded the arguments of the Italian criminologist, Cesare di Beccaria (1735-94).

Beccaria argued that excessive penalties were as ineffective in curbing crime as failure to move swiftly and surely for the punishment of crime. He advocated the substitution of imprisonment at hard labor for the various forms of physical pain and humiliation which were in general use. For each type of crime, he urged the establishment of standard terms of incarceration which would be just severe enough to outweigh the advantages of the crime and thus serve as a deterrent. Beccaria, in other words, was an advocate of "making the punishment fit the crime." This theory of penology had been anticipated in views advocated in Restoration England and embodied in the criminal codes of West Jersey at that time. Rejected as visionary in the early Colonial period, it won acceptance in an era when human values were being viewed in new lights.

During the 1790s, therefore, the New Jersey criminal code was drastically amended. Imprisonment at hard labor was substituted for the harsh earlier code. The duration of custody varied according to the "seriousness" of the offense, from a few days for various petty offenses, to many years for major felonies. Capital punishment was retained for treason and murder and for second convictions for other common-law felonies.

The adoption of the new code required the expansion of the institutional facilities, and the first State prison was authorized in 1797, built in 1798, and opened in 1799.

All inmates of the prison were expected to work at hard labor, nail making being the chief industry. Prisoners were credited with a portion of the value of the goods they produced, individual accounts being maintained "to encourage industry as an evidence of reformation." The State preserves the stone above the main entrance on which the original inscription can still be discerned:

"Labor, Silence, Penitence,
The Penitentiary House,
Erected by Legislative Authority

Richard Howell, Governor
In the XXII Year of American Independence
MDCCXCVII
That Those Who are Feared for Their Crimes
May Learn to Fear the Laws and be Useful
Hic Labor, Hoc Opus"

There was no attempt to prevent the prisoners from mingling with one another, either by day or by night, nor was there any effective division of the sexes. Women prisoners were infrequent, however. Meals consisted of "corn meal mush and molasses for breakfast and the same for supper; at dinner, soup or salt herring and bread." Water was the only beverage.

The new penal code also increased very markedly the number of persons to be cared for in county jails and workhouses. Many counties were forced to build new jails. Although some were little more than "dungeons in the basement of the courthouse," others were model institutions for this time. Indeed, the distinguished Philadelphia architect, Robert Mills, who designed the "Debtor's Jail and Workhouse" erected in 1810 by Burlington County, prepared a brief to accompany his plans, which was consistent with the most modern principles of prison architecture and administration.

Mr. Mills' brief urged the classified segregation of offenders. "Infants in crime" should not be forced to associate with "veterans in wickedness." He would provide space for work rooms where prisoners could labor not merely as punishment, but "industry should be taught by qualified instructors." Sleeping rooms should be properly ventilated and should be occupied by one person only. He would require bathing, fumigation, and quarantine of newly admitted prisoners, and periodically, of all prisoners. Finally, Mr. Mills suggested a prison motto: "Justice Which While it Punishes, Would Endeavor to Reform the Offender."

The growth of the State in population as well as the change in the penal code led to the separation of the jails and almshouses. Salem County was the first county to erect a county almshouse for the care of the poor, its action preceding the passage in 1798 of a general Act authorizing such institutions, but other counties followed swiftly. In a few counties, chiefly in the central and eastern section of the State, almshouses were municipal projects. Debtors were, however, still confined to jails.

Another special welfare service in the early years of independence had to do with the granting of "pensions" to veterans of the Revolu-

tionary War. There was no granting of allowances as a matter of right such as followed the Civil War. Each soldier had to establish his indigency as well as his war service. The chief difference between this program and ordinary poor relief lay in the fact that the courts of common pleas replaced the justices of the peace in certifying the overseer's finding. The allowances appear to have been slightly—but only slightly—more generous than poor relief grants.

PROCEEDINGS FOR SOLDIERS' PENSIONS

District of New Jersey, ss. On this fifth day of October, 1820 personally appeared in open court, before the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, of the county of Gloucester, in the state of New Jersey, being a court of record, proceeding according to the course of the Common Law—having jurisdiction unlimited in point of amount, and keeping records of its proceedings. Jacob Myers aged eighty two years & 10 months, resident in Woolwich Township in said County, who, being first duly Sworn according to law, doth, on his oath declare that he served in the Revolutionary War as follows: in the company commanded first by Captain Daniel Burket 2d in the Company commanded by Peter Byer he served in the German Regiment, commanded by Colonel Hussiker and General Peter Mulenburg, in the Pennsylvania Line—that upon a declaration made the 19th of March 1818 he obtained a pension Certificate Numbered 5501.

And I do solemnly Swear that I was a resident citizen of the United States on the 18th day of March, 1818; and that I have not since that time, by gift, sale, or in any other manner, disposed, of my property, or any part thereof, with intent thereby so to diminish it, as to bring myself within the provisions of an act of Congress, entitled "An act to provide for certain persons engaged in the land and naval service of the United States in the Revolutionary War," passed on the 18th day of March, 1818; and that I have not, nor has any person in trust for me, any property or securities, contracts, or debts due to me; nor have I any income other than what is contained in the schedule hereto annexed, and by me subscribed. Viz one Table 2 chairs & dough trough 75 cents Iron ware 50 cents Crockery Ware 25 cents, Amounting to \$1.50 cents in the whole—I have no debts due to me—I am indetted to

Dr. Hunt in the sum of \$2.50 and to Charles Saxton 70 cents I am by occupation a Smith, but unable to pursue my occupation, as I am entirely Blind and have not been able to see for 12 months past—My Family consists of my Wife Margaret aged about Sixty and two children viz Sarah aged 17 years and George aged 15 years next May my Wife's capacity is insufficient for my or her own support, my children are unable to support me, one of them works out from home for her own support.

JACOB X MYERS

JACOB \times MYERS

Sworn to & Declared on the
fifth day of Octo. 1820

his mark

Before me

JAMES MATLACK

President Proteen of said Court

(Verso) The Court are of the Opinion that the Total amount in Value of the property exhibited in the within Schedule is one Dollar and 50 cents.

\$1.50

JACOB MYERS

JAMES MATLACK

JAS. HOPKINS

CHARLES OGDEN

filed 16 October 1820

HENDRY Clk.

Mounting opposition to the institution of slavery caused the emergence of a welfare responsibility, in connection with the manumission of slaves. Not only those who sought to reward faithful service or who came to believe slavery wrong sought to set their servants free. Unscrupulous owners were known to attempt to relieve themselves of the burden of supporting superannuated or incapacitated slaves through the device of giving them their freedom.

Hence the statutory provision for manumission required the overseers of the poor and the justices of the peace to certify that the slave to be freed was "between the ages of 21 and 35 (later 40) years, free from physical or mental defects and capable of earning a livelihood."

CERTIFICATE OF MANUMISSIONS

1791

Gloucester County } We do hereby Certify that on this elev-
New Jersey SS s } enth day of October in the year of
 } Our Lord One thousand seven hundred
& Ninety One Jeffery Clark Esquire of the Township of Green-
wich in the said County of Gloucester brought before us, two

of the overseers of the poor of said Township, and two of the Justices of the Peace of said County. his Slave named Jeffery Shores who on View and examination Appears to us to be sound in mind and not under any bodily incapacity of obtaining a support, and also is not under twenty one years of Age, nor above thirty five: IN WITNESS whereof we have here unto set Our hands the 11th day of October 1791

Taken before us the day	}	Justices of the Peace
and year above Written		
JOHN SPARKS (Seal)		
THOS:CARPENTER (Seal)		
	JACOB GOODIN (Seal)	} Overseers of the Poor
	JOHN EARLEY (Seal)	
	(Verso)	

MANUMISSION

Recorded in the Clerks office of Gloucester County in
Lib A folio of Manumission of Slaves.

E CLARK Clk

The welfare developments of the first twenty-five years of the nineteenth century are difficult to appraise. The changes that occurred seemed to be changes in method rather than in social outlook. The penal system changed its method of punishment, but the emphasis remained on punishment rather than on reform, on preventing crime by fear of punishment rather than through positive help in social adjustment. The almshouse or poorhouse grew up as a social institution with but little concern for its influence on its wards. Debtors were still imprisoned. Children were still indentured, and there is little evidence that the labor of indentured children was thought of as a social evil.

Indeed, an early prospectus from the city of Paterson speaks of employment of children in the mills there as constituting a means of keeping children out of the mischief the Devil provides for idle hands.

II

A CENTURY OF INDIVIDUAL REFORMS

The year 1825, however, marked the beginning of an era of reform. A series of challenging and discerning leaders moved across the American scene, leaving behind them lasting memorials in the form of welfare institutions and ideals.

Each of these reform movements concentrated on some particular aspect of welfare service which was or seemed in need of correction or expansion. There was, at the start, no thought for a general revision of relief and correctional methods. Yet the very fact that specific remedies for specific ills were proposed, in sequence, enabled the State to strengthen weak sections in the welfare front, without risking the accusation that the proposed reforms were either impractical or un-American.

Prison Reform, 1825-60—The first of the campaigning reformers to mould New Jersey opinion was the Rev. Louis Dwight, of Boston (1793-1854). His field was prison reform.

New Jersey needed no outside help to know that conditions were bad in its State prison. A legislative commission, appointed in 1829 to study conditions at the prison, promptly reached the conclusion that the architecture of the prison was faulty, the administration incompetent and the prospect for improvement hopeless. A new start was needed in a new plant before New Jersey could expect its prison to be more than a "hatching ground for new crimes."

The report of the committee provides a graphic picture of how a correctional institution should not be run. The structure was "without form or unity in design" so that the "prisoners are removed as far as possible from the institution or control of the officers" permitting "gambling, fighting, and other mischief without detection." But the will for efficient management was lacking. "The subordinate officers are not subordinate" and engaged in traffic "between the prisoners and their keepers" in which contraband was smuggled in and out of the institution. Witnesses testified of "severe riots." Escapes were frequent, but "what is more annoying is the amount of discharged prisoners coming over the wall into the prison" to rob the institution or perhaps "securing the watch and releasing the prisoners." The "kangaroo court" of later days, meaning a group of inmates who prey on new prisoners and enforce an unwritten code of inmate behavior, was anticipated by the "Staunch gang," who by force and intimidation dominated prison life.

Supplementing this critique of the existing prison, the committee submitted a report of conditions at Connecticut's Wethersfield Prison and at Auburn in New York. It was this phase of the committee's work in which the help it had received from the Rev. Mr. Dwight was most in evidence.

This was the first of many occasions on which Mr. Dwight's coun-

sel was sought in New Jersey. As Mr. Dwight was an enthusiastic backer of the system of prison discipline used in the New York State Prison at Auburn, it was natural for the committee to include in its report a recommendation that the State of New Jersey build a "new prison on the general plan of those at Auburn in New York and Wethersfield, in Connecticut."

The "Auburn plan" was long the standard pattern of prison administration throughout the United States and is still in evidence in some places. Under the "Auburn plan" each prisoner was confined in an individual cell from which communication with other prisoners was supposedly impossible, except during working hours, when prisoners were taken to congregate shops, or work assignments under a rule of silence.

In 1829, the State of Pennsylvania opened its Eastern Penitentiary. This institution carried the Auburn plan one step further. Prisoners were kept in solitary confinement at all times; eating, sleeping, working, exercising, and receiving "moral instruction" in their individual cells. If a prisoner had to be moved, a hood was placed over his head to shield his identity and to prevent communication with other prisoners. Solitude was believed to create a state of mind favorable to reformation.

New Jersey, near Pennsylvania, caught its neighbor's enthusiasm. Consequently, when the prison situation came up for discussion in 1833, the Committee on the Prison of the 1833 Legislature and the Prison Instruction Society of New Jersey, organized to promote religious training in prisons and jails, recommended that the new prison then being discussed be built according to the Pennsylvania plan. This recommendation was accepted. The new institution, completed in 1836, had as its first principal keeper, Joseph A. Yard, of Trenton, the first president of the Prison Instruction Society.

It would be pleasant to relate that the Pennsylvania system was a success. Unfortunately this was not to be the case. As early as 1838, a legislative committee reported "few known changes for the better among the convicts." In 1840, the prison physician, Dr. James B. Coleman, reported the effect of solitary confinement on the prisoner to be "a diminished force of his organs generally. . . . The mind suffers . . . and when absolute derangement does not take place, its powers are considerably weakened."

Moreover, the capacity of the prison did not keep pace with the number of persons committed so that absolute adherence to the principle of solitude was impossible. Still another factor lay in the field of

economics. The industry chiefly used under the Pennsylvania plan was shoemaking. With the mechanization of this industry in the outside world it was no longer possible for the prisoners, using hand methods, to compete with private industry. In 1858 the Pennsylvania plan was abandoned and the prison was converted to the Auburn plan with the appropriation of funds for the construction of a shop building.

Another penal reform occurring during this time was the abolition of imprisonment for debt in 1846, the climax of the propaganda campaign stirred up by the New Jersey Howard Society.*

The influence of Louis Dwight, of Massachusetts, mentioned in connection with the establishment of the second State Prison, stimulated the establishment, in 1849, of the Prison Reform Association. The New Jersey Prison Reform Association was active from 1849 to 1852. Its campaign to create a "House of Refuge" for juvenile delinquents seemed to have been successful in 1850, when legislation was passed to establish such an institution at Kingston, but politics intervened and the project was abandoned in 1852. After Mr. Dwight's death, in 1852, the association became inactive. In addition to its work on juvenile delinquency, the association's memorial of January 25, 1850, in relation to the improvement of the county jails, specified many evils to be remedied, including "want of employment," "absence of any classification of criminals (in some instances the sexes not even being separated)," "inattention to the cleanliness and comfort of those confined" and "neglect of all moral discipline." This memorial was of prime importance in awakening public opinion concerning the evils of the jail system, even though no fundamental corrective steps were taken at the time.

The Care of the Insane—The next major development in the field of welfare progress affected the care of the insane. Public opinion had lagged far behind medical knowledge in this field. The distinguished Philadelphia physician, Dr. Benjamin Rush, had done much to prove that under certain circumstances and conditions, insanity was curable and that nothing was lost by the humane care of the mentally ill. In the heat of the French Revolution, Dr. Philippe Pinel had loosened the bonds confining the maniacs of Paris, and had demonstrated their tractability when free from mechanical restraints. Enab-

*Named for the British reformer John Howard. There are still Howard Societies in many parts of the world, their purpose now being to stimulate better management of local jails.

ling many to return to freedom and normality, Dr. Pinel was another pioneer psychiatrist.

But, except for the establishment of a few retreats where private patients were cared for in comfort, the care of the insane was a black mark on the American social conscience until Dorothea Lynde Dix, a spinster of thirty years of age, undertook, in 1841, to teach a Sunday school class in the jail at East Cambridge, Massachusetts.

What she saw there changed her whole life. She became an international leader in efforts on behalf of the insane. Her approach was direct. She assembled facts to show that the insane were treated with needless brutality, which merely served to intensify their mental disorders. She met with groups of citizens and joined them in successful efforts to induce the legislatures of their states to establish



NEW JERSEY STATE HOSPITAL AT TRENTON

Trenton Hospital is New Jersey's oldest State institution. It was founded in 1848, largely through the efforts of Dorothea Lynde Dix who became famous the world over for her early sponsorship of humane treatment for the mentally ill.

"insane asylums" and to discourage the care of the insane in other types of institutions.

The career of Miss Dix in developing facilities for the care of the insane reached a climax when Congress enacted a measure setting aside a portion of the public land for the support of institutions for the insane. Although this measure was vetoed by President Franklin Pierce, it formed the precedent for the Morrill Act passed in Lincoln's presidency to support technical and agricultural education, in the so-called "land grant" colleges, including Rutgers in New Jersey.

When Miss Dix began her work, New Jersey had no special facilities for the insane. A commission of the 1839 Legislature had examined the possibility of establishing a hospital for the mentally ill, following an appeal by Dr. Lyndon A. Smith, of Newark, President of the Medical Society of New Jersey, who became secretary of the commission. The commission's report stated that there were 695 lunatics and idiots known to the authorities. It stressed the curability of insanity as demonstrated by Pinel in Paris sixty years earlier and by existing private mental hospitals in other states. It advocated establishing an asylum in New Jersey. Unexpected support came from the State prison, where insane persons were confined. Dr. Coleman, the prison physician, whose reports have been earlier cited, was particularly concerned. In 1841 another legislative committee also expressed its fear over the lack of facilities for the care of insane prisoners whose terms expired. Considerations of caution and economy blocked this preliminary effort.

Then, in 1844, Miss Dix visited New Jersey. Already nationally famous in an era in which female reformers were still a novelty, Miss Dix's undeniable tales of horror stirred New Jersey's Legislature to take action. In the same year the Salem County Almshouse burned. No lives were lost. But the difficulty of rescuing "lunatics chained fast to their cells" was widely publicized and lent timely force to Miss Dix's arguments.

Authorized in 1846, The Trenton State Insane Asylum opened its doors in 1848 under the superintendency of Dr. H. A. Buttolph, who remained as head of the institution until 1876, when he became head of the second State Hospital at Morris Plains. Dr. Buttolph was the first of many career executives of welfare institutions in New Jersey, whose professional competence, coupled with the support of an able board of managers, assured his protection against the aggressions of the patronage system which was seen to be damaging to the morale

of the officials and employees of the prison and local jails and almshouses.

In the Civil War, Miss Dix became superintendent of nurses in the Union Army. Conservative tradition made her career in this position somewhat stormy. But by the end of the war the army nurse had won her place and Miss Dix was again victorious over social inertia. After the war, New Jersey repaid its debt to Miss Dix. An apartment was placed at her disposal at the Trenton Insane Asylum, where she lived in partial retirement until her death in 1887.

The Care of Disabled Veterans—After the Civil War, the American public was shocked at the number of disabled veterans who needed special care. To New Jersey, however, belongs the distinction of establishing the first State Soldiers' Home to meet this type of need. This institution, opened in Newark in 1866, long occupied quarters in Kearny, New Jersey. In 1932 the home moved to its third and present location at Menlo Park, New Jersey. In 1899 a second Soldiers' Home, at Vineland, was established as a memorial to New Jersey troops serving in the Spanish-American War.

Although the impetus for the establishment of soldiers' homes came from the presence in the community of men injured in the Civil War, the homes have served veterans of the Mexican, Spanish-American, and First World Wars, and men who took part in various Indian campaigns and various other military activities.

Originally, the homes received individuals whose disabilities were directly caused by their war service. As time passed, and many Civil War veterans became disabled by age or infirmity, the custom developed of providing care for disabled veterans without regard to the cause of disability. At the Vineland Home wives of veterans may also be admitted. Consequently, the Vineland Home and the institution now at Menlo Park continue to serve a useful public purpose, even though the Federal Government's veterans' facilities established after the First World War are caring for the veterans of recent wars whose disabilities are "service connected."

Institutional Care for Delinquent Boys and Girls—The goal of those early concerned with the care of delinquent children—that New Jersey should have a specialized institution for the care of boys of tender age who had violated the law—was achieved as the Civil War came to a close.

Although busy with war matters, Governor Joel Parker and the Legislature found time to study the needs of problem children. A

special commission consisting of George T. Cobb, Phineas B. Kennedy, and Samuel B. Allison, made an exhaustive study of juvenile delinquency in New Jersey and of the most effective methods to combat it.

Mr. Allison, who served as a member of this commission, was perhaps the most devoted advocate of correctional reforms of his time in New Jersey. He served as a member of virtually every special commission investigating correctional problems from 1860 to 1885. He was a prime mover in establishing the State Homes for Boys and Girls, and was a member of the boards of managers of the State Homes until his death. His family continued their interest for two generations.

The 1865 Commission on Juvenile Delinquency advocated the establishment of a State Reform Farm School, to be administered by a board of trustees appointed by the Governor, the Chancellor and the Chief Justice. The institution would receive "criminal or vagrant boys" under fourteen years of age, committed by two magistrates or by a judge of any court of record. The boys were to become wards of the trustees, who were, according to the plan, to be empowered to "detain, employ and instruct such boys" and to "indenture them when reformed." It was also recommended that the boys be organized into "families" of thirty boys with a judicious man and wife as caretakers, the several families to be united in chapel, and in a common graded school.

These recommendations formed the basis of the legislation creating the State Reform School for Boys, enacted in 1865. Two features of this legislation deserve comment. The provision made for the informal commitment without criminal court conviction was one of the forerunners of modern juvenile court legislation, while the "indenture" clause formed a precedent for later foster home placement and parole supervision of delinquent children. Property was purchased near Jamesburg, Middlesex County, and construction began at once. The first boys were received in 1867.

In 1870 a similar institution for girls was established on the outskirts of the city of Trenton. In 1900 the two institutions were renamed the State Homes for Boys and Girls, respectively, eliminating the stigma of "reform school," which had come to hamper their work.

These two institutions have provided protection and training for generations of maladjusted children. In the preparation of notes for this history, a casual reference was found in the annual report of the

boys' institution for 1882, to a visit made by the superintendent to "the first boy committed to the school . . . now a young man of twenty-eight or nine years," who was "flatteringly spoken of by all who knew him." This reference led us to investigate his life career.

A pleasing story was disclosed. Admitted in 1867, after a tragic early childhood in an alcoholic home, this boy who had engaged in a long career of thievery and other misconduct found himself in the institutional environment. He was placed for foster care, or "indentured," as the practice was then called, with a Mercer County farmer. Here he made an excellent adjustment, but the farmer died soon after the lad came to live with him. A neighbor asked to take over the responsibility of the boy. This placement turned out to be a permanent association, the boy ultimately becoming a partner in the farm operation, inheriting the farm. On his own death, he was buried in a grave adjoining that of his partner. In his later years the return of the "first boy" to the institution for visits was an encouraging example both to the boys at the home and to the staff.

The recent history of the State Homes for Boys and Girls is properly part of the history of the modern Department of Institutions and Agencies. The State Home for Boys was fortunate to have as its head from 1921 to 1923 and from 1927 until his death in 1938, the late Calvin Derrick, recognized as one of the most kindly, effective and esteemed leaders in boys' work of his time. Prior to his service in New Jersey, Mr. Derrick headed the George Junior Republic in New York State and the Preston School of Industry in California.

The Feeble-Minded—In the 1880s the welfare problem which received especial attention was the care of the feeble-minded.

The chief crusader for this class of unfortunate was the Rev. Stephen O. Garrison, who in 1888 opened the Training School at Vineland. Forty-two years earlier, Mr. Garrison's father, representing Cumberland County in the New Jersey Legislature, had introduced a measure creating a State home for feeble-minded children. This bill failed of passage. Instead the State agreed to support a limited number of backward children at the Elwyn School in Pennsylvania.

With the opening of the Training School at Vineland, however, a new era began in the care of the feeble-minded. Mr. Garrison was led to undertake his experiment by a flash of inspiration when he watched two chronologically adolescent children, whose minds had never passed kindergarten stage, entertain themselves by trying

to see which could make a rocking chair move faster. In this evidence of the competitive urge, Mr. Garrison perceived an educational principle which would facilitate the teaching of both backward and normal children.

Mr. Garrison was also instrumental in the establishment of the Vineland State School, located on property adjoining the privately incorporated State subsidized training school at Vineland.

Few could have foreseen the influence which the Training School at Vineland would come to possess. Mr. Garrison had the faculty of surrounding himself with able associates, one of whom, Professor



VINELAND STATE SCHOOL

Girls at Vineland State School enjoy leisure-time activities which are centered about the Assembly and Recreation Building.

Edward R. Johnstone, who succeeded Mr. Garrison as the director of the school, has developed the institution's record of service so that it is known throughout the world as a model school for those "whose minds have not developed normally."

Professor Johnstone came to Vineland as a young man after a period of early training which included special courses in education and in medicine at the University of Cincinnati as well as experience in the training of the mentally deficient in the Fort Wayne, Indiana, School for Feeble-Minded.

He is a man of imagination and magnetic personality. He, however, has an understanding of the possibility of an institution serving

the handicapped and also giving opportunities for intensive study, experimentation and administration.

He early linked the work of his school with the problems of public education and actively associated himself with the leaders in public school education. He organized what became a famous group of specialists in medicine, pediatrics, psychology, and education known as the "Feeble-Minded Club."

The "Feeble-Minded Club" included outstanding leaders in every field who understood the problems of mental deficiency. Professor Johnstone brought to bear their special learning and experience not only on the work of the training school, but on the needs of handicapped children in all areas. Among his closest advisers were Alexander Johnson, the first secretary of the Extension Service known as the Committee on Prevention of Mental Deficiency; Earl Barnes, a leading teacher and educator, who carried the message of special education to his wide lecture audiences; Dr. Henry A. Cotton, leading psychiatrist of the State; S. Samuel Fels, Philadelphia philanthropist and student; Judge Harry V. Osborne, one of the first juvenile court judges and a socially-minded citizen of prestige and influence; Mrs. Caroline Stevens Alexander Wittpenn, who worked with Professor Johnstone to accomplish many of the advances in social reform which they both stimulated; Governor Edward C. Stokes, of Cumberland County, who continued throughout his lifetime as a member of the board of the training school; Professor Howard Crosby Warren, of Princeton; Dean Walter T. Marvin, of Rutgers; Dean Jacob G. Lipman, of the New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station; Dr. Edgar A. Doll, Commissioner William J. Ellis, and many others.

Professor Johnstone established certain principles of institutional care, treatment, and operation which made his school the Mecca of institutional administrators. He was an intimate associate of Dr. Guy Fernald, of Massachusetts, Dr. Charles Bernstein and Dr. Charles Little of the New York institutions, and other leaders in the specialized field to which he had dedicated his life.

Vineland became a center of intensive research in developing educational methods. It extended its influence through summer schools for the training of workers in the field and of teachers for the sub-normal and deficient. This attracted support for the research laboratory, which in turn through its productive researches became famous as a center of study and originator of the means for individual

study and classification later adapted to institutional practices in many fields and to personnel and army classification in more recent times.

The research laboratory at Vineland, under Dr. H. H. Goddard, was responsible for the introduction to the United States of the Binet-Simon intelligence tests, which are considered to be the most reliable single device for measuring intelligence. Special summer school courses for teachers enabled community schools to apply to the training of backward children the principles demonstrated in the controlled environment of Vineland.

The laboratory at Vineland was also the scene of plans for the mental tests used in the selection of enrollees during the World War of 1917-18. During recent years the research program at Vineland has been directed by Dr. Edgar A. Doll, who has continued to hold a high standard of original research. Especial emphasis has been given to two subjects. One has been to explore the question of "social competence" as an attribute independent of intelligence. The other has been to experiment in treatment of birth injuries as distinguished from inherited forms of mental deficiency.

The introduction of intelligence tests by the Training School at Vineland necessitated refinements in the terminology used to classify individuals of varying mental level. It is symbolic of the influence of the training school that the word "moron," coined in the research laboratory there to describe the highest level of mental deficiency, has within less than half a century won its way into the common speech of lay people throughout the English-speaking world.

The Training School at Vineland has been not only the center for research and development in scientific techniques in the field of education and psychology, but also widely influential as a coöperating unit with the State Agricultural Experiment Station in its administration of improvements in methods of production in truck farm activities, and in the growing dairy and poultry industries of the area.

Professor Johnstone has served for many years as consultant to the State Conference of Social Work and to the State Department of Charities and Corrections and the Department of Institutions and Agencies. He has also served as a member and president of the board of managers of the State prison. From his contacts he has had a unique influence upon the development of institutional policies and the application of scientific methods to the problems of care of the mentally and socially handicapped.

From his work at the training school came the establishment of the Burlington Colony for Feeble-minded, later the State Colony at

New Lisbon; the Colony at Menantico; the Leesburg Prison Farm; the Woodbine Colony for Idiots; and the North Jersey Institution for Trainable Mentally Deficient Girls at Totowa.

The Care of Epileptic Patients—Another welfare movement which came to fruition in the closing years of the nineteenth century led to the establishment, in 1898, of the New Jersey State Village for Epileptics, near Skillman, in Montgomery Township, Somerset County.

The original impetus for this institution was provided by Dr. John Ward, superintendent of the State Hospital at Trenton. In 1884, Dr. Ward, concerned over the number of patients in his institution who were not insane in the customary sense, but who were incapable of caring for themselves because of epileptic seizures, went before the Legislature to seek an appropriation for a special unit of the hospital to care for epileptic patients. A few years later, Dr. S. Olin Garrison, founder of the Training School at Vineland, recognized the necessity of providing epileptic children with a different type of care than that appropriate for mentally deficient children, and added his voice to the growing pressure for special facilities for epileptic patients.

In 1895 the Legislature appointed a commission consisting of three physicians and two lay members to study the epileptic problem. This commission was strongly attracted by the reported success of the "Epileptic Colony" at Bielefeld, Germany. This institution, established thirty years previously, with "a cottage, a garden, and twelve patients" had grown into "a farm of 1,350 acres, 1,200 patients, and six times as many cures as by all methods in use in the United States." Experience at Bielefeld also influenced New York State and Ohio in their pioneer efforts to provide special care for epileptic patients at Craig Colony and at Gallipolis. These existing American institutions were also praised by the commission.

The commission, therefore, recommended establishment of an "Epileptic Colony or Village" in New Jersey. The 1896 Legislature enacted appropriate legislation, which was, however, vetoed. Two years later, a similar measure was approved by the Legislature and, on March 1, 1898, Acting Governor Foster M. Voorhees affixed his signature and the New Jersey State Village for Epileptics was established by law. Supervisory authority was vested in a board of managers, empowered to purchase a site for the institution, employ a medical director, and take such other steps as were necessary to organize and operate a center for the "humane, curative, and scientific treatment of epilepsy."

The board of managers, after suveying many possible sites, chose Maplewood Farm, near the Skillman station of the Philadelphia & Reading Railway, thereby combining a secluded, rural location with ease of access from all parts of the State. Dr. Henry M. Weeks, of the Trenton State Hospital staff, was chosen as medical director and the first patients were received in November, 1898. Patients and doctor shared accommodations in the spacious farmhouse.

From these small beginnings, the institution has had a steady growth. It now serves nearly one thousand seven hundred patients, who are housed in twenty-five different patient units, each caring for a homogeneous group of patients. More than one thousand acres of farm land are in use. A school, a hospital, staff residences, and administrative buildings are also located on the grounds, so that the "Village" is a rounded community offering medical care, occupational and recreational activities, and other resources to permit patients to live usefully and with as much participation in normal activities as their physical condition permits.

The experience gained at Skillman has made important contributions to medical knowledge of epilepsy and other convulsive disorders. Genetic studies have served to trace the heredity aspects of the disability. Under the leadership of the present superintendent, Dr. Albert W. Pigott, the institution is continuing its advanced position among similar institutions throughout the world.

The Care of Dependent and Neglected Children—As the State grew in population, new methods were introduced to protect the welfare of children. The two "child welfare" laws which transcended all others in significance are the 1838 Act creating a free public school system in New Jersey, and the 1874 Act making attendance at school compulsory for all children except those physically or mentally unable to attend.

Closer to the scope of this chapter are the 1849 Act granting tax exemption to orphanages, the 1851 child labor laws, restricting the hours children might be employed in industrial establishments, and the laws authorizing the incorporation of societies for the prevention of cruelty to children adopted in 1876. Passage of measures requiring sheriffs to keep adult prisoners and juvenile prisoners in separate accommodations took place in 1888. Despite the development of the orphanage system, and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children movement, many dependent children were kept in almshouses or were indentured by the overseers of the poor with only slight effort by the latter to protect the welfare of these children.

A study of "pauperism" was made by the State Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industry in 1883 and was bitterly critical of the condition of children in almshouses, reared in an atmosphere of squalid vice.

The inspections of local institutions made by the agents of the State Charities Aid Association confirmed the judgment of the bureau and for several years the secretary of the association, Mrs. Emily E. Williamson, of Elizabeth, vigorously protested the continued toleration of the conditions her associates reported.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of horse racing in New Jersey was being pressed, the charge was frequently made, upon what evidence it is impossible now to determine, that racing promoters obtained an indenture for the services of almshouse children to act as stable and exercise boys at nominal wages. When the season at a particular track was over, the children were turned loose to fend for themselves. The agitation leading to the closing of the tracks in New Jersey indirectly served to create a state of mind in which the public was ready for a drastic remedy for the weaknesses of its child welfare services.

In 1897-98, Frances Day, a young friend of Mrs. Williamson, entered the Hudson County Almshouse as an inmate to observe conditions there. When she emerged from a two months' stay, she wrote an account of her experiences which demonstrated in a way no other type of study could have done the unfitness of even a relatively superior almshouse as a refuge for children.

In 1899, following these disclosures, legislation was enacted to create the State Board of Children's Guardians. Mrs. Williamson became a member of this board, Miss Day its executive officer. The original purpose of the board was to remove children from almshouses and place them in foster homes. These homes would receive a payment for the support of such children from the local governing body, county or municipality, conducting the almshouse in which the children would otherwise be confined. The board assumed the responsibility of legal guardianship over the children committed to its care.

In 1910 the juvenile courts were authorized to commit delinquent children to the board for foster home care under the guardianship of the board. Three years later the Board of Guardians was charged with the administration of a program of allowances for the support of children under the age of sixteen years whose mothers were widowed. The operation of this program was assigned to a sub-division of the board still termed the Home Life Division. The staff administering

the original program was named the Dependent Children's Division. Children aided under the Home Life Division were left in the guardianship of their own mothers.

Another change in the legislation controlling the Board of Guardians occurred in 1915, when the judges of the courts of common pleas were authorized to commit children to the Dependent Children's Department. Previously, the only committing official, except in delinquency cases, was the overseer of the poor, who went through the form of committing the child to an almshouse, which procedure automatically required the board to assume jurisdiction.

In 1918, the Board of Guardians became one of the welfare institutions and agencies to be placed under the jurisdiction of the Department of Institutions and Agencies.

The War Against Tuberculosis—One of the most dramatic achievements of our times has been the conquest of tuberculosis. Statistics provide the measure of the victory. In 1942 the number of persons dying from tuberculosis in New Jersey was only half the number of such deaths occurring in 1882. Yet in this sixty year span, the population of the State had nearly quadrupled.

Medical advances made the achievement possible. But equally important has been the collaboration of welfare agencies in educating the public as to means of preventing and treating tuberculosis.

In New Jersey the aggressive campaign against tuberculosis dates from 1901. In that year the State Charities Aid Association published its findings regarding the care of consumptive patients in almshouses where they "sit in expectorating optimism, help in the preparation of food" and "where no precautionary measures are taken."

In the following year the Medical Society of New Jersey and the State Sanitary Association joined hands with the Charities Aid Association in asking the Legislature to make provision for the care of consumptives in a special State institution.

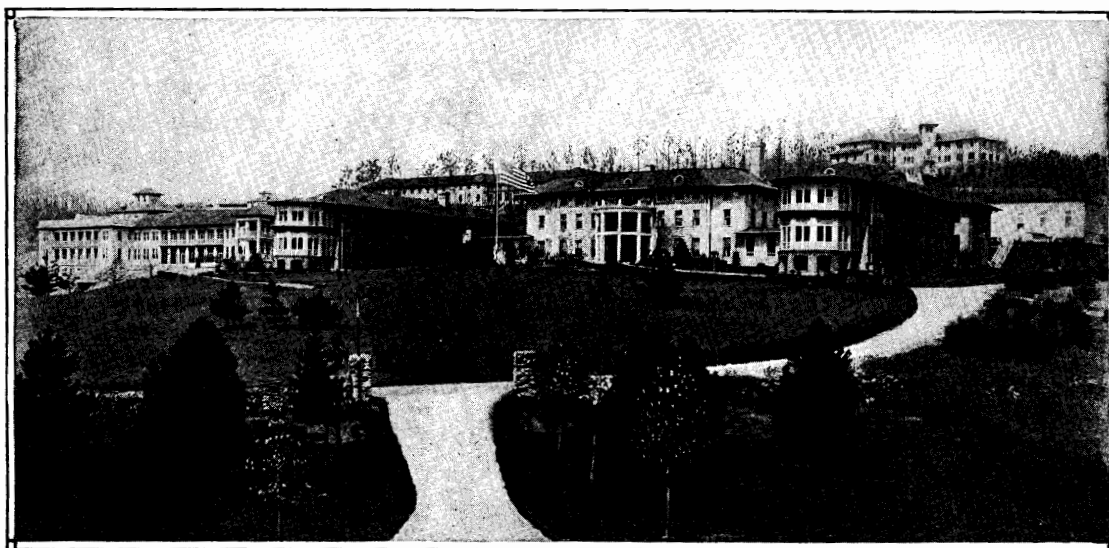
The State Charities Aid Association, in urging the establishment of such an institution, made the then shocking but now established claim "that tuberculosis and other transmitting diseases continue largely by virtue of man's neglect, indifference, or short sighted economy." In addition to urging that a State sanatorium be opened, the association backed Dr. S. Adolphus Knopf, who later became one of the founders of the National Tuberculosis Association, in advocating a balanced program providing for seaside homes for undernourished or

tuberculous children, agricultural colonies for minimal cases, and "dispensaries which will provide the necessary wholesome and adequate food," all to be supported by "educational propaganda" in the schools, churches, and through all other media.

Stimulated by these recommendations, the Legislature appointed a commission to acquire property for a State tuberculosis "training school." The commission purchased property in the hills of Hunterdon County, which was called "Mt. Kipp" in honor of the commission's chairman, Dr. Charles J. Kipp. Here, in 1907, the New Jersey State Tuberculosis Sanatorium was opened under the superintendency of Dr. Samuel B. English, who still (1944) holds this position.

In 1906 the New Jersey Association for the Relief and Prevention of Tuberculosis, later the New Jersey Tuberculosis League, was formed. This organization was instrumental in obtaining the enactment of legislation to enable counties to establish tuberculosis sanatoria or make arrangement to care for tuberculous patients in approved sanatoria.

Since 1910, but particularly since the adoption of amendments sponsored in 1912 by Hon. George Silzer, afterward Governor from 1923 to 1926, all but one of the major counties of the State have established tuberculosis sanatoria and facilities for the care of tuberculosis patients have been made available to all counties.



GLEN GARDNER SANATORIUM

Glen Gardner State Sanatorium's period of service has been paralleled by dramatic advances in tuberculosis treatment. Since the institution's opening in 1907, tuberculosis mortality in New Jersey has been cut to one-fourth.

Supplementing the sanatoria is a network of clinics and public health nursing services which assist in the home care of patients not requiring hospitalization. Another important clinical function has been the tuberculosis testing of school children, industrial workers, and other groups, to aid in detecting tuberculosis in the early stages. Thus the purpose of the 1902 program has been carried out, although naturally the details differ somewhat from the original blueprint.

Throughout the campaign, public and private agencies have worked together; the State and local health and welfare agencies, the medical profession, the nursing profession, and social agencies have all demonstrated the value of coöperation in attacking a social problem having the ramifications which are associated with tuberculosis. Much of the credit for the maintenance of their coöperative effort for twenty-five years must be attributed to the New Jersey Tuberculosis League and its executive officer, Mr. Ernest D. Easton, and to the Medical Directors of the State and County sanatoria, and especially Dr. Samuel B. English, of Glen Gardner, and Dr. Berthold S. Pollock, of Hudson County, both of whom have served their respective sanatoria during their entire history.

The Development of Parole and Probation in New Jersey—Two related welfare adjuncts to the correctional process, parole and probation, were developed in the closing decades of the nineteenth century.

Parole came first. Parole is the conditional release of an offender prior to the expiration of his sentence on condition that he observe certain regulations. In modern times, parole assumes that a representative of the paroling agency will be available to assist the parolee in making a favorable community adjustment and to exercise general oversight over conditionally released offenders.

Although the State homes were authorized to indenture their wards and to place them in suitable employment outside the institution, it was not until 1889 that the State, at the instance of John H. Patterson, Principal Keeper of the State Prison, adopted a parole law. Constitutional questions were raised and to resolve them, in 1891, the Court of Pardons, consisting of the Governor, the Chancellor, and the six judges of the Court of Errors and Appeals, was authorized to permit qualified prisoners to be at large under such conditions as the court might see fit to impose. In 1898, parole powers were also given to the Board of Managers (called Board of Inspectors at the time) of the prison. Similar provisions were made part of the laws governing

the reformatory at Rahway and the two State homes. Since that time New Jersey has had a dual system of authorizing parole.

This dual system permits flexibility in operation. The institutional parole program serves as the usual method of release, and the constitutional Court of Pardons acts in cases where conditional release more clearly involves an act of executive clemency and as a place of appeal from institutional parole decisions.

Early parole services contemplated that adult offenders would report their status by mail. In work with delinquent children, the need for guidance and supervision by the paroling institutions was perceived at an early date. In 1885 the office of "visiting agent," considered next in importance to the superintendency, was created at the State Home for Boys. This official served as a liaison officer between the institution and the children's families and kept in communication with the indentured wards of the institution. After four years of service, the first visiting agent, George W. Shinn, expressed his conviction as to the value of his post:

"The care and guardianship exercised over our youth after being allowed to leave the institution is a matter of the highest importance. This effect can only be had first by personal visits of inspection to the homes of the boys while in the school, and second by regular visits to these minors while outside . . . to hold fast the benefits derived from the care, discipline, and instruction while at the school, a large percentage of which would otherwise be lost."

Modern parole work holds fast to this conception.

The office of parole officer was established at the Rahway Reformatory in 1904 and at the State Prison in 1905.

Since its inception, parole supervision has been a valued aid in the adjustment of adult prisoners as well as of juvenile delinquents in the critical periods after they leave institutions. In addition, it has given the community protection against offenders unable to effect satisfactory community adjustment.

Later in this chapter, recent changes in the administration of parole will be analyzed.

Probation consists of the supervision of offenders under suspended sentence, and the attempted adjustment of the offender under the guidance and supervision of a representative of the court. Long before the turn of the century New Jersey judges were asking responsible citizens to aid in the rehabilitation of offenders whom the courts did

not wish either to institutionalize or leave at large without some form of supervision. In 1878, Massachusetts authorized the employment by courts of suitable persons to supervise those who were placed on probation. New Jersey followed suit in 1900, following the presentation of recommendations by the State Charities Aid Association.

Socializing Judicial Procedure—Early in the twentieth century judicial reforms were advocated. Justice was no longer thought of as being implacable and impersonal. The conception of a balance between the statutory definition of an offense and the punishment was rejected in law as well as in the practice of humane judges.

There were two phases in this development. The first follows the treatment pattern of the nineteenth century. Believing that the criminal law was not fair in its treatment of children of tender years, citizen groups fought for the separation of children from adult offenders in trial proceedings as well as in detention facilities and correctional institutions.

New Jersey pioneered in this movement. The procedure established for commitment to the State institutions for juvenile delinquents in 1866 provided a means for arranging commitments without the formality of criminal conviction. If need for institutional training could be proved to the satisfaction of two judges of the Supreme Court, they could make institutional commitment without a trial in the criminal court. The majority of commitments, however, appear to have been made through the criminal courts. Massachusetts followed, in 1870, by requiring that children's cases be heard separately from adult cases. Illinois and Colorado, in 1899, set up separate courts for the trial of children's cases. New Jersey followed, in 1903.

These children's courts operate on a juristic principle intermediate between those of criminal and equity courts. A child is not tried for a crime. The delinquent episode provides the evidence that parental discipline and guidance is inadequate. In New Jersey, juvenile courts have been subjected to searching constitutional tests. They have been attacked as depriving the child of his constitutional right to trial by jury. The constitutional right of children's courts to deal with all cases except those of first degree murder was not established until 1941.

The other change in judicial provisions affects the basic practice of criminal courts. The Beccarian principle of standardizing sentences according to the offense has been tacitly abandoned. Instead of requiring imposition of a uniform sentence on all offenders com-

mitting a particular offense, the State has adopted the indeterminate sentence system. The court fixes the maximum duration of custody, or, in certain instances, the minimum and maximum duration of custody. Actual stays in institution vary according to the institution's appraisal of readiness to return to civil life.

In carrying out this policy, the courts have sought increasingly to learn as much as possible about the personalities and environments of the individuals who appear before juvenile or criminal courts.

The first New Jersey probation law authorized judges to appoint a suitable probation officer or officers to "inquire into the antecedents of every person arrested for crime within the jurisdiction of the court" as well as to commit convicted persons to the care of probation officers on such terms as the court in its order shall determine.

Later, clinics were established through which courts can obtain medical, psychiatric, and psychological data to assist judges in reaching appropriate sentences.

In 1936, legislation permitting judges to send offenders to institutions for classification and study before the imposition of sentence was adopted. Since its enactment more than one thousand individuals have been referred to institutions for classification and study before adjudication of their cases has been completed by the courts. One result of this legislation is to give the institutions a share in the determination of individuals to be received for regular correctional treatment, and it has been of importance in preventing unnecessary and undesirable commitments in many questionable cases on which the courts desired special information and advice before fixing their sentences. This is, therefore, an important new development in American penology.

Providing for the Woman Offender—After agitation lasting for half a century, provision was made in New Jersey for a Reformatory for Women, in 1910. Property was acquired at Clinton, in Hunterdon County.

Advocates of penal reform in New Jersey had come near to reaching their goal in 1886, when the Legislature approved the report of a special committee to consider the advisability of creating a "Female Prison and Reformatory." The agitation quieted temporarily with the appointment of Mrs. John H. Patterson as matron of the female Ward of the State Prison. Mrs. Patterson was the wife of the principal keeper. Both Mr. and Mrs. Patterson were able administrators and had public support for their régimes, so that while they were in control the need seemed less urgent.

By 1903, however, the Federation of Women's Clubs and the State Charities Aid Association once again reached the conclusion that a separate women's institution was needed. At their instance, Governor Franklin Murphy appointed a commission to study the need for a Reformatory for women. The chairman of this commission was Mrs. Caroline B. Alexander, later Mrs. H. Otto Wittpenn. Mrs. Alexander, a member of the Stevens family of Hoboken, was a leader in progressive welfare measures until her death in 1932. No immediate action came from this commission's report, but public opinion continued to urge that action be taken. Finally, in 1910, through Mrs. Wittpenn's unremitting efforts, work commenced on the institution, which opened in 1913.

The New Jersey Reformatory for Women, located "on a picturesque and salubrious site," has from the beginning been conducted along progressive lines. It was planned from the start "to submit all inmates to psychological tests and to furnish specialized treatment that individual cases require."

This program was developed and today the New Jersey Reformatory for Women has a high standing among institutions of its type. Much of the credit for the successful operation of this institution rightly belongs to the present superintendent, Edna Mahan, who has brought to her work a rare combination of administrative skill and philosophic insight.

Clinton has made an outstanding demonstration of the extent to which inmate participation is possible in a correctional program. The honor system as developed at Clinton has attracted wide attention and is one of several features of the work there that has characterized the progressive program of this nationally known correctional institution.

III

THE ERA OF CONSOLIDATION

Early Efforts at Integration—As the First World War drew near, New Jersey had laid the basis for a modern welfare system. It had facilities for the care of many special classes of dependent and delinquent individuals. It had a modern general relief law to underlie the specialized services. Under the law no welfare problem need go untreated. If the jail system had little to commend it, there was good reason to believe that public sentiment would soon put an end to its deficiencies.

Something, however, was lacking. Each institution and agency was an organization within itself. The missing feature of the system was a central unit to coördinate, equalize, and direct the whole.

As early as 1878, an attempt had been made to provide such an agency when a State Board of Charities and Correction was advocated by the Commission on an Intermediate Prison. In 1883, a Council of Charities and Corrections, consisting of the Governor and six non-salaried lay members, was authorized to gather statistics, inspect all public institutions, and recommend improvements. Only limited funds were provided, however, and many local institutions refused to submit to the council's authority. It ceased to function in 1888.

During this period the State Charities Aid Association was organized to stimulate more effective administration of governmental and voluntary welfare service.* For more than a generation this voluntary agency provided the only State-wide organized leadership in welfare matters. It employed as executive officers national leaders in social endeavors, including Dr. William Allen, Dr. F. H. Wines, "father of American criminology," Joseph P. Byers, and Clarence L. Stonaker. Given official responsibility to inspect institutions and prevent abuses, the association recruited a corps of volunteer "visitation committees" in each county, consisting of men and women of high local prestige. The coöperative efforts of citizens of the State serving without compensation as members of the boards of managers of the State institutions and as members of the various committees of this association provided an early demonstration of the value of lay participation in welfare administration.

The association itself took the lead in efforts to obtain State supervision of all welfare activities. The annual report of the association for the year 1903 was given over entirely to an analysis of methods of the State supervision of charities and associations, prepared by the organization's executive secretary, Frederick H. Wines.

In 1905, the Legislature created the office of Commissioner of Charities and Correction. Although the authority of this official was limited to the inspection of State and State-aided institutions, the commissioner, by virtue of his office, occupied a strategic position in the State's welfare service.

The first commissioner was the Rev. George B. Wight, appointed in 1905 by Governor Stokes. Mr. Wight was a Methodist clergyman. The appointment was said to "have puzzled the politicians." Although regretting that the Governor had gone "outside the ranks"

*The State Charities Aid Association is now known as the New Jersey Welfare Council, Inc., and it continues to be one of the most important of the State's civic organizations. Its annual forum on welfare problems, the New Jersey State Conference of Social Work, and its year around investigating committees, play a major part in the continuing progress of welfare activities in the State.

of experienced workers in the profession of charitable and correctional administration, the State Charities Aid Association called for the cordial coöperation of his coworkers in public and private charities in his unique opportunity.

It was the feeling of the association that "possibly the Governor himself sets too modest an estimate of the difficulties of the position he has created."

The 1910 report of the association felt that "the Commissioner can only visit institutions and urge their officers to discuss and consider" possible improvement. This system, the report continued, "while productive of some excellent results, has not been corrective of abuses and loose management as events have proven, nor is it calculated to raise the standards of our correctional and charitable work to that degree of efficiency which an intelligent public is now demanding."

The weaknesses of the system had already been brought out by the Dependency and Crime Commission, created by legislation enacted in 1908 "to investigate the causes of dependency and criminality." This commission had among its members Mrs. Emily E. Williamson, of Elizabeth, sponsor of the State Board of Children's Guardians legislation, and Mrs. Caroline B. Alexander, who was the foremost advocate of the establishment of a reformatory for women. Its president, Michael T. Barrett, was a distinguished lawyer of Newark, who had served many years before in both legislative houses.

This commission urged the establishment of a Board of Charities and Corrections to have control of all existing State institutions for the care of defectives, delinquents, and dependents. The president of this board was to become the Commissioner of Charities and Corrections, "who shall be a specialist in all phases of the work in the institutions of this state," and familiar with the "best known methods of governing and regulating welfare institutions of all sorts."

In 1911 the Rev. Mr. Wight's term as Commissioner of Charities and Corrections expired. He was succeeded by Joseph P. Byers, executive secretary of the State Charities Aid Association, who had formerly served as secretary of the Ohio State Board of Charities.

It is not to the discredit of either commissioner that the immediate results of their labors seemed meager. The statutes under which they operated and the fact that each institution had developed its own body of traditions and customs, and had the protection of strong boards of managers able to appeal to the Governor and Legislature over the head of the commissioner, made it inevitable that

the system would have only limited value. Both commissioners, however, enjoyed the respect and affection of all who worked with them, including the managers of the institutions which only partially responded to their suggestions. Their early work prepared the way for real integration of welfare activities throughout the State in later years.

The Earle-Morrow Investigating Commission—Although no effective integration had been achieved, the heterogeneous character of New Jersey welfare institutions was well known to leaders in civic enterprises. The State could boast that certain of its facilities had achieved national recognition as being outstanding in their respective fields. Others were cloaked with "the anonymity of humane mediocrity." Still others were sub-standard to the point of open scandal.

The situation was brought to a head by a series of sensational episodes which awakened the general public and the press to the unsatisfactory state of affairs. The death of an insane prisoner brought charges, which may or may not have been justified, that medieval methods were still being used in disciplining recalcitrant offenders. The competition of various institutions for appropriations was also objectionable and legislators themselves began to wonder if certain of them might not be obtaining, for non-essential purposes, funds which ought to be given to other less insistent services.

Consequently, when Hon. Walter E. Edge took office as Governor, in 1917, the time was ripe for a complete reorganization of the administration of the State's welfare program.

The first step was to appoint two commissions of inquiry: The "Prison Inquiry Commission," of which William B. Dickson served briefly as chairman, to be succeeded by Dwight W. Morrow, of Englewood, and the Commission to Investigate Conditions of the State Charitable Institutions, of which Ellis P. Earle, of Montclair, was chairman.*

Early in 1918, these two commissions presented their reports. The Prison Inquiry Commission concluded that "the lack of centralized authority endowed with sufficient administrative powers to secure the coördination of more efficient management of the several correctional institutions and agencies of the State is the most serious defect

*Membership of Investigating Commissions:

Prison Inquiry Commission—Dwight W. Morrow, chairman, S. L. Cromwell, Ogden H. Hammond (W. B. Dickson), Henry F. Hilfers, John P. Murray.

Charitable Institution Commission—Ellis P. Earle, chairman, Theo J. Merseles, Fred'k J. Faulkes, David E. Pomeroy, Hugh N. Bethel.

of the existing system." The commission was convinced, however, that complete centralization was not desirable, and urged the continuance of the local boards of managers to maintain citizen interest in the work of specific institutions.

The report of the Prison Inquiry Commission contains a searching critical analysis of the origin of New Jersey's correctional legislation as well as of its operation at all stages from the settlement of the Colony to 1917.

The Commission to Investigate the Conditions of the State Charitable Institutions made a less comprehensive historical survey, but its succinct and forceful review of conditions led to the adoption of recommendations virtually identical to those of the Prison Inquiry Commission.

Both reports indicated the belief that the control of all correctional and charitable institutions and agencies should be vested in one department, "whose duty it shall also be to arrange for their proper development as a whole and for the largest practicable measure of coordination of their several activities."

Both reports recommended that the new department be headed by a State Board of Commissioners composed of the Governor and eight members, serving without pay for terms of eight years, one term expiring annually. This board could take over the general administration of State correctional and charitable institutions and agencies and would have power of supervision over local institutions, both public and private. The board would appoint a commissioner to serve at its pleasure, who would be the executive officer in charge of welfare activities in the State.

Neither commission appears to have given serious consideration to the proposal that administration of welfare services be placed in the hands of a single commissioner holding office at the pleasure of the Governor. While this conception has had support recently among academic groups seeking to strengthen the power of the executive branch of Federal and State government, the 1918 commission well understood the criticism of this political philosophy, the fallacy of which was expressed in a 1934 survey by Princeton University, which remarked that "one man control, while perhaps strengthening gubernatorial responsibility, affects adversely the quality of directive personnel and tends to subject welfare policies to partisan political influences."

The New Department Established—In 1918 the Legislature, influenced by the findings of the two commissions, created the State

Board of Control and the Department of Charities and Corrections, renamed in 1919 the Department of Institutions and Agencies. The new department was given authority over two State hospitals for the insane, two State institutions for the feeble-minded, the reformatories for men and women, the State homes for delinquent boys and girls, the State tuberculosis sanatorium, the two State veterans' homes, the village for epileptics, and, subject to constitutional limitations in the selection of the principal keeper and the granting of parole, the State prison was also placed under the new department's authority. The department was given powers to inspect jails and almshouses and to compel compliance with its orders in case violations of law were encountered. In addition, the department was made responsible for inspecting and certifying private institutions for aged and for dependent children, and for the approval of non-sectarian charitable corporations.

The new department was hailed by the State Charities Aid Association, but that organization was careful not to indulge in over-optimism. Its statement reminded the public that "the creation of the new State Board of Charities and Correction for which our association has been working for so many years means that a new page is to be opened in the custody, care and control of inmates of institutions, but whether the emphasis is to be on the monetary and economical and business methods, or upon the social welfare side . . . time will demonstrate."

The appointment of the Board of Control did much to reassure the State that the new department would give full and appropriate consideration to both the welfare and business aspects of their duties. The first two individuals appointed were the chairmen of the two investigating commissions, Dwight W. Morrow and Ellis P. Earle; Ogden H. Hammond, later Ambassador to Spain and a member of the Prison Inquiry Commission; Frank A. Fetridge; Dr. John Nevin, of Jersey City; Dr. William S. Jones, of Camden, and Richard Stockton, of Princeton, were the other male members of the board. The statute called for the appointment of at least one woman and Mrs. Lewis S. Thompson, of Monmouth County, president for 1918 of the State Charities Aid Association, filled this post.

The board chose Mr. Morrow as its chairman. Ogden H. Hammond succeeded Mr. Morrow as president of the Board of Control in 1920 and Ellis P. Earle became president in 1922 and served continuously until his death in 1942. He brought to his work profound business acumen and an equally keen sense of social justice. The State

was fortunate indeed in enlisting and retaining his service in its welfare program. An able successor, Hon. Reeve Schley, is currently president of the State board. Other members are Nils Anderson, Mrs. Edna B. Conklin, Dr. Harold W. Dodds, Mrs. S. I. Kessler, Hon. William T. Read, Thomas J. Stanton, Dr. S. Emlen Stokes, Mrs. Lewis S. Thompson, who has served since 1918, and Governor Walter E. Edge, *ex officio*.

As commissioner, the board first selected Burdette G. Lewis, who as Commissioner of Corrections in New York City, had displayed capacity for the progressive and efficient management of a complex welfare enterprise. Mr. Lewis entered in his duties late in 1918. He was succeeded in December, 1925, by the present commissioner, William J. Ellis, who had served as director of the department's Division of Classification and Education.

Each local institution and agency retained its own board of managers. Vacancies in these boards, however, were to be filled by persons appointed by the State Board of Control of Institutions and Agencies, which was responsible for all fiscal and other relationship with the Governor and Legislature.

Through this pattern of organization it was hoped to achieve "continuity of administration, which all our states need, without perpetuating a system until it disintegrates because of 'dry rot.' It seemed, therefore, that New Jersey had gone as far as possible to eliminate petty politics, while at the same time insuring administrative responsiveness to the popular will."

Once its organization had been completed, the new department set out to define its program. The people of the State expected, and the board was determined, that the new department would create a program as free from politics and as professionally competent as the public school system.

With but slight precedents to follow, the first step was to "classify" the institutional population so as to provide a body of knowledge in which to base decisions as to the needed diversification of personnel and physical facilities so as to provide a "curative" as well as a "custodial program." This initial survey pointed the way to the expansion of plant and equipment and the introduction of scientific treatment methods on a more systematic basis than had prevailed heretofore.

The Expansion of Facilities—As the new department commenced its demonstrations of classification and the State use industry program developed, it was obvious that the physical facilities of New Jersey's welfare system required drastic overhauling and expansion if real progress was to be attained.

One of the first projects to be undertaken was the modernization and enlargement of the State Hospital at Greystone Park. During the earlier period, when each institution was an independent entity, the proximity of the State Hospital at Trenton to the nerve center of the State, the State House, had led to the improvement of the latter institution while requests for funds to build up facilities at the former institution went unheeded. With administrative unity achieved, this condition was corrected, and Greystone Park received facilities appropriate to the needs of a modern mental disease hospital serving a civilian population of nearly two million persons.

Even before this project had proceeded beyond the stage of architects' drawings the State perceived the need for an additional institution to care for feeble-minded boys and men. The swift growth of the Colony for Feeble-Minded Males, established at New Lisbon in 1916 as a State institution, while the issue of consolidation was being debated, made it evident that there were large numbers of mentally defective boys whose mental growth would never proceed beyond infancy and for whom the program of farm labor at New Lisbon would be mentally over-taxing. Accordingly, the State acquired by gift the property of the Baron De Hirsch Agricultural School at Woodbine, in Cape May County, and converted it into an institution for the care of mentally deficient boys.*

In 1928 the State opened the North Jersey Training School at Totowa, which receives mentally deficient girls whose outlook is favorable for community placement.

In 1929, the reformatory at Annandale, designed to meet the needs of adolescent male offenders, became available as a separate institution (for some years previously a farm there had been conducted as a branch of the reformatory at Rahway). Annandale is a wall-less institution whose grounds and program resemble those of a well-managed, competently disciplined training school.

In 1931, New Jersey's third State hospital, at Marlboro, in Monmouth County, received its first patients. This institution classifies all patients and houses them in small cottage groups, a procedure often advocated but seldom practiced in mental disease hospitals.

The next new institution was a Home for Disabled Soldiers, at

*The De Hirsch Foundation was an interesting experiment deserving mention on its own account. The foundation was endowed in the 1890s to provide instruction in agricultural pursuits to Hebrew children so as to prevent the evils associated with the clustering of members of this religious group in urban slums. Baron De Hirsch was an Austrian and the First World War dealt the foundation a financial blow which necessitated the closing of the school, which, however, had never realized the hopes of its sponsor.

Menlo Park, near the site where Thomas Alva Edison first demonstrated the electric light. This institution, however, merely replaced an outworn facility of the same type, located at Kearny, New Jersey, established in 1865, to care for veterans of the Civil War.

All these institutions were financed with the proceeds of a special tax on real property levied annually from 1922 through 1931 to underwrite the expansion and modernization of New Jersey's institutional system.



HOUSING UNIT—NORTH JERSEY TRAINING SCHOOL

This dormitory unit of the North Jersey Training School typifies the architecture of several institutions which utilize the cottage plan of housing.

During the depression decade of the 1930s, the availability of Federal funds to be used in public works construction led to the further expansion of several of the State's institutions and the construction of a new type of prison for adult offenders, the Bordentown Prison Farm. Here older prisoners of stable personality are prepared for release by participation in a reformatory program in a wall-less medium security institution. The Prison Farm at Leesburg, established in 1913, was also modernized and greatly expanded.

The program of expansion which took place between 1920 and 1940 differs from earlier periods of extensive construction in reflecting the benefits of central planning. Earlier, an institution serving a need earnestly recognized by an active pressure group, or one having a board alert to its obligations, was likely to receive the benefits of

appropriations which might more wisely have been shared. Since the establishment of the new department, the expansion has been more nearly on a planned and equalized basis.

Now (in 1944) needs are apparent for further enlargement of institutional facilities. An important aspect of post-war planning is



ANNANDALE FARMS

In this industrial and trade training unit, boys at Annandale Reformatory develop manual skills and abilities while producing articles for use by the State.

concerned with the construction of institutional facilities as a part of a post-war public works program designed to minimize the economic impact of demobilization.

The Introduction of Scientific Treatment Methods—The new department's determination to introduce scientific treatment methods throughout the institutional system has been accomplished through provision for diagnosis and study on admission, individualization of treatment, and social aid in readjustment to community life. Constant research to develop new techniques and to evaluate the results of treatment, also contemplated from the department's establishment, has been maintained.

Scientific methods were being used in some New Jersey institutions prior to the establishment of the department. In the field of psychiatry, the Trenton State Hospital, under the leadership of Dr. Henry A. Cotton, could make definite claim to the use of scientific as distinguished from empirical methods. The anthropological studies made by the Village for Epileptics and by the Training School for the Feeble-Minded added to scientific knowledge of the influence of heredity on mental deficiency and epilepsy. At Rahway, at the State Home for Boys, at the Women's Reformatory at Clinton, scientific

aids to the classification and treatment of offenders were beginning to be used.*

These precedents were partial, and did not represent a clearly defined State policy as did the centrally engineered program adopted by the Department of Institutions and Agencies. Their existence, however, made easier the task of extending such methods throughout the State's welfare program. Now, whenever a person is received at any State institution, he is kept under observation for a period of "quarantine." During this period he receives medical, psychiatric, psychological, educational, and vocational examinations. A complete social history is obtained. The chaplain also interviews the new arrival to obtain an impression of how religious training can be applied in rehabilitative efforts.

All this information is analyzed and its significance is discussed together by the examining specialists and representatives of the general administration of the institution sitting as a "classification committee." This committee determines upon an appropriate course of educational studies, work assignments, and other aspects of an individualized treatment plan, including provision for specialized medical, dental, psychiatric and psychological treatments where need is indicated.

Through periodic reexamination and reclassification, the progress of each offender is observed and evaluated. When he has reached a point where it is believed the chances are most favorable for a trial release in the community, the committee recommends such action to the board of managers of the institution.

This practice is followed in all the penal and correctional institutions and in the training schools for the mentally deficient. It is necessarily dominated by medical and psychiatric consideration in the State hospitals and by medical and surgical judgment in the tuberculosis sanatorium, but even in these institutions it is customary to base decisions not merely on purely medical grounds, but also to consider social and psychological factors.

This progress of integration as between diagnosis, institutional treatment, and reentry into a community was originally developed by Dr. Edgar A. Doll, a Princeton psychologist, who had played an important part in the use and interpretation of intelligence tests by the

*It is interesting to observe, however, that in the 1906 "Annual Report of the State Home for Girls," the Superintendent, Elizabeth V. H. Mansell, expressed the principle on which the work of the department has been predicated. "It is generally accepted," she wrote, "that the state owes it to its wards to study carefully each individual child with a view of securing for it the help and relief which its case demands." This statement was made in relation to a request that specialists in making psychological studies be added to her staff.

United States Army in the First World War. Closely associated with Dr. Doll was the present Commissioner William J. Ellis. Collaborating with them in developing the psychiatric and medical plans of classification was Dr. Henry A. Cotton, medical director of the Trenton State Hospital.

In 1943 the research staff of the American Law Institute, analyzing the use of modern techniques in the care of youthful offenders, found that "New Jersey furnishes the earliest and still perhaps the best illustration" of an integrated welfare program directed toward the goal of the successful reestablishment of offenders in the community.

The Reorganization of Prison Industries—From the opening of the first State prison, the question of providing work for institutional inmates has been a major administrative problem.

In the early days the State prison was expected to be self-supporting. Prisoners were expected to perform hard labor of the most servile kind, but were given credit for production as an incentive for reformation. Goods produced were sold in the open market. The institution was a factory, employing its own salesmen and competing with commercial establishments for the sale of its products.

From 1798 to 1816, nails were the chief product. Under the Pennsylvania plan, weaving and shoemaking were introduced as handicrafts which could be carried on by men in individual cells and which could be practiced after release.

Later the prison adopted the "contract" system. The prison administration sold the labor of prisoners to private individuals, who set up shops within the prison walls for the manufacture of various articles; such as shoes, brooms, articles of clothing. The "contractor" supervised the work of prisoners in the shops, although prison officers were present to prevent and suppress breaches of discipline.

With the development of trade unions, particularly in the depression years following the Civil War, considerable agitation ensued against the competition of prison labor with free workers. Labor groups sought legislation to prohibit the sale of prison-made goods in the open market, a campaign which would continue until well into the present century.

As a substitute for the contract system, it was proposed as early as 1879 that prison production should be used by government agencies only. This system, known as the State Use System, was vigorously attacked by the 1879 Commission on Prison Labor, which declared that "the state use system cannot be successfully employed as long as

politics dominate prison administration and prevent the ordinary efficiency of the business world from entering the prison."

The State Use System continued to gain advocates. Labor's complaints against the unfairness of competition with convicts grew in intensity. Accordingly, in 1884, legislation was approved authorizing the operation of prison industry on the State Use Plan and prohibiting the supervision of prison labor by commercial concerns. This Act, however, merely had the effect of returning the prison industries to their original status of factories turning out goods to the specifications of wholesale buyers who assumed responsibility for their further distribution.

Although the contract system operated chiefly at the State Prison, the State Home for Boys also was affected by it, and, in the early years of Rahway Reformatory, its industries operated on the contract basis. At the State Home and at Rahway, the boys were chiefly engaged in manufacturing clothing.

In 1911, the supporters of the State Use System succeeded in persuading the Legislature to adopt this basis of operation, while allowing a period of grace for the termination of the contract system. More recently, the Federal Government enacted the Webb-Kenyon Act prohibiting the movement in interstate commerce of prison-made goods. This effectively stopped the exploitation of prison labor in states which had not adopted the State Use System.

The establishment of the new department closely followed the abolition of the contract system of prison labor. Conversion to the State Use System had been slow, the war and the investigations complicating the task of installing the new program.

The old idea that inmate labor should be servile and unpleasant still had adherents. To give prisoners "work they liked to do" savored of sentimentality. Moreover, the old contract shop equipment represented a substantial investment which could not be discarded without risking a charge of extravagance and waste.

Gradually, however, progressive planning has built up a wide range of industries, some of which made use of equipment purchased for contract shops. Training, in metal crafts, in textile and garment trades, in shoe manufacture, furniture manufacture, the making of soap, the canning of agricultural products provided by institutions, has come to have wide acceptance. Many individuals have been helped to study less usual occupations such as draftsmanship and mechanical dentistry, while the training in farm work and food han-

ding has a definite vocational value in the outside world over and above the training in work habits which it provides.

During the present war period, shops in New Jersey institutions are becoming defense industries. The sale of institution-made goods and services to the Federal Government falls within the limits of the "State Use System." The morale value of this recognition of institutional labor has been tremendous. It enables the inmates to feel a sense of participation in the war and to demonstrate their capacities in work which they do not have to be told has a practical value in the community.

Non-Institutional Welfare Activities—Along with the supervision of institutions, the State Board of Institutions and Agencies was made responsible for the administration of certain non-institutional types of welfare service.

Chief among the non-institutional welfare services existing in 1918, which were placed within the Department of Institutions and Agencies, is the State Board of Children's Guardians. The early history of this agency was narrated earlier in this chapter.

The past twenty-five years have witnessed many changes in the manner in which this agency has operated. The number of children under care has grown enormously, from seven thousand in 1919 to more than thirty-seven thousand five hundred in 1941. The period of the most rapid growth was the decade of the 1920s, when supposedly the general welfare of the American people was at the highest level it has ever attained. While the basic program of the organization, to provide financial assistance to mothers with young children to preserve home life, and to provide family care for children lacking a proper natural guardian, has remained fundamentally unchanged, constant efforts have been made to adapt the program to the needs of the children.

Major differences may be noted, therefore, in comparing the program of the board in 1919 and 1943. The administrative work of the board has been decentralized, with branch offices in all the larger counties and serving groups of smaller counties, permitting greater intimacy between children under care and the board's agents. Accompanying this change has been increased attention to professional training for staff members. The scope of the Home Life Department has been broadened to permit all children who are deprived of a father's support to qualify for aid, instead of limited service to children of widows. This change was made after studies by the United States

Children's Bureau and the Pension Survey Commission revealed that thousands of needy mothers had surrendered guardianship over their children in order to qualify for assistance under the board's original program.

A third difference is in the basis of financing. In 1919 the cost of care of wards of the board was charged to the county from which children were committed. In 1936, with the enactment of the Federal Social Security Act, this was changed so that children cared for in family homes, where the board's responsibility was limited to financial aid and counsel, are now supported by federal, state and county funds, while children over whom the board exercises legal guardianship are supported by State and county funds. At this time the responsibility for determination of eligibility for grants, originally a function of the courts, was transferred to the board, subject to review by county representatives, except in guardianship cases where court action is considered desirable.

In 1936 and 1939, the Legislature made several minor changes in the categorical relief laws to bring them into conformity with the requirements of the Federal Social Security Act of 1935. These provisions broadened the child dependency relief provisions to include children between sixteen and eighteen years regularly attending school.

In 1942, legislation was passed permitting the board to include funds for the maintenance of the mothers as well as for their children.

In describing the growth of the work of the State Board of Children's Guardians and the adaptation of its program to the demands made upon it, acknowledgment should be given of the contribution made by the late Robert L. Fleming, of Jersey City. Mr. Fleming was a member and treasurer of the State Board of Children's Guardians from 1910 until his death in 1942. He was also a lawyer and a historian who devoted his career to welfare legislation without seeking elective or other remunerative public office. Almost all the legislative moves which widened the scope of the board's program were guided by his advice. In addition, he served as a member of the commission which drafted the 1924 revision of the State's Poor Relief Act, and was an adviser and consultant to the Pension Survey Commission in its child welfare studies in 1931-32. His influence was also felt in the juvenile court and probation statutes, and in provision for the protection of children against exploitation. Never seeking publicity, Mr. Fleming made his contribution with modesty and without any selfish motive. In accumulating notes for a history of this type, the extent to which practices now seemingly deeply engrained in the

customs of the State are actually products of his forethought and social understanding becomes fully revealed and due recognition for his constructive work is most appropriate.

Another non-institutional welfare agency placed in the jurisdiction of the Department of Institutions and Agencies was the Commission for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Blind. This agency was created in 1910 to conduct a program of vocational training to aid the blind in efforts to become self-supporting. In 1922, after affiliation with the department, its program was broadened to provide for the payment of monthly "pensions" to the needy blind.

Like the Board of Guardians, the Commission for the Blind has made changes in its program from time to time. These changes, too, have been directed toward the more effective achievement of the purpose of the organization. Also, the financial basis has been changed since the introduction of the Federal Social Security program to permit the "pensions" feature of the commission's work to be financed in part by the Federal Government, under the Social Security Act.

Chiefly, however, the commission's work consists of vocational training and industrial placement of the blind. It provides "talking books" and "Braille" literature for the blind. A unique feature of the agency is that its executive officers have themselves been blind.

Extension to the community of facilities for the prevention and early diagnosis of mental diseases was a natural development of the programs of the mental hospitals and of the general "classification" program of the department. The date upon which "out-patient" services began to operate cannot be set with any degree of exactitude. At Trenton, staff members of the State Hospital conducted for several years a clinic for nervous diseases at Mercer Hospital, one of Trenton's voluntary charitable general hospitals. Gradually, however, patients began to come to the State Hospital for advice.

The 1921 report of the Trenton State Hospital speaks of this service as an important adjunct to the regular work of the hospital. The experience at Greystone Park was somewhat similar. Parents and teachers in nearby towns developed the custom of bringing children to the hospital for psychiatric testing or for neuro-psychiatric advice. This was described as an "informal clinic for mental examination" in the hospital's report for 1922. At that time, Greystone Park had also opened its venereal disease clinic to residents of nearby communities.

In both hospitals, however, the area of out-patient service was limited. The patients visited the hospital. In 1926, at the sugges-

tion of the National Committee on Mental Hygiene, a new project was undertaken. "The mountain moved to Mahomet." In both hospitals, traveling mental hygiene clinics were set up. Psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers were assigned to these clinics. They began visiting communities in all parts of the State on regularly scheduled dates. On these occasions, they examine children and adults referred by schools, courts, and social agencies, or who come of their own or their families' volition.

In the eighteen years these clinics have operated, they have come to occupy an important place in the welfare structure. They help schools to understand the motivation of difficult children. They advise with respect to the institutionalization of the mentally ill and the mentally deficient. Often their timely help precludes the necessity for institutionalization. They aid courts in both juvenile and adult cases.

Still another non-institutional welfare service, but one closely related to institutional treatment and training, is the central parole bureau. Prior to the establishment of the Department of Institutions and Agencies, each institution supervised its own conditionally released inmates. When the new department was created, this work was centralized, except for the prison, where constitutional considerations prevented such a move.

Parole, today, however, is a far different matter than it was twenty-five years ago. Classification has led to more effective selection of candidates for parole. Experience has taught methods of effective supervision, which is now directed positively toward aiding the offender to achieve satisfactory social adjustment instead of waiting negatively for violations which might warrant a return to the institution.

The newest of the non-institutional welfare programs of the department is Old Age Assistance. This program was established in 1932, as a result of prolonged popular agitation for "old age pensions," and pursuant to recommendations formulated by the Pension Survey Commission of 1930-31. Old Age Assistance has been a coöperative program, administered locally by county welfare boards.

In the ten years, 1932-42, during which the Old Age Assistance program has been administered in New Jersey, the Department of Institutions and Agencies has been able to project lessons of its experience preceding the initiation of this program into its orderly development.

The New Jersey program has been an "assistance program" bene-

fitting those aged persons who lack resources for self-maintenance, rather than a "pension scheme" providing allowances to all aged persons. Assistance under the law is contingent upon ability to demonstrate that resources are inadequate to maintain a reasonable minimum standard of living and benefits are limited to an amount equaling the difference between income and living costs. The procedures adopted by the Division of Old Age Assistance, established within the Department of Institutions and Agencies to represent the State in connection with the program, and the county welfare boards to whom immediate administrative responsibility has been assigned, have been conservatively planned to assure courteous and thorough consideration of each applicant's needs, within the framework of the enabling act. That the system has met the needs of the older residents of the State is attested by the absence of agitation for extravagant and impractical schemes such as have won wide support in several other states, chiefly in the central and far western sections of the country.

The department has consistently urged upon the Legislature liberalizing features which, experience has indicated, would be practical to administer, would ameliorate the conditions affecting the individuals for whom the program was designed, and would represent expenditures of public funds which would meet with general approval while not presenting to the Legislature any overwhelming financial problem which would require new and extensive forms of taxation.

The first of these amendments came in 1936, when in addition to meeting Federal requirements for matching under the Social Security Act, the law was largely rewritten to clarify its provisions and simplify administration. At this time the age of eligibility was reduced from seventy years to sixty-five years, and pre-residence requirements from fifteen to five years.

In 1940 the staffs of all county welfare boards were brought under the civil service system irrespective of whether other county departments were so administered, the maximum limitation on monthly payments to an individual was increased from \$30 to \$40, provision for payments during visits outside the State not exceeding one year was made, and the department was authorized to reciprocate with other states in exchanging old age assistance clients.

In 1943 the residence requirement was reduced to one year, the maximum limitation on the amount which could be paid to an individual was completely removed, a requirement that recipients must be citizens of the United States was removed, and the limitation of one

year on visits of clients outside the State while receiving assistance was removed.

During the decade much had been achieved to promote effective administrative practices, including semi-annual audits of county welfare board books, a standard accounting system, in-service training of staffs, and the protection of substantial standards calling for trained personnel in the field of social work and administration.

In September, 1943, the average of individual monthly grants of old age assistance in New Jersey had reached \$26.15, all grants being based upon budgetary analysis taking into account the resources available to each recipient. In 1943 the old age assistance program represented the largest case load and the largest expenditure of public funds for relief purposes, not only in New Jersey, where the number of recipients in proportion to population was lowest in the Nation, but throughout the United States.

Research in the Central Department—When the Department of Institutions and Agencies opened its central office a system of standardized statistical reports was installed by which comparable information of various phases of institutional service could be laid before the Commissioner and Board of Control for administrative use and for public information.

From this simple beginning a comprehensive program of research and statistics has evolved, conducted by a "Division of Statistics and Research." The original aim, to summarize facts about institutional operations, has been expanded. Now the objective is to secure and interpret whatever data may be needed to measure the volume and effectiveness of welfare service and to provide a basis for the planning of future operations. Uniform statistical tabulations have been developed by which the characteristics of the individuals served by New Jersey welfare institutions and agencies can be compared. The experience of the past twenty-five years has been summarized in a series of basic tables. Many tabulations have been compiled to trace trends since the establishment of the individual institutions and agencies. The information about the personal and social characteristics of the persons who have been served by the department's component units is a veritable mine of valuable data and undoubtedly constitutes one of the most carefully compiled instruments for guiding social welfare planning available anywhere.

Another part of the research program has been to make studies of social conditions in communities. These studies have often enabled

local health and welfare agencies to take appropriate remedial steps for the control, prevention and early treatment of welfare problems.

The Division of Statistics and Research has also coöperated intimately with voluntary organizations in maintaining statistical reporting projects in the welfare field. One such project, undertaken jointly by the department and the Hospital Association of New Jersey, involves the preparation of a hospital service summary report based upon monthly information supplied by the hospitals of the State. The State has benefited by the availability of these records in planning for the proper distribution of the cost of the care of the indigent sick and the reports have given the individual hospitals a basis for comparing their experience with that of like institutions during the turbulent depression and World War II periods. The department also collaborates with the New Jersey Tuberculosis League and with organizations combatting other types of chronic diseases—cancer, cardiac conditions, etc.—in statistical and research activities.

During the Second World War the files of the division have been used by the Federal Selective Service Administration as a source of information concerning young men whose eligibility for the armed forces is under review on neuro-psychiatric grounds. In these and related matters this important research service has helped to keep New Jersey's welfare service in the forefront.

Other Centralized Services Contributing to Welfare Progress— The efficient operation of many managerial services, other than those directly relating to the prevention and treatment of welfare problems, has been greatly enhanced by the establishment of the central Department of Institutions and Agencies.

The centralized supervision of business administration has been an important factor in welfare progress in New Jersey. Before the central office was created, each institution had its own accounting system. Comparisons of costs between institutions were virtually impossible. Under central office direction a uniform system of accounts has been installed. Budgets can now be compared with confidence that like institutions are classifying like expenditures comparably. Central office specialists, including those concerned with treatment as well as those concerned with administrative affairs, have access to uniformly compiled data on which to base evaluations of operations, to compare services among institutions, and to make sure that particular services are equitably distributed among the institutions.

The welfare objectives of the department have also been served

by the central supervision of food and housekeeping service. Central office supervision has led to the modernization of equipment for preparing and serving food. The introduction of the cafeteria system has reduced the cost of food service, has lessened food wastage, and has had a therapeutic effect on inmate morale. Scientific control of menu planning has also aided in providing a balanced and varied dietary within modest cost limits. Through centralized inventory control, overstocking and spoilage of items at any single institution have been avoided, while close central supervision of the quality of merchandise delivered to institutions has had a salutary effect. Similarly, the control exercised by the central office in respect to household supplies and clothing has led to economies and to more satisfactory performance in these fields of institutional management.

Scientific farming is another important phase of institutional management. From the early days of institutional work, farming has been undertaken first from the desire to utilize the labor of inmates as a contribution on their part to the cost of their maintenance and as a means of obtaining a dependable supply of low cost staple foods; recently because of the morale factor in the treatment of institutional wards whose prospects are for agricultural employment when they return to outside life. Before the Department of Institutions and Agencies was established, however, each institution conducted its own farm to suit itself. Some farms were well managed, others were costly ventures of slight practical value.

In centralizing administrative control, the office of farm supervisor was created. The farm supervisor, an expert agriculturalist, is responsible for assigning to each institution responsibility for producing the type of agricultural commodity needed in the operation of the institutional system, for which its soil and labor supply are best adapted. Produce is then interchanged among all institutions. In recent years, canneries have been established at several institutions, this permitting the utilization of perishable vegetable and fruit crops previously deemed uneconomical, recently found to contain food elements of importance to a balanced diet. Another recent development, but antedating the meat shortage accompanying the intensification of war activities, has been the introduction of herds of beef cattle on institution farms where grazing land would otherwise go unused. The produce of New Jersey institutional farms includes a large portion of the meat consumed in the institutions, and virtually all the poultry, dairy products, vegetables, and fruit, amounting in all to

nearly half the food consumed at the institutions, as against only one-third in the years before the depression.

In the development of the institutional farm program, the State College of Agriculture and the State Department of Agriculture have furnished advisory service, in return for which the institution farms have tested experimental methods of culture and new strains of various crops before their trial in commercial farming. In this way the work of institution farms has contributed not only to the training of inmates and to the improvement of institutional food service, but also in a very real way to the progress of agriculture, one of New Jersey's leading enterprises in the State at large. An advisory committee on institution farms composed of Henry Jeffers, David H. Agans, Emmor Roberts, Dean William Martin, Secretary W. F. Allen, former Secretary William B. Duryee, George Thorn, D. B. Rice, M. G. Rockhill and W. A. Houston has constantly aided in developing plans for institutional farms.

Relations with Local Institutions—Local institutions, jails, workhouses, detention centers, mental disease hospitals, tuberculosis sanatoria, almshouses, and other types of governmental voluntary charitable, and proprietary institutions, are important units in New Jersey's welfare system.

In creating the new welfare department, Governor Edge and the members of the Legislature, along with the two investigating commissions, were convinced that a modern welfare system must include provision for the modernization and equalization of local institutions. The legislation establishing the Department of Institutions and Agencies, therefore, conferred power on the new department to supervise all institutions and organizations to which State funds are directly or indirectly paid for the care of State wards, and for the inspection of other local institutions.

This power has been administered from the point of view that the localities and the State must collaborate in carrying out a welfare program. The facilities of the central department, medical, clinical, architectural, and administrative, have been made available to local institutions to help them meet special problems. The inspectors have also brought back to State institutions and to institutions in other localities worth-while developments in local institutions. As a result, the statutory power to summon county or municipal officials into court and obtain court orders for the correction of improper conditions has seldom been necessary.

Progress has been made in improving local institutions. The medical work in the county mental hospitals and in the county and municipal tuberculosis institutions has kept pace with the progress made in physical facilities. The emphasis given by inspectors to the conversion of almshouses into infirmaries for the chronically ill has been fruitful.

The administration of local jails, traditionally the "step-children" of institutional administration, has been greatly improved. Jails are catch-all institutions, expected to render a wide variety of types of custodial responsibilities. They must provide secure detention for persons awaiting trial on serious charges who are considered too dangerous to be admitted to bail.* They must also care for short term offenders, sentenced for terms too short to permit systematic treatment, and for "material witnesses" in criminal cases. The law further provides that minors be segregated from adult offenders, and for the segregation of the sexes.

The administration of a jail, in many counties seldom housing more than a score of individuals at any one time, is, therefore, a complex task. Conscientious efforts are being made to conduct New Jersey jails as effectively and as humanely as the ingenuity of sheriffs and other county officials allows. More and more it is the unusual jail which does not provide appropriate segregation, in which work and recreation to offset the searing effects of incarceration, and in which competent medical service is not available. Several counties have built new facilities in recent years, and in other counties old institutions have been modernized.

Credit for the advances in jail administration must be shared by the county officials and the groups responsible for the inspection and supervision of local jails. Prior to 1918, volunteer inspectors representing the State Charities Aid Association performed this duty; since then jail inspection has been a function of the Department of Institutions and Agencies. As the inspections have always been made in a spirit of service to the locality rather than a "policing" of jails to find violations of the State code, the relationships between State and locality have been friendly and coöperative and constitute a joint effort to stimulate improvement in jail administration.

The value of the State's inspection and supervision, however, is

*As recently as 1906, executions were carried out in the county jails. The sheriffs were responsible for seeing death sentences carried into effect, the method of execution being hanging. The morbid excitement accompanying executions had a deleterious effect upon inmates and staff. When, in 1906, electrocution was adopted as the instrument of capital punishment, offenders sentenced to die were committed to the State Prison.

seen by the fact that a recent Federal evaluation of local jails for possible use as places of temporary detention for persons arrested on Federal charges found only two states where substantially all county jails met minimum Federal standards. These two states, New Jersey and Massachusetts, have both had long experience with State inspection and State standards. Where such supervision has not been afforded, local jails have lagged further behind.

The recommendation, originally made in 1869, that the jails be used only for the detention of persons awaiting trial, still comes, however, as a revolutionary and novel suggestion not merely to the man in the street, but to the typical sheriff and local law enforcement officer.

The Office of County Adjuster—One of the most important and least known public offices in New Jersey is that of county adjuster. The primary duty of the county adjuster is to prepare commitment papers for admission to State and county mental disease hospitals and related institutions. This includes the compilation of diagnostic data, social histories, and the determination of the ability of the patient or his family to meet all or any part of the cost of care. Although the procedure requires the approval of the county courts, this is now a formality except in contested cases.

Although this work has had to be done ever since the opening of the Trenton State Hospital, it was only in 1916 that legislation was enacted setting up such an office and defining its duties. Prior to that time each county had evolved its own routines. In Essex and Union counties the county counsel or his assistant prepared commitment papers. In Hudson County the county physician did so. In several smaller counties the county clerk was responsible for this work.

When probation departments were established, a number of counties assigned the work of preparing commitment papers to the chief probation officer. No two counties submitted comparable material to the State institutions. Consequently, the 1916 Legislature, codifying the terms and conditions of commitment to State institutions, other than correctional institutions, called for the appointment in each county of a "commissioner in lunacy," the title being changed in 1919 to county adjuster. By this means, it was hoped to standardize procedure throughout the State.

The law, however, permitted the continuance in service, under the new title, of the person actually doing the work at the time this Act was passed. The effect of this Act was to recognize and stabilize a well-established practice, and not to create a new office.

Since 1919 added duties have been assigned to the county adjuster. The 1924 poor relief law made him responsible for conducting negotiations between municipalities over settlement questions, except when all municipalities concerned lay in a single county.

Under this same law the county adjuster was made an *ex-officio* member of the county welfare board, in counties adopting this provision, with the exception that if the county adjuster was named as director of welfare he could not also serve as a board member. This same provision was written into the 1931 old age relief and county welfare referendum acts.

Civil Service and Welfare Progress—The reorganization of New Jersey's welfare and correctional program under the Department of Institutions and Agencies has been greatly facilitated by the fact that since 1908 all vacancies in the welfare service of the State have been filled through competitive civil service examinations conducted by the State Civil Service Commission.

Through civil service it has been possible to adopt and maintain a definite policy of personnel selection and promotion. Continuity in service has been assured and professional staff members have been enabled to carry on their work unhampered by obligations due to political sponsors and without fear that all their efforts will be undone by an incoming administration not fully conversant with the significance of measures they have introduced.

The Department of Institutions and Agencies has established training programs for various classes of employees to provide them with the specialized knowledge they need in their work beyond that required for successful passing of the entrance examinations.

A training school for prison and reformatory officers is conducted at Rahway Reformatory when vacancies exist for workers in this classification. This program has an important bearing on the ability of the rank and file of institutional workers to carry out the treatment and training programs outlined by the professional staff in the classification system described earlier in this chapter.

The State Board of Children's Guardians has conducted a special training program for new workers and to keep older workers conversant with newer methods of child welfare service.

The Division of Old Age Assistance has also conducted training programs for employees of county welfare boards as well as informational meetings for members of the county welfare boards, which have been of marked value in promoting comparability of welfare practices throughout the State without the imposition of direct central control.

The department has also encouraged individual institutions to undertake professional training programs, either as part of the institutions' own personnel policy, or in conjunction with professional organizations seeking to improve facilities for the preparation of young workers for the type of service they sponsor. The State hospitals provide training facilities for student nurses, usually on a basis of receiving student nurses, enrolled in the training schools of community hospitals, for specialized psychiatric training. The State hospitals have also developed accredited programs of training in occupational therapy and physio-therapy. Institutions for the feeble-minded coöperate with colleges and universities in training courses to equip teachers to serve in community schools for mentally deficient children. These institutions, the homes for juvenile delinquents, and the reformatories, provide internships for practical training in psychological service and social group work. At the State Hospital at Greystone Park, theological students undergo training for work as institutional chaplains in coöperation with theological seminaries of several major denominations.

These programs of pre-professional and in-service training aid the department in finding workers qualified to enter its extremely demanding and diversified types of service. They facilitate the policy of filling executive posts by promotions from the ranks. This policy, adhered to throughout the history of the department, has by 1943 achieved such success that virtually all executive heads of institutions and of central office divisions, with the exception of a few individuals engaged to initiate types of service not previously conducted in New Jersey, have won their way from subordinate positions. The present commissioner entered the department's service as a psychologist in the Division of Classification and Education. The opportunities for advancement and for professional recognition which this policy provides have stimulated a high degree of *esprit de corps* which helps to account for the department's success.

The merit system of employee selection, mandatory only at the State level, is being adopted by an increasing number of municipalities and counties. Federal Social Security Board rulings make it necessary to recruit employees for county welfare board staff positions through civil service, regardless of whether other positions in the county service are under civil service or not. A State law enacted in 1929 makes it obligatory to hold competitive civil service examinations for filling another welfare post, that of probation officer. As in the State service, the introduction of the merit system of personnel selection through

competitive civil service examinations with safeguards provided against capricious dismissals of employees from the service has had a beneficial influence upon local welfare services. Advances made in the management of local institutions, jails, welfare houses, and in non-institutional welfare services have occurred as a result of the employment on a career basis of individuals chosen on the basis of personal fitness for the work to which they are assigned.

IV

INDEPENDENT WELFARE SERVICES

The material in the preceding pages describes how, during the century of individual reforms, specialized facilities, each appropriate for the care of individuals affected by specific types of social welfare problems, were developed in New Jersey, and how in the last twenty-five years these special services have been knit together into a coordinated network of public welfare services.

At all times the hands of the overseers of the poor have held basic responsibility for alleviating problems of poverty and maladjustment lying outside the scope of these newer welfare services. The increasing complexity of the social organization of New Jersey along with the increasing population of the State has meant that the residual functions have constantly increased. The establishment of specialized services never appreciably lessened the work of the local relief officials; except, perhaps, briefly.

During the nineteenth century public opinion differed strongly between two methods of poor relief. One school of thought advocated "indoor relief," caring for the poor at public expense only in almshouses or poorhouses where the economies claimed for congregate care would assure low cost to the public. The other approach was "outdoor relief," providing allowances for the support of the poor in their own homes or in boarding homes.

As a result, New Jersey developed a dual relief system, using almshouses and outdoor relief as alternate methods. Although reasons of economy and political consideration were doubtless involved, it is apparent that it was realized that both types of care are needed for a complete relief program.

The legislation affecting basic poor relief changed but little during the nineteenth century. Although frequent revisions were enacted, these revisions dealt with questions such as defining the tenure of the overseer of the poor and the acquisition and loss of legal settlement. The substance of the law was but slightly affected until 1911.

New Jersey's experience in this respect differed from that of adjoining states. In many states controversy over the merits of "indoor" or outdoor relief was colored by disclosures of extensive venality in the administration of outdoor relief. The development of the charity organization movements to provide benevolent aid to the indigent through voluntary philanthropy led many states to pass legislation prohibiting cities from granting "outdoor relief" at public expense. Such legislation was in effect in New York State as early as 1823, and was on and off the State books intermittently until the mid-1930s.

In New Jersey, through the "Charity Organization" movement mentioned above, small private relief-giving agencies were consolidated into "Charity Organizations" or "Associated Charities," in some of the large cities. Many of these agencies exist today in the form of family welfare societies or social service bureaus. The strength of the New Jersey State Charities Aid Association, in which leadership of non-governmental welfare projects was centered during the era when opposition to public outdoor relief was at its peak in other states, was devoted not to the abolition of public outdoor relief, but to preventing abuses and to raising the standards of public welfare administration by local authorities as well as by the State Government.

The 1911 Poor Law Revision—The combined efforts of public and private welfare workers, stimulated by the State Charities Aid Association, led to the drafting, in 1911, of what was believed to be a "model" poor relief law. The special status of "temporary dependents" was recognized, and their assistance was authorized without requiring a pauper's oath and the loss of voting rights involved in the acceptance of "permanent" relief. Settlement provisions were clarified and liberalized.

For the first time local relief officials were instructed to give relief to those in need regardless of settlement. If settlement was found to be elsewhere, then arrangements could be made either to charge the cost of relief to the place of settlement or to order deportation. Indigent persons denied aid by the municipal overseer of the poor were given the right of appeal to the county courts, and the justice of the peace no longer reviewed overseers' findings.

The 1924 Poor Law Revision—The local overseers of the poor, with notable exceptions, found little in the 1911 revision to necessitate drastic changes in actual practice. The operation of the general poor law in most communities continued to be subject to the prejudice con-

cerning pauperism which had been built up since colonial days. The growing availability of special forms of assistance, while permitting the more humane approach to certain welfare problems, perhaps served to revitalize ancient discrimination against those whose dependency was due to unemployment or to inability to earn enough for family needs. Accordingly, in 1921, a commission was created by legislative Act to study and modernize the laws relating to the relief and settlement of the poor. This commission presented a report out of which grew the 1924 law, the present basic relief statute in New Jersey.

The commission expressed high objectives in planning the 1924 law. "The primary purpose is, of course, to get at the root of the matter . . . by attacking fundamental causes. . . . Legislation for the poor should be made to articulate with state and national activities for employment, industrial safety, public health, child welfare, and institutional relief." It sought "by persuasive rather than mandatory provisions" to expand the area of relief jurisdiction to cover true community lines where these did not coincide with municipal or county boundaries. The commission sought to obtain citizen participation in welfare planning both through optional county welfare boards and through the use of volunteer aides and advisers by overseers of the poor. It sought to insure adequate records and their intelligent use. "It is only by the accumulating of records and by more accurate study of these that we may hope to make any serious permanent gains in the prevention of poverty."

The experience under this law may be said to duplicate that occurring under the 1911 law. Each municipality was the judge of the relief needs it faced and of the methods for meeting them. Thus the 1924 New Jersey poor relief statute is one under which the most modern type of public assistance program may be administered if the local governing body so wishes, but the law itself presents few barriers to the continuation of nineteenth century municipal poor relief methods. The belief that lack of settlement justifies withholding relief has persisted in many communities up to the writing of this history.

Relief in the Depression Era—The business depression, which began, at least in popular judgment, with the stock market's collapse in October, 1929, caused vast changes in the public's attitude toward governmental relief and in the methods of administering and financing governmental relief.

During the depression period the American people for the first time discarded the belief that poverty was an indication of moral weakness. It was acknowledged that unemployment resulted from world-wide causes in which the individual was powerless. Consequently, for the first time public support was given efforts to remove, at least for the duration of the depression, the social stigma attached to the acceptance of relief, and to establish a method of providing relief which would not have a deleterious effect on the morale of the recipients.

On the other hand the concept that the depression was an abnormal and transitory condition tended to inhibit efforts to use the impact of the depression as cause for any general reorganization of relief methods.

The various phases of the effort to provide adequate assistance for the victims of the depression are described in the following pages. Although this history is concerned chiefly with New Jersey, the Federal Government was at all times to some degree concerned with unemployment problems and this discussion must necessarily bring in the constantly shifting relationship which developed between the State of New Jersey and the Federal Government.

Efforts to Reorganize Local Relief—At the time that the force of the depression was first manifesting itself in mass unemployment, a legislative inquiry commission, known as the Pension Survey Commission, originally established to study old age dependency and retirement pensions of public employees, expanded its program to examine the state's relief system. This commission's work has already been cited in connection with the establishment of old age assistance in New Jersey, and in relation to the modernization of the State Board of Children's Guardians' program.

The Pension Survey Commission's studies showed that "in many municipalities little attention has been given to the development of high standards in municipal welfare administration and the old customs and standards of relief-giving still persist." The reason for the low level of municipal relief was attributed by the commission to the fact that relatively few municipalities had in normal times any sizable number of welfare problems which could not be cared for by one of the specialized services.

The office of overseer of the poor was a part time, unimportant post in all but a few municipalities.

The remedy proposed by the commission was to transfer all duties

of municipal overseers of the poor to county welfare boards, consisting of a group of officials and citizens serving without salary, but employing a qualified expert in welfare administration and a staff of investigators of sufficient training and experience to meet reasonable social service personnel standards.

This proposal was tied together with a proposal to establish a system of old age assistance within the Department of Institutions and Agencies.

Controversy developed over these proposals. Municipal officials were strongly opposed to this final step in eliminating the municipality from relief responsibility. The Legislature, therefore, adopted a compromise measure, creating county welfare boards for the administration of Old Age Assistance and calling for a referendum in each county on the question of transferring relief responsibilities from the municipalities to the County Welfare Board. In the November election this proposal was decisively beaten in eighteen out of twenty-one counties.

Emergency Relief, 1931-1933—By midsummer in 1931 the inability of the municipalities in New Jersey to handle the growing demands for unemployment relief alone was apparent. Following a series of conferences between prominent citizens and public officials the Legislature passed the first State Emergency Relief Act on October 1. Governor Morgan F. Larson promptly named Chester I. Barnard, of Newark, to the office of State Director of Emergency Relief.

This Act declared that while public relief was a normal function of local government the State must now come to the aid of local public and private agencies. Accordingly, it established the New Jersey State Emergency Relief Administration, to distribute State aid to the localities and prescribe general rules and regulations for the operation of the local relief programs. The SERA consisted of a State Director appointed by the Governor for a one-year term, and an administrative council composed of the Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies, the Commissioner of Labor and the Commissioner of Municipal Accounts. The State Director was authorized to appoint all necessary personnel, including county relief directors, and local councils and committees to direct and coördinate the local administration of relief. The administrative council, under the direction of the State Director, was to determine and regulate the assistance granted to county relief districts and other local political subdivisions.

The relief program outlined in the 1931 Act was in two parts. Out of special State funds the SERA was to reimburse each county or municipality up to approximately fifty per cent. of wages paid to needy persons employed on work relief projects.* Provision was also made to reimburse each municipality for direct relief expenditures up to forty per cent. of the amount which the municipality spent in excess of its poor-law expenditures in 1929.†

Approximately ten million dollars was allocated to be distributed to the counties and municipalities between October 13, 1931, and June 30, 1932.

In June, 1932, the Legislature provided additional State funds and vested complete discretion in the State Director as to the manner of their distribution. Acting under this authority, the State Director abandoned the original policy of providing work relief for the able-bodied, and by an administrative ruling of June 16, 1932, ordered State funds to be expended thereafter for direct relief only.

Mr. Barnard, who had served as State Director through this period without compensation, submitted his resignation in February, 1933. His successor, John Colt, of Princeton, was immediately named by Governor A. Harry Moore. He, too, accepted no salary for his services.

The Centralization of Authority—Under an early administrative ruling the SERA announced that it would assume complete financial and administrative responsibility where a community was unwilling or unable to raise sufficient local funds to qualify for State aid.

In January, 1932, only nineteen local units had surrendered control to the State. Six months later a total of 128 localities in the State, including many of the important industrial and coastal resort cities, had abandoned the task to the SERA. By December, 1933, the number was in excess of 160, comprising almost one-half of the total population of the State. By January, 1935, approximately 400 municipalities had turned over administration of relief to the State.

The Coming of Federal Assistance—The national character of the depression made it almost inevitable that the Federal Government should be asked to contribute to the cost of emergency relief.

The depression was likened to a great Nation-wide disaster. In local disasters caused by fire, flood, or other catastrophic emergencies, Federal appropriations had been made to ease the strain on local relief

*Subject to a statutory maximum of \$1.00 per inhabitant in the case of cities and \$0.40 per inhabitant in the case of counties. In the counties, State aid was used principally for work relief projects on county roads.

†Subject to a statutory maximum of \$0.80 per inhabitant.

and rehabilitative agencies, beginning with an appropriation for sufferers from fire at Alexandria, Virginia, in 1827. The most elaborate Federal relief activity prior to 1933, however, was the program undertaken in the Southern States following the close of the Civil War. On a Nation-wide basis, the programs for vocational rehabilitation of the physically handicapped and the maternal and child health programs established following World War I offered a precedent for Federal aid to the states for welfare purposes.

The first step toward the Federal aid for emergency relief was the appointment by President Herbert C. Hoover of an "Emergency Committee for Employment," of which Colonel Arthur Wood was chairman. This committee encouraged states and localities in efforts to solve the problem by finding jobs for the unemployed and by sharing the work. Private philanthropy was assumed, though mistakenly, to be bearing the chief burden of relief.‡

In 1931 the United States Senate voted an appropriation of \$25,000,000 to be administered for relief by the American Red Cross. Before the House of Representatives could take action, the board of directors of the American Red Cross refused to accept this responsibility. Later in the year Walter S. Gifford was appointed to succeed Colonel Wood, who had resigned some time before his successor was chosen, as head of the President's Emergency Committee, renamed the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief. The emphasis continued to be on stimulating local public and private activity to spread the work and raise money through voluntary contribution.

Meanwhile local social agencies, both public and private, faced with the impossible task of meeting overwhelming relief needs under the limitation of financial resources and of antiquated legislation, continued to press for Federal aid.

When Congress convened in December, 1931, Senator Costigan, of Colorado, introduced a bill for Federal grants-in-aid to states for relief purposes. Prolonged hearings were held and evidence assembled of convincing nature that the relief program nationally was of such magnitude that only the revenues of the Federal Government could assure adequate treatment. The Costigan bill failed of passage by a narrow margin.

The passage of the Act establishing the Reconstruction Finance

‡In New Jersey, in 1930, private philanthropy met approximately 23 per cent. of the total cost of relief; in 116 areas throughout the United States studied by a national committee of community chest executives and other private research organizations, the proportion of relief costs met by private funds was 24 per cent.

Corporation to lend money to states and corporations created an opportunity to lend money to states for relief purposes and the Act was so modified in the summer of 1932.

New Jersey, because of constitutional barriers against enlarging the State debt except by referendum, did not benefit from this provision until early in the present national administration. Funds were then advanced by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for the purpose of emergency relief, to be charged against future Federal highway allocations. Later, states were relieved of the responsibility for repaying RFC advances for emergency relief.

In many states staff members assigned by the President's Organization on Emergency Relief aided the State Government in setting up emergency relief agencies. New Jersey, however, neither sought nor received this service.

The Emergency Relief Program, 1933-36—On May 12, 1933, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was established with authority to distribute Federal relief grants to the states. The Federal agency was further empowered to take over and control directly the administration of general relief in any State unwilling or unable to comply with Federal regulations.

The New Jersey SERA was authorized by the FERA to receive and disburse Federal funds. Federal grants were first made available to the State on a matching basis, one dollar of Federal funds for each three dollars spent for relief purposes in the State as permitted under Federal regulations. Subject to such Federal regulation, the State agency accordingly continued its original functions of dispensing aid to the localities, supervising local administration, and in certain areas administering relief through its own agents.

In June, 1933, State legislation was passed requiring the Emergency Relief Administration to advance funds to the counties to help meet the cost of categorical relief, *i. e.*, aid to dependent children, mothers' aid, old age relief and blind assistance. This was done on the ground that the depression not merely increased the number of persons requiring general relief, but also reduced the local tax revenues normally available to finance other types of relief.

Federal relief policy, like State relief policy, was from the beginning subject to constant change. The "matching" practice was soon abandoned, the Federal Government assuming the major portion of the costs. At first provision was made under the new program for both work and direct relief. In New Jersey, however, work relief

for the able-bodied was confined to projects organized on the "work for relief" basis, by which persons receiving direct relief were encouraged to pay in work for assistance received.

The Return of Wage Paid Work Relief—The Civil Works Administration—The policy of "work for relief" was abruptly abandoned in the autumn of 1933, when the Federal Government decided to launch a special Nation-wide work relief program, called the Civil Works Administration. The program had a brief life, ending as suddenly as it was begun, on March 31, 1934.

While the CWA program was in operation in New Jersey, the SERA continued to expend Federal and State funds for direct relief purposes. For, despite the huge outlays for CWA work relief projects, the volume of direct relief in the State remained at a very high level.

Changes in State Organization—Early in 1934, following the CWA experience, the SERA was reorganized. Overall authority was vested in an Administrative Council of seven members, John Colt relinquishing the position of State Director to become chairman of the council. The directorship was placed on a salaried basis. Lewis S. Compton, of Metuchen, was appointed to this post. A year later, another reorganization took place. Chester I. Barnard returned to the SERA's service as chairman of the council, which was expanded to include nine members, including four State department heads, *ex officio*, and four public representatives. Mr. Compton resigned to commence his career in the Federal service, which culminated in his becoming Under Secretary and Acting Secretary of the Navy, and was replaced by Albert H. Hedden. Mr. Barnard resigned as chairman in December, 1935. He was succeeded by Reeve Schley, of Far Hills.

Mr. Schley carried through, with outstanding success, the important and difficult problem of liquidating these activities. To Mr. Barnard, Mr. Colt, and Mr. Schley went recognition of a job well done from the governors, Legislature, press, and public. They fulfilled the best tradition of New Jersey for utilizing in the public service the abilities of outstanding citizens.

The Shifting Approach of the Federal Government to Emergency Relief—The termination of the Civil Works Administration had a profoundly disturbing effect upon emergency relief operations in New Jersey.

Another factor developed further to complicate the situation. In states where the urban population was confined to some single large

city, a rurally controlled Legislature was often reluctant to enact legislation suitable to meet the city government's conception of its relief needs. The mayors of Louisville and New York City, through the National Conference of Mayors, were especially vigorous in pressing for an emergency program permitting cities to receive funds directly from the Federal Government. In New Jersey, the desire of the city administration in Newark to utilize wage-paid work relief, not permitted by State regulations, though preferred by the Federal relief authorities, led the mayor of that city, then president of the Conference of Mayors, to add his weight to the movement for a work relief program by which Federal subsidies could be obtained by municipalities without clearance through a State agency.

Still another concept which influenced this development was the belief that the increase in the relief population since 1929 was caused *exclusively* by unemployment. It was argued that the Federal Government should limit its emergency relief efforts to the work relief for the depression unemployed. According to this view, other cases, presumably "Unemployable," should be aided by home relief, accompanied by social case work and other endeavors directed toward physical and economic rehabilitation, at the expense of State and local government. Only scattered opposition was registered to the announcement in April, 1935, that the Federal Government would "quit this business of relief," and when Congress in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act in April, 1935, authorized the establishment of a new national work relief program to be administered by Federal authorities alone.

The Federal Works Progress Administration was accordingly created by the President and began operations in the various states during the latter part of 1935. Concurrently, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration began the process of liquidation. In New Jersey the last Federal grants for emergency relief were received in November, 1935. Thereafter the care of all the so-called "unemployables," together with those "employables" not provided for under the new Federal work program, became the sole responsibility of the State and its subdivisions.

The Relief Financing Controversy in New Jersey—The financing of the State's portion of emergency relief cost in New Jersey was marked by a series of quests for hidden assets in the State's resources which might be directed to relief use. Determined efforts were made to finance the State's share of relief costs without the imposition of new taxes.

Consequently, there were times when the Federal Government carried the entire burden of general relief, but over a period of months New Jersey always met its quota, originally twenty-five per cent. of the cost of direct relief, later the flat sum of \$2,000,000 per month. The problem was eventually met by legislation authorizing the Governor to divert monies from other State funds, to be repaid from relief appropriations or by operational economies in the agencies whose funds had been commandeered.

In the spring of 1935, after prolonged legislative debate, a retail sales tax was enacted to finance the State's share of emergency relief costs. The legislation was enacted against the protest of articulate groups, which held that economies in other State departments could produce the desired sums. The attack on the sales tax in principle was coupled with popular indignation over the way the tax was collected. It was demonstrated that the schedule of rates permitted merchants to collect larger sums from their customers than they were obliged to turn in to the authorities, but this was only an incidental factor in the popular opposition to the tax. Although sales taxes have successfully operated in many states, the popular uprising which occurred in New Jersey cannot wholly be ascribed to skilled manipulation of public opinion. There was an element of spontaneity in the anger which this tax caused which makes its speedy repeal, in October, 1935, a significant illustration of the force of public opinion in controlling legislative action.

The abandonment of the sales tax, however, left the Emergency Relief Administration without any regularly appropriated funds to carry on its operations other than the funds received from Federal emergency relief appropriations and a small amount of municipal funds. When Federal support for emergency relief stopped, in November, 1935, the funds received then enabled the New Jersey ERA to continue operations for a brief period. The policy of the State to provide funds on a hand to mouth basis created a situation in which it was impossible for either the State or the municipalities to formulate relief budgets for 1936.

The continuance of the legislative deadlock over the source of relief funds (not an unwillingness to provide funds), led the chairman of the Administrative Council of the ERA to notify all municipalities on March 15, 1936, that the ERA would make no commitments for financial aid to municipalities after April 15, unless the legislative controversy had been settled by that date.*

*Hon. Reeve Schley, now (1944) president of the State Board of Control of Institutions and Agencies.

This notice went unheeded and on April 16 the New Jersey State Emergency Relief Administration commenced to liquidate. A storm of protests from municipalities swept the Legislature. A dramatic incident occurred when a mass delegation of the unemployed occupied the legislative chambers and held mock sessions over a period of several days.

In May, 1936, the settlement of a long-disputed inheritance tax case brought a windfall of \$6,000,000 into the State treasury. This money was promptly allocated to emergency relief. The theory that the communities would eliminate waste and inefficiency if they were given direct control over relief and forced to assume greater financial responsibilities was embodied in the Act passed by the Legislature on May 4, 1936, when the availability of this fund was assured. The new Act abolished the SERA and returned control of emergency relief to the municipalities.* The Act created a State Financial Assistance Commission, consisting of the Governor, the State Treasurer, the State Comptroller, and the chairmen of the Senate and Assembly appropriation committees. This agency was authorized to appoint an executive director and administrative staff. The principal functions of this agency were to allocate State aid to municipalities from a special equalization fund, to establish general rules and regulations governing municipal relief, and to supervise local administration. Emergency relief, termed "public assistance" in the new legislation, was to be administered by the existing poor-law organizations in the municipalities. The act, however, authorized local governing bodies at their discretion to create local assistance boards of three to five members with power to appoint local welfare directors and to control generally local administration of the program.†

In February of 1940 a special legislative committee issued a report pointing out numerous weaknesses in the existing emergency relief legislation and sharply condemning the administrative methods of the SFAC. The principal legislative changes recommended in the report were: (1) abolition of the SFAC and the creation of a State Department of Public Assistance under a single commissioner appointed by and responsible to the Governor; (2) establishment of a new system of State relief grants-in-aid in which the State would agree to pay one-half the emergency relief costs in every municipality; (3) abolition of the office of local overseer of the poor and transfer of all duties of

*Public laws of New Jersey, 1936, Chapter 83.

†In 1938 the establishment of local assistance boards was made mandatory. Public Laws of New Jersey, 1938, Chapter 123.

that office to the local welfare director; (4) establishment of a merit system of appointment for all State and local administrative personnel.

None of these recommendations were adopted, but in June, 1940, administrative responsibility for the emergency relief program was transferred from the SFAC to a newly created State Municipal Aid Administration headed by a State Director of Municipal Aid. Charles R. Erdman, Jr., of Princeton, was appointed by the Legislature to this office.

Depression Service to Youth—Unemployment, during the depression, was particularly acute among young men and women leaving school to go to work. Several experiments were undertaken by State and Federal emergency relief agencies to alleviate the effects of unemployment of youths who could not find jobs because of inexperience, nor obtain experience without jobs.

Two Federal programs which served youthful unemployed individuals were the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration.

The Civilian Conservation Corps enrolled boys aged eighteen to twenty-four years for service in work camps, located in public forests and rural parks. Boys lived under quasi-military discipline. Attention was given to developing bodily strength as well as to the inculcation of sound work habits. Education and recreation were also provided. After the dissolution of the State Emergency Relief Administration, the State Department of Institutions and Agencies was made responsible for recruiting young men for participation in the CCC, as it was popularly termed.

The other Federal youth program was the National Youth Administration, which operated as a sort of junior WPA. Jobs, on a part-time basis, were given to unemployed youths and to needy students in colleges and high schools. Resident training centers were also conducted. Both agencies have been discontinued with the elimination of the condition—widespread unemployment among youth—which led to their establishment.

A program peculiar to New Jersey, although financed at first by Federal emergency relief funds, was the emergency junior college program. Dr. A. L. Johnson, Superintendent of Schools of Union County, conceived this program as a means of giving unemployed youth access to higher education in the liberal arts while putting to use the teaching skills of unemployed persons of superior educational and cultural attainments. Emergency junior colleges were established in six coun-

ties. After the termination of Federal emergency grants, local educational authorities have assumed financial responsibility in two counties, Morris and Union.

Social Insurance in New Jersey—During the depression decade America for the first time in its history began to turn to social insurance as a substitute for public assistance and voluntary charity and as a means of protecting the population against economic risks.

This development arose in Europe during the late nineteenth century, but it had its most rapid growth in the democratic nations of western Europe in the years immediately preceding and following the First World War.*

The first type of social insurance to develop in the United States on a compulsory basis, however, was compensation to persons injured or affected by an occupational disease in the course of their employment.

Early laws covering especially hazardous occupations were enacted in various states as early as 1902. In 1908 a Federal statute was enacted providing Federal employees with compensation for wages lost and medical expenses incurred because of occupational injuries.

In 1911, ten states enacted comprehensive statutes guaranteeing compensation to injured employees, Washington being the first. Under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson, New Jersey was one of this group of ten states to pioneer in this field.

Following the successful campaign for workmen's compensation, the American Association for Labor Legislation led a campaign for unemployment compensation, health insurance, and old age pensions. In New Jersey, the movement had widespread support and was comprehensively discussed at meetings sponsored by the State Charities Aid and Prison Reform Association.

After the First World War interest in social insurance waned. The flush prosperity of the twenties produced a public attitude averse to social experimentation.

With the coming of the depression a more inquiring attitude was developed toward social insurance. The President's Committee on

*Basically, social insurance consists of provisions for benefits to be paid on retirement or during periods of temporary unemployment or incapacity, or to meet the costs of certain emergency needs such as medical care, burial expenses, etc., on a predetermined basis. The cost of the benefits may be met on a "contributory" basis, meaning that a specific tax is paid by the individuals enrolled in the system, or on a non-contributory basis out of the general funds of government. It may be disputed by some as to whether the latter plan can be considered insurance. Advocates of social insurance, including many otherwise conservative economists, hold that the guarantee of this protection to all as a governmental service is "insurance," the "pension" being paid by the government as a self-insurer, instead of being met directly by the potential beneficiaries.

Economic Security, appointed in 1934, submitted its report early in 1935. This committee outlined a program of unemployment compensation and health insurance, coupled with programs for the support of the dependent aged, children, and others persons deprived of income.

During the first six months of 1935 legislation introduced in Congress to implement the report of the committee was hotly debated. Finally, in the early summer, the first Social Security Act was adopted.

This Act established a Federally administered system of retirement benefits, a Federal-State system of unemployment compensation, and further provided for Federal grants-in-aid to the states for specialized forms of assistance. Health insurance, opposed by strong elements in the medical profession, was not included, although Federal subsidies to states for programs to improve various types of public health service were established. Funds for the "insurance" type benefits are provided through payroll deduction taxes; assistance and service programs are provided out of general revenues.

Following the passage of the Federal Social Security Act, and in conformity with a Joint Resolution of the New Jersey Legislature, Governor Harold G. Hoffman appointed a commission, known as the Social Security Commission, to study the implications of the Federal Act in relation to New Jersey. The chairman of this commission was Harry L. Derby, of Montclair.*

The commission, early in 1936, recommended the adoption by New Jersey of suitable legislation to enable the State to participate in the grant-in-aid features of the Federal Act by which Federal funds would augment State and local funds used for specialized relief purposes. The commission's majority report was sharply critical of the social insurance schemes proposed in the Federal Act, holding these sections were contrary to the Constitution of the United States. This

*Other members of the commission were:

Mrs. Elizabeth Harris, Vice-Chairman	Glen Ridge
William J. Ellis, Secretary	Trenton
Senator John C. Barbour	Clifton
Senator Blase Cole, M. D.	Newton
Senator Robert C. Hendrickson	Woodbury
Assemblyman Marcus W. Newcomb, M. D.	Browns Mills
Assemblyman Dayton D. McKean	Princeton
Assemblyman Henry Young, Jr.	Newark
Dr. Robert P. Fischelis	Trenton
Frederick Snow Kellogg	Montclair
Vincent J. Murphy	Newark
John J. Toohey	Jersey City

John Lemp, Assistant Secretary
New Jersey Social Security Commission

view, however, was not sustained in litigation. A series of United States Supreme Court decisions from November, 1936, to May, 1937, upheld the validity of the Act against challenges of the type which led the New Jersey commission's advisers to hold that it was probably unconstitutional. The minority held that the commission's assignment was to develop legislation enabling the State to participate in the Federal program, and outlined an unemployment compensation program for immediate consideration by the Legislature.

After extensive discussion the commission modified its stand. Alternate measures supported by minority groups within the commission were then submitted to the Legislature. Finally, measures acceptable to both groups were devised, largely by J. Douglas Brown, of Princeton University, technical consultant to the commission and nationally recognized expert on social security and industrial relations. Resolution of the controversy led to the establishment late in 1936 of the New Jersey Unemployment Compensation Commission. This agency is headed by a "commission" or "board" of seven members serving without salary, including the Commissioner of the Department of Labor, *ex-officio*. A salaried "director" is employed. The commission administers unemployment compensation. Workers in establishments employing eight or more persons (other than governmental, religious, charitable agencies, agricultural and domestic employees) on becoming unemployed qualify for benefits of from \$5.00 to \$15 per week, depending on prior earnings, for a period not exceeding sixteen weeks. Although the commission started operations in 1937, for two years no benefits were paid, collections being devoted to the building up of reserve accounts. The work is financed by a payroll tax levied by New Jersey, but collected by and held in New Jersey's account by the Federal Social Security Board in accordance with the Federal Social Security Act. In normal times the State Unemployment Commission also operates the State Employment Service, originally established under the State Department of Labor, but transferred to the commission in 1937. This service has been "federalized" during the Second World War as part of the wartime manpower mobilization effort, and is now operated by the War Manpower Commission.

Other Specialized Welfare Services—Two specialized welfare services were developed independently of the State Department of Institutions and Agencies during the period between world wars.

The first is the Rehabilitation Commission, created in 1919, to

rehabilitate physically handicapped persons and to restore them to self-sufficient status. The distinguished orthopedic surgeon, Dr. Frederick H. Albee, contributed greatly to this program. This commission was created to help physically handicapped soldiers returning from the First World War. But it also implemented concern felt for persons incapacitated by industrial accidents. As the program has developed, the commission's services, which consist of specialized medical and surgical treatment, vocational training and counsel, have been chiefly used to help victims of industrial accidents, although they are available to all disabled persons without regard to the cause of disability. The commission consists of the Commissioners of Labor, Education, and Institutions and Agencies, and five other members. Funds are provided by the State and Federal governments.

The other specialized welfare service is the Crippled Children's Commission, organized in 1926 as a temporary body to study the number and condition of crippled children in New Jersey, and to endeavor to provide suitable arrangements for their care. In 1931 it was made a permanent State agency. The impetus for the commission came largely from fraternal and civic groups. This origin is reflected in the personnel of the commission, which is required by law to include one representative each of the organizations known as the Elks, Rotarians, Shrine, Kiwanis and Lions, together with a member of the Medical Society of New Jersey and one member representing the general public. Also serving on the commission are representatives of the State Senate, Assembly and Department of Health. Joseph G. Buch, former Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks, has been the commission's chairman for many years. Federal funds are made available to this commission through the Social Security Act. State and local funds are also used. During recent years the commission has undertaken, in coöperation with the Training School at Vineland and with local agencies, a program of research studies of problems arising when physical incapacity is attributed to spastic paralysis (injury to the brain or central nervous system occurring at birth causing a lack of muscular coördination) as well as continuing to serve children whose condition is caused by illness, accident, or congenital malformation other than spastic paralysis.

Public Welfare and the Second World War—Public welfare problems in New Jersey are being influenced by conditions arising from the effects of the Second World War, in progress as this history is being compiled. Certain types of welfare problems are considerably

lessened, at least temporarily, by the war; others are "intensified." War itself creates welfare problems peculiar to the social and economic conditions existing during an armed conflict between nations.

The phase of public welfare which has been lessened by war, or rather by the prosperity accompanying war, is public assistance. All types of public assistance have been affected. The elaborate Federal emergency work relief programs of the depression era have been liquidated. The depression-born youth agencies of the Federal Government, the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration, have likewise ceased operation. The general relief program in 1943 is serving one-seventh the number of persons aided in 1939. Specialized relief programs, aid to the aged and aid to dependent children, have also been enabled to reduce their operations by reason of wartime prosperity.

Another type of welfare service which has been helped by war conditions is the treatment of adult offenders. While the number of adults committed to penal and correctional institutions has not been decreased from pre-war levels, opportunities for war service and opportunities in industrial employment have greatly enhanced the prospect of offenders released from such institutions, especially those for whom the lack of a suitable home environment or work opportunities would in the past have made the outlook for successful adjustment highly problematical.

The war has not yet had any marked effect one way or another on admissions to hospital type institutions. The improved ability of families to provide convalescent care and the availability of employment opportunities for persons who have been treated in tuberculosis sanatoria have led to slight reductions in the population of these institutions. The occupancy of hospitals for mental disease patients since Pearl Harbor has followed the same gradual upward trend which has been characteristic of this class of institution from the day of their founding.

The welfare problem which has been most subject to adverse influences because of the war is juvenile delinquency. There has been no general increase in juvenile delinquency of catastrophic proportion in New Jersey. But there are localities in the State where the exigencies of war, such as the erection of a military encampment or the establishment of new industries, have changed the pattern of community life, and where serious problems of child care have arisen. Throughout the State the influences of war have made the consequences of juvenile misconduct more serious for the child, the community and the

Nation, as when mischievous boys damage or destroy war supplies, or when sexually delinquent girls spread disease among soldiers and war workers.

Another welfare problem which the war has enormously increased is the care of children whose mothers are employed. In normal times, public concern with this problem has been limited to licensing and inspecting facilities where working mothers can leave their children. Day nurseries, sponsored by voluntary charitable foundations, have been subject to the inspection of the Department of Institutions and Agencies. Family homes boarding children have had to be inspected and approved by the local boards of health. With the vastly increased employment of mothers which has come about because of the war, governmental agencies have had to intervene to make sure that facilities are available for the care of nursery age children, and also for the care of children of school age during the out-of-school hours when no adult relative is available to provide responsible home supervision.

Plans have also had to be developed to care for the welfare needs arising from the disruption of family life caused by the war. The American Red Cross has been charged by the Federal Government with responsibility for many types of service to members of the armed forces and their families. But it has been necessary to prepare plans for governmental aid to families rendered destitute by the effects of enemy action, by sabotage, or by acts of God such as explosions of war material. In these plans, coöperative efforts by Federal, State, and local governmental welfare officers, interlocked with the American Red Cross, with local voluntary agencies, and with the special civilian defense organization, have been necessary.

Special Federal programs have also been instituted to provide obstetrical and other medical services to wives of members of the armed forces, and are administered in the State of New Jersey by the Bureau of Maternal and Child Health of the State Department of Health.

Civilian Defense and Public Welfare—When war broke out in Europe, in 1939, Governor A. Harry Moore quickly established machinery to prepare New Jersey for eventualities arising out of the war. New Jersey was the first State to take such action. The Governor's Emergency Committee, of which Budget Director Audley J. H. Stephan was chairman, developed into the State Defense Council in the autumn of 1940, when municipalities were requested to form local defense councils. Westfield, in Union County, with a Defense

This chapter, devoted to an account of the growth and development of public welfare activities, would be incomplete without an acknowledgement of the services performed by privately financed charitable enterprises.

The field of welfare service in which private philanthropy has played the largest rôle has been the construction and operation of

Council organized in early spring of 1940, is believed to be the first community to make special preparations for the exigencies of the current war. In the spring of 1941 legislation was passed requiring the municipalities to establish local defense councils.

During the administration of Governor Charles Edison, the office of Secretary of Defense was established without, however, defining its relationship to the State Defense Council. After Mr. Stephan entered the military service, however, the legislation was redrafted. The State Defense Council as such was abolished and in its place the Office of Civilian Defense Director was created. Mr. Leonard Dreyfuss, of Essex Fells, was appointed in the summer of 1942 to this office, which is an unsalaried volunteer post.*

From the outset, civilian defense in New Jersey consisted of two parts. One phase deals with "protective services," the development, recruitment and training of volunteer workers to act in emergencies arising from enemy action, sabotage, or natural catastrophe. The other phase deals with community war services to meet the day to day exigencies of civilian life in a war economy.

Both aspects have important public welfare functions which were taken into account in New Jersey's Civil Defense organizations. On the protective side, it was necessary that plans be made for the controlled evacuation of communities. State and local plans for moving, feeding, and housing, and reuniting separated families, and the counseling of individuals with special problems have been integrated. Arrangements for the handling of civilian casualties, and plans for the establishment of emergency medical and nursing squads, emergency

zations were often consolidated into city-wide Bureaus of Associated Charities or Charity Organization Societies. In Newark, however, the Female Charitable Society, organized before 1800, continues to be one of the city's most useful social organizations.

After the First World War, the community chest movement to conduct a single community-wide money raising campaign for all private philanthropic agencies choosing to become affiliated with the "chest" took form. Experience in this movement led to the establishment of "budget committees" to scrutinize the requests for funds emanating from various agencies. New Jersey's first community chest was organized in the Oranges and Maplewood. Newark and Montclair followed soon afterwards. During the depression the number of chests multiplied. In 1943 nearly every important New Jersey municipality uses this method to raise money for private charities. A later development, which, however, in some communities preceded the establishment of a community chest, was the creation of Councils of Social Agencies in which all community welfare and health agencies joined hands in making plans for the extension of service and for the prevention of duplication and overlapping of service. Public as well as private agencies have been affiliated with Councils of Social Agencies; usually without reference to membership in the fund-raising activities of the community chest.

V

A LOOK TOWARD THE FUTURE

Growth of public welfare services in New Jersey has been a dynamic process, generally responsive to needs which changes in the social structure have revealed. No matter how random the course of development may have seemed at any one time, nevertheless, in retrospect it appears almost to have followed an ordered pattern. It can be accepted as certain that the future will witness further significant changes in welfare methods.

Even as this summary is being written, movements and developments are emerging which suggest some of the trends to be looked for as evolution of welfare service in New Jersey continues.

More Care for the Chronically Ill—Modern medical science has all but eliminated several diseases which in past generations caused many persons to die early in life. Every recent census of population indicates that an ever-growing proportion of the population has reached an advanced age. The lengthening human life span inevitably increases the number of aged persons requiring medical and nursing care because of chronic illness. These individuals require a type of care which can seldom be furnished in small family homes, or in conventional types of homes for the aged.

As long ago as 1911, New Jersey enacted a law calling for the payment of State subsidies for the care of indigent patients in private nursing homes and infirmaries, but this law was repealed almost immediately as going beyond what were then assumed to be the legitimate bounds of public concern.

More recently, provision has been made for the public care of many persons incapacitated by chronic illness. Payments, to nursing homes, through the Old Age Assistance program and through the general relief program, form sizable percentages of relief expenditures. Modern welfare houses have been built by several counties to serve as hospitals for the care of persons suffering from chronic illness. Certain county and municipal almshouses have been modernized and their programs redirected towards care of those chronically ill. But studies of population trends indicate a potential need beyond the limits of available facilities. And already it is often difficult to find accommodations. It can be anticipated, therefore, that the public welfare program of the future must provide relatively extensive facilities for the care of persons suffering from chronic diseases.

Efforts Looking Toward the Abolition of Want—Another development which can be anticipated is a vigorous effort having as an objective the abolition of want.

Elaborate blueprints for the "abolition of want" have been submitted to the public by official research commissions during 1942 and 1943 in Great Britain, the United States, and Canada. The scheme laid before the American people by the National Resources Planning Board proposes to extend the coverage of the presently limited unemployment and old age social insurance programs to include all classes of gainful workers and their dependents. It suggests "disability insurance" to provide income for persons forced to leave employment because of temporary or permanent physical incapacity. It suggests also to insure to all people means of financing necessary medical, hospital, and other health service. It urges public assistance grants to be available throughout the Nation to make sure that no one need lack the minimum necessities of life if none of these social insurance programs meets his situation. Work programs, training, and other services are suggested in connection with these benefits in order to prevent malingering. The British proposals go one step further, in that, to forestall a decrease in population, subsidies are proposed for all parents of two or more children, regardless of social or economic status.

It seems premature to attempt to predict whether or when any of the proposals under consideration will be adopted in the United States.

They have substantial support. Organized labor has endorsed them. Public opinion polls have indicated a preponderance of belief that social security is a legitimate governmental function which should be broadened.

But opposition is also articulate. The organizations representing the medical profession have voiced the fear that compulsory health insurance would have a deteriorating effect on the quality of medical care. Objections to the specific proposals have also been raised by serious students of government because of the centralization of authority in the Federal Government which proponents of the National Resources Planning Board proposals insist are essential to the equable operation of Nation-wide social insurance programs. Such centralization, these students warn, may endanger the Federal system of government, creating *de facto* central government, subject to the shifting influences of articulate pressure groups, rather than to the true will and need of the people. They point to the Third French Republic

as an example, showing how this type of central control leads to deterioration in governmental integrity and civic loyalty.

It is logical to expect that the future will see increasing use of governmentally administered social insurance to distribute over all the people the burden of meeting the costs of economic crises in individual and family life. It is also probable that many perplexing problems of administration and control will be resolved by experimentation and through State and Federal coöperation.

The Prevention of Crime and Delinquency—Another phase of welfare service to which increasing public attention is likely to be given lies in the field of social measures designed for the prevention of delinquency and the decrease of crime. New Jersey has initiated several research and experimental programs designed to achieve better understanding of the causes of crime and of the social conditions in which individuals are likely to become delinquent.

The contributions made to this field of knowledge by the research programs of the State Department of Institutions and Agencies and the Training School at Vineland have already been noted. The work of the New Jersey Juvenile Delinquency Commission, organized in 1936 to study the causes of crime and delinquency and to propose methods to attack these causes at their roots, led to the publication of a report, "Justice and the Child in New Jersey," in which the developments to 1939 in the field of delinquency prevention and control have been comprehensively analyzed.

The commission's findings made it clear that there is no universal single cause of delinquency, that delinquency arises from the corrosive effects of many different adverse pressures in the personal and family life of the individual delinquent and his relationships with other children, with school, and with the community generally, which require vigilance and skill if they are to be overcome.

The commission also appraised various experimental programs undertaken for the purpose of lessening the incidence of delinquent conduct. One significant experiment has been operated in Jersey City since 1931, under the direction of Dr. Thomas W. Hopkins, assistant superintendent of schools. In Jersey City, efforts to supply wholesome outlets for the energies of children which may otherwise lead to delinquency, and for endeavors to solve behaviour and social problems of children before they become serious, have been centered in a Bureau of Special Service, administratively part of the school system, but coördinating the facilities of a metropolitan school, police,

and hospital system in relation to services for children with special needs.

Another experimental approach to the prevention of delinquency has been the coördinating council movement, which originated in California. In New Jersey this movement has been extensively developed in Union County.

Reconversion to a Peace Time Economy—Varied and complex welfare problems can be expected to arise in connection with the demobilization of the armed forces and the conversion of industry to a civilian basis. The State has anticipated, out of the experience of the previous war and from the problems of the steady stream of veterans already returning from the present war, that new types of psychiatric counsel, medical service, education, vocational training, recreation service, and financial aid will have to be evolved if the transition period is to be successfully bridged.

During 1943, a Commission on Post-war Economic Planning, under the chairmanship of Senator Howard Eastwood, studied the social problems involved in a return to a peace economy, research facilities being provided by Princeton University. One of the first measures enacted by the 1944 Legislature, in accordance with recommendations from Governor Walter E. Edge and the 1943 Commission on Post-war Economic Planning, has created a new State Department of Post-war Economic Development to treat these problems.

Many other Federal, State, local, and voluntary agencies are also at work in this field.

The Integration of Welfare Activities—Throughout its history development of welfare institutions in New Jersey has followed three complementary trends.

The earliest of these trends to develop led to the establishment of specialized facilities to deal with particular types of human need. One by one the functions anciently assigned to the overseer of the poor, and, more particularly, the almshouse, have been divided and sub-divided and specialized agencies have been organized to administer them.

The second trend has given administrative authority for specialized welfare operations to units of government larger than the municipality or county, first with the State and later with the Federal Government. This tendency has been caused by efforts to spread the cost of welfare services so that they are widely shared by all the people, as well as to provide uniform treatment of persons sharing a particular type of need.

The third trend is to seek to coördinate and integrate at the Federal, State, and local governmental levels, the specialized welfare and related services so that the benefits of specialization will not lead to unnecessary diffusion of energy and to assure equable treatment of all types of economic and social problems.

This trend toward integration of welfare administration has been somewhat slower to develop than the trends toward specialization of services and diffusion of costs. Yet it is a trend which thoughtful observers agree is emerging and of which the organization of the New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies may well be the prototype.

This department, established in 1918, is administered by a Board of Control, whose members serve long, overlapping terms, and who appoint an executive officer to serve at their pleasure.

The significance of this type of organization was pointed out in the 1930 White House Conference on Child Care and Protection, when the Committee on Organization observed that:

"The organization of a department of public welfare should provide for continuity in services and policies as well as for centralized administrative responsibility. Administration vested in a lay board with authority to appoint the director offers greater safeguards than any other form."

In 1935 the American Public Welfare Association, at the request of officials in many states where depression demands for welfare service had revealed the inadequacy of existing programs, prepared a model bill which has since been widely adopted. This model bill embodied provision for administration by unsalaried boards of the type successfully used in the New Jersey system which the distinguished student of public affairs, Dr. A. C. Millspaugh, had characterized as

"an integrating effort which was practical rather than theoretical, constructive rather than destructive, conservative rather than abolitionary, and natural rather than forced."

New Jersey, therefore, can take justifiable pride in the fact that its welfare organization has served as a demonstration as to how a governmental service can be administered in a way that is responsive to the public will while remaining as free from partisan political control as is possible or desirable within the framework of representative government.

We may face the future with confidence that, as in the past, the

evolution of welfare services in the State will continue to manifest the processes by which democracy itself evolves.

MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING PUBLIC WELFARE PROGRESS IN NEW JERSEY

THE BEGINNINGS OF PUBLIC WELFARE IN NEW JERSEY

- 1572 Enactment of Elizabethan Poor Law, cornerstone of public welfare legislation in the English-speaking world.
- 1630-1664 The Dutch régime in New York and New Jersey. For many years after the British conquest of the area, the welfare measures developed during this period continued to influence the care of the needy in New Jersey, especially in areas where the Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian churches were the dominant religious groups.
- 1666 Territory of New Jersey granted to Berkeley and Carteret.
- 1673 Province divided into East Jersey retained by Carteret interests and West Jersey assigned by Berkeley interests to an association composed of members of the Society of Friends.
- 1675 First legal code of Province of East Jersey adopted. Criminal code expressed harsh concepts of criminal justice embodied in legislation characteristic of Puritan New England. Capital punishment was provided for sixteen offenses, including defiance of parents by children.
- 1677 Promulgation of Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Province of West Jersey. Expressed the Quaker humanitarian viewpoint. Called for use of elastic penalties designed to induce reform rather than extreme harshness in criminal cases, capital punishment limited to murder and treason. Suggested establishment of workhouses where the poor could assist in their own maintenance.
- 1680 First recorded taxation for the support of the poor in a New Jersey community (Woodbridge). Antedates passage of formal provincial poor relief legislation, under assumption that custom authorized the procedure.
- 1702 Provinces reunited under common Governor with New York, Lord Cornbury, who urged adoption of workhouse system for the care of the poor. The customs of East Jersey tended generally to prevail throughout "the Jerseys."
- 1709 First provincial poor relief law enacted. Required townships to elect overseers of the poor, to levy taxes for the support of the poor, and to indenture poor children to assure their proper upbringing. Modified from time to time, but remained substantially in effect until 1911.
- 1748 Middlesex County Workhouse, first institution of its type established, to maintain and educate poor children, and for the self-maintenance of disorderly persons, for the punishment of runaway slaves, and as a house of refuge for paupers, idiots, and insane persons.
- 1758 First legislation for protection of neglected children. Statute authorized the indenture of children of parents who "were bringing them up

in sloth, idleness, and ignorance." Prototype of complex modern child welfare legislation.

- 1797 Construction of first State Prison authorized. Crime and Punishment Act modified. Imprisonment at hard labor substituted for capital and corporal punishment for all offenses except murder and treason.
- 1798 Legislation enacted to authorize construction and operation of county and municipal "poor houses." A few localities had anticipated this grant of authority, although the exact date of establishment of first poor house is not definitely known. Salem County's poor house, established in 1796, is one such institution.
- 1810 Public interest in correctional reform at high peak. Construction of Burlington County Jail, a "Model Jail of an Olden Time," authorized. Architect anticipated features consistent with modern conceptions of jail construction and operation.

THE ERA OF INDIVIDUAL REFORMS

- 1836 Opening of reconstructed New Jersey State Prison, designed to promote individual reformation through perpetual solitary confinement. Medical officer predicted failure of plan as early as 1839, but program continued until 1858, when system changed to permit inmates to work in a congregate shop under a rule of silence. These two plans, the "Pennsylvania" and the "Auburn" systems represented advanced penological thought in the early nineteenth century.
- 1846 Construction of first New Jersey State Hospital for Mental Disease Patients (originally New Jersey State Lunatic Asylum) following educational campaign led by Dorothea Dix, of Massachusetts, pioneer lay advocate of humane treatment of the insane.
- 1846 Imprisonment for debt not involving fraud abolished.
- 1865 New Jersey Soldiers' Home founded. First State institution for disabled soldiers in United States.
- 1865 State Reform School for Boys, now State Home for Boys, established under leadership of Governor Joel Parker. Previous effort to establish juvenile institution in 1850 was abandoned short of completion.
- 1870 State Industrial School for Girls, now State Home for Girls, established at Trenton.
- 1876 Second State Hospital for Insane opened at Morris Plains, New Jersey, now known as Greystone Park State Hospital.
- 1883 Council of Charities and Corrections created. First step toward integration of State and local welfare service. Authority limited to requesting independent welfare organizations to file reports. Abolished in 1888.
- 1886 New Jersey State Charities Aid Association founded. This organization, now the New Jersey Welfare Council, has been for fifty-seven years the rallying point for civic efforts to improve and maintain welfare services in New Jersey.
- 1888 Training School at Vineland established to train feeble-minded children. Under leadership of S. Olin Garrison, its founder, and his suc-

cessor, Edward R. Johnstone, this institution has become world renowned. Psychometric tests introduced to United States through this institution. Education of mentally deficient in public schools strongly influenced by Vineland methods. State school for mentally deficient girls established in Vineland in same year.

- 1889 First use of "Parole" in New Jersey penal institutions.
- 1895 New Jersey Reformatory at Rahway to provide education, training and discipline for young offenders.
- 1898 New Jersey State Village for Epileptics established at Skillman, Montgomery Township, Somerset County.
- 1899 State Board of Children's Guardians established to care for dependent and neglected children.
- 1899 Second State Soldiers' Home established at Vineland, New Jersey.
- 1900 Judges authorized to appoint probation officers to supervise offenders given suspended sentences.
- 1903 Juvenile Court established.
- 1905 Office of Commissioner of Charities and Corrections created. The second effort to integrate public welfare service in New Jersey.
- 1907 Opening of New Jersey State Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Glen Gardner.
- 1908 Report of Delinquency and Crimes Commission presented to Governor and Legislature. Urged establishment of strong central administrative department to eliminate inequalities in welfare service.
- 1911 First modernization of poor relief law. Permitted aid to persons in temporary distress without sacrifice of civil rights inherent in Colonial poor law concepts.
- 1913 Reformatory for Women opened at Clinton, New Jersey. A project urged by women leaders for more than a generation, the institution expressed the penal philosophy of Mrs. H. Otto Wittpenn, which has been effectively implemented by Edna Mahan, superintendent.
- 1913 Branch of State Prison opened at Leesburg, Cumberland County.
- 1916 Office of County Commissioner in Lunacy established to standardize procedures of admission to mental institutions. Title changed to County Adjuster in 1919. Has become a key welfare official, with many added duties.
- 1916 Burlington County Colony for Feeble-Minded Boys located at New Lisbon, New Jersey, transferred to control of State. (Colony had been opened in 1913 as branch of the Training School at Vineland.)

THE ERA OF CONSOLIDATION

- 1918 Prison Inquiry Commission and Commission to Investigate Conditions in Charitable Institutions, headed by Dwight W. Morrow and Ellis P. Earle, respectively, submit reports proposing integration of State institutions and non-institutional welfare services.
- 1918 State Department of Charities and Corrections established to implement recommendations of investigating commissions. Given authority

to integrate entire State welfare system, including penal, correctional and juvenile institutions, mental hospitals, institutions for the feeble-minded, and for epileptics, tuberculosis sanatoria, and soldiers' homes, and various non-institutional welfare services. Supervisory authority in varying strength given over local and voluntary welfare institutions and agencies except municipal general relief and probation. Department headed by "Board of Control" composed of unsalaried members serving long, rotating terms, "to create a system . . . free from partisan politics."

- 1919 New department, renamed Department of Institutions and Agencies, initiated a program, to extend and modernize physical facilities and to adapt welfare service to the needs of the individual wards of the State.

LEADERSHIP IN STATE DEPARTMENT OF INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES

- 1918 Dwight W. Morrow, President of Board of Control.
 1920 Ogden H. Hammond, President of Board of Control.
 1922 Ellis P. Earle, President of Board of Control.
 1942 Reeve Schley, President of Board of Control.
 1918 Burdette G. Lewis, Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies.
 1925 William J. Ellis, Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies.

MAJOR STEPS IN EXPANSION AND MODERNIZATION OF PHYSICAL FACILITIES

- Important remodeling operations and new construction to expand and diversify facilities at virtually all institutions in existence in 1919, plus creation of new institutions integrated into an interlocking network.
- 1921 Woodbine Colony established. An institution caring for boys and men suffering from extreme forms of mental deficiency.
- 1924 North Jersey Training School at Totowa established. An institution for the training and education of girls of retarded mental development, looking toward their placement in the community on a self-supporting basis.
- 1929 Women's Wing of State Prison closed. Prisoners transferred to Reformatory for Women at Clinton.
- 1929 Annandale Reformatory opened. This institution was among the first minimum security correctional institutions in America. It was built by inmates. Has become Nation-wide in reputation for progressive programs.
- 1931 New Jersey State Hospital at Marlboro opened. Incorporated features recommended by medical directors of other hospitals to provide the most appropriate, individualized care for individuals suffering from the various forms of mental disease. Provides special care for mentally ill children.
- 1936 Bordentown Prison Farm main buildings completed. Provided the State with a new type of institution with highly diversified training, custodial, and other facilities, for amenable mature offenders, in medium security construction.

MAJOR STEPS IN ADAPTATION OF WELFARE SERVICES TO CURRENT NEEDS

- 1919 "Classification" program installed in all State institutions under supervision of central office. Provides for examination of all newly admitted inmates by a psychiatrist, a psychologist, a physician and by other specialists, who then outline an individualized treatment plan. Through periodic reclassification, inmates' progress is observed, treatment modified, and preparations made for release on parole.
- 1919 Institutional industries reorganized to emphasize training rather than servile labor. Diversified program of occupations devised. Products sold to governmental agencies only, under the "State Use" system adopted in 1911.
- 1919 Central Division of Parole established providing for the unification of parole service of all New Jersey institutions, with the exception of the State Prison, where separate facilities have been maintained.
- 1922 Legislation adopted authorizing payment of cash allowances to needy blind persons under care of Commission for the Relief and Rehabilitation of the Blind, a non-institutional agency of the department. Heretofore its program had been limited to educational and guidance service which continues to be the commission's major interest.
- 1926 Establishment of traveling community mental hygiene clinics staffed by psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers attached to State mental hospital staffs.
- 1927 Division of Statistics and Research reorganized to provide facilities for making social evaluations of welfare services and to determine trends in public welfare needs.
- 1930 Pension Survey Commission established. Led to establishment of Old Age Assistance and to liberalization of State Board of Children's Guardians' program, the department's commissioner and research staff serving with commission in framing recommendations.
- 1932 Old Age Assistance and County Welfare Boards established.
- 1935 Institutional facilities made available to courts in examination and study of offenders before sentence as an aid to appropriate sentencing.
- 1936 Introduction of shock therapy in treatment of mental disease at New Jersey State Hospitals.
- 1936 Liberalization of terms of eligibility for old age assistance. Minimum age reduced from seventy to sixty-five years. Residence requirements lessened. Minor changes made in eligibility conditions and administrative procedures affecting aid to needy blind and aid to dependent children. These changes were incidental to the establishment of Federal grants-in-aid for these types of service under the social security program.
- 1936 Juvenile Delinquency Commission established to study causes of delinquency and suggest methods of preventing and controlling delinquency. This commission, an independent agency, worked in close association with the department. Its reports achieved national recognition as authoritative statements on delinquency problems.

- 1941 Provisional steps taken toward coordination of State and community welfare services related to the Second World War through organization of Health, Welfare, and Recreation Committee of State Defense Council under chairmanship of Commissioner of State Department of Institutions and Agencies. Reorganized in 1942 as Community War Services Division of Office of Civilian Defense Director.
- 1942 Further liberalization of old age assistance legislation; requirement of citizenship in United States lifted. The State Board of Children's Guardians' legislation was also liberalized, authority being granted to provide assistance to the mothers of needy children as well as to the children.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING INDEPENDENT WELFARE SERVICES

- 1919 Rehabilitation Commission organized to provide service to physically handicapped veterans of the First World War, victims of occupational accidents, and to other physically handicapped persons. Board consisting of heads of various related State departments and lay members. Administration associated with State Department of Labor.
- 1924 Basic poor law thoroughly modernized. Establishment of County Welfare Board to administer "almshouses" authorized. Although department was given no supervisory responsibility over poor relief, its influence was an important factor in stimulating the progressive features of the law.
- 1926 Crippled Children's Commission established at instigation of fraternal organizations to inquire into needs for and provide orthopedic and other care for crippled children.
- 1928 Juvenile and Probation Commission established. Led to modernization of juvenile court law.
- 1931 Emergency Relief Administration created to finance increased cost of relief due to depression conditions. Chester I. Barnard first State Director. At one time nearly fifteen per cent. of State's population was aided by this agency. Dissolved in 1936, but successor organization, the Municipal Aid Administration, continues to subsidize municipal poor relief expenditures and to set standards of relief service.
- 1933 Succession of programs to aid the needy established, chiefly in the form of "made work programs" such as the Civil Works Administration and the Work Projects Administration. Youth-aid programs included Civilian Conservation Corps and National Youth Administration. General relief in states subsidized 1933-35 through Federal Emergency Relief Administration.
- 1935 Establishment of Federal social security program. Led to minor modification in old age assistance and child welfare programs in New Jersey to qualify for Federal grants-in-aid in support of these programs. New Jersey Unemployment Compensation Commission established to administer unemployment benefits on social insurance basis. Old age and survivor's benefit program administered directly by Federal Gov-

ernment is now (1943) beginning to contribute effectively to the support of aged persons who participated in plan.

- 1942 Discontinuance of Federal emergency work relief programs, need for which had been eliminated by wartime employment.

"The evolution of welfare institutions and agencies from those of Colonial days to the extensive and complex organization required today has resulted from and at the same time contributed to the growth of New Jersey into a populous and highly industrialized commonwealth."

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE

As this history has been prepared for general use, the text has been kept free of footnotes or other direct references to source materials which might interrupt the continuity of the narrative. The matters presented in the text, however, rest upon a secure basis of documentary evidence as the investigator into the history of public welfare service in New Jersey has a wealth of reference material on which to draw.

The opening pages of the text, in which the renaissance roots of New Jersey's welfare structure are described, are based upon material drawn from two modern compilations: F. R. Salter's *Early Tracts on Poor Relief*, published in London in 1926, which includes a digest of Vives' *De Subventionem Pauperum*; and Vol. XXXV of the Harvard Classics, which contains Holinshead's *Chronicles*, one chapter of which is devoted to a résumé of methods used in Elizabethan England for the relief of the poor. The references to welfare measures in New Netherlands are taken from the New York State Historian's compilations of *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*.

The documents relating to welfare developments in the British Province of New Jersey and from the beginnings of New Jersey as an American State up to the start of the present century have been expertly indexed in two scholarly publications. John Hood's *Index of the Colonial and State Laws of New Jersey, 1663-1903* (Camden, Chew, 1905) and Adelaide I. Hasse's *Index of Economic Material in the Documents of New Jersey, 1789-1904* (New York, Carnegie Foundation, 1914) provide an exhaustive guide to original materials during the periods prior to their publication. The actual documents are to be found in *New Jersey Archives*, the official State compilation of Colonial documents, in the journals and proceedings of the annual sessions of the Legislature, published under various titles, in the reports of investigation commissions, and in the annual reports of various institutions and agencies.

The publications of the New Jersey State Charities Aid Association and its successor organizations, the New Jersey State Conference of Social Work and the New Jersey Welfare Council, provide a vivid account of the efforts of voluntary organizations to advance the cause of public welfare and of the views of public welfare officials on public welfare problems.

Certain publications have special importance. *The Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor and Industry of New Jersey* (1883) contains a survey of "Pauperism" and an analysis of expenditures by factory workers in Millville, New Jersey, which are extremely valuable to the investigator of welfare developments. The 1903 *Report of the State Charities Aid Association* contains an analysis of the principles underlying the organiza-

tion of State welfare departments that was far in advance of its time. The *1908 Report of the Dependency and Crimes Commission* is another important document in the development of public welfare administration in New Jersey.

Probably the most significant welfare surveys in New Jersey resulted in the publication in two volumes of the *Report of the Prison Inquiry Commission* in 1917 and the smaller but equally important *Report of the Commission to Investigate Conditions in Charitable Institutions*, published in the same year.

Three surveys of the efficiency of the general government of New Jersey provide information on welfare matters in recent years, the 1925 *Report of the Joint Legislative Survey Commission*, the 1930 "*Report on a Survey of the Organization and Administration of the State Government of New Jersey*" and the 1932 *Survey of the Expenditures and Administration of State Government in New Jersey* made by Princeton University.

Surveys specific to welfare problems led to the publication of the *Report of the Juvenile and Probation Commission* in 1928, to the five *Reports of the Pension Survey Commission* in 1931 and 1932, the *Reports of the Social Security Commission* issued in 1936; and the *Reports of the Juvenile Delinquency Commission* published in 1938 and 1939. All these are also important and historic welfare documents.

A primary source of information utilized in this survey has been the vast library of welfare materials accumulated in the *Division of Statistics and Research* of the Department of Institutions and Agencies. Included here are published and unpublished materials prepared by the Department and its professional staff members as well as by the extinct *Emergency Relief*.

Three histories of phases of public welfare in New Jersey have also been consulted. These are Rev. Martin L. Stanton's *History of Public Poor Relief in New Jersey, 1609-1934*, Fordham University, 1934; *Seven Years of Unemployment Relief in New Jersey* (Soc. Sc. Res. Council, New York, 1938) by Douglas H. MacNeil; and Paul T. Stafford's *Government and the Needy*, Princeton University Press, 1940.

Evaluations of New Jersey's welfare system in studies of public welfare movements by national authorities have also been referred to in the course of preparing this history. A. C. Millspaugh's *Public Welfare Organization* (Brookings Institution, 1935), Fred E. Haynes' *The American Prison System* (McGraw-Hill, 1939), and *Administration of Public Welfare* by R. Clyde White (American Book Company, 1940), are among such works consulted.

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