

THE SOCIAL MARGINALS AND THE MIXED ECONOMY OF WELFARE IN INTERWAR EUROPE

A READER OF PRIMARY SOURCES

EDITED BY
MICHELE MIONI AND STEFANO PETRUNGARO

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Contributors

The authors of this reader are members of the working group “The Social Marginals and the Mixed Economy of Welfare in Interwar Europe” in the framework of the Cost-Action “Who Cares in Europe?” (CA 18119; <https://whocaresineurope.eu/>).

Alongside this reader, the working group is preparing a collected volume with a more extensive analysis and academic literature on the subject.

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Introduction to the Reader

Michele Mioni and Stefano Petrunaro

It is generally thought that the expansion of welfare systems in Europe has developed linearly through the inclusion of wider strata of the population within solidarity bonds. In fact, this process has been ground for academic and public debates, expression of power relations, forms of inclusion/exclusion, and self-help actions. Furthermore, the establishment of social welfare has often resulted from the interrelation between central and local public authorities and the varied array of voluntary associations composing the “mixed economy of welfare”. While collective imagination and public discourses have traditionally emphasised the “inclusive” features of social welfare, less attention has been paid to those left behind: social insurance schemes primarily were directed at wage-earners, male breadwinners; family welfare addressed traditional families with numerous children; and social assistance usually covered the “deserving poor”. At the same time that welfare policies expanded, they confirmed, reshaped or created an entire world of social marginalities.

By focusing on interwar Europe, this reader offers a selection of sources produced by the social marginals or, most of the time, by the actors dealing with them: voluntary and self-help associations, international organisations, and public and local authorities. By piecing together the fragments of this puzzle, this reader aims to provide inputs for public dissemination, teaching activities, and further reading. Its purpose is to cover several European geographical areas and socio-political contexts. It also provides an overview of several types of “social marginals” that animated the “mixed economy of welfare” in interwar Europe.

The first sub-topic thus concerns the relation between war and assistance to the needy, particularly exploring cases of social marginality produced by the war. To this end, this reader collected documents on the associational activity of the *Union des Blessés de la Face et de la Tête* (a French war veteran association bringing together the disfigured combatants) in France in 1920, encompassing both fundraising (**Doc 1**) and lobbying for healthcare assistance. Still on the subject of the strain of war, the reader provides documents concerning the Spanish Civil War (1936-39), namely the activities of the *Junta Recaudatoria Civil*, a refugee relief commission of the anti-democratic military organizations (**Doc 2**) and the *Auxilio Social*, a Nazi inspired social project created in Valladolid to organize fundraising activities and the opening of children’s canteens (**Doc 3**), and addresses how these organisations merged social assistance with political mobilisation during the war. The former was a mixed body that managed care for the refugees, while the latter aided primarily mothers and children.

Moving from Western Europe to Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, and Croatia, a second strand of research deals with institutions that addressed care for the young, poor mothers and children, and mentally ill people. The Czech case conveys the several changes that social assistance underwent in the interwar period. The technical

improvements, e.g., the use of sociological research to collect data on the social conditions of primary school pupils (**Doc 4**), were accompanied by the fragmentation of care along ethnic lines (**Doc 5**) as well as by the development of coercive methods to provide care (**Doc 6**). It was not only social aid that “created” new marginalities. As the Lithuanian case with the *Drop of Milk Society* proves (**Doc 7**), voluntary associations charged with social marginals (e.g., poor mothers) also supported “national efficiency” and pro-natalist discourses, implementing social control strategies that complemented the governmental action.

Without overgeneralising, it seems to be possible to maintain that this mixed public-private approach characterised social relief of the interwar period. This aspect was not limited to the political discourses carried out by many of these organisations, which often aligned with the public agendas in the various European countries (according to contexts: consensus, nation-building, nationalism, eugenics, pronatalism, unemployment, etc.). The coexistence/complementarity between the state and voluntary sector also encompassed medical practices, vocational training of health workers, and the sanitary facilities. The use of paramedic facilities for the care of mentally ill in-patients in Croatia (**Doc 8**) and the active collaboration of private associations in the public health establishments (**Doc 9, 10**) exemplifies these entanglements.

Last, the interwar period witnessed a renewed interest in the action for poor mothers. They were marginalised figures that often deviated from the moral and social standard of the time. Hence, the improvement of their living conditions also entailed their reintegration along socially accepted standards. This was the case of the *Œuvre de l’Hospitalité* in Brussels (**Doc 11**). In addition to the night shelters that it provided for homeless men and women, since the early 1920s, the *Œuvre de l’Hospitalité* also cooperated with public institutions to train and rehabilitate the poor in order to make them apt in finding work and living by themselves. Poor and/or unmarried mothers were a thorny issue for policymakers in interwar Europe, as they were usually stigmatised. The *1927 Report of the Commission on the Relief of the Sick and Destitute Poor including the Insane Poor* in Ireland (**Doc 12**), for instance, provided unmarried women who applied for benefits with a set of constricting measures, including custodial sentences in assistance institutions and forms of community service. Women’s voluntary associations and international organisations partook in the “use” of social relief to inculcate specific sets of norms. These organisations usually consisted in middle-class women who took action according to their own vision and agenda, while rescuing single girls and migrant mothers. Relevant national and transnational cases were those of the associations established in Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Belgrade in the years 1923-33 (**Doc 13, 14**), who gathered female activists to intercept girls travelling alone. These Yugoslav associations were deeply linked with the international and mainly European context, some of them having formal connections with international umbrella organizations, which were active throughout all of Europe with the same goals i.e., to help – and control – “endangered” girls. This Yugoslav action was in line with the commitment deployed internationally by the International Migration Service, funded in 1924, that in its constitution aimed to

coordinate the study and actions in favour of migrants and refugees and its impact on their families (**Doc 15**).

Summing up, this reader offers both visual and textual sources, which should enable the articulation of a critical reflection on the relationship established in interwar Europe between mixed public-voluntary welfare activities and those actors who were considered social marginals. Every source is introduced by a short commentary in order to contextualise the specific case study. The non-specialist reader will find useful elements to study the history of the cases under examination, and to get an insight into the multi-layered interrelation between public and private actors in the realm of welfare i.e., the so-called “mixed economy” of welfare. As the reader hopes to clarify, it was not simply a matter of funding, as the word “economy” could suggest. The close collaboration between public institutions and private associations had deep implications in terms of public discourses and the representation of social marginalities, as well as in terms of social disciplining. The management of the poor, the excluded, and the most fragile members of society was not a duty ascribed exclusively to the state but was also readily embraced by members of the middle class. The stories this reader refers to, thus, tell us of relevant experiences about the historical relation between state and civil society, between social classes and even outcasts, between members of different genders, ages, and ethnic groups, and between variegated and sometimes quite conflicting moral values and worldviews.

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I. French War Veterans and Associative Demands

Michele Mioni

Introduction

The Union des Blessés de la Face et de la Tête (UBFT) was founded in 1921 by three facially disfigured war veterans: Emile Yves Picot, Albert Jugon, and Bienaimé Jourdain. The association was born to support the claims of the so-called “broken faces”, soldiers with maxilla-facial traumas. They suffered from disfigurements that marginalised them both in the social and in the most intimate respects. In addition, the law of 31st March 1919 on military pensions excluded maxillo-facial traumas from the entitlement to war pensions, as it did not consider their mutilation to be invalidating. The revision of this act was one of the main reasons that motivated the establishment of the UBFT. Throughout the 1920s, the UBFT pursued a threefold objective: raising public awareness about the conditions of the facially disfigured; advancing their care; and lobbying for their inclusion within the public pension scheme. It did so by advocating for the recognition of the rights related to the status of war invalid, and it implemented several mutual-aid actions in favour of its members. This effort to raise awareness about the conditions of the “broken faces” was favoured by the charismatic leadership of Picot, who was also member of parliament between 1919 and 1932.

Eventually, in 1925 facial disfigurement became part of the disability scale that gave entitlement to a war pension. The most important goal for the association was, however, the acquisition of an estate in the countryside for the aftercare and rehabilitation of the facially disfigured veterans. Picot defined this place as “the dream” of the “broken faces”, and the associational press also called it “the heaven”. These secluded locations had to be quiet places, safe from prying eyes (and, often, from the eyes of the inpatients, too). In 1926, the UBFT was able to purchase an estate in Moussy-le-Vieux (“le Domain des Gueules Cassées”), which was allegedly nicknamed the “castle without mirrors”, a few kilometres north of Paris. In 1934, the association purchased a second estate in Coudon, in Val-de-Var, South of France. The purchase of the property in Moussy-le-Vieux was made possible by fundraising and by the donation of the American benefactress Henry-Alvah Strong, who was later nominated to the grade of Chevalier de la Légion d’Honneur and honorary vice-president of the UBFT. In 1927, the UBFT was recognised as “association reconnue d’utilité publique”. This same year, the association started several fundraising campaigns accompanied by a raffle. From the early 1930s, it joined efforts with other associations of the mutilated to launch a national fundraising called “La Dette”, which anticipated the National Lottery in 1933.

The document chosen for the reader highlights fundraising as a key associational activity of the UBFT. The document is a leaflet for the subscriptions in favour of the association, in order to support the social action for its members. This document reveals

one of the main methods through which veterans' associations financed themselves in interwar France. Between 1931 and 1933, together with other associations of the mutilated and war invalids, the UBFT launched a national subscription accompanied by a raffle.

Document 1: Les Gueules Cassées?... Vivent Cachées

UNION DES BLESSÉS DE LA FACE
" Les GUEULES CASSEES "

(Fondée en 1915, Document d'histoire publiée par décret du 31 Octobre 1925)
Siège social : 28, Boulevard de Strasbourg, PARIS

Sous la Présidence d'Honneur du Maréchal PETAIN
Président : le Colonel PICOT
Député, ancien sous-secrétaire d'Etat au Ministère de la Guerre (Mutilé de la Face)

« Il n'est pas de joie
supérieure à celle que
l'on peut éprouver en
défendant une noble
cause. »

Les Gueules Cassées ?

**Vous ne les verrez pas ! Elles sont si affreuses ces lamentables
épaves de la grande guerre que beaucoup d'entre elles
VIVENT CACHÉES**

Pour leur donner un asile, leur groupement s'est imposé la tâche
de créer une maison qui est le Foyer des Gueules Cassées.

Les Dons sont déjà arrivés en grand nombre, mais leur montant
n'est pas assez élevé pour parfaire cette œuvre fraternelle.

Le Comité de propagande s'adresse donc à votre générosité pour
l'aider à compléter cet édifice social où trouveront soins et repos ces
malheureuses victimes de la guerre.

REGARDEZ CES VISAGES RAVAGÉS !

Ils sont 3.000 ! !

Qu'importe nos souffrances et nos vains efforts,
Si nos efforts ont pu, en faisant la Victoire,
Garantir à notre France, l'Union, la Liberté,
Et donner tout d'un coup à ce beau jour de gloire,
Un bon jour

Ils sont 3.000 ! !

Resterez-vous indifférents devant leur infortune ? Aidez ces grands Mutilés de la Face

LEUR SORT EST PIRE QUE LA MORT !

Ouvrez-leur votre cœur et donnez largement votre obole

Les Souscriptions sont reçues

par M. L. L.

Vous contribuerez ainsi à adoucir les atroces misères de ces êtres meurtris et vous satisferez à votre noble conscience.

SOURCE: <https://www.rotomagus.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10052989n.item>

Title: Les Gueules Cassées?... Vivent Cachées

Autor: Union des Blessés de la Face et de la Tête

Date: undated

Translation:

[There is no greater joy than the one we can experience in defending a noble cause.]

The Broken Faces? You will not see them! These lamentable wrecks of the Great War are so dreadful that many of them live hidden. To give them shelter, their association took on the task of creating a place which is the Home of the Gueules Cassées. The donations have already arrived in large numbers, but their amount is not high enough to complete this fraternal work. The Propaganda Committee therefore appeals to your generosity to help it complete the social building of where these unfortunate victims of war will find care and rest. Look at those ravaged faces! Will you remain indifferent to their misfortune? Help these great cripples of the face. Their fate is worse than death! Open your heart to them and give your donation widely. Subscriptions are received. You will thus contribute to soften the miseries of these bruised beings, and you will satisfy your noble conscience.

II. *Civil Collection Board and Winter Relief in Saragoza (1936-39)*

Ángela Cénarro and Isabel Escobedo

Introduction

On 28 July 1936, ten days after the failed coup d'état that would lead to the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), the *Junta Recaudatoria Civil (JRC) or Civil Collection Board* was created. It was a civil board under the authority of the V Military Region of the Spanish Army, based in Zaragoza, whose commanders rebelled against the democratic Second Republic. The JRC's aim was to centralize the collection of funds for the war effort in the city, the capital of the region of Aragon and one of the main strongholds of the insurgent rearguard. A few months later, at the end of October 1936, the *Auxilio de Invierno (Winter Relief)*, a Nazi inspired social project, was created in the city of Valladolid to organize fundraising activities and the opening of children's canteens. Led by a group of men and women linked to Falange, the Spanish fascist party - a minority and politically irrelevant until then - was responsible for the organization of a net of soup kitchens and children's homes throughout the area controlled by the rebel military, soon positioning it as the main charity and welfare organization in Franco's Spain.

Both documents illustrate how, during the Spanish Civil War, new organizations responded to the challenges of the armed conflict, mainly the care of refugees and war orphans. The *JRC* brought together the city's economic and social elites, as well as a large group of anonymous citizens sympathetic to Franco's cause. Its members included, for example, the president, Francisco Palá Mediano, a reputed notary, as well Pedro Taboada and Mariano Blasco Ruiz, members of the Employers' Federation of Shopkeepers and Industrialists. The *Auxilio de Invierno (Auxilio Social/Social Aid* from May 1937) was conceived as an instrument for integrating the disadvantaged and appealing to the masses willing to contribute materially or morally. Its national leaders, Mercedes Sanz-Bachiller and Javier Martínez de Bedoya, hoped to help lay the foundations of a future (and hypothetical) national-syndicalist state, which resorted to propaganda to achieve its aims, as shown in Document 3. Throughout the almost three years of war, they designed projects to meet the new social demands brought about by the war, such as the brotherhood kitchens, children's canteens and Aid to Liberated Populations for refugees. Doctors and nurses worked there, as well as anonymous women from the popular classes mobilized by the obligatory social service.

Document 2 demonstrates how in Franco's Spain, aid to refugees was born not from humanitarian conceptions but from the conviction that the consolidation of the "New Spain" had to integrate vulnerable groups, also suspected of political disaffection, into the new national community. Refugees who adapted to the principles of the *Movimiento Nacional* and Catholic morality and were endorsed by a person sympathetic to the

ideology of the coup leaders, deserved to receive assistance in the form of meals in the city's canteens and medical and pharmaceutical care from the Municipal Charity. In practice, this meant devising mechanisms to investigate their political and ideological background. In addition, all those who were able to work had to make themselves available to the JRC for a specific task, and deeply marked by gender roles: men were entrusted with work in the fields, warehouses and artillery depots, as well as obliged to enlist as soldiers or in the Falangist militias, and women with tasks of a welfare, health and dressmaking nature. In this way, the refugees became a cheap labour force to sustain the war effort in the city. The failure to comply with any of these three requirements - affinity to the Movimiento Nacional, Catholic morality or work –implied the immediate withdrawal of the relief and the benefits associated with it.

In short, within the framework of the JRC and the Auxilio Social, members of the city's economic and professional elite, army officers, and Falange militants, or those who joined this organization during the conflict, set up a series of charitable and welfare initiatives. Hundreds of anonymous citizens also took part in them as volunteers. They thus occupied a space outside the classic charity structures, but in close collaboration with them, from which to contribute to the victory and the forging of the emerging Francoist state. In the city of Zaragoza, their action was decisive in guaranteeing the management of the marginalized groups generated by the war, inspired by a model of a controlled society, hierarchically ordered and with a strong ideological component.

Document 2: Refugee Relief Commission for the National Defense

A LA JUNTA RECAUDATORIA CIVIL DE DEFENSA NACIONAL

El Vocal que suscribe tiene el honor de someter a la superior consideración de esa Junta, lo siguiente:

1º. - Que para corregir algunos abusos que se cree cometen algunos de los que obtienen el socorro de refugiados o para evitar el que se puedan cometer, sería conveniente, sin perjuicio de las fichas de presentación que tienen todos o casi todos los beneficiarios en los que existe una persona como garantía, se pidiese de todos y por la Junta a la Comisión de Vigilancia información acreditativa de la certeza de su condición de refugiado, no disponer de medios de fortuna actualmente, y trabajo o ocupación a que se dedica, así como la conducta que observa en relación con el glorioso Movimiento Salvador de España y su comportamiento moral, con el fin de poder la Junta revisar todos los socorros que actualmente se conceden y denegarlos a aquienes proceda.

2º. - Que para lo sucesivo, no se concedan salvo caso excepcional socorros en metálico a los refugiados, y los en especie serán sólo en comidas servidas en los Comedores que la Junta tiene establecidos, y sólo en caso de enfermedad se permitirá puedan llevarse a sus domicilios las raciones de los enfermos o sustituir el vale de comida por otro vale para alimentos propios a su estado de salud. Y respecto a los socorros en especie que actualmente se conceden proceder a su revisión procediéndose a anular todos aquellos que no esten debidamente justificados y que debieran de ser sometidos a conocimiento de la Junta o persona que Delegare aquellos.

3º Que las listas de hombres labradores y en condiciones que deseen trabajar debieran de ser relacionados debidamente y ponerlos en conocimiento del Excmo. Sr. Gobernador Civil, al objeto de que las Autoridades tengan una estadística de aquellos labradores que pudieren prestar sus trabajos al lugar donde fueren precisas.

4º Que todos los hombres que reciben socorros, salvo aquellos que trabajan en el Parque de Artillería, Intendencia o Almacenes de la Junta, deberán de inscribirse en el Ejército o Milicias, prestando servicios según su condición y edad o aptitudes

5º Sobre las mujeres que perciben socorros de la Junta por su condición de Refugiadas, deberán asimismo ser destinadas o prestar aquellos trabajos propios de su sexo, condición y posibilidades, exceptuándose de esta prestación personal aquellas refugiadas que tuvieren a su cuidado niños o personas de edad imposibilitadas o enfermas.

6º Deberá asimismo gestionarse de los Colegios de Religiosos o Religiosas y Escuelas Parroquiales, se atienda a la enseñanza y educación de los niños y niñas de los refugiados que tengan la edad escolar.

7º Aquellos refugiados que tengan familiares en el frente, podrán sustituir aquel socorro por el de movilizadas que concede la Junta, siempre que ésta así lo estime oportuno.

8º - Como complementos de la estadística de refugiados que se lleva en esta Junta y al objeto de evitar duplicidad de socorros las Milicias deberán remitir relación nominal y con domicilios de los familiares de milicianos que son socorridos por ellos ~~y las - cantidades asignadas a cada socorrido.~~

9º - Tener en cuenta que los soldados movilizados correspondientes a la quinta de 1936, no se les considere con derecho a socorro por sus familiares, por ser la normal prestación ciudadana del servicio militar que venimos obligados todos los españoles.

10º - Gestionar particularmente de los Médicos de la Beneficencia municipal, o directamente de la Alcaldía se acuerde prestar asistencia médica a los refugiados, o cuanto menos a aquellos imposibilitados o enfermos que no pueden asistir a la visita en la Santa Hermandad del Regugio.

Es cuanto tiene el honor de someter a estudio de esa Junta, el Vocal que suscribe.

Zaragoza 12 de enero de 1937.

Pedro Ferrando

SOURCE: Municipal Archive of Zaragoza 2-2-005385/2.

Document 3: Auxilio Social, Propaganda

10

Auxilio Social

La propaganda al servicio de “Auxilio Social”

Normas y orientaciones

«AUXILIO SOCIAL» necesita que su imagen, su estilo, sentido y realidad, sean comprendidos y vividos por todos los españoles. No nos basta su espléndida utilidad actual, no nos podemos limitar a su ya real eficacia. No. Desde el principio, en su mismo origen, aspiramos con ella mostrar al pueblo español una obra intimamente social, alegre y dignamente nacional como ejemplo del Estado Nacional-Sindicalista. Aspiramos—y hemos ido consiguiendo—hacer natural y alegre entre los españoles el servicio y la ayuda. Y ha sido así como hasta ahora «AUXILIO DE INVIERNO», reflejado solamente en sus obras, ha creado en el exterior y en el pueblo su imagen de asistencia a las capas populares. Pero esto no basta, necesitamos la atención y comprensión constante de las gentes españolas, su continua ayuda para que nuestra obra vaya logrando todos sus perfiles. Y eso ha de hacerlo la propaganda. Para nosotros la propaganda ha de estar limpia de toda limitación comercial, ha de ser la comunicación constante al exterior de lo que nuestro auxilio logra y representa por todos los medios de expresión: voceando al

español que «AUXILIO DE INVIERNO» existe, que «AUXILIO SOCIAL» le empuja, le llama urgentemente porque aún hay miseria en España y esto no lo puede consentir ni la moral ni el orgullo de la Patria. Ha de ser el cartel mural, la octavilla, las palabras sinceras, sencillas y expresivas, recordando que nuestra obra continúa. Así ha de ser la propaganda como es el «AUXILIO SOCIAL», sencilla, eficaz y directa; no ha de olvidarse que nuestra obra es nueva y original. En efecto es la primera vez que la sociedad española por medio de alguien—y ese alguien es La Falange—se autoayuda, se reintegra a sí misma y en ello está nuestra profunda importancia.

Convencidos de la utilidad y exactitud de una propaganda bien dirigida, esta Delegación Nacional ha creado la Sección de Propaganda. Todas las Delegaciones provinciales han de prestarla su máxima colaboración.

La propaganda que se os envíe habréis de repartirla cuidadosamente y no porque sea ella en gran cantidad ha de surtir

mayor efecto; la propaganda será continuada y metódica; así no se verán hojas u octavillas tiradas por las calles como si se tratase de un anuncio sin importancia; éstas se introducirán en las casas, en los cafés y en las calles entre personas que puedan comprenderlas.

Enviamos también casi diariamente a todos los periódicos de la zona liberada reseña de nuestras actividades o las normas de nuestra organización en forma de artículos; cada Delegación Provincial cuidará dentro de los periódicos de su provincia, que los artículos aparezcan en ellos y en lugar destacado para mayor efecto en el público.

Cuando el «AUXILIO SOCIAL» actúe en alguna provincia, la Provincial correspondiente enviará con alguna extensión las noticias y nosotros las entregaremos a toda la Prensa de España.

Ayudando a la Sección de Propaganda, lograréis ensanchar más la organización que creará las consignas a cumplir por medio de esta literatura sincera y vivida.

¡ARRIBA ESPAÑA!

Document 3 (transcription and translation)

“La propaganda al servicio de ‘Auxilio Social’. Normas y orientaciones”, *Boletín Auxilio Social. Órgano de la Delegación Nacional*, núm. 3, Valladolid, mayo de 1937, p. 10.

“AUXILIO SOCIAL” necesita que su imagen, su estilo, sentido y realidad, sean comprendidos y vividos por todos los españoles. No nos basta su espléndida utilidad actual, no nos podemos limitar a su ya real eficacia. No. Desde el principio, en su mismo origen, aspiramos con ella mostrar al pueblo español una obra íntimamente social, alegre y dignamente nacional como ejemplo del Estado Nacional-Sindicalista. Aspiramos -y hemos ido consiguiendo- hacer natural y alegre entre los españoles el servicio y la ayuda. Y ha sido así como hasta ahora “AUXILIO DE INVIERNO” reflejado solamente en sus obras, ha creado en el exterior y en el pueblo su imagen de asistencia a las capas populares. Pero esto no basta, necesitamos la atención y comprensión constante de las gentes españolas, su continua ayuda para que nuestra obra vaya logrando todos sus perfiles. Y eso ha de hacerlo la propaganda. [Esta] ha de ser la comunicación constante al exterior de lo que nuestro auxilio logra y representa por todos los medios de expresión: voceando al español que AUXILIO DE INVIERNO existe, que AUXILIO SOCIAL le emplaza, le llama urgentemente porque aún hay miseria en España y esto no lo puede consentir ni la moral ni el orgullo de la Patria. [...]. Así ha de ser la propaganda como es el AUXILIO SOCIAL, sencilla, eficaz y directa; no ha de olvidarse que nuestra obra es nueva y original. En efecto es la primera vez que la sociedad española por medio de alguien -y ese alguien es la Falange- se autoayuda, se reintegra a sí misma y en ello está nuestra profunda importancia.”

Translation:

“Propaganda in the service of ‘Auxilio Social’. Rules and orientations”, *Boletín Auxilio Social. Organ of the National Delegation*, No. 3, Valladolid, May 1937, p. 10.

“AUXILIO SOCIAL” needs its image, its style, meaning and reality to be understood and experienced by all Spaniards. Its current splendid usefulness is not enough for us, we cannot limit ourselves to its real effectiveness. No. From the very beginning, in its very origin, we aspire with it to show the Spanish people a work that is intimately social, joyful and worthily national as an example of the National-Syndicalist State. We aspire -and we have been achieving- to make service and help natural and joyful among Spaniards. And this is how “AUXILIO DE INVIERNO”, reflected only in its works, has created in the outside world and in the people its image of assistance to the popular strata. But this is not enough, we need the constant attention and understanding of the Spanish people, their continuous help for our work to achieve all its profiles. And this has to be done by propaganda. [This] has to be the constant communication abroad of what our aid achieves and represents by all means of expression: shouting to the Spaniard that AUXILIO DE INVIERNO exists, that AUXILIO SOCIAL urges him, calls

him urgently because there is still misery in Spain, and this cannot be allowed neither by morality nor the pride of the Homeland. [...]. This is how propaganda must be, as is the SOCIAL AID, simple, effective and direct; it must not be forgotten that our work is new and original. In fact, it is the first time that the Spanish society through someone -and that someone is the Falange- helps itself, reintegrates itself and therein lies our profound importance.”

III. Youth Care in the Czech Republic

Jakub Rákosník

Introduction

Document 4 refers to sociological research that was carried out in March 1928 in a part of Prague called Košíře. There was a relatively high percentage of socially weak, manual workers and seasonal workers who moved to Prague only to survive the winter. This was methodologically well-prepared research in which 371 younger primary school pupils were monitored. Researchers observed children and their relationships directly in families. The research showed how unsatisfactory social conditions in the family are causally linked to the subsequent unsatisfactory school performance of children.

Document 5 is an excerpt from a work by Marie Trnková (1886–1929), who was one of the leading pioneers of social work in the Czech lands, focusing on the protection of mothers and children. She is especially credited with having set up maternity clinics. She popularized hygiene rules and published books on social work. In the 1920s, she was executive secretary for the Czech Provincial Youth Care in Moravia, the highest coordinating body for ethnically Czech adolescents in Moravia (the Germans had their own organizations). The selected text demonstrates the systematic division of social care for young people and an overview of the main tools that were characteristic for the interwar period.

Document 6 is a *Circular of the Czech Provincial Commission for Youth Protection in Moravia* (1936). It was characteristic of the Czechoslovak interwar expert discourse that “Gypsyism” was sometimes seen as a social handicap (an undesirable way of life in modern society), while at other times it was described in terms of race or degeneration. A common tool for protecting Roma children between the wars was removing them from families living an unsuitable lifestyle.

Document 4

The files of children who thrive very well all mention a person who takes care of the child, watches over them, and is interested in them. [...] 92 of 205 children, nearly half, who do not sufficiently prosper, are not provided with this most valuable asset. In 59 cases, reports directly allege that no one cares for the child, that he is left on the street; in 32 cases, this is evident from the daily work of mothers away from home or from an illness that prevents her from properly caring for children, especially if there are several children, or if the poverty in the family reaches a degree that subverts everything. In a whole third of these families, the mother is the breadwinner. It is a desperate struggle with life that these women are leading. [...]

This group of children who lack the necessary childcare also includes all children whose families have experienced a severe disruption. This was the case in 16 families. In this group of mothers, mother breadwinners, and broken families, the father's irresponsibility towards the children and the impotence of our legislation often seem almost cynical to us. [...]

The mother of nearly every other child who does not sufficiently prosper must go to work. Indeed, the fact that a quarter of poorly prospering children (43) were from families where 4 or more children were waiting at home for a working mother, speaks for itself. However, the earning work of children also had a negative effect on the lives of these children; only poorly prospering children were the ones who worked for earnings.

Both of these circumstances were caused, as has already been stated, by the low wage of the fathers of the families; every second father was among the ranks of unskilled workers (52%). Not only were their wages well below the level of a satisfactory income and had to be therefore supplemented by a woman's earnings, but he also suffered great instability, since, as we have shown, a third of the fathers of poorly prospering boys suffered from this greatest suffering.

Under these conditions, the situation of families was extremely hampered by the regularly occurring large number of children in families. I believe that the data obtained, for this reason, are among the most remarkable. How constant is the large number of children in the families of poorly performing children in all categories maintained, as we monitored them regardless of the overall condition of these groups! The family of a poorly prospering child appeared to us in all social strata with a high number of children.

Lurking among these shadows that accompany a poorly prospering child is the shadow that is the most distressing for them – housing poverty.

Social care today faces the most urgent task among children who find themselves in a vicious circle of misery: the breadwinner, whether male or female, neglects them for a difficult struggle in life, and neglect breeds social parasites. Social care should lead the child out of this circle.

SOURCE: Marie NEČASOVÁ-POUBOVÁ: *School Benefit and Social Conditions of the Child*, Prague: Social Institute 1929, pp. 45–49.

VI. Závěr.

Sledujeme-li obě skupiny dětí jako celky, pohybujeme se tu ve dvou odlišných světech.

Děti velmi dobře prospívající stojí po stránce bytových poměrů, hmotné úrovně rodin a rodičovské péče na linii delší nežli děti špatně prospívající.

Na jedné straně sahá jejich řada na úroveň »spokojeného blahobytu«, jak ji nazývá náš národohospodář profesor Dr. J. Macek. Rodina má všecko, čeho potřebuje, a při rozumném hospodaření může vedle uspokojení všech kulturních potřeb i leccos uložit.

Posluchačky Sociální školy napřed informované o potřebách, na nichž závisí zdravý vývoj dítěte, tu nejednou zdůrazňují inteligenci rodičů, jejich opatrnost v lásce k dítěti, podnětlivost a nabádavost prostředí. V tom smyslu vyzněl výrok jedné ze zpráv, snad i osobním povzdechem zabarvený: »Hoch žije jako v pohádce.«

S těchto míst sestupuje linie rychle na úroveň, kterou jsme výše označily jako poměry uspokojující. Jak zprávy znějí, »dítěti se tu dostává všeho, čeho potřebuje« a prostředí je příznivé pro jeho vývoj. Není ani příliš hladké ani drsné, zajišťuje nejvyšší míru rozvoje těla i ducha. Není tu zápasu o holý chléb, byty jsou normální, a pokud sem přece zasahují současné tísnivé poměry bytové, týkají se prostoru, nikoliv zdravotní stránky bytové.

V těchto místech linie života dětí velmi dobře prospívajících zůstává nejdéle, sem náleží většina těchto dětí.

Sestupujíc však dále, postihuje více než pětinu dětí velmi dobře prospívajících, pokud jde o poměry bytové, nejen nedostatky prostorovými, ale značnou část z nich i těžkými závadami zdravotními, vlhkostí a temnem.

Jak stav klesá nížko a jak tvrdý je zápas s ním, ukazuje na př. fakt, že okolí, v němž žila matka jednoho z hochů, věřilo, když matka duševně onemocněla, že je to následek jejího dlouhého marného úsilí, s kterým hleděla vyměnit byt o jedné místnosti, temný a bez slunce, nad stáji a se vchodem vedle záchodu, za lepší a pro dítě zdravější. Sem také patří tři rodiny hochů, které ve skutečnosti žijí bez bytu, u přátel neb u cizích lidí.

Hmotně pak ocitá se celá tato skupina pod úrovní, označenou za hranice strádání. Sem až na jednu rodinu náležejí všechny rodiny, kde živitelkou je matka a dále všechny ty, do jejichž ho-

spodářských poměrů zasahují nezaměstnanost, nemoc otců a s tím související výdělečná práce matek.

Jako hlavní okolnost, která působí, že výše uvedená zla nedrží život rodiny zcela, je v těchto rodinách malý počet dětí. Z úhrnného počtu 18 rodin bylo ve 13 po jednom dítěti. Má-li počet dětí v rodině rozhodující význam pro jejich poměry, má tím větší v těchto chudých rodinách.

V těžkých poměrech těchto rodin, kde rodičovská péče byla nejednou ohrožena, zřetelně byla záchrannou babička. Především byla podporou matky tam, kde matka vydělávala, ať jako živitelka rodiny nebo vedle muže. Vystupuje tu i jako zastávce nemanželského dítěte proti nevlastnímu otci, jemuž hoch musí říkat „pane“, a hledí mu zpříjemnit, jak zpráva praví, život mezi manželskými dětmi a zjednat mu mezi nimi místo.

Nejníže klesá křivka rodinného života těchto dětí tam, kde se příčiny bídí spojují: kde je rodina bez živitele, kde je mnoho dětí, kde matka výdělečně pracuje práci necvičenou a málo placenou. Tu se ocitáme v prostředí dětí velmi dobře prosperujících až v takové bídě, že matka posílá děti brzy spat, aby už nechytily jistě, jindy někdy bývá tak zle, že ani na chléb není.

Hlavní však rozdíl od druhé kategorie, od dětí špatně prosperujících, je v tom, že zde jsou to zjevy jen ojedinělé, kdežto tam je bída do široka rozlita.

V této skupině dětí velmi dobře prosperujících provází však dítě až do těchto míst okolností velmi významná jak pro jeho veškerý život, tak pro jeho prospěch ve škole — péče rodičů o dítě, dbalost o jeho prospěch ve škole.

Jde tu přes výdělečnou práci obou rodičů: »Rodiče odcházejí oba z domu za prací, ale zato večer hledí dítěti vynahraditi svou nepřítomnost« (1 dítě).

»Třebaže majetkové poměry jsou bídné, otec kamnář byl 4 měsíce bez práce, o hochu pečuje starostlivě« (2 děti).

»Otec, perleťář, přišel teď doma, nemohla nalézt jinou práci, knoflíčky na papír, rok byl bez práce, matka trpí srdeční vadou a nemocí ledvin, ale doma mají uklizeno a čisto a o hochu pečují« (1 dítě).

Archy dětí velmi dobře prosperujících všechny mluví o někom, kdo o dítě pečuje, je sleduje, má o ně zájem.

Na jediném čteme to jaksi ztlumeno, »že zájem o dítě je nevalný«. Tu je otec nádeníkem, má 6 dětí, rodina žije v jedné místnosti.

Tohoto nejcecnějšího statku nedostává se dětem nedostatečně prosperujícím valnou měrou, celé polovině, 92 ze 205.

V 59 případech tu zprávy přímo vytýkají, že o dítě nikdo nepéčuje, že je ponecháno ulici; ve 32 je to patrné z denní práce matek mimo domov nebo z nemoci, která jí brání náležitě pečovat

o dítě, zvláště je-li dítě několik, nebo bída v rodině dostupuje toho stupně, že rozvrací všechno.

V celé třetině těchto rodin je matka živitelkou. Je to zoutaly zápas, který ženy tyto vedou se životem.

Na tomto poli, jako nikde jinde, nezbytně třeba pomoci. Tento nedostatek individuální pomoci dětem v jejich rodinách je dnes nejnaléhavější potřebou u nás. Pomoc ta může být velmi úspěšně řízena z Peči o mládež, jen budou-li Peče konečně mít tolik peněz na tyto účely, aby se s rodinami nevyrovnávaly nepatrnou podporou nijak nevyhovující tomu, co se tu má zachránit. Třebaže dítě stojí před námi jako nejtěžší válečný poškozenec, čekaly otázky péče o mládež 10 let na svoje intenzivní řešení. Kéž se nyní po reformě státní správy, která dává péči o mládež nový administrativní základ, podaří změnit zákon o finančním hospodaření samosprávných svazků územních, tak, aby se péče o mládež mohla rozvinouti tak, aby splnila aspoň tyto nejnaléhavější účely, zanedbávané dosud způsobem téměř zahanbujícím.

K této skupině dětí, v jejichž rodinách jest rozvrat. Bylo to v 16 rodinách.

Způsobem téměř cynickým se nám právě v této skupině matek živelek a rozvrácených rodin nejednou jeví neodpovědnost otců k dětem a nemohoucnost našich právních předpisů v té příčině, jak už bylo vpředu pověděno.

U velké další skupiny těchto dětí zavinuje nedostatek péče o dítě výdělečná práce matek; matka téměř každého druhého dítěte nedostatečně prosperujícího vydělává. Zajisté sám za sebe mluví fakt, že čtvrtina dětí špatně prosperujících (43) byla z rodin, kde na matku výdělečně pracující čekaly doma 4 a více dětí. Zlý vliv na život těchto dětí měla ovšem i výdělečná práce dětí; vydělávaly právě jen děti nedostatečně prosperující.

Obě tyto okolnosti zaviněvala, jak již pověděno, malá mzda otců rodin; každý druhý otec náležel do řad necvičeného dělnictva (52%). Plat jejich nejen stál hluboko pod úrovní příjmu zajišťujícího uspokojivé poměry, a musil proto býti doplňován výdělkem ženiným, ale trpěl i velikou nestálostí, neboť, jak jsme ukázali, touto největší trýzní trpěla celá třetina otců hochů nedostatečně prosperujících.

Za těchto poměrů byly poměry rodin neobyčejně ztěžovány pravidelně se vyskytujícími velkými počtem dětí v rodinách. Mám za to, že data v této příčině získaná jsou z nejpozoruhodnějších. S jakou konstantností udržuje se velký počet dětí v rodinách dětí špatně prosperujících ve všech kategoriích, jak jsme je sledovaly bez zřetele na celkový stav těchto skupin!

Rodina nedostatečně prosperujícího dítěte jevila se nám ve všech společenských vrstvách převahou četná.

18

Document 5

YOUTH CARE

A. *Normal youth care*

1. Protection of mothers and infants (from birth to 3 years): counseling centers for mothers and children, shelters for pregnant women and mothers, maternity hospitals, foundling shelters, foundling care, shelters for mothers and infants, shelters for infants, seasonal shelters, nurseries, family colonies, free family care, and legal protection of mother and child.
2. Toddler care (children from 3 to 6 years): counseling centers for mothers and children, day shelters, folk kindergartens, care centers, seasonal shelters, holiday colonies.
3. Care for school age children (from 6 to 14 years): day shelters, playgrounds, spas, swimming pools, soup institutes, holiday care. School medicine. Puppet theaters, children's libraries, reading rooms, pavilions, etc.
4. Care for orphaned, abandoned, or endangered children: orphanages, children's homes, family colonies, free family care, general guardianship.
5. Adolescent care (from 14 to 18 years): career counseling, physical education, scouting, adolescence entertainment. Counseling for choosing a profession, group meetings, shelters, children's homes, care for students, canteens, holiday care.

B. *Care for morally deficient young people*

Care for neglected, morally endangered, or morally disturbed young people. (Observational facilities, educational institutions, correctional family colonies, juvenile courts, reformatories)

C. *Care for physically or mentally abnormal young people*

Care for the crippled, deaf-mute, mute, non-speaking, blind, epileptic, weak-minded, terminally ill, educational institutions, [nursing] institutes, workshops, auxiliary schools.

D. *Health care*

Preventive care, medical care, hospitals, clinics, medical institutions, medical colonies, dispensaries for tuberculosis, dental clinics, and others.

E. *Adult care*

Employment agencies, trade inspectorates, and health, disability, old-age, and accident insurance. Care for war victims and military disabled, poor care, medical care, medical treatment. Duties of the family, home community, country, and state, folk kitchens, shelters, overnight dormitories, poorhouses, hospitals, old houses, hospitals, institutions for the mentally ill.

SOURCE: Marie TRNKOVÁ: *Chapters from Social Care*, Prague: Organization of Social Workers 1932, pp. 9–10.

Přehled sociální péče

Péče o mládež

A. Péče o mládež normální

1. Ochrana matek a kojenců (od narození do 3 let): poradny pro matky a děti, útulky pro těhotné a rodičky, porodnice, nalezince, péče nalezinecká, útulky pro matky a kojence, útulky pro kojence, sezonní útulky, jesle, rodinné kolonie, voňná rodinná péče; právní ochrana matky a dítěte.

2. Péče o batolátka (dětí od 3—6 let): Poradny pro matky a děti, denní útulky, lidové školky, opatrovny, sezonní útulky, prázdninové kolonie.

3. Péče o děti ve věku školním (od 6—14 let): Denní útulky, hřiště, lázně, koupaliště, péčevkové ústavy, péče prázdninová, školní lékařství, Loutková divadla, dětské knihovny, čítárny, besídky atd.

4. Péče o děti osiřelé, opuštěné nebo ohrožené: sirotčince, domovy, rodinné kolonie, voňná rodinná péče, generální poradenství.

5. Péče o dorost (od 14—18 let): Voňba povolání, tělesná výchova, skauting, zábavy dorostu. Poradna pro voňbu povolání, besídky, útulky, domovy, péče o studentstvo, menzy, prázdninová péče.

B. Péče o mládež mravně vadnou

Péče o mládež zanedbanou, mravně ohroženou nebo narušenou. (Pozorovny, vychovatelny, nápravné rodinné kolonie, soudy pro mládež, polepšovny.)

C. Péče o mládež tělesně nebo duševně abnormální

Péče o zmrzačené, hluchoněmé, němě slyšící, nevýřečné, nevidomé, epileptické, slabomyslné, nevyléčitelné choré, ústavy vychovávací, ošetřovací, dílny, pomocné školy.

D. Péče zdravotní

Péče preventivní, péče léčebná, nemocnice, klánky, léčebné ústavy, léčebné kolonie, dispensáře pro tuberkulózní, zubní ambulatoria a j.

Péče o dospělé

Zprostředkovatelný práce, živnostenské inspektoráty, pojistění nemocenské, invalidní, starobní a úrazové. Péče o válečné poškozené a invalidy, péče chudinská, léčebná, chorobinecká. Povinnosti rodiny, domovské obce, země, státu, lidové kuchyně, přístřeší, noclehárny, chudobince, chorobince, starobince, nemocnic, ústavy pro choromyslné.

Document 6

There is a danger that the current period may see an increase in the number of morally endangered and morally defective children, because material misery, caused by the present conditions, is a cause of mental and moral misery in some families.

In the cities, and more densely than before, there are begging and forlorn children, wandering singers, and sellers of various items who are not far from the path of crime, because they are badly brought up by a broken environment and the streets. [...]

Caring for the children of wandering Gypsies and vagrants: we received several questions on how to proceed in the protection of captured gypsy children.

If Gypsies have a permanent residence in a municipality and do not roam, their children, if they need special protection, are eligible for the same legal measures as any other child.

In the case of Gypsies wandering from place to place, or other wanderers who shun work and live as Gypsies, in both cases, even if they have a permanent residence for only part of the year (especially in winter), the law on wandering Gypsies applies to them (No. 117/1927 Coll. and Government Decree 68/1928 Coll.).

[...] Removed children may be placed in regular foster families or educational establishments and left there for as long as necessary, until they reach adulthood at the latest.

[...] A great advantage in the placement of children of wandering gypsies and vagrants is the fact that the cited law imposes the payment of nursing costs for these children to the state (unless third parties are obliged to do so), while municipalities are not obliged to contribute at all. The matter is regulated so that for children placed in foster families or district children's homes, educational benefits are paid for by district courts (according to the child's age in the amount of 100 Czechoslovak Crowns or more), while for children placed in vocational institutions, this is paid directly by the Ministry of Social Welfare (usually 300 Czechoslovak Crowns per month).

SOURCE: *Circular of the Czech Provincial Commission for Youth Protection in Moravia*, February 24, 1936. (Source: District Archive of the Town Vsetín, Fund: District Commission for the Youth Protection in Valašské Meziříčí, box no. 3, book no. 35).

Česká zemská péče o mládež v Brně, Falkensteinerova ul. č. 6.

Čís. j.: 1751/36 II-1. tk.

V Brně dne 24. února 1936.

Vše: Prohloubení péče o mládež
mravně ohroženou a mravně vadnou.

O b ě ž n í k č. 3.

Sdruženým

o k r e s n í m p é č í m o m l á d e ž

na M o r a v ě .

Je nebezpečí, že dnešní doba může znásobiti počet dětí mravně ohrožených a vadných, neboť hmotná bída, prýšticí z nynějších poměrů, vyvolává v některých rodinách bídu duševní a mravní.

V městech objevují se, hustěji než dříve, děti žebravé, toulavé, potulní zpěváčci a prodavači různých předmětů, kteří nemají pak daleko ku dráze zločinnosti, protože jejich špatnými vychovateli je jednak rozvrácené rodinné prostředí, jednak ulice. - V poslední době bylo Čzpm hlášeno několik případů mravně vadných dětí se žádostí o jejich umístění do odborných ústavů. Naše poradna pro péči o úchylnou mládež s litoostí zjistila, že šlo o děti 13 - 14leté, které bude velmi těžko napravit, protože nebyly do ochranné výchovy dodány včas, t. j. aspoň v 10 - 12 letech, aby ústav mohl úspěšněji splnit své poslání, neboť zpravidla ve 14 letech propouští chovance z péče.

Z těchto důvodů je třeba, abychom ochraně mravně ohrožené mládeže věnovali dnes mimořádnou pozornost. Dovolujeme si Vás proto velmi snažně prosit:

- 1/ máte v soustavě péče o mravně ohrožené a vadné děti v okrese. Protože je to úkol, jehož účelné vyřešení nezbytně vyžaduje součinnost všech veřejných i soukromých činitelů v okrese, učinite věc předmětem jednání nejbližší schůze správního výboru Opm.

Především je třeba organizovati v y h l e d á v á n í těchto dětí. Zde je na místě součinnost Opm se soudem mládeže, soudem poručenským, okresním úřadem / četnictvo /, okresním starostenským sborem, okresním školním výborem / menšinovým inspektorátem /, organizacemi učitelskými, školami, rodičovskými sdruženími, farmami úřady, poradnami matek a dětí, s odbory ochrany matek a dětí, poradnami pro dorost / volbu povolání /, sborem dozorců důvěrníků. atd. - Požádejte tyto úřady a instituce, aby Opm oznámily každou rodinu, kde mravní rozvrat ohrožuje výchovu dětí.

Každý takový případ vyšetřete prostřednictvím místního důvěrníka pomocí Popisného listu. Po jeho vrácení věnujte zvýšenou pozornost stanovení správné diagnózy a návrhům na sjednání nápravy, při čemž přesně rozlišujte, zda-li ochranná opatření možno s úspěchem vykonati v rodině /na př. ochranným dozorem, podporou hmotnou, vyhledáním zaměstnání rodičům neb mladistvým a pod./, či je nutna ochranná výchova cizí /tuh v cizí rodině neb v ústavě/.

O každém vyšetřeném případě vždy uvědomte okresní soud se žádostí, aby ve smyslu § 1. odst. 5. a § 4. odst. 1. zákona o trestním soudnictví nad mládeží č. 48/1931 Sb. z. a n. učinil opatření na prospěch ohroženého dítěte. - /Okresní soudy byly o věci informovány výnosem min. spravedlnosti ze 7. února 1935, č. j. 3791/35-11, kterýžto výnos jsme zaslali Čpm na vědomost s oběžníkem č. 16 z 3. září 1935. Tímto postupem dostane každý případ právní základnu.

- 2/ Věnujte zvýšenou péči dětem mravně ohroženým. Pokud poručenský /opatrovnícký/ soud rozhodne, aby ochranná opatření v zájmu dítěte byla vykonávána ve vlastní rodině dítěte /na př. formou dozoru, péče podpůrné a pod./, pověřte touto činností nejlépe dozorčího důvěrníka v místě pobytu dítěte, který nechť u místních činitelů /místní péče o mládež, rodičovského sdružení atd./ si vyžádá součinnost v případech, kdy je třeba mimo dozor též péče podpůrné.

Jestliže soud rozhodne o mravně ohroženém dítěti, že má býti umístěno v cizím prostředí, převezměte takové dítě do okresního dětského domova a jeho prostřednictvím pak je umístěte ve vhodné rodině pěstounské. Nemáte-li vlastního domova, umístěte dítě v sirotčinci Vašeho okresu, není-li tohoto zařízení u Vás, zašlete Čzpm Popisný list dítěte, abychom Vám zprostředkovali umístění dítěte buď v některém dětském domově a sirotčinci soukromém neb veřejném.

- 3/ Děti mravně vadné oznamujte Čzpm. Jsou to ty děti, které nelze s úspěchem opatřit formou kombinované péče rodinné a jež proto vyžadují umístění v odborném ústavě. Každé takové dítě musí dříve než přijde do ústavu projíti odbornou poradnou Čzpm při Masarykově universitě za účelem stanovení přesné diagnózy a nejvhodnějšího způsobu nápravné péče. Zašlete proto vždy o takovém dítěti České zemské péči Popisný list s vložkou o poměrech mravně vadného dítěte.

Oznamujte nám však tyto děti včas, dokud je naděje na opravdovou nápravu dítěte v ústavě. Pošlete-li nám dítě 13 - 14ti leté, bývá zpravidla již pozdě a takový případ je pak materiálem pro soudy mládeže a ústavy polepšovací.

do 14 let
Pro umístování mravně vadných dětí/máme v zemi Moravskoslezské 3 odborné ústavy: 1/ zemskou vychovatelnu v Boskovicih dívoč. 2/ zemskou vychovatelnu pro chlapce v Uh. Hradišti, 3/ Ochrannou Čzpm v Mor. Krumlově. Ve všech těchto ústavech je t.č. dosti volných míst a zemský úřad přislíbil, že ochotně, pokud místo stačí, bude žádosti o umístění příznivě vyřizovati. Je-li překážkou umístění dítěte do uvedených ústav domovská obec dítěte, která odpírá placení ošetrovacího příspěvku /Kč 20-50 měsíčně/, dejte podnět okresnímu soudu neb okresnímu úřadu k zakročení za účelem sjednání nápravy.

- 4/ Péče o děti potulných cikánů a tuláků. Dostali jsme několik dotazů, jak postupovati při ochraně zachycených cikánských dětí.

Mají-li cikáni v některé obci stálé a trvalé bydliště a nepotulují-li se, platí o jejich dětech, potřebují-li zvláštní ochrany, zákonná opatření jako o kterémkoliv jiných dětech.

Jestliže jde o cikány s místa na místo se toulající, nebo o jiné tuláky práce se štítilí, kteří po cikánsku žijí, a to

v obojím případě i tehdy, má-li - li po částeč-
ku /hlavně v zimě/ stále bydliště platí o nich zákon o po-
tulných cikánech č. 117/1927 Sb.z. a n. a vlád.
nař. č. 68/1928 St.z. a n.

Podle tohoto zákona mohou být potulným cikánům a
tulákům oňaty jejich děti mladší 16. let, nemohou-li o ně nále-
žitě pečovat a jim děti potřebnou výchovu. V každém případě lze
jim odňati děti o i z i .

Oňaté děti mohou být dány do řádných pěstounských
rodin neb výchovných ústavů a zde ponechány tak dlouho, pokud
je toho třeba, nejdéle do zletilosti.

O odňatí dětí a odevzdání jich do cizí péče rozho-
duje na oznámení okresního úřadu okresní soud, v jehož obvodu by-
ly děti zadrženy /tedy nikoliv případný porušený soud dítěte/.
Soud vyslechne před rozhodnutím podle možnosti příslušnou Okresní
pěči o mládež.

Oňaté cikánské neb tulácké děti mohou být umístě-
ny buď v pěstounských rodinách nebo v odborných výchovných ústa-
vech, jimiž podle vyhlášky ministerstva sociální péče č. 14084/14
28, ze 17. května 1928, jsou na Moravě jen zemské výchovatelny v
Boskoviciích a v Uh. Hradišti a Ochranovna Čapm v Mor. Krumlově.

Velkou výhodou při umístování dětí potulných cikánů
a tuláků je okolnost, že citovaný zákon ukládá hrazení ošetřova-
cích nákladů za tyto děti státu/pokud k tomu nejsou povinny tře-
tí osoby/, při čemž obce nejsou vůbec povinny přispívat. Vše je
upravena tak, že na děti umístěné v pěstounských rodinách /okres-
ních dětských domovech/ vyplácí výchovné příspěvky okresní
soudy /podle stáří dítěte v částce od Kč 100.- výše/, kdežto na
dětí umístěné v odborných výchovných ústavech platí příspěvky
přímo ministerstvo sociální péče / zpravidla Kč 300.- měsíčně/.

Vzhledem k těmto ustanovením zákona doporučujeme Opm
vyskytne-li se jim v praxi takovýto případ, následující postup:

- a/ odejme-li četnictvo neb policie tulákům neb cikánům dítě, při-
de zpravidla nejdříve o jeho přechodné umístění. Doporučujeme
Opm, je-li to možno, aby v naléhavých případech poskytly tře-
to dětem útulku v okr. dětském domově.
- b/ je-li možná další výchova takového dítěte v dětském domově a
poněmž v rodinné péči, navrhněte okr. soudu toto řešení a
současně soud požádejte, aby se zvláštní zálohy, kterou má k
danému účelu od vrchního soudu k dispozici, poukázal na dít-
ě výchovné příspěvek ve výši podle okolností od Kč 100 -
250.- měsíčně.
- c/ je-li soudem nařizována ústavní výchova dítěte, zašlete o dítěti
popisný arch České zemské pěči o mládež v Brně spolu s usne-
šením soudu. Čapm postará se pak o umístění dítěte do vhodného
ústavu.
- d/ je-li třeba naléhavě dítě umístiti /z důvodu, že hraniční vada
vylučuje umístění v dětském domově/, obraťte se přímo na ředi-
telství některého vpředu jmenovaného odborného ústavu, aby
dítě okamžitě přijalo do péče. Event. nechtě tak učini přímo
sám příslušný okr. soud.

Za:

Českou zemskou pěči o mládež
v Brně:

předseda:
Dr. Jar. Kallab v. r.

tajemník:
K. Kotek v. r.

N.B. Zemská školní rada v Brně vydala všem okr. a městským škol-
výborům v zemi Moravakoslezské o šetrnosti dětí výnos, který při-
pojujeme.

IV. Child Assistance in Lithuania

Andrea Griffante

Introduction

In the early post-war period, international humanitarian aid represented an important source of support for the young nation-states emerged from the ashes of European multinational empires. Destitute children soon became the main addressees of aid: relief and rehabilitation practices were supposed to help calm down growing social tensions and rear a physically and morally healthy generation which would become the bulwark of democratic Europe against the westward expansion of communism.

Among the international organizations which delivered humanitarian aid to Lithuania, the American Red Cross (ARC) and the Lady Muriel Paget Mission (LMPM) committed specifically to the creation of a network of facilities devoted to maternal and paediatric assistance in Kaunas, the capital and most populous city of the new-born state. Mothers and child welfare facilities carried out prevention and educational tasks: in them, medical and para-medical personnel checked on a regular basis the health of recorded babies, gave advice to mothers and provided lectures about scientific motherhood. The two organizations also set up some milk kitchens, where poor mothers could receive fresh sterilized milk and formula for their children according to medical prescription.

In January 1923, the facilities created by the ARC and LMPM were handed over to local institutions. While Kaunas City Council became responsible for the functioning of the mother and child welfare facilities, the milk kitchens were entrusted to a private organization – the Drop of Milk Society (*Pieno lašo draugija*) – established with the participation of Kaunas City Council, Kaunas ethnic communities, the Lithuanian Red Cross and even the Lithuanian government. Run by left-wing intelligentsia and with former Prime Minister and future President of Lithuania Kazys Grinius among its most active members, the Drop of Milk pursued infant mortality rate reduction by progressively widening its array of activities which encompassed the production and distribution of sterilized milk and milk products, medical assistance for poor mothers and children, educational activities and the creation of nurseries and kindergartens for the poor.

While the Drop of Milk remained oriented towards the lower-class, from the second half of the 1920s, natalism influenced its discourse and practices with increasing strength. Accordingly, family became the social cell towards which the society progressively shifted its activity focus. Relying on statistical evidence that illegitimate children were much more at risk of abandonment than those born in wedlock, in the early 1930s the Drop of Milk chose to support poor mothers at home through so called “patronage” (*patronatas*), a monthly allowance strictly checked by the society’s inspectors and aimed to implement the stability of the poor person’s family life and

discourage child abandonment. Although the organization operated on a private basis and could profit from just, limited public financing (60% of total budget), the choice to implement this new tool was explained in fairly “public” and “political” terms (*national economy, nation’s survival*, etc.). As a veritable tool of social control, “patronage” would be cheaper and support babies’ health much better than internment in closed facilities, and it would function as a radical tool against decreases in birth rate and would eventually help protect public morality from the risks of the modernizing world.

Document 7: The Drop of Milk and Family

In all our folktales, folk songs and proverbs we see that people and animals alike express a big deal of sympathy for orphans. Bad people and evil stepmother-witches maltreat and oppress orphans and sometimes even set up traps for them. Nonetheless, children who have lost their mother, helped by good people and animals, overcome misfortune and finally become happy. This popular understanding of orphans is helpful and can be considered as a sort of social insurance invented by our folk. And in real life, our folk do not leave orphans alone: relatives or good people usually host them in their homes.

Much worse is the situation of orphans of one parent or illegitimate children. Our folk do not forgive a mother for her illegitimate maternity. A father can be condemned as well, but much less than a mother. The mother suffers from that, and the child born out of wedlock suffers with her: it is in part because of this that death rates are much higher among illegitimate babies than among children from normal families.

Our folk have expressed themselves loudly against children born out of wedlock. A couple of proverbs confirm this:

- Everything is good, just the crown is wrong.
- This is not a maid; she has crowned three babies.¹

Not so far in the past, some 20 years ago, from time to time it happened that, whilst brides were approaching the altar, other women would tear off the rue crown illegally placed on their heads and replace it with a crown made from pea plants.²

These were the tools our folk had to challenge the increase of people born out of wedlock. Even if these self-defense tools are brutal, they are justifiable in the fight for a nation’s survival, since illegitimate children are less healthy, more badly brought up and less prepared to cope with life’s difficulties than legitimate children are. Furthermore, illegitimate children’s mortality rate is 1,5 to twice that of legitimate children. [The existence of] illegitimate children is also disadvantageous to the nation’s economy.

¹ “Crown” / “crowned” refers to the Lithuanian word used in popular language to indicate illegitimate children (*pavainikis*).

² Rue crown is used in Lithuanian folklore as to signify the bride’s purity and chastity.

Like in other countries, in the Republic of Lithuania the figures of illegitimate children are growing higher every year. In 1932, the number of [illegitimate] babies [born in that year] was 4,863, namely 7,4 out of a hundred newborns. In the city of Klaipėda, about 19,6% of all babies are illegitimate, namely out of every five babies, one was born to an unwed mother. In Kaunas 11% of children were illegitimate, in Samogitia 10%.

In a similar trend, we expect illegitimate children to outnumber legitimate ones. That is the case of the Republic of Salvador where, according to O. Silis (see *II Pabaltijos konferencija 1931 m.*, p. 46), 58,7% of babies are children whose parents are unknown. A strong, healthy family is a very good social institution for the regeneration of the nation and the transformation of children into good people and useful citizens. It is a one-thousand-year-old social construction whose endurance represents a barometer with which to foresee the nation's good future.

In a good family, babies grow without any trouble since they are surrounded by the love of their parents and protected from any misadventure by all their family members. To tell the truth, in these families, especially in the case that there are more children, mothers are bound to home and have little time to participate in public life, have fun and engage in other activities. Attempts to make women free from the captivity of the kitchen and children's rooms have been made. A big deal of work to this end has been done in the Soviet republics, if news in the press is accurate. There, lots of nurseries, asylums, kindergartens, playgrounds and clubs for children have been created. Many massive factories, kitchens, laundries and enormous canteens have been opened. Mothers need only give birth [to their children], pass them over to a state institution, and become employed in a factory or somewhere else. A housewife mother shall not cook, clean, feed and clothe her family, for huge communal kitchens, canteens, laundries and sewing rooms already do this [for them]. The old communal system of Spartan-like children's education and up-bringing is being revived.

Without becoming deeply acquainted with the attempts made in the Soviet republics, it is hardly possible to say whether people would take advantage of them or not. In Sparta, experiments ended badly. After having been taken from their families and handed over to soldiers for upbringing, young boys got accustomed to women's company and as adults did not want to make a family. The figures of children in the country diminished and, as a result, the state's army experienced a lack of men. Sparta disappeared.

Nowadays, an unusual process is taking place in highly civilized countries: women are willing to have one or two children or none at all. Family is being created, not in order to have children, but often to have fun, join forces, and fight against life's difficulties together. Especially in industrial countries, today's state structures are not very satisfactory for adequate family life and the rearing of a new generation. Who, living in a larger city and 30 y. o., can nowadays afford to marry a woman? Very few people. One is jobless, a second one is going to lose his job, a third one earns just enough money for his own living, a fourth does not even have any earnings yet. It is clear that within such a state structure, birthrate can do nothing but diminish.

The results of this situation are already visible. Birthrates are diminishing every year, population growth is going down as well, and in some countries the population is not growing any more. In France and Estonia, for some years more people have died than have been born. The city of Riga and all of Western Protestant Latvia are experiencing a similar situation. Over just 20 years, the number of births in Germany have become twice as low: in 1910, 30 children used to be born out of one thousand people, [their number has dropped by now to] just 15.

In the Republic of Lithuania, the number of births is getting lower by 0,03% every year. Along with the decline in birthrate, the number of old people is growing and the maintenance of this unproductive part of the population is becoming harder and harder on society.

In our opinion, family is losing its most important foundations and is beginning to crack: the figures on separation, divorces and neglect of children are rising. Awful egoism is growing.

Abandoned, neglected women fall into poverty: children are poorly fed, cared for even worse and often die. Organizations taking care of children are experiencing a continuously growing amount of work but are unable to provide for all poor mothers and children.

The Drop of Milk Society takes care of these children, trying to avoid detaching the child from its mother, its family and its usual environment. [On the one hand] it is cheaper and healthier [to do like this] than to keep children in closed orphanages and day-and-night nurseries. On the other, the creation of so many institutions as to care and keep all the needy children would be impossible. Just consider that as many as 5,000 illegitimate children are being born every year: most of their hopeless mothers would probably be happy to hand them over to day-and-night nurseries or orphanages. And what about those women who were abandoned by their men or whose men are in jail, are lying in the hospital or serving in the army? There are so many people to be relieved and cared for!

In 1931, the Drop of Milk Society created the so-called mothers and children's **patronage**.

The poor mother and her child obtain from the Society 10-15 lit each month to rent a flat and foodstuffs every week. A mother and child benefitting from patronage also receive medical aid free of charge. A sort of inspection [team] visits the flats and checks whether anybody is lying.

The total cost of patronage is about one lit a day and mothers profiting from patronage have no serious reason to abandon or kill their child: a mother knows that, in case of need, she will not be left alone. And men, seeing that it is not only up to them to support their children and women, are less eager to avoid cooperation for the sustenance of their legitimate or illegitimate family.

Along with patronage, it would be necessary to create a new organization which would care for the family life of young, tormented women and help young women who have given birth with starting a real family life. Until now almost no one has begun to

sort out this problem. The most urgent is to guarantee that family relations with the baby are not damaged. The Drop of Milk Society makes sure that this does not happen.

SOURCE: *Pieno lašas ir šeima*, in: *Pieno lašas 1923-1933*, Kaunas, 1933, p. 24-26.

Arat dr. Blazis Lietuvoje kasmet atstauti apie
80 kandidatų, kasmet reikiu sterilizuoti.
Čia reikia paminėti ir smulkiųjų preiminkų
arbitriumus, jie sako:

1. Zīmās apseveidīgums katrā šūnā ir vien-
cietīgs, tas nepakļaujas, nepilns, neregulārs.
Tā ir, esā, par zīmās šūnā sadalīta nekāda, bet
tas šūnā šķērso, šūnā šķērso šūnā šķērso
šūnā šķērso šūnā šķērso.

3. Sterilizacija operacija nedužni dideili rezultata: beproci, silpnagrocia ir mokiailici skai-
Zus vartu nuo to žymiai sumažes, nes paveldimo
kūlio ligos ir pulkinėlio gimimai ne vien iš tėvų, bet
ir iš aplinkos bei kitiems gimim.

4. Dėl sterilizacijos kas-kuris galios žmonių laisvės, gerios? Iki šiuo nepasigindyti, ir dėl ir žmonių laisvės džiūvinti nusistatė. Žinau yra, kad uc mažia galios žmonių laisvės ir šiuo ir šiuo žmonių laisvės pasididinti.

Sacrisanācija tiekamā lūgumiņā visām paketi-
tām lūgumiņiem jābūt pagatavotiem ar kataliku
baltu.

Papieżas Pius XI 1938 metais yra išleides encikliką „Casti connubii“, kurioje rašo, kad kataliku būtinai kiltis imama vyrai gerinti darais žodžiais.

Leidutis yra tikslingsi patarimai, kaip susilaukti sėk-
mės ir stiprių vaikų. Žinome, iš kurų kankina tik
mažos vertės vaikų, todėl esantys, patarimai pa-
gultis savo noru nevėsti ir netekti, bet vadybė ne-
gali žinoti drastių veislių žinoma ir tiktai už vyro, Je-
nora kalbės, nei tiesa ir pagirdo kieno busenai tu-
koti, ir kieno meločinai tieses negali būti palios-
tas nei žinomi veislių gerinti, nei kitoms tikslams
sukti. Ir patalį žmogus savo kūną turi naudoti tik
natūralioms tikslams.

Reālija pastebina, kad enciklikoj ziedis — sterilizācija — nepavartojas, tādēļ lai-kurie to raksto aiš-kiniojai (Leņe) randa, kad enciklika sterilizācijas salūtai pēdraudzīa, bet kiti aiškiniojai, lai vysk, ņemys, mano kitai.

O ka mēs, kovotolai dēl svēķesnū atteinančū
tārta, manyti turime?

Mes turčiume eiti su mokslu, su rimtais patyrimais, turime nuodugniai susipažinti su kitu kraštiečių gyvenimu, su gydytojų išvadomis. (Patartina pasiklausti nosies minėto dr. Blažio knygučių).

Mēs neturēsim aļsisakietī mīo īn priemoniū,
kurios gah sekurti sveikesnē, darhingesnē, doresnē
arī ī laimingesnē tantā.

Tad kai-kuriems atvejais mes gal jau ir dabar
 alētume pripažinti ir sterilizācijas operācija, kaipo
 audinga žmogijai tobulins priekšnote.

kuris tvirtumas yra lyg barometras, tautos gerovės barometras.

Četnā Seimā vācāki augu be didesnā vārgo, mī-
gru tēvā meilē apstūrī iz vīvā Seimās mārī nūo mī-
seimā saugojanī.

Tiesa, šis sūnų motinis, ypač jei vaikų yra daugiau, yra prietiso prie mūsų ir uždangia mūsų laisvumą, ypač pasidomėjus gyvenimu, pramonine, užsienio pasauliniais garbais. Daroni būdymai slėpstiniai moteri ir virmys ir vaikų kambarai bus diravos. Ypač daug ta kryptin darome, jei terys ir nase spanda. Svergiuosi nepilkoise. Ten atleiskite laisvą daug kūdikių, laisvą lopelį, prieigą daroms darželiu, atskleisti, kūba. Suktas dar grandiozinu fabriku, vištuvu, skalybiu, mūsišiu vaikų. Motina ten beikina ta puzmėdži kūdikį ir, kiek naujinu, atidauja jį i valstybės maita, o pačiai užsimoti darbu fabrike, rašinėti

[illegible]

Jau rodosi tokios protėikių rezultatai. Ugnimi skaičius kaimai maža, gyvenimo priemonės tai pat eina mašin, o kai kuriuose kraštuose gyvenimo skaičius mažiausiai auga. Prancūzijoje ir Estijoje kaimais miršta gema mažiau negu mieste. Toliau turi būti eiga. Dėmesio reikalauja ir šios.



Pļeša Laša Dr. Joz. Kopčelis Nr. 2 mēdzo metu

kur katur. Vīrti, skalbtu, šeimā valgydinti, apdengti
motinai — šeimaiņkei tap put nēdēktu, nes tai at-
lieka didžiules visuomeninēs virtuvēs, valgyklos,
skalbyklos, siuvyklos.

Atsinaujina senovīškas Sparos kaimiņis va-
ku anglināms ir auklēlāms.

Nuodugniai nestat pažintis su Sovietų respubli-
kose šia kryptimi daromais bandymais, sunku būtų
pasakyti, ar išeis jie žmonių naudai, ar ne.

Spartos eksperimentai blogai pasibaigė. Berniukai, paimti iš šeimų ir atiduoti kareiviams auklėti, pamazdu atpratę nuo moterių drangios, ir suaugę nenorėjo kurti šeimų. Krašte sumažėjo vaikų, ir priejo prie to, kad valstybės armijai pritrūko vyrų. Sparia žuvo.

Kultūringuose kraštuose dabar vyksta nepaprastai procesas — moterys stengiasi arba visai net

ieskaitot Latviju. Vokietijos gimtųjų skačius tik per 20 metų yra dvigubai sumažėjęs, nes 1910 m. tenai kiekvienam tikstantčiam gyventojui gimdavo 30, o dabar tik 15.

Ir Lietavos Respublikai gimeņu skaits kļūst vienam tūkstošam gyventoju katrui mazāki 0,3%, Karu un valsts skaitlains mēfėjums augs sešm skaitlains, ir tos nodarbinātos gyventoju daļes šķēfėjums visuomenē darot vis sunkāks.

Šeima mūsdiņā akyse parāda lielu atšķirību savā svarbībai, pagrīdā ir maizīte, dabūja persiskyrinai, vienai kito pametimai, vaukā upiedimai, hīauris cōizmas auga.

Parastos, apliekto motyvo paleika į skurdą
blogai maitinami, dar blogiau prižiūrimi vaikai dal
nio suvarga ir daliau miršta.

Vaikų globos organizacijos viešėjimas

Pieno Lašas ir šeima

Mūsu laimes parakoms, daunois ir priekšlūdz
 ar mūsuies tiek žmonis, tiek ir gyvūnų reiškimai
 pasaulioje didieji skausmai. Blogo žmonis, pikto
 pamato-rogato kūrinis, persekioja nusiūčius
 spinduliai kartais ja gyvybei išaugas, bet motinai
 tamsūs tamsūs, geras žmonis ir gyvūnų padedami, ne
 žinios, pasaulis ir jois eiti pasidaro laimingi.

Tokius šaudius susitatyti su šalinčiais yra naudingas ir gali būti laikomas savotišku socialiniu draudimu šaudius šaudyti.

le paštūns gyvenantys Kazlės pasienioje senyvi-
dija; savo šeimose jie prižiūdi dainuotojai y-
smės arba švies gėrį žmones.

Moitina kaula ir maitinamas motrystys nedomina. Tiesa kad ir smertis, bet kur kas mažiau negu motina. Kaula motina, kaula karta ir jos nevedyboms kitiems; daktari del to ir pavadinink kaula kaula daug daugiau miria, negu normalisk selmu vilia.

Litania afektu pła młodziłm płaś młodziłm
młodziłm młodziłm. Tam młodziłm młodziłm młodziłm młodziłm
młodziłm młodziłm.

— Nel te verra — molto vicino un vanto.

Ukr. Depertment, priel. kabin. 20 metr. hodavo
vysokoma. Vyd. dymovniy obo. shchitovnyy, voprosy.

šiai motakai kitos moterys nutraukdavo nuo galvos nelegališkai uždetą rūtų vainiką ir užmaudavo žirnių virkščių vainiką.

Tiekos būdavo laudies apsigyrimo, pirmenės nuo nesėdimio kilimo gyventojų prieauglio. Nors žiaurūs apsidraudimo būdai, bet kovoj dėl tauros išlikimo jie pateisėjami, nes pavainikiai vaikai yra nesveikesni, blogiau išauklėti, mažiau tinka gyvenimo sunkyboms pakelti, negu sėdimieji vaikai. Nedybiniai vaikai ir mirtinumas apie 1½–2 kartus didesnis, negu sėdimųjų vaikų. Ir ekonomijos atžvilgiu tautai nenaudinga trirti pavainikių vaiku.

Kaip ir kituose krastuose, Latvijos Resp. pavalaičių vaikų skaičius beveik kasmet didėja: 1932 m. jų buvo 4863, arba 7,4 šis kiekvieno šimto tais metais gimusia. Klapėdos mieste 1960 m. kūdikių gema pavainikiškai, t. y. kas penktas kūdikis yra mergos susilaukias. Kauno mieste nešėinių kūdikių gema 10. Žemaitijoje — 10 %.

Tuo keltu eidumi galime susilaukti, kad pavai-
niskų turėtume daugiau kaip vedybinių kūdikių.
Taip dabar jau yra Salvadoro respublikoj, kur anot
O. Silis (II Pabaltijos konferencija 1931 mt. psi. 46),
28,7 % kūdikių yra nežinomu tėvų vaikų.

Sīpuri, sveiki, patvari šeiņa yra lahoj gera socialine organizacija tautai atsinanjumi, vaikams i gerus žmones ir i naudingus piliecius lvesti. Tai yra tikstenčials metu patvirintias socialinis padaras.

ir daugiau turi darbo, mėsosvėdavimas aprūpinti visą laukiančią motiną ir vaiką.

Pieno Lašo Draugija siūlo tik vieną globalų darbą, kuris tuo metu išsiskiria kaip motinos, tuo šeimos, tuo paprasto aplinkos.

Tai yra pigus ir sveikata, neįkainytas vaikas, atidarytas pasaulio ir laukiančioje laukiančioje, atvira, verta, ir nepatvirtinti tik uždarai laukiančios, kad visos globos teikėjas vaikus galėtų tiesiogiai.

Tik atidarykite, jog kasmet atstovai apie 5000 paviršinių kūdikių, gal didesnę pusę kurių neįmanoma motinai maitinti ir maitinti maitinti maitinti ir maitinti. O kas dar yra apibūtinamas motinai arba tos, kurią vyrai kaimuose, ligoninėse, karinėse?

Sėpiamos, glėbiama medžiagos dangybė! Tik užkietis kiti priemonių maitinimo vaikiams.

Pieno Lašo Draugija nuo 1931 metų pabaigos yra pradėjusi taip vadintą motiną ir kūdikį **patronavimą**.

Puovargių motinai su kūdikiu gausi ir draugijos

po 10–15 litų per mėnesį būtinai pasirašyti ir kas savaitę maitinti produktą. Patronuojama motinai su kūdikiu gausi dar neįkainojamą medicinos pagalbą.

Yra tam tikra kontrolė, kuri, eidama per butus, žiūri, ar nėra kokių apavimų.

Visas patronavimas atsisakoma apie 1 litą dienai, ir tokie patronuojami motinai nėra didelio reikalo jamesti arba, žiūri savo kūdikį: motinai žino, kad bėdų ji nebus patikusi vienai vietai. Ir vyrai, matydami, kad jų vaikus ir žmonas ne vien jiems teikia išlaikyti, ne taip lengvai šalinasi nuo prisidėjimo prie savo teisės ar neteisės šeimos išlikimo.

Kūdikis dar yra patronuojamas arba greta jo sukurta nauji organizacija, kuri rūpinasi specialiai pavargusių motinų šeimomis gyvenimu, palengvinti sušalusioms kūdikių mėsoms sukurti tikrą šeimą gyvenimą. Tai yra spraga, kuri dar beveik neparažda laikyti.

Pertaisoma reikia rūpintis, kad nenukentėtų šeimos ryšiai su kūdikiu. Tuo keliu ir stengiasi citi Pieno Lašo Draugija.

Kūdikių mirtingumas vasarą ir Pieno Lašas

Jau seniau yra pastebėta, kad vasaros karščiams atėjus, daugelis kūdikių ima vėmti, viduriuoti ir labai sunkiai sirgti. Dažnai dėl tokių viduriavimų kūdikis labai greitai iškolia dvi tris dienas arba ir vėliau, miria.

Ypač pavojingas yra toksai viduriavimas maitinti, motinai pieno negaunantiems kūdikiams. Sėpiama kyla prielaidas, kad ta liga kyla iš

Kiti kraštų praktika parodė, kad tokį kūdikių mirtingumą padidėjimą galima vis dėlto nuvesti. Jau yra daug kraštų, kur kūdikių išmirtis žiemą daugiau negu vasarą.

Vokietijoje jau bus apie 10 metų, kai žymiai yra sumažėjęs bendras kūdikių mirtingumas, ir daugely vietų kūdikių mirtingumo padidėjimas vasarą nepastebimas.



Pieno Lašo Drėgnas namas (Aukštoji g. 10)

vasaros karščiu. Ir tiesybė, po vasaros karščiams, jau daugiau pas mus miria kūdikiai.

Kūdikių viduriavimas vasarą ir kylantis iš to didelis vaikų mirtingumas. Kame dažnai stačia. Taip pat visos Lietuvos Respublikos beveik kasmet pastebimas kūdikių mirtingumo padidėjimas vasaros mėnesiais.

Danių, Švedų, Olandų, Šveicarij, daugely A. Janginių Vokietijos, Naujojoje Zelandijoje ši liga jau seniau buvo pradėjusi mažėti, ir dabar karščiais mėnesiais kūdikių tenai miria net mažiau kaip vėlyvaisiais ir šaltaisiais. Tad ne vasaros karščiai yra kalti, jei vasaros metu daug kūdikių miria.

Svarbiausia tos ligos priežastis, tai nenokėjimas

įkūdikį maitinti, ne laiku nušukymas, neteisingas maitinimas.

Jei nori, kad kūdikis nesuėgtų vasaros viduriavimų, tai eikis šitaip:

1) maitink kūdikį motinos pienu iki 8 mėnesių amžiaus;

2) nenutrauk (nenugunkyk) kūdikio nuo krūties vasarą, bet palaik, iki penkščiū iliks, t. y. oras atvės;

3) nenutrauk kūdikio nuo krūties staiga, o karto, bet palaik;

4) jei tik kūdikis vasarą pradėjo viduriuoti, tuojau pastok jį dirbtinai maitinti maitinti, doot jam kokią dieną tik lengvos arbatėlės, nemėginti skyti, be cukraus, nebaudydama kūdikį motinos pienu;

5) nelaikyk kūdikio trokšame kambary;

6) kūdikio maitinti ir gėrimas turi būti laikomas didžiausioje švaroje;

7) patalpi kūdikis turi būti švariai laikomas;

8) nors ir lengva viduriavimų suėgtų kūdikį tuojau reikia maitinti pas gydytoją, ir sveikatos centrai.

Pieno Lašo Draugija savo pienu virstoja, dabar Aukštoji g. Nr. 20 (Kauči), gimus tam tikrai pieno gydymo priemonė, kuri labai yra naudinga viduriavimo sergantiems kūdikiams. Tada atvėjęs vartojami pieno preparatai daugiausia yra puovargių ir kaltrų pienu.

Pieno preparatų gamyba yra savotiška valdinti, ir be gydytojo receptų, tu preparatų Pieno Lašo mėsos. Pažov šeimoms tik preparatų namie nepažinti, nes jau rok mėsos padaryti.

Be Pieno Lašo, tokie pieno preparatai gaminami Vokų, Ligoninių ir Žydų Vokų Namuose.

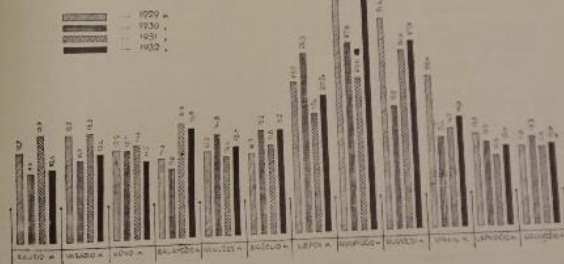
Kai mūsų motinos geria mėsos savo vaikams maitinti dirbtinai maitinti, kai švariai juos laukia, kad pradėjus sirgti kūdikį grąžinti atvėsti ir sveikatos centrai arba į vaikių ligoninę, kai žinoma, kad švariai laukia savo butas, kai kūdikis maitinti savo pienu bent 6 mėnesius. — kūdikių viduriavimai vasarą ir pas mus nevaria tikrai kūdikio atvėsti ir kapti.

Žemiau išdėta diagrama parodo, kaip padidėja tas miš kūdikių mirtingumas vasarą.

KŪDIKIŲ MIRTINGUMAS LIETUVOS RESPUBLIKOJE

1929, 1930, 1931 ir 1932 m. I mėn.

ŠIMTO GAMTINŲ KŪDIKIŲ MIRTŲ — I METU ARBA I TIKRO



V. People with Mental Disorders in Croatia

Jelena Seferović

Introduction: Care for people with mental disorders in Croatia between the two world wars

The beginnings of cooperation between state psychiatric institutions and non-governmental organizations for providing social support to people with mental disorders in Croatia date back to the end of the 19th century. Namely, in 1889, at the Royal National Institute for the Insane in Stenjevec/ *Kraljevski zemaljski zavod za umobolne u Stenjevcu* ("Stenjevec" further in the text), was founded a society whose members sought to help patients in the process of social inclusion after discharge from the psychiatric hospitals. Before further considering the topic, it is important to point out that the opening of "Stenjevec" in 1879 marks the beginning of the history of formal institutionalization of people with mental disorders in Croatia. Although before this year other general hospitals provided smaller wards for the hospitalization of this population, "Stenjevec" was the first specialized institution for their treatment. The Institute was built in the suburbs of the Croatian capital Zagreb. The building was intended to accommodate about two hundred patients, but very quickly their number almost tripled. Today's Clinic for Psychiatry Vrapče ("Vrapče" further in the text) developed from this institution. When speaking of the development of cooperation between "Stenjevec" and non-governmental organizations between the two world wars, it is necessary to mention the establishment of the Society for Social Assistance to the Mentally Ill/ *Društvo za socijalnu pomoć duševnim bolesnicima*. It was founded in 1932 in "Stenjevec". Its first president was the then director of the Institute, psychiatrist Rudolf Herceg. The society was funded by membership fees, voluntary contributions and money raised through charity events. It was engaged in providing support to people with mental disorders in the process of their psychosocial rehabilitation during and after psychiatric hospitalizations. For example, its members assisted poor psychiatric patients in procuring clothing and raising money for food before discharge from the hospital and collected tools and materials for handicrafts that patients made in craft workshops opened within the hospital. Furthermore, this society organized a play entitled Return to Life/ *Vraćanje u život* which was performed in "Stenjevec" in 1936. The authors of the play were psychiatrists, Stanislav Župić and Zvonimir Sušić. Its aim was to sensitize the audience to the everyday difficulties faced by people with mental disorders. Hospital staff and patients from "Stenjevec" were also invited to the performance. The previously highlighted activities could be said to have been the forerunners of today's programs for social inclusion of people with mental disorders in the community. This society still operates in "Vrapče" under the name Association for Psychosocial Assistance and Rehabilitation - Zagreb.

Document 8



Bolesnika dovozi auto Društva za spasavanje

As can be seen from the picture called “Patient is brought by a car of the Rescue Society”/ *Bolesnika dovozi auto Društva za spasavanje* (Document 8), “Stenjevec” cooperated with some other non-governmental organizations. The Rescue Society/ *Društvo za spasavanje* was founded in 1909 by the Society of Brethren of the Croatian Dragon/ *Družba “Braća Hrvatskoga Zmaja”*. It was the forerunner of the Zagreb emergency medical service, which today operates under the authority of the Ministry of Health. It seems that the involvement of this society in the process of hospitalization of psychiatric patients in the Institute was really necessary. According to Rudolf Herceg, the behavior of people who were accompanying incoming patients to “Stenjevec” (municipal guards, police officers, neighbors, etc.) was often extremely inappropriate. In the monograph of the Institute, published on the occasion of five decades of its work, Herceg singled out several cases of rough treatment of patients during admission to the hospital. In one of them, he described how the neighbors tied the patient to the carriage with a rope and drove him to “Stenjevec” for six hours. Scenes of inhumane hospitalization of patients caused great interest and outrage among passers-by who gathered on the road in

front of its building. This fact only further aroused the distrust of the environment towards psychiatric treatments and reinforced the negative image of people with mental disorders.

The Support Society “Solidarity”/ *Kulturno-potporno društvo Solidarnost* (“Solidarity” further in the text) was another non-governmental organization that cooperated with one of the state psychiatric institutions in the 1930s i.e., the hospital for mental illness Moslavina-Popovača (“Popovača” further in the text; see Document 9). “Popovača” was opened in 1934 in the castle of the Counts of Erdody in the village of the same name located in continental Croatia.

It operated as a branch of the State Hospital for Mental Illness in Belgrade. Considering that people with mental disorders from all parts of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia were hospitalized in it, shortly after its opening, “Popovača” became under capacitated. It is likely that this circumstance, along with a number of other aggravating factors (lack of education of the hospital staff in working with people with mental disorders, ineffective methods of psychiatric treatment, demanding social and economic opportunities), was a trigger for conflicts between hospital staff and patients. It is for this reason, in agreement with psychiatrist Ivan Barbot, director of “Popovača”, that “Solidarity” launched certain activities in 1935 in order to reduce the tensions in relations within the hospital, but such efforts did not materialize in the long run. From “Popovača’s” address to the central administration in Belgrade, which dates from 1936 (Document 10), it becomes clear that its members could not continue to carry out their activities in “Popovača”, because Barbot did not comply with the agreement related to the signing of their statute. Society was exposed to pressure by the police for violating the law on association and public assemblies (*Zakona o udruženjima, zborovima i dogovorima*) because it did not have a clearly defined statute. The research so far has not shown that the cooperation between “Solidarity” and “Popovača” has continued, and the available archival documentation so far has not confirmed that these non-governmental organizations cooperated with each other or that they cooperated with other state psychiatric hospitals.

Document 9

932

KULTURNO-POTPOMA ZAJEDNICA
" SOLIDARNOST "

BROJ: 3.-

ane, 7 novembra 1935 g.
Meslavina-Pepevača.

UPRAVI DRŽAVNE BOLNICE ZA DUŠEVNE BOLESTI
B E O G R A D .

Prema usmenom sporazumu sa g. Upravnikom bolnice, čast je pot-
sanim, dostaviti u prilogu 3 jednakih prijeraka "Pravila Kulturno-potperne
jeanice "Solidarnost", osnove na Odeljenju iste bolnice u Meslavini-Pepevači

Kako je iz Pravila vidljivo, pored staleških interesa, unapre-
ja staleške svesti, ova zajednica uzima si za zadatak, da štiti interese be-
nika. Da svojim radom među esobljem, narečite bolničarima, sa jeane strane i
om me'u bolesnicima sa druge strane, stvaraće sličnije prilike u odnosu jea-
naprarna drugima. - Nažalost da sada su se često mešavali nemili ispasi eseb-
a naprarna bolesnicima, pa je dužnost te zajednice, da takove slučajeve poste-
e, potpuno eliminira. Jeanako tako da svoje članstvo upućuje na savesne i va-
vršenje njihove dužnosti. Staraće se, da u tom pogledu nastojanja svoja
nstva, svede u istom pravcu sa nastojanjima Uprave bolnice. - Dakle, staraće
da sve one nemile pojave, koje su do sada uprave zazerne pritiskale ovu us-
ovu od strane njenog esoblja, koje si je unišljalo, da je ovaj zaved stvoren
ljučivo samo u njine svrhe, potpuno, jeanom za svašta iskorijeni, jakim ra-
alnom i organizovanom borbom protivu zla.

Sa druge strane stvaraće se fondovi za pomoć članova u izvesni
momentima, shodnim načinom ukazivati na opravdane potrebe svojih članova kao
uještenika ove ustanove.

Svima je poznato, da se narečite u poslednje vreme organizuju
staleži u cilju učvršćenja njihovih položaja i šticeanja nihevih prava, jer
te pravo organizovanja sam zakon dozvoljava. Pešte ova zajednica nije osnova-
isključivo samo kao staleška organizacija, već kao kulturno-potperna i huma-
arna sa sporednim staleškim ciljevima, a pešte su njena nastojanja uperena
evo u istom pravcu sa nastojanjima Uprave ustanove i njenih g.g. Lekara kao
nih i kulturnih radnika, nadamo se, da niti naslov protivu toga esnutka ne
ignati što primetiti.

Za esnutak te zajednice u Zakonu o xhx udružanjima, zborevima
i xhxovima ima eslenca.

S obzirom na odredbe Zakona, moli se naslov, da izvoli taj
esnet uzeti u hitan postupak kako ne bi minuo zakonski rok za prijavu vlastima,
bi se time stvorile mnoge neugodnosti esnivačima.

U kelike se naslov saglasi sa tom inicijativom, moli se Pravi-
sa zasebnim aktom, sa primecbama i dozvolom vratiti za dalnji rad.

Tem prigodom čast nam je zamoliti za dozvolu, da možemo održa-
ti članske sastanke u prostorijama odeljenja, t.j. u dnevnem obdaništu bolesni-
i to tada, kada iste isprazne posle večere bolesnici. U tim prostorijama bi
jeanica držala svoja predavanja, sastanke, sijela, koncerte, igre i t.d.

Unapre zahvaljujući, u esekivanju hitnog rešenja
sa esličnim postevanjima:

ZA PRIVREMENI KONSTITUIRAJUĆI ODBOR.

PRESEDNIK: *Josip Kolman* BLAGAJNIK: *Antonić* TAJNIK: *Paul J. Koplj*

Translation

SUPPORT SOCIETY
“SOLIDARITY”

Number: 3.-
day, November 7, 1935
Moslavina-Popovača

TO THE MANAGEMENT OF THE STATE HOSPITAL FOR MENTAL
ILLNESS

BEOGRAD.

According to an oral agreement with the director of the Hospital, we are honoured to submit three identical copies of the “Statute of the Support Society ‘Solidarity’”, which was founded in the Department of the same Hospital in Moslavina-Popovača.

As visible from the Statute, apart from promoting civil rights and strengthening awareness, the task of this society is to protect the interests of the patients.

Its goal is to establish a more harmonious relationship between hospital staff and the patients. Unfortunately, so far it has been a common case that hospital staff treat patients inappropriately, so this Society has decided to take steps to eliminate such cases over time. It shall instruct the membership to perform their duties conscientiously and correctly. It will try to reconcile their views with the views of the Hospital. It will take care that all the undesirable behaviors of the hospital staff, who imagine that the Hospital was created solely for their purposes, are completely, once and for all eradicated by a very radical and organized struggle against evil.

On the other hand, the Society will create funds to help its members and will appropriately point out their needs as employees of this institution.

It is well known that lately the law allows for the organization of civic initiatives and that they are increasingly implemented with the aim of improving the position of citizens and protecting their rights. Given that the goal of this Society is to promote culture and engage in humanitarian work, and that its efforts are directed in the same direction as the efforts of the hospital and its doctors, we hope that the hospital will have nothing against its establishment.

We emphasize that the decision to establish the Society is in accordance with the law on associations and public assemblies (*Zakono o udruženjima, zborovima i dogovorima*).

Taking into account provisions from the mentioned law, the Hospital is requested to take this case into urgent procedure so that the legal deadline for reporting to the authorities does not expire and so as not to create many inconveniences for the founders of the Society.

If the Hospital agrees to this initiative, please return to us for further elaboration our Statute with special act, remarks and permission.

On this occasion, we are honored to ask for permission to be able to hold membership meetings in the premises of the Department in Moslavina-Popovača after patients have dinner. There the Society would hold its lectures, meetings, gatherings, concerts, plays, etc.

Thank you in advance, in anticipation of an urgent solution

with great respect:

FOR THE INTERIM CONSTITUENT BOARD


President

Secretary

Treasurer

Document 10

932/36



KULTURNO-POTPORNA ZAJEDNICA
" SOLIDARNOST "
BROJ: 13 ex 1936
dne. 7 marta 1936 god.
Moslavina-Popovača.

UPRAVI DRŽAVNE BOLNICE ZA DUŠEVNE BOLESTI
B E O G R A D .

U vezi ovostranog podneska od 7 XI 1935 g. broj 31. kao i ovostrane zamolnice od 29 januara 1936 g. broj 4. čast nam je učtivo zamoliti, da naslov izvoli doneti svoje rešenje po gornim podnesku i zamolnici. a u predmetu odobrenja Pravilnika ove zajednice.

Prizodom svoga zadnjeg boravka ovde. g. Upravnik bolnice je rekao. da će Pravilnik odobriti. ali s tim. da se izvrše neke izmene. Ova zajednica pristaje na sve izmene. koje naslov drži da su potrebne. glavno je to da ima svoja Pravila. kojima će biti normiran njen rad i djelatnost.

Policijska vlast. znajući za postojanje ove zajednice. tražila je u par mahova podnošenje Pravilnika na odobrenje. a s obzirom na odredbe Zakona o udruženjima. zborovima i dogovorima. No to se nikada nije moglo učiniti. jer nam naslov Pravilnik nije vratio. U poslednje vreme pretili se odboru i policijskom kaznom. globom i zatvorom u koliko se Pravila hitno ne podnesu. pa molimo. da se po tom predmetu što prije postupi. kako ne bi osnivači bili kažnjeni. jer su kod osnivanja te zajednice bili rukovodjeni najboljim željama. I sam g. Upravnik mogao se je uveriti. da su postiznute izvesni uspesi medju osobljem o ophodjenju sa bolesnikom o druželjubliu i konačno sada je osoblje više vezano uz samo Odeljenje. jer tamo nalazi razonode. U koliko bi se pak hitno odobrila Pravila. povela bi se akcija o otvorenju tečaja za stručno spremanje bolničarskog osoblja. kao i druge razne akcije od kojim će imati koristi osoblje. bolesnik a i sam zavod.

Naslov neka izvoli korigirati i cenzurirati Pravilnik i prilagoditi ga kako naslov drži da je najbolje. te ga ovoj zajednici povratiti radi dalnjeg postupka.

Unapred zahvaljujući na datom nam povjerenju
ZA KONSTITUIRAJUĆI ODBOR.

TAJNIK:
Vase J. Voj
EK. 10. III 36

PRETSEDNIK:
Marij. Kilmay

2569
10 - III - 36
BEOGRAD - BEOGRAD

Translation

SUPPORT SOCIETY

“SOLIDARITY”

Number: 13 ex 1936

day, March 7, 1936

Moslavina-Popovača

TO THE MANAGEMENT OF THE STATE HOSPITAL FOR MENTAL
ILLNESS

BEOGRAD

In connection with the letter of November 7, 1935, no. 3, as well as petitions of January 29, 1936, no. 4, we are honored to kindly request that the Hospital issue a decision approving the Statute of this Society.

On the occasion of his last stay here, the director of the Hospital said that he would approve the Statute, but that some changes should be made to it beforehand. This Society agrees to any amendments that the Hospital deems necessary. The main thing is that it has its own Statute which will regulate its work.

The police authority, knowing about the existence of this Society, referring to the provisions of the law on associations and public assemblies/ *Zakon o udruženjima, zborovima i dogovorima* requested on several occasions the submission of the Statute for approval. But this could never be done because the Hospital never returned the Statute. Lately, the Society's board has been threatened with police punishment and imprisonment if the Statute is not submitted urgently, so we ask that the case be dealt with as soon as possible so that the founders would not be punished, because they were guided by the best wishes when founding the Society. The director of the Hospital himself could be convinced that certain successes have been achieved in terms of the treatment of hospital staff by the patient and finally the staff is now more attached to the Department because they can spend their time there meaningfully.

If the Statute is urgently approved, an action would be launched to open a course for professional training of hospital staff, as well as other various actions that would benefit the hospital staff, patients and the Hospital itself.

We ask the Hospital to correct and censor the Statute as it sees fit, and to return it to this Society for further action.

We thank you in advance for the trust you have given us.

FOR THE INTERIM CONSTITUENT BOARD

Secretary

President

VI. Homeless in Brussels

Claudine Marissal

Introduction

At the end of the 19th century, the first social legislations were voted on in Belgium to prevent poverty by regulating labour relations and protecting against the loss of professional income. During the interwar period, the shaping of social policies continued, and even if poverty was far from disappearing, an increasing part of the population enjoyed better living conditions.

The birth of social protection went hand in hand with a profound reorientation of discourses about poverty. From the “undeserving” poor being considered as responsible for their condition, political actors progressively moved towards the notion of collective responsibility which justified the adoption of increasingly inclusive social policies. But for the forgotten of the new solidarity, the notion of individual “fault” remained very strong. They continued to be cared for by Public Charity and many voluntary associations that oscillated between pity and stigmatization.

This document shows the example of one of them, a night shelter which looked after particularly destitute and stigmatized people: homeless people. This private charity association was founded in Brussels in 1886, when a deep economic and social crisis provoked an explosion in unemployment, destitution and vagrancy. Founded by a few philanthropists from the middle class and the nobility, the *Œuvre de l'Hospitalité* provided a little food and a shelter for a few nights to the unemployed homeless who, seriously hit by the crisis, travelled through the country seeking a job.

At this time, the priority was to assist the “deserving poor” and to exclude the “lazy” poor who were accused of taking unduly advantage of charity. Only possible during the winter, the stay could not exceed a few nights in minimal comfort (wooden benches). Social assistance was rudimentary. Suspected of improvidence and immorality, the able-bodied vagrants were left to their own devices.

The First World War was a time of rupture on different levels. As the war legitimized help on a larger scale, the fear of the “undeserving poor” declined, and the shelters began to be open all year. For the first time, the *Œuvre de l'Hospitalité* also began to collaborate actively with the city authorities and other relief organizations. It became a part of a coordinated welfare system managed by the public authorities. This networking persisted after the return of peace.

As explained in this document, during the interwar period, the *Œuvre de l'Hospitalité* deeply revised its pre-war methods. Under the influence of new perceptions of poverty and social assistance, the inefficient and short-lived giving of help from the 19th century gave place to active methods of social “rehabilitation”. Although the law criminalizing vagrancy was still in force, the “vagrant” was now considered as a person

who could be rehabilitated. In Brussels, specific measures were taken to ensure this rehabilitation. In 1911, the City of Brussels had already set up a Vagrancy Prevention Service within the administration of Public Charity. In 1922, an Office of Social Rehabilitation was added, which extended its competence to all the city's municipalities. These two organisations became responsible for assisting the destitute and preventing them from falling into begging and vagrancy. Even though the convictions for vagrancy were still frequent, repression was increasingly replaced by prevention and social assistance. Private charity, which continued to provide emergency relief, now worked closely with public authorities and social services to attempt the social reintegration of particularly marginalised people.

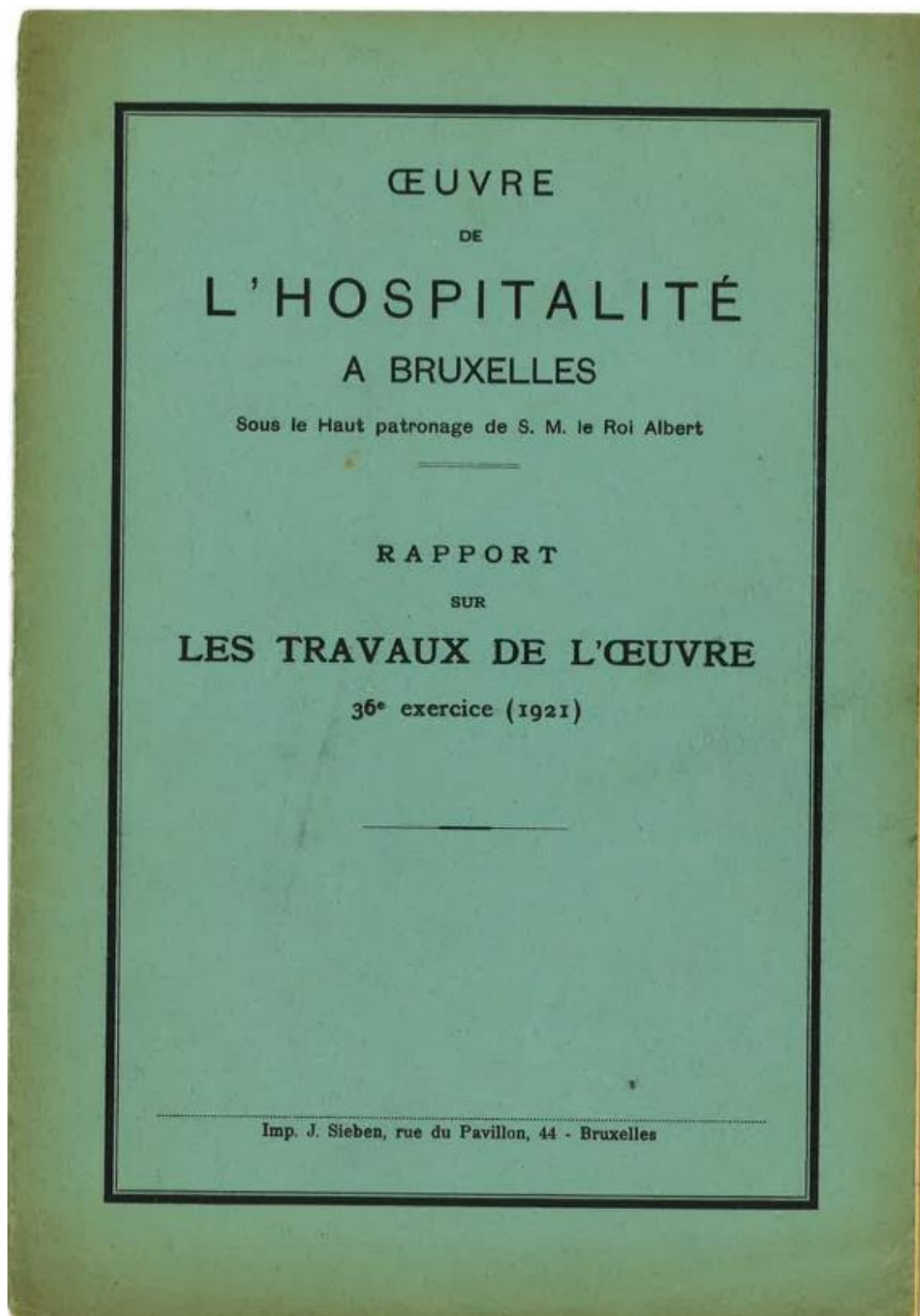
This evolution deeply influenced the organisation of night shelter. From 1920 onwards, the charity of the 19th century "which relieves but does not cure" was more and more criticized, and an active partnership was formed between the local welfare authorities, the Vagrancy Prevention Service, the Office for Social Rehabilitation and other medical and social organisations. As this "healing" could only be conceived through a long process of social rehabilitation, the stay in homeless shelters was henceforth supplemented by personalised follow-up in the city's social services. The conditions of housing also changed radically: from 1921 onwards, shelters remained open all day and all year, comfort improved, and the length of stay could be extended for several months, the time needed for the homeless to find their own income and housing.

Despite this much more inclusive policy, stigmatization remained. A vagrant was never seen as the victim of the imperfect solidarity mechanisms. If he deserved compassion, it was because he was now considered a "sick", mentally deficient victim of his "heredity". The pre-war discourses on improvidence, laziness, drunkenness or immorality were now complemented by new considerations on hereditary psychological deficiencies. The stigmatisation of the "bad" poor was still present, and the *Œuvre de l'Hospitalité* was always careful to reject "those who wallow in sordid inaction and refuse any personal effort". Compassion and stigmatisation continued to be intertwined closely in justifying the treatment of the needy.

The author of the document, Eugène Willems, was the director of the public charity services and future chairman of the Office of Social Rehabilitation of the City of Brussels, and member of the prison committee for several Brussels municipalities. He was also a member of the board of the *Œuvre de l'Hospitalité*.

For a summary of the history of Œuvre de l'Hospitalité: MARISSAL C., « Où passer la nuit ? L'Œuvre de l'Hospitalité », *Les Cahiers de la Fonderie*, n°21, 1996, p. 50-55. The creation of night shelters also happened at the same times in other European countries.

Document 11: *Œuvre de l'Hospitalité*, Annual Report (1921)



Rapport

de M. Eug. Willems, Directeur de l'Assistance publique,
sur l'activité morale de l'Œuvre.

MESDAMES, MESSIEURS,

L'exercice qui vient de s'écouler marque dans les annales de l'Œuvre de l'Hospitalité une étape glorieuse de trente-six années d'efforts, consacrés à l'une des plus belles activités charitables que puissent engendrer l'amour du prochain et le dévouement au soulagement de la misère.

Depuis 1886, à chaque retour de la saison inclemente, les malheureux que le dénuement prive momentanément d'un gîte ou que le chômage accule à la dure nécessité de chercher en d'autres régions une occupation souvent incertaine, peuvent trouver, grâce à la noble initiative de ce bienfaiteur que fut M. Montefiore-Levi, un abri temporaire, le réconfort et l'encouragement qui raniment la volonté et empêchent les pires déchéances.

Les services rendus à la classe des déshérités par cette institution si éminemment utile furent immenses. Et voici qu'aujourd'hui, au moment où, poussée par le progrès des idées, la bienfaisance elle-même évolue et se transforme sous l'égide de lois nouvelles, au moment où les conditions de la vie sociale apparaissent sous d'autres aspects, l'Œuvre de l'Hospitalité revise son règlement, refond ses statuts, modifie ses moyens d'action et s'adapte résolument aux exigences de l'heure et aux conceptions contemporaines.

Cette constatation n'est-elle pas le plus bel éloge que l'on puisse faire de ses administrateurs ? N'est-elle pas le témoignage le plus sûr de leur esprit élevé, de leur ardente philanthropie, de leur dévouement éclairé à la cause de ceux qu'un sort souvent injuste jette sur le pavé et expose à de cruelles souffrances ?

En agissant ainsi, les hommes de mérite et de cœur qui président aux destinées de l'Œuvre, marquent du reste leur fidélité absolue au vœu des fondateurs, qui, dans le premier rapport annuel, définissaient ainsi la mission humanitaire qu'ils s'assignaient :

» L'Œuvre de l'Hospitalité a pour but principal de donner provisoirement un abri » et de la nourriture à tous les hommes sans distinction de nationalité ni de religion, qui » se trouvent sans asile et sans pain.

» Elle aide l'étranger sans ressources à regagner sa patrie, procure les soins médicaux » à l'indigent dont le genre d'affection ne permet pas l'admission dans les hôpitaux, s'efforce » à trouver de l'ouvrage aux désœuvrés; elle donne des vêtements à l'ouvrier, pour lui per- » mettre de se présenter décemment aux chantiers où il espère trouver du travail, et » fournit des outils à celui qui est parvenu à se placer; elle négocie le placement des enfants » abandonnés, dans les orphelinats et les écoles agricoles; elle emploie, en un mot, tous les » moyens en son pouvoir pour relever le malheureux qui s'adresse à elle.

Mais il faut le reconnaître, cette tâche dépassait les possibilités du moment. L'assistance curative et préventive, que ce programme contient en germe, le reclassement social du miséreux ne résultent généralement pas de la seule bonne volonté de ceux qui s'y consacrent. De même que certaines réalisations industrielles ne deviennent possibles que le jour où le technicien se trouve en possession de l'outillage indispensable, de même la réadaptation du déclassé ne peut se tenter, avec chance de succès, qu'à la condition de pouvoir faire appel

aux formes les plus diverses de l'Assistance et de choisir parmi elles celles qui sont le plus adéquates aux besoins de l'individu à secourir.

La pratique a démontré que, pour passer heureusement de la charité simple à l'œuvre si difficile du relèvement, il est indispensable de pouvoir exercer une intervention immédiate, forte et continue, et d'avoir les moyens et le prestige dont dispose l'autorité à l'action plus souple et plus engageante de la bienfaisance privée.

L'appui financier des communes de l'agglomération bruxelloise et la collaboration du service d'assistance préventive de la Ville de Bruxelles réalisent aujourd'hui cette condition et permettent à l'Œuvre de l'Hospitalité de moderniser ses installations et d'entreprendre méthodiquement le relèvement des malheureux qui échouent dans ses asiles.

Le nouveau régime, appliqué depuis le mois d'avril dernier à la Maison d'accueil pour femmes et instauré progressivement à la Maison d'accueil pour hommes (dont les travaux d'aménagement se poursuivent en ce moment), a donné les résultats les plus satisfaisants et il n'est pas présomptueux de prétendre que ces établissements, par l'action morale et bienfaisante qu'ils exercent sur leurs hospitalisés, occuperont sous peu une place sans égale parmi les œuvres de relèvement.

Nous sommes déjà loin, il est vrai, des trois nuits de coucher sur la dure octroyées jadis, une fois par mois, à tout venant, parfois avec une légère prolongation de séjour. Certes, tous ceux qui s'y présentent sont indistinctement accueillis comme autrefois et sont les bienvenus en nos maisons hospitalières; mais, dès le lendemain, leur situation est examinée attentivement et tout est mis en œuvre pour sauver de leur détresse ceux que poursuit la malchance ou l'infortune. C'est vous dire qu'une sérieuse sélection s'opère et que les rôdeurs d'asile, les rônleurs, les melins qui ne s'adressent à nous que dans le but d'économiser des frais de logement qu'ils sont à même de supporter, ceux qui se complaisent dans une sordide inaction et refusent tout effort personnel, sont écartés de notre bienveillance dans les 24 heures.

L'Œuvre se débarrasse ainsi d'un monde interlope et parasitaire qui y entretenait auparavant une néfaste promiscuité.

Pour les autres, sa générosité devient illimitée, car elle ne refuse son appui qu'au moment où il cesse d'être utile.

Ce n'est pas, en effet, au bout de trois jours que l'ouvrier, sans travail et à bout de ressources, peut trouver de l'occupation et recevoir un premier salaire le mettant à même de pourvoir à ses besoins les plus urgents. Il s'en faut de beaucoup et certains reclassements n'ont pu être acquis qu'après une hospitalité de plusieurs mois.

D'autre part, si la population des asiles a diminué pendant la bonne saison, le nombre des cas intéressants dont l'œuvre a eu à s'occuper de mai à octobre confirme largement l'utilité d'un fonctionnement permanent.

Au demeurant, l'expérience n'a pas tardé à nous prodiguer ses enseignements et à donner des fruits merveilleux. L'Œuvre exige actuellement une rétribution dès que l'intéressé, sans pouvoir encore se procurer un logis, se trouve cependant en état de concourir par lui-même à son reclassement, et cette rentrée de fonds inattendue a permis aussitôt d'améliorer le régime de tous les hospitalisés de la section des hommes, que l'Œuvre réorganise en grande partie à ses frais. Tous les hospitalisés y jouissent à présent d'un lit, qui leur permet de se déshabiller et de garder une tenue propre et présentable.

Mieux encore, l'Œuvre n'a pas hésité à admettre le logement diurne et je comptais il y a quelques jours, au cours d'une de mes visites, six occupants qui, ayant accepté un emploi de nuit, prenaient en plein jour un repos bien mérité.

Les locaux sont du reste accessibles de jour comme de nuit, car il peut s'y trouver

des vieillards attendant leur placement, des enfants, des infirmes et des malades qu'il serait inhumain de faire sortir sans nécessité.

Au surplus, la nouvelle réglementation offre sans cesse des facilités nouvelles pour opérer le sauvetage des nombreuses « épaves » dont nous nous occupons. Je citerai, en passant, la faculté de faire inscrire au siège de l'Œuvre des malheureux obligés d'avoir un domicile régulier pour obtenir un certificat de bonne conduite, une carte d'identité, du travail, la pension de vieillesse, etc.

Mais un fait dominant, sur lequel je ne saurais assez attirer votre attention, est l'influence salutaire résultant du contact des nouveaux admis avec leurs compagnons de misère revenant du travail.

Aujourd'hui, dans l'Asile, l'individu sans ouvrage respire une atmosphère faite de courage et de volonté; il y puise l'énergie nécessaire pour continuer la lutte; il n'hésite pas à frapper à la porte, sachant que l'endroit ne retient que les braves gens; il en sort avec un sentiment nouveau de sa dignité, s'étant rendu compte qu'il est encore un homme, puisqu'il y a été traité avec respect et qu'il y a reçu les égards que commandent la faiblesse ou l'adversité.

Il nous a du reste été donné de constater qu'à de rares exceptions près, ceux qui ont été logés dans nos Maisons d'accueil n'échouent plus aux colonies de bienfaisance de l'Etat.

C'est qu'à de meilleures locaux correspondent de meilleurs mœurs et il convient de citer ici l'exemple de ce jeune homme, V. J., qui se trouvant sur le point d'être déferé au tribunal de police, s'amenda dans l'Asile et porte actuellement l'uniforme de sous-officier au 1^{er} Régiment de ligne.

* * *

Il n'est pas téméraire d'affirmer que, grâce aux nouvelles mesures adoptées, une cinquantaine de reclassements ont pu être acquis en quelques mois, pour ce qui concerne la section des hommes.

Quant au reclassement des femmes, s'il se réalise avec plus de succès encore, ce résultat doit être attribué à la facilité avec laquelle celles-ci peuvent actuellement se placer en condition.

Les exemples du reste ne manquent pas qui disent l'utilité du nouveau régime et les souffrances qu'il a permis d'épargner aux malheureux.

M. J., (73 ans), et R. G., (77 ans), rapatriés respectivement de la Guadeloupe et de Paris, ont été accueillis tous deux en l'Asile pour hommes. Le premier a pu être admis à l'Hospice Sainte Gertrude, 16 jours après son arrivée. Les négociations entreprises pour l'admission du second comme colon libre à Ghent n'aboutirent qu'au bout de 34 jours.

D. A., (70 ans) et B. Ch. (65 ans), atteints de décrépitude sénile, durent être hébergés par nous. La première fut placée à l'Hospice des Ursulines après 11 jours; mais ce n'est qu'après un séjour de 3 mois à l'Œuvre de l'Hospitalité que le second put entrer enfin au Refuge des Vieillards tenu par les Petites Sœurs des Pauvres, rue Haute.

Le nommé M. E., (37 ans) se trouvant sans gîte et à bout de ressources, plutôt que d'obéir aux mauvaises suggestions de la faim, se constitue le 16 avril dernier en vue de son envoi aux colonies de bienfaisance. Exhorté longuement, il change d'avis et se rend à nos conseils. Admis à l'Asile Baudouin, il est employé au service même de l'Œuvre pendant plusieurs mois, puis entre au service d'une Société de surveillance de nuit, où il exerce encore actuellement les fonctions de démarcheur. Son gain quotidien moyen paraît s'élever à environ 30 francs.

P. A., sorti de prison après acquittement, est recueilli à l'Asile et trouve, au bout de 4 jours, grâce à la Bourse officielle du Travail, une occupation chez un agent en douane. Sitôt en possession de son premier salaire, il paie une semaine de logement et loue moyen-

nant 40 frs par mois, une chambre rue Il gagne 15 frs par jour. Une intervention de 11 jours a suffi pour lui permettre de se reclasser dans la vie normale.

La nommée B. L., (30 ans), arrêtée au moment où, poussée par le désespoir, elle allait se suicider, fut recueillie à la Maison d'accueil pour femmes du 10 mai au 9 juin et y reçut le repas du midi. Grâce à notre intervention, elle put se placer en condition, occupa successivement divers services et trouva finalement un emploi comme gouvernante. Elle réside actuellement à l'étranger.

La nommée M. B., (29 ans), réclamée par la Ville de Mons, son domicile de secours, dut quitter, encore très affaiblie, l'hospice des convalescents de la ville à Uccle-Verewinkel.

Autorisée à se reposer à la Maison d'accueil, où un repas supplémentaire lui fut octroyé, elle se trouva rapidement à même de retravailler et se plaça au bout de quelques jours, en qualité de demoiselle de magasin.

Aujourd'hui cette personne s'intéresse tout particulièrement au sort des malheureuses obligées de solliciter l'aide de l'Œuvre.

* * *

Mesdames, Messieurs, j'ai puise au hasard dans la gerbe des reclassements que j'aurais pu vous signaler, ces quelques cas intéressants qui sont comme les illustrations de ce rapport et qui, mieux que les plus belles phrases et que l'exposé le plus savant, peuvent faire comprendre toute la beauté et la grandeur de l'œuvre entreprise.

Il y a quelques années, un membre de l'Institut de France, parlant à l'Assemblée générale d'une œuvre similaire, disait : « Lorsque vous accueillez le misérable succombant sous la fatigue de courses qui ont lassé ses membres et d'échecs qui ont épuisé son courage et que vous lui donnez le lit qui lui manque et un repos qu'il ne connaît plus, vous faites plus et mieux : vous rallumez dans son cœur cette flamme éteinte de l'espérance sans laquelle l'homme ressemble à une machine sans ressort et sans vapeur. »

Aujourd'hui l'Œuvre de l'Hospitalité fait davantage. Elle ne met pas seulement une halte sur le chemin de la misère, elle ne rend pas seulement l'espérance, elle tente la guérison.

Quand, se trouvant au point culminant de sa détresse, abreuvé de refus et de déceptions, voyant la nuit qui tombe et se sentant l'estomac creux, le pauvre hère désespéré frappe à notre Asile, il n'y trouve pas seulement la sécurité et le réconfort qui vont lui assurer quelques nuits de lourd sommeil et d'oubli, le bon accueil et les encouragements qui dissiperont l'angoisse du lendemain, mais encore une tutelle salutaire qui le protège, le guide, le soutient et ne l'abandonnera à ses propres efforts qu'au moment où il aura repris sa place au travail et sera devenu un élément utile dans la société.

Et cependant, bien des améliorations restent à réaliser dans les installations et dans les méthodes, car il faut pour qu'une œuvre maintienne sa vitalité qu'elle puisse s'adapter aisément aux nécessités les plus diverses.

Mais le passé de l'Œuvre de l'Hospitalité, la haute compétence de ses administrateurs, le remarquable dévouement de son personnel répondent de l'avenir et nous pouvons avoir la certitude qu'elle a dès à présent sa place marquée dans le beau mouvement de régénération humaine qui s'annonce de toutes parts et qui préoccupe à cette heure tous les cœurs généreux.

SOURCE: "Rapport d'Eugène Willems, directeur de l'Assistance publique sur l'activité morale de l'Œuvre", in Œuvre de l'Hospitalité à Bruxelles, Rapport sur les travaux de l'Œuvre, 36^e exercice (1921), Bruxelles, 1922, p. 10-13.
Œuvre de l'Hospitalité (Bruxelles). Private archives.

VII. Unmarried Mothers in Irish Society

Patricia Kennedy

Introduction

From 1800 until 1921, Ireland was under British rule and its policies were broadly based on the British system. The Poor Law system provided for indoor relief in workhouses and other institutions and limited outdoor relief. From 1921 onwards the newly independent Ireland began to introduce changes in both administration and provision of services and introduced “home assistance”. Such developments impacted on women in Ireland who gave birth outside of marriage, a marginalised sector of society. The Commission on the Relief of the Sick and Destitute Poor including the Insane Poor¹ was established to inform such change. The Commission demarcated a particular place for Irish women as mothers, and it exemplifies the treatment of a particularly marginalised group in a mixed economy of welfare.

The newly independent Ireland that emerged in 1921 after a very violent and turbulent decade was characterised by civil war, widespread poverty, the prevalence of TB, unemployment, poor infrastructure and a concern with controlling law and order.² Throughout the 1920s, legislation was introduced, which introduced restrictive employment practices³ and welfare policies which institutionalised women’s dependency status.⁴ While such developments affected all women, “unmarried mothers” were the target of particularly harsh policies. This legacy endures today as Ireland is embroiled in a national controversy regarding the publication of the report of the Mother and Baby Homes Commission.⁵

The 1927 *Report of the Commission on the Relief of the Sick and Destitute Poor including the Insane Poor*⁶ clearly demonstrates how the Irish state identified and labelled different sectors of society. The terms of reference of the 1927 report:

“With the object of devising permanent legislation for the effective and economical relief of the sick and destitute poor, to inquire into the laws and administration relating thereto add particularly as regards the following matters:

¹ *Report of the Commission on the Relief of the Sick and Destitute Poor*, Dublin, Stationery Office, 1927.

² Whyte, J., *Church and State in Modern Ireland 1923-1979*, Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1980; Barrington, R., *Health, Medicine and Politics in Ireland 1900-1970*, Dublin, IPA, 1987.

³ The “marriage bar” of 1929 and the 1935 Conditions of Employment Act

⁴ Kennedy, P., *Maternity in Ireland, a woman centred perspective*, The Liffey Press, Dublin, 2004.

⁵ Final Report of the Commission of Investigation into Mother and Baby Homes, 2021 <https://www.gov.ie/en/publication/d4b3d-final-report-of-the-commission-of-investigation-into-mother-and-baby-homes/>.

1. To inquire into the adequacy and suitability of schemes which have been formulated under the Local Government (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1923, cover and make recommendations.
2. To advise as to whether the existing Law and Regulations as regards Home Assistance require alteration towards securing that provision is made for the sick and destitute poor in their own homes without avoidable wasteful expenditure add healthy persons who are incorrigibly idiol.
3. To examine the law and administration affecting the relief of the following destitute classes and to make recommendations:
 - (a) Widows and their children
 - (b) Children without parents
 - (c) Unmarried mothers and their children
 - (d) Deserted children
4. To inquire into the existing provision in public institutions for the care and treatment of mentally defective persons add to advise as to whether more efficient methods can be introduced especially as regards the care and trading of mentally defective children, due regard being had to the expense involved.
5. As regards cost of relief of the destitute poor generally to inquire as to whether any change in law is desirable towards securing more equitable chargeability at local rates for persons who have been in fact normally rested in one poor relief district having become a charge upon the rates of another district.

Chapter six of the 1927 report, entitled ‘Unmarried Mothers and Children’ is worthy of analysis as it is the blueprint for services which developed for unmarried mothers in subsequent decades. It demonstrates the symbiotic relationship between the state and the voluntary sector and in particular female religious orders, both Catholic and Protestant. This report clearly demonstrates the relationship between the state, the NGO sector and the moral and religious beliefs underlying policies pertaining to women as mothers. It refers to ‘the problem of the unmarried mother and child’.”⁷⁸

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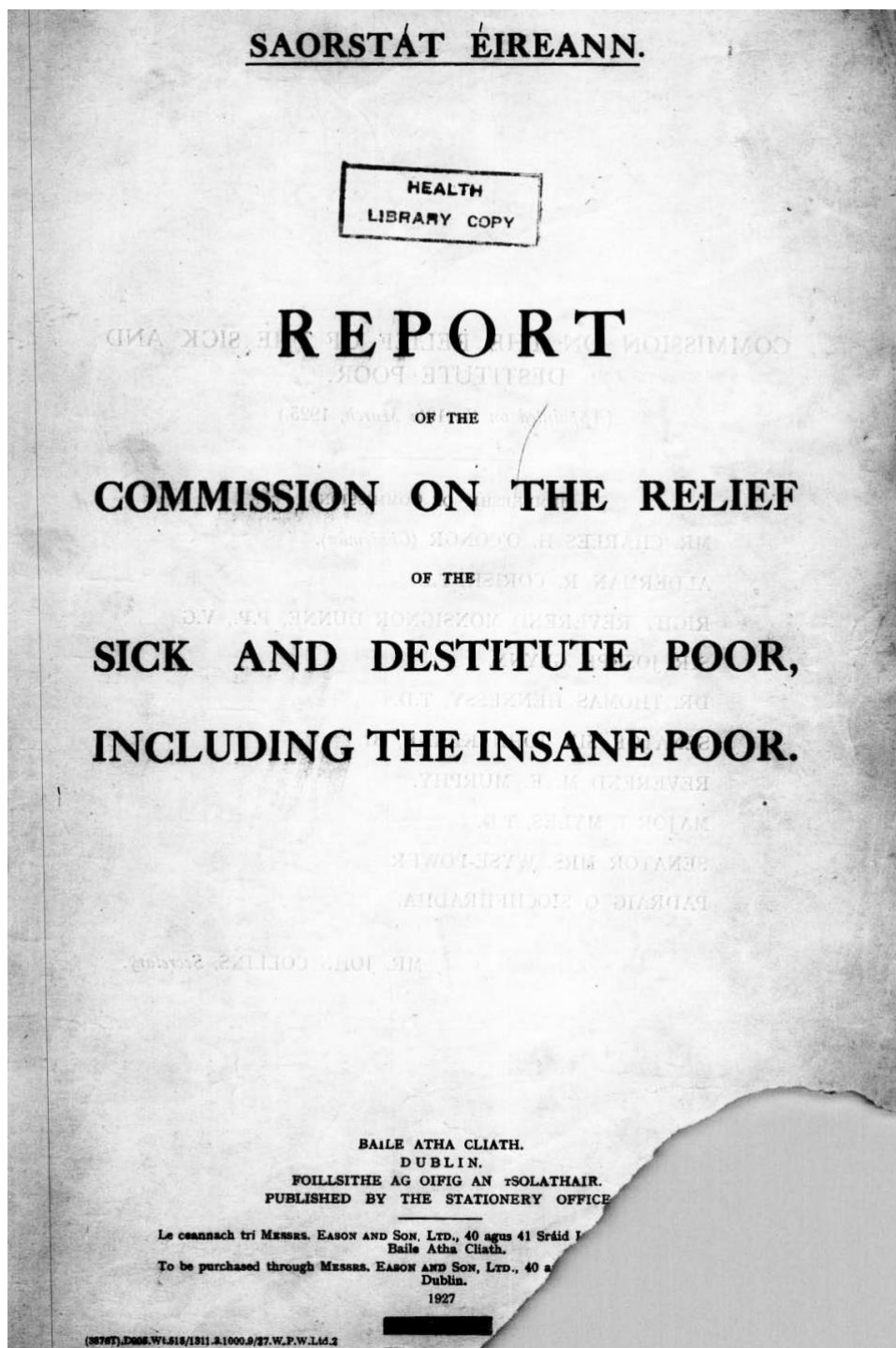
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CHAPTER VI.

UNMARRIED MOTHERS AND CHILDREN.

227. We have expressed the opinion (Para. 96) that the County Homes are not fit and proper places for the reception of all the classes that have been found in them, and we now propose to indicate the arrangement which we consider should be made for unmarried mothers, married mothers, and children, who together with mental defectives are classes that require special provision and should not be retained in the County Homes. Our proposals with regard to the last mentioned class will be found in Part II. of this Report.

228. A large amount of evidence was tendered to us on the problem of the unmarried mother and her child and we have given the matter much thought. We are satisfied from the evidence and from inquiries that we ourselves have made that in dealing with the problem of accommodation for unmarried mothers it must be recognised that there are two classes to be provided for, namely, (1) those who may be considered amenable to reform, and (2) those who for one reason or another are regarded as less hopeful cases.

229. The married mothers with children, for whom provision will have to be made in institutions, are women who subsequent to desertion had children not the offspring of their husbands. The number of these women is small and they will, for the most part, be dealt with in the same manner as the second class we have mentioned above.

230. The treatment or care of the first class must necessarily be in the nature of a moral upbuilding and, while requiring firmness and discipline, must be characterised by and blended with a certain amount of individual charity and sympathy which can only be given when a true estimate of the character of each girl or young woman has been made by those in charge. Experience would indicate that the treatment of these cases should not be too tied up with regulations or be too hide-bound and that best results are more often attained by individual care. We, therefore, recommend that Boards of Health should be allowed an almost complete discretion in the matter of dealing with and paying for this class through the agency of Rescue Societies and other voluntary organisations. We believe that a very large number of this class can and should be so provided for, but we recognise that there will always be a residue composed probably of those who are the least open to good influences. If it were not that we feel bound in any recommendations we make to have regard to the expense involved, we would recommend special homes to be set up for this residue; but we are not satisfied that local bodies can at present afford these additional institutions. We therefore consider that this residue might be dealt with in the institutions which we propose shall be set up for the second class we have mentioned.

231. It is difficult to arrive with any degree of accuracy at the numbers that would have then to be dealt with, but we find that on the 27th March, 1926, there were in the County Homes and Dublin Workhouse 629 unmarried mothers classed as first offenders, and 391 women who had fallen more than once. It is probable that the numbers to be provided for in institutions under the control of the Boards of Health will range between five and six hundred.

There are, approximately, at present in the County Homes and the Dublin Workhouse 1,000 children, excluding infants under one year.

These children should as far as possible be boarded out, but where such course is, from one cause or another impracticable, we think that they should be accommodated in the same institution as the unmarried mothers until they reach school age.

The number of infants under one year of age in the County Homes and Dublin Workhouse is about 500.

The problem at present, therefore, resolves itself into providing accommodation for about 600 women, 500 infants under one year, and 1,000 other children. These figures may, we think, be taken as maximum figures.

232. It is obvious that it would not be to the advantage of the women or children to place them all in one institution, and, as the classes with which we are dealing are to be found mostly in the Homes situated in the cities and the larger

towns, we would suggest that the natural location for such institutions would be in proximity to the larger County Homes. In Dublin an institution of this character has been established on good lines at Pelletstown, which was formerly the school of the South Dublin Workhouse. Another institution on much the same lines has been established at Kilrush, in County Clare, and we do not suggest that it should be discontinued. It is impossible for us to indicate more precisely where institutions of this character could be most conveniently situated as the matter must, unless each Board of Health sets up its own institution, be one of negotiation between groups of counties, subject, of course, to final approval by the Minister.

233. We consider it very desirable that attached to such institutions as may be set up there should be a probationary department and a maternity department. Both these are necessary in order to keep the unmarried mothers in the pre-natal period out of contact with the County Homes.

234. At present there is no power to detain a woman in any Poor Law institution, even when it is clearly necessary for her protection. We suggest that if an unmarried woman who applies for relief during pregnancy or after giving birth to a child is willing, when applying for assistance, to undertake to remain for a period not exceeding one year there should be power to retain her for that period, in the case of a first admission. In the case of admission for a second time, there should be power to retain for a period of two years. On third or subsequent admissions the Board should have power to retain for such period as they think fit, having considered the recommendation of the Superior or Matron of the Home. All cases whose maximum period of residence is indeterminate should be reviewed annually.

■ 235. There is in each County Home a good deal of work, such as is done by wardsmaids, that would afford useful employment for some of the women who would be received into the special institutions. We would see no objection to such women as the Matron considers suitable being transferred to the County Home for the purpose of assisting in the work of cleaning, etc.

236. The term of detention we recommend is not an irreducible period and is not intended to be in any sense penal. It is primarily for the benefit of the woman and her child, and its duration will depend entirely on the individual necessities of each case. We are not in favour of the rigid application of fixed periods of detention; those we have mentioned are maximum periods within which the widest discretionary power should be exercised. The object of our recommendations is to regulate control according to individual requirements, or in the more degraded cases to segregate those who have become sources of evil, danger, and expense to the community.

237. The Board of Health would, we anticipate, normally act on the advice of the Superior or Matron of each institution with regard to discharges and also with regard to the future arrangements for the child.

On the question of discharge, we have come to the conclusion that no woman should be discharged until she has satisfied the Board of Health that she will be able to provide for her child or children, either by way of paying wholly or partially for maintenance in the Home or boarding it out with respectable people approved by the Board of Health. Discretion might, however, be left to the Board of Health to allow the woman to take her discharge without taking her child or children, if they consider this desirable from the circumstances of the particular case.

It should be the duty of Superiors and Matrons to endeavour to place those fit for discharge in suitable positions outside and to see that they will not be altogether without supervision.

238. In Homes where there are infant children there should be a kindergarten or infant school.

Children.

239. The suggestion that we have made that children under school age whom it is not possible to board out should be accommodated in the Homes provided for unmarried mothers, cannot be taken as catering for the entire number of children for whom institutional accommodation may be required.

On the 31st March, 1925, the number of children in receipt of relief in County Homes and Dublin Workhouse is returned as 1,582, the number boarded out as 1,907, and the number in extern institutions as 768, or a total of 4,257.

240. The classes of children formerly met with in the workhouses were orphan, and deserted children; legitimate and illegitimate children of workhouse inmates, including the children of widows with only one child; children, other than orphan

and deserted children, who had been taken from their parents' control under Section 1 of the Poor Law Act of 1899; and children whose parent or parents were in prison or in hospitals or asylums.

241. Parents could not leave the workhouse without taking out their children whether legitimate or illegitimate who were with them there.

242. There was attached to many of the workhouses a boys' and girls' school. In some of the workhouses while there was separate accommodation for the boys and girls out of school hours the school was conducted as a mixed school.

243. The Unions of Limerick, Newcastle-West, Rathkeale, Croom, Kilmallock and Listowel had a joint or district school at Glin, in County Limerick, and the Unions of Navan, Kells, Dunshaughlin, Trim, and Oldcastle had a district school at Trim, in County Meath, and all children of school age from the contributory Unions were sent to these schools. The boys in Glin District School were in charge of the Christian Brothers, and Sisters of Mercy were in charge of the girls. Trim was under lay management, with Sisters of Mercy in charge of the girls. In these two schools there were about 350 children. Both are now closed.

244. Where workhouses had no schools attached to them or were not contributory to the district schools any children that were in the workhouse of school age were sent to the local National Schools. A small number of children were, in addition, boarded in Schools certified by the Local Government Board under the Pauper Children Acts.

245. In several of the Schemes, e.g., Cavan, Cork (North), Cork (West), Tipperary, N.R., Tipperary, S.R., Limerick Borough, no provision of any sort is made for the reception and care of children in institutions. In some, e.g., Clare, provision is made for infant children only, and in others, e.g., Laoighis, for the children of unmarried mothers only; but there are no general provisions covering all classes of poor children, and it is sometimes difficult to be sure what form of institutional relief is legal in each county. Notwithstanding the provisions of the Schemes, children of varying ages up to 15 years are generally to be found in the County Homes.

246. The removal of any barrier in the matter of granting Home Assistance to any person eligible for relief has no doubt had the effect of reducing the number of children in institutions, as it is now possible to give Home Assistance to able-bodied parents with children and widows with one child. We regard this change in the law as of great advantage, as we believe that where possible every means should be taken to prevent the breaking up of the home.

247. We find also that in most places advantage is being taken of the power to board out children. The allowance paid for children boarded out varies from five to seven shillings a week, with clothes or a grant for clothes. This may not be sufficient in some places to attract desirable persons to act as foster-parents.

248. We favour the continuance and extension where practicable of boarding out. This method of relief has long passed out of the experimental stage. It is particularly suited to the present circumstances of the country, inasmuch as it involves no capital expenditure. The boarded out child is normally, perhaps, not at a disadvantage compared with the children of the decent class of labourer. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that if failures or even scandals are to be avoided the homes must continue as at present to be carefully selected, and precautions taken to see that the foster parents are fit for the trust placed in them.

249. We also recommend that it be made legal to board out orphan and deserted children, in respect of whom the Board of Health have assumed parental rights under Section 1 of the Poor Law Act, 1899. The Boards should use to the fullest extent their powers under this section, and we consider they should be empowered to apply the section to the children of vagrants when they are satisfied that the accommodation provided for such children affords no sufficient protection against the weather, and that owing to the migratory habits of the parents the children are not attending school or that the surroundings in which they are living are morally bad.

250. As the law stands at present, every child except those adopted by resolution under Section 1 of the Poor Law Act, 1899, passes from the control of the Board at the age of 15 years. We consider this age too young, especially in the case of girls, who should remain under the control of the Board of Health until 18 years of age, with power by resolution in special cases to retain control until 21.

251. Some Boards of Health may find it difficult to board out children, particularly young children, either in their own area or outside, and it may be

reasonably anticipated that there will be a number of children for whom institutional accommodation must be provided.

The number of such children will not, we anticipate, be large. They will be the residue that cannot be dealt with in any of the ways we have already alluded to, that is, they are not dependent on parents or a parent who can be granted Home Assistance, or they cannot by reason of their age be kept with their mothers or in the special institutions we propose for unmarried mothers and children, or they cannot be boarded out.

252. We propose that these children who cannot be provided for in any of the ways we have mentioned be sent to the Industrial Schools and that the law be amended so as to permit of an arrangement between a Board of Health and the managers of the Schools by which children could be transferred without the formality of committal by judicial procedure. The cost of maintenance of such children would be met partly by the ratepayers and partly by the State in the same manner as that of other children in the Industrial Schools, and we see no reason for the Board of Health retaining the names of such children on their records after the transfer.

253. A number of witnesses, who were very strong supporters of boarding out as a method of relief, were opposed to any child being sent to or brought up in an institution.

In view of the nature of the evidence given by them in connection with boarding out, we invited the Managers of the Industrial Schools to appear before us, an invitation which they readily availed of. The Inspector and Assistant Inspector of Industrial Schools also gave evidence and we visited a few of the schools.

We were much impressed by the evidence on behalf of the schools, and the management of those we visited appeared to be excellent and every effort seemed to be made to fit the pupils for a life of self-dependence.

It is claimed for boarding out that the child is put in charge of people who take the place of the parents; that it enables it to join in the ordinary life of the children of the house or the neighbourhood; that, as it grows, domestic ties are formed naturally; that children so brought up have more initiative and resource than those who come to the threshold of adult life in the shelter of an institution and that later in life they have a home to return to if out of employment.

As against the boarding out, it is pointed out that whilst no one would gainsay the advantages of being brought up in a good home that the homes of foster parents are not always good; that the children are often taken for the small monetary gain; that they are frequently drudges, and if they happen to be illegitimate the stigma of their birth becomes known and they are shunned.

254. We believe there is good in both systems, that both are necessary and that neither can be justly condemned because of occasional failures. With an adequate system of national education, both primary and technical, the boarded out child can be brought up well and at small cost, but whatever may be the drawbacks of institutional life education can be more easily carried on and a more careful supervision exercised than is ordinarily possible at home. We therefore recommend that both systems be utilised.

255. In visiting the Industrial Schools we were informed that it is sometimes a matter of difficulty to place boys on discharge from the Schools in the way of becoming fully qualified tradesmen.

We think an effective means should exist of enabling every boy who shows aptitude in a particular trade and who wishes to take it up as a means of livelihood with the approval of the authorities to be apprenticed on discharge from the School, and provision should be made for his maintenance during the period of apprenticeship.

Affiliation Orders.

256. In addition to the measures we have outlined it is, we consider, desirable that the law should be strengthened in the direction of prevention by the introduction of affiliation orders and by the amendment of the laws relating to sexual offences. By an affiliation order is to be understood an order made by a Court

VIII. Protecting Young Girls in Yugoslavia

Stefano Petrunaro

Introduction

Like in many European countries at the time, Yugoslavia between the two world wars developed female associations devoted to the young women considered to be socially and morally in danger. The most relevant associations of this kind were to be found in the main cities, thus in Belgrade (*Društvo zaštita devojaka*, 1923), Zagreb (*Zaštitnice djevojaka*, 1927-1947) and Ljubljana (*Društvo za varstvo deklet*, 1933).

Generally, these societies managed homes where girls who were “morally in danger” – mainly meaning that they could easily become prostitutes - could be hosted, assisted, and educated. A second typical activity were the so-called “railway missions”: female members of those societies monitored the main railways in order to intercept girls travelling alone.

A good example is the Slovene Railway Mission (*Kolodvorski misijon*), devoted to assisting young women travelling alone, and which began its activities on 01.04.1932. The women who volunteered (see Document 13) were all members of the middle-class and belonged mainly to the Catholic *Slovenska krščanska ženska zveza*. At the beginning of its activity, the main support to this association came from the Catholic *Poselska zveza*, which put at its disposal its “home”, Marijn dom. From the 21st of June to the 31st of December 1932, 172 young women stayed overnight at the society’s home. As eloquently visualized by Document 13, the middle-class female activists acquired the role of stepmothers/godmothers, in charge of protecting, monitoring, and educating the young girls, assuring that they would be raised according to the moral, or even religious principles of their tutors.

Document 13: Godmothers and Protected Girls



SOURCE: *Ljubljanski kolodvorski misijon*, "Vigred. Ženski list", 17 (1939), vol. 9, pp. 343-44 (digitalized by the Digital Library of Slovenia, <http://www.dlib.si/> , last access: 01.02.2022).

Due to the increasing number of the assisted, and the widening spectrum of services provided, the regional governorate (*banska uprava*) decided to establish in 1933 a bigger society, called the Society for the Protection of Girls (*Društvo za varstvo deklet*), first in Ljubljana, later (1934) with a second office in Maribor. This bigger association took charge of the services provided by the previous railway mission. Its main goal was to further provide help and assistance to young women, especially if homeless, unemployed, and coming from the rural context in order to look for a job in the cities. Among the services offered, there was a shelter, a counselling service, and an employment agency, and the activists also worked in jails and with prostitutes, promoting a classical fight against prostitution and sex trafficking.

The experience of the Railway Mission in Ljubljana, embodied by the woman portrayed in the picture of Document 14, is a good example of the interactions among private actors and public authorities, both in terms of funding, and of concrete collaboration, when it came to the assistance to young travelling girls.

The Yugoslav case needs to be contextualised in a broader European framework. The examined society and its activities were hardly a Yugoslav peculiarity, and similar cases were rather common throughout interwar Europe, beginning already at the end of the 19th century. Furthermore, the most relevant Yugoslav female societies were formally and informally linked with sister societies in Europe, as well as being sometimes institutionally part of international umbrella organizations. The Zagreb-based *Zaštitnice djevojaka*, e.g., was member of the *Fédération internationale des Amies de la jeune fille* – *Internationaler Verein der Freundinnen der jungen Mädchen* (Geneve, 1877, at that time with seat in Neuchâtel), and the Slovene Railway Mission (*Kolodvorski misijon*) was affiliated with the *Association catholique internationale des Oeuvres de protection de la Jeune Fille*, with seat in Fribourg, Switzerland.

Document 14: Portrait of a Member of “The Railway Mission”



Fanči Terpin, member of the Slovene Philanthropy Association “The Railway Mission”.

SOURCE: Rafael Terpin, “Kolodvorski misijon v Ljubljani”, *Idrijski razgledi*, 35 (2000), 2, 81-83, here 81 (We want to thank Mr. Terpin for the kind permission to reproduce the picture.)

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Anka Vidovič-Miklančič, "Kolodvorski misijon - Društvo za varstvo deklet v Ljubljani", *Kronika*, 44 (1996), 74-78.

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IX. The International Migration Service

Francesca Piana

Introduction

The International Social Service (ISS) is an international non-governmental organization which aims at “assist[ing] children and families confronted with complex social problems as a result of migration” thanks to the work of the General Secretariat, based in Geneva, and the activities undertaken in more than 120 countries worldwide. In addition to “promoting child protection and welfare”, the ISS “undertakes training projects, awareness raising and advocacy work in an effort to better respect children’s rights”. Nearly 75,000 families are assisted each year.¹ The organization’s current mandate spurs from the original one when the ISS, at that time called International Migration Service (IMS), first emerged from the ashes of the Great War with the goal of protecting migrants’ families. In the next few lines, I will sketch the context and reasons for the establishment of the IMS. The organization offers a unique opportunity to investigate international migration and social policies through processes of classification and the public/private paradigm, by paying attention to local peculiarities and transnational dynamics.

Now and as it did then, migration touches the lives of many European households. Since the 1880s millions of people moved from Europe to the Americas in search of better living conditions or to escape from persecution. While WWI put a temporary stop to transatlantic migrations, they resumed as soon as the war was over. Yet, different from the freedom of movement characteristic of pre-war migrations, not only did states establish a regulated system in interwar Europe, but passports also became compulsory. The post-war period then witnessed an increasing set of problems arising from households separated by borders, including cases about the custody of children, guardianship, adoption, the protection of rights of wives and children in divorce suits, as well as issues of immigration, naturalization, deportation, and repatriation – all questions that became central to the work of the IMS.

Another process explains the creation of the IMS. Among the migrants who reached the US from Europe were many women who moved independently or according to a household strategy. These migrant women attracted the attention of (trans)national Christian reformist circles across the West: they believed these women should be protected from exploitation and should be assisted in finding employment and housing upon arrival. After the war was over, the World Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA), triggered by its American branch, created a special department called the International Migration Service: based in London, the new department collected

¹ The International Social Service, <https://www.iss-ssi.org/index.php/en/> (last seen 20 October 2021).

information on migrant women and organized training for social workers; a few offices across Europe, the Middle East, and North America assisted a small number of migrants; and reports were written and shared with two major international organizations of the interwar period, the League of Nations (LON) and the International Labor Organization (ILO). Soon enough the World YWCA realized that such work was beyond its scope and finances. Against the looming danger of closure, in 1924 the IMS broke free from the World YWCA to become independent, non-confessional, and non-political, soon to be headquartered in Geneva. There, a small group of middle/upper-class women – Americans and Europeans – most of whom trained as social workers or nurses and had previous experience in the field of charity, philanthropy, and humanitarian aid, operated.²

One year later, in 1925, a constitution was discussed and agreed upon. The IMS was “a private organization of socially minded groups of various nations” (art. I), operating on a “non-partisan, non-sectarian, and non-political basis (art. III.1) whose aims were twofold: to “render service through cooperative effort to individuals whose problems have arisen as a consequence of migration and the solution of which involves action in more than one country”; and “to study from an international standpoint the conditions and consequences of migration in their effect on individual, family, and social life” (art. II). The remaining articles concentrate on the structure of the organization. The IMS was made up of an International Committee, headquartered in Geneva with meetings once a year, and individuals of different nationalities who, through the Governing Body, decided on questions of international policy and finance, as well as on the opening and closure of national branches. From its end, the Executive Committee directed the activities, while the local branches implemented social assistance on the ground, by cooperating with private and public organizations nationally and transnationally. In the countries where there was no local branch, the IMS relied upon a system of correspondents.³

Which were the goals of the IMS? From its initial interest in female migrants, it moved to “reliev[ing] [...] family ties broken by distance” by which it meant families separated by migration or families whose members lived in two states where the legal system and procedures differed.⁴ The organization and its staff did so in manifold ways: by acting as a hub for the collection of data from which ideas and practices relating to social work and social policies were elaborated; by applying to international migrants the individual casework method which first emerged in 19th century American reformist circles where women in charity investigated and followed up on the persons that they assisted; by producing expert reports addressed to governments and to international organizations in order to advance private international law and to examine the effects of legislation on the lives of migrants and refugees; and by organizing training programs and

² Ruth Larned, *The story of the International Social Service*, New York: The American Branch of the International Social Service, 1960, 8-10.

³ Archives of the International Social Service (Geneva), 1 Records staff meeting 1925-1931, “Report on cases handled by headquarters office through correspondents in countries where the I.M.S. has no branches”, 1925.

⁴ Larned, *The Story of The International Social Service*, 7.

conferences for social workers. During the early years the IMS received financing from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial.

In my chapter, I will dwell on the work of the IMS in Fascist Italy.

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My gratitude goes to the Swiss National Science Foundation which financed the research from which this short paper springs (“‘Parallel lives’: women, imperialism, and humanitarianism, ca. 1880–1950,” P2GEP1_148355 and P300P1_158445).

Document 15: The Constitution of the IMS

CONSTITUTION

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION SERVICE.

ARTICLE I.

NAME

The name of the Organisation is the International Migration Service. It is a private organisation of socially minded groups of various nations.

ARTICLE II.

AIMS

The aims of the organisation are:

- (1) to render service through co-operative effort to individuals whose problems have arisen as a consequence of migration and the solution of which involves action in more than one country.
- (2) to study from an international standpoint the conditions and consequences of migration in their effect on individual, family and social life.

ARTICLE III.

PRINCIPLES.

- (1) The International Migration Service operates on a non-partisan, non-sectarian and non-political basis. It does not seek to promote migration.
- (2) The international unity of the Service is conserved by centralised administration on an international basis, standardisation of method and co-ordination of program.

ARTICLE IV.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Section I. International Committee

The Governing Body of the International Migration Service is an international committee. The location of the Headquarters shall be determined by the International Committee at its regular annual meeting.¹

-
1. As amended at the Annual Meeting of the International Committee, September 6th and 7th, 1927.

Section II. Membership.

The International Committee shall be constituted by the nucleus of selected members who formed the temporary Committee in August 1925 to which shall be added:

- (1) Members of the Executive Committee.
- (2) Members co-opted by the Committee.
- (3) Two members elected by each Branch Committee which is regularly constituted, in addition to the Chairman and Director of each Branch Committee. In the event of a Chairman or elected member of a Branch Committee being unable to attend the meeting of the International Committee, the Branch Committee may appoint a proxy from amongst the other members of its Committee.
- (4) The International and the Associate Directors.
- (5) Directors of Branches where no Committee exists.

The number of co-opted members may, in no case, exceed the number of elected members.

Elected and co-opted members of the International Committee shall not serve for more than two years without re-election. At the end of each year, including the first, one half of these members shall retire by ballot. Retiring members shall be eligible for re-election.¹

Section III. Functions.

The International Committee shall constitute the Governing Body of the Service and shall be international in character. Its duties shall include:-

- (a) the power of decision as to international policy and finance.
- (b) The power to appoint members of the Headquarters Staff, including the International Director who shall be the Executive Officer of the Committee. Members of the Headquarters Staff shall be, as far as possible, of different nationality.
- (c) the power to appoint an Executive Committee with power to add to its numbers and sub-Committees from amongst its own members and to delegate to those Committees such powers as it deems fit.
- (d) the power to operate or to open Branches in countries where it may deem it desirable to do so and to invite persons whom it may select to form a nucleus of a Branch Committee.
- (e) the power to appoint, with the approval of the Branch Committee, the Branch Director

1. As amended at the Annual Meeting of the International Committee, September 6th and 7th, 1927.

Section IV. Officers

The International Committee shall appoint its own officers.

Section V. Meeting.

(a) There shall be an annual Meeting of the International Committee, the date of which shall be decided by the Executive Committee in consultation with the Chairman of the International Committee. Additional meetings may be called when necessary by request of the Executive Committee or at the written request of more than one half of the Branches. A full month's notice of each meeting must be given to members.

(b) The Executive Committee may, at its discretion, invite persons whose collaboration may be valuable, to attend the Annual Meeting of the International Committee. These guests shall share in the deliberations, but not have the right to vote.

Section VI. Voting

Each duly constituted member of the International Committee, including proxies appointed under Article IV, Section II, sub-Section (2), shall have one vote.

ARTICLE V.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Section I. Functions

The Executive Committee shall be appointed for a period of one year to direct the Service and carry on the business of the International Migration Service on behalf of the International Committee between these meetings.

Section II. Membership

Members shall be eligible for re-election.

ARTICLE VI.

BRANCH COMMITTEES

In each country where the International Committee decides to set up a Branch, such Branch shall consist of a Branch Committee and a Director in charge of the Branch office.

1. As amended at the Annual Meeting of the International Committee, September 6th and 7th, 1927.

Section I. Membership

The Branch Committee shall have power to add to their number and shall elect their own officers.

Section II. Functions

(1) The Branch Committees shall be responsible for all the activities of the Service carried on in their respective countries in accordance with the principles herein laid down.

(2) The Branch Committees shall conduct relationships with local or national organisations subject to the approval of the International Committee.

Section III. Documents

All records, correspondence and other documents compiled or brought into substance by the Service shall remain the property of the International Committee. In the event of a Branch Committee being dissolved, such records, correspondence and documents shall be handed to the International Committee.

ARTICLE VII.

FINANCE

(1) The International Migration Service shall operate on an international budget, internationally collected.

(2) The Executive Committee shall draw up the annual budget for the Headquarters Office and for special projects, in accordance with the needs of the Branches and the demands of the migration situation. This budget shall be finally determined by the International Committee.

(3) The budget for each Branch shall be drawn up by the appropriate Branch Committee considered by the Executive Committee and determined by the International Committee.

(4) The International Committee shall advise on the plan and method of collecting funds in close co-operation with the Branch Committees.

(5) The accounts of the International Migration Service shall be audited once a year.

ARTICLE VIII.

AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION

(1) This Constitution may be amended by the International Committee at its Annual Meeting.

(2) Proposals for amendments must be placed on the agenda of the International Committee at least two months before the Annual Meeting and must be notified immediately to all its members.

(3) Amendments adopted by the International Committee shall come into force at once but must be confirmed by the International Committee at a subsequent meeting after a lapse of one year.

(4) All questions concerning the interpretation of this Constitution shall be determined by the International Committee.

ARTICLE IX.

DISSOLUTION.

The International Committee shall have power to close any Branch or sub-Branch if it thinks necessary to terminate its activities.

In case of dissolution of the International Migration Service, the International Committee shall decide in its last session as to the distribution of documents collected by it. Any money left over shall be divided amongst such social organisations as the International Committee may decide.

ARTICLE X.

This Constitution takes effect on September 4th 1925. Members of all Committees or other workers in all categories of the International Migration Service accept membership or assume office on the understanding that they are in agreement with its aims and principles.

(SIGNED) DOROTHY GLADSTONE.

September 4th 1925. President.

Note: Amendments: Article IV, Section I and II
" " " " V (b) added.

SOURCE: Archives of the International Social Service (Geneva), Box Old Statutes 1926-1967 & Old Status Branches, Constitution International Migration Service signed by Dorothy Gladstone, September 4th 1925



French military hospital during World War I (details) © Yelkrokoyade/Public Domain