History of institutions providing out-of-home residential care for children

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Project team

The Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse commissioned and funded this research project. It was carried out by the following researcher:

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Disclaimer

The views and findings expressed in this report are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect those of the Royal Commission. Any errors are the author's responsibility.

The scoping review was conducted between January and March 2014 and papers and reports dated after this time were not included.

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Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse

Preface

On Friday, 11 January 2013, the Governor-General appointed a six-member Royal Commission to inquire into how institutions with a responsibility for children have managed and responded to allegations and instances of child sexual abuse.

The Royal Commission is tasked with investigating where systems have failed to protect children, and making recommendations on how to improve laws, policies and practices to prevent and better respond to child sexual abuse in institutions.

The Royal Commission has developed a comprehensive research program to support its work and to inform its findings and recommendations. The program focuses on eight themes:

1. Why does child sexual abuse occur in institutions?
2. How can child sexual abuse in institutions be prevented?
3. How can child sexual abuse be better identified?
4. How should institutions respond where child sexual abuse has occurred?
5. How should government and statutory authorities respond?
6. What are the treatment and support needs of victims/survivors and their families?
7. What is the history of particular institutions of interest?
8. How do we ensure the Royal Commission has a positive impact?

This research report falls within theme four.

The research program means the Royal Commission can:

- obtain relevant background information
- fill key evidence gaps
- explore what is known and what works
- develop recommendations that are informed by evidence, can be implemented and respond to contemporary issues.

For more on this program, please visit www.childabuseroyalcommission.gov.au/research

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Executive summary

This paper explains the many different types of institutions offering out-of-home care for children in Australia from 1788 until the deinstitutionalisation movement of the 1980s. It documents the move from generic to specialist children's institutions, the mix between government and non-government provision – which differed both between institutions and the jurisdictions in which they were based – and the differences between provisions for Indigenous and non-Indigenous children. The paper concludes that the complexity of child welfare provision weakened lines of responsibility, creating a space in which children were both powerless and at risk as they navigated their way into adulthood. Placed where beds were available, moved when institutional efficiency demanded, cut off from kin whom authorities judged as neglectful, they were all too often left with no-one to whom they could turn for care and support.

Overview of the types of institutions providing out-of-home 'care', 1778–2013

Scope and sources

This paper seeks to describe and categorise the types of institutions providing out-of-home 'care' for children and young people in what could broadly be described as the child welfare sector in Australia from colonisation.[1] Although many of the organisations continue to have a profile in the field today, the paper is historical, drawing on the resources of the Find & Connect web resource[2], which focuses on the period before 1980. As a result, its coverage is very comprehensive in relation to the large institutions of the past but less so in relation to the varieties of 'care' that replaced them in the 21st century. It also makes no attempt to address the issue of boarding-out or foster care, forms of 'care' which dominated most of the statutory and some of the voluntary provision from the 1870s through to the 1930s, with foster care returning to this status from the 1970s on. Appendix 1 provides the list of institutions included in this overview.[3]

The Find & Connect web resource was funded by FaHCSIA (now the Department of Social Services) as part of the Government's response to the Senate's Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians inquiries.[4] Its primary goal is to map the landscape of 'care' during the period 1920–89. However, given that the institutions operating during this period have histories which extend both before and beyond this period, the project team has set out to develop a more comprehensive resource extending back to European colonisation and tracing developments in the sector after 1980. As the resource is in a constant state of development, there is no claim that this mapping is complete, but three years in, the team is confident that most of the places at which 'care' was provided are now included. The knowledge that the state-based historians have accumulated in constructing the web resource has contributed greatly to this paper.

The statistics drawn upon in this report and the accompanying Appendix derive from Find & Connect as it stood at the end of November 2013. The categorisation involved collapsing some of the complexity apparent in the web resource. While Find & Connect documents the changes in function and identity of places that have provided out-of-home care, this paper categorises them according to their original purpose for simplicity. Where the same organisation ran a continuous service, even if from changing locations, the institution has been counted only once in the Appendix. Many cases followed a similar trajectory, which is traced in the following analysis. However, where the same building was used for different purposes or by different organisations, each change of identity has

[1] Thus it excludes boarding schools, military and other facilities, although it is acknowledged that in some cases such institutions were used as alternatives to out-of-home care. To map such facilities is beyond the scope of this paper.

[2] http://www.findandconnect.gov.au/.

[3] The contract period for this work did not allow time for this field to be fully mapped.

[4] Senate Community Affairs References Committee (2004) *Forgotten Australians* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia). Senate Community Affairs References Committee (2001*) Lost Innocents* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia).

generated a separate entry. The figures, then, are not absolutes, and indeed would be slightly different if calculated by a different researcher at a different time. However, they are certainly indicative of both the variety of provision between states and of change over time.

Historical context

The development of institutional 'care' for children needs to be understood within the context of the broader provision for the poor in colonial Australia. United in their determination not to replicate the British Poor Laws, each of the colonies faced the challenge of devising an alternative method of dealing with settlers who were unable to provide for themselves or their families. Given the high proportion of convicts or former convicts among the Tasmanian population, for instance, the institutions established by the Imperial Government for infirm convicts performed this function. Most other colonies developed generic institutions in the early years of their foundation. The most populous colonies of New South Wales and Victoria adopted the British model of the subscriber charity[5] to fill this gap. The Benevolent Society, founded in Sydney in 1813, established its Benevolent Asylum, which accommodated the colony's poor, destitute, disabled and aged, from 1821.[6] In Melbourne, the Immigrants' Aid Society founded a similar institution on the city's gateway in 1853.[7] In the less populous colonies of South Australia and Western Australia, governments had to step in to fill this role. The South Australian government established a Destitute Poor Department in 1849, a major function of which was to administer the Destitute Asylum established in the same year.[8] In 1851, the Western Australian Governor established the Immigrants' Home, which went on to become the colony's first poorhouse.[9] In Queensland, the Brisbane Hospital was used for this purpose, with the government paying an allowance to the committee for the maintenance of 'paupers'.[10]

The first specialist provisions for children, both in the government and the voluntary sector, arose out of a desire to remove children from what was seen as both a contaminating and demeaning atmosphere in such generic asylums. Again, the models from which the colonies borrowed were derived from England, but, in the absence of a workhouse as the institution of last resort, had to be adapted to suit colonial conditions. Later, as more specialised 'needs' were identified, the range of institutional responses increased, although still drawing predominantly on English models. In the

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[5] A subscriber charity was a voluntary organisation controlled by a committee elected by subscribers, who were also entitled to a set number of 'tickets' each year which allowed them to recommend 'fit objects for relief'.

[6] The Benevolent Society website: http://www.benevolent.org.au/about/celebrating--200--years.

[7] Immigrants Home, eMelbourne website: http://www.emelbourne.net.au/biogs/EM00744b.htm.

[8] SA 150 years website: http://www.sahistorians.org.au/175/chronology/march/19-march-1849-destitute-asylum.shtml.

[9] http://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/wa/WE01150.

[10] R.F.J. Wood, '"The Diam": A History of the Daimantina Hospital', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, 11 (3), 1981: pp: 147-8. Available http://www.textqueensland.com.au/item/article/dfce21486bae9851b23a90804a88ff49.

following discussion, each of these categories of institutions will be explained, both in terms of their origins and later iterations. This discussion will focus initially on institutions catering primarily for the settler population, before examining the parallel institutions established in some jurisdictions for Indigenous children.

Generic children's institutions

Orphanages or orphan asylums

Orphanages or orphan asylums were a prominent feature of Australian urban landscapes from the early 19th through to the mid-20th centuries. Orphanages founded in both Britain and the United States from the late 18th century were voluntary organisations designed to rescue the children of the 'deserving' poor from being admitted to the workhouse. In Australia, which had no workhouses, these institutions took on a particular local form. The earliest, established in New South Wales in 1813 and Tasmania in 1833 were founded by governments, primarily but not exclusively to deal with the children of convicts. Over time, the management was devolved to local committees ensuring that these institutions equated more closely to British models. Queensland (1865) was the only other government to follow this pattern, with the other colonies (Vic 1845, Tas 1898, WA 1905) moving directly to the voluntary model with new orphanages functioning as subscriber charities under the management of non-denominational committees, although often receiving capitation grants from government. The dominance of Protestants on such committees raised fears of proselytism amongst Catholics who responded by founding orphanages of their own (Vic 1855, Qld 1860, NSW 1867, WA 1868, Tas 1879, SA 1940) often succeeding in obtaining a similar level of government support. In South Australia, which had no non-denominational orphanages, the Anglican Church opened its own institution in 1860, a move that was followed in WA in 1869, NSW in 1893 and Queensland in 1922.

Despite their different funding arrangements, Australian orphanages shared several characteristics with the British model. They were primarily a creation of the 19th century, with only four founded after that date. Their impressive buildings were an important assertion of civic pride, a sign that a community honoured its obligations to children in need. However, these institutions were also selective as to whom they assisted. Although there were few genuine orphans[11], entry was increasingly restricted to the children of widows[12] who, in the absence of a male breadwinner, were assumed to be unable to provide for them. Widowers were usually not extended the same help, the assumption being that a man should be able to provide for his children through his own labour. Where it was possible, guardians or other relatives were expected to make a contribution towards the cost of the children's care, and were, in turn, entitled to see the children on visiting days.[13] Most orphanages preferred to admit school-age children, rather than infants and toddlers whose care demands were high and survival rates lower.

[11] That is, children who had lost both parents, sometimes referred to as double orphans.

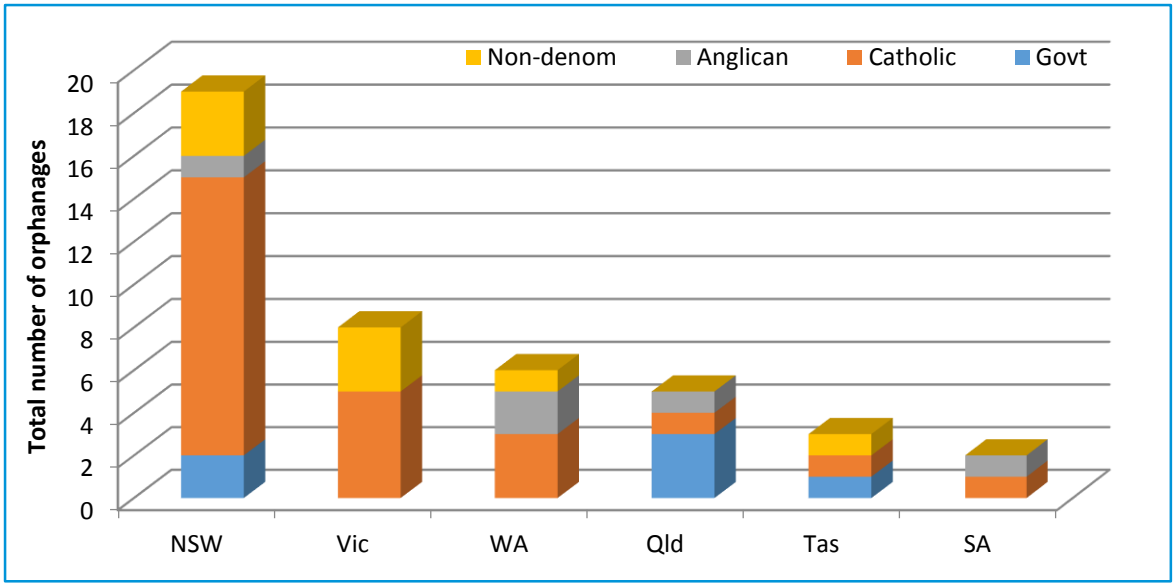
[12] Sometimes referred to as single orphans.

[13] Most institutions had fixed visiting days. In the 19th century, these could be as seldom as once a month, but became more frequent in later decades. Although this rule was rarely explicit, a parent or relative who was in arrears in their payments was at risk of being reminded of their debt if they arrived to visit their child.

The promise of the orphanage was that it provided for the children of the deserving poor, removing them from the stigma attached to lesser institutions, while training them to provide for themselves in the future. However, the type of care they offered was more about preparing them for their role as honest workers than restoring them to the status from which they had come. Orphanages followed the dormitory model, dividing children into groups by age and gender, presided over by a male superintendent and a female matron. Female staff, assisted by the older girls, supervised female residents and the younger boys, while male staff typically supervised boys over the age of 10. The Catholic Church, which relied on members of religious orders to staff its institutions, favoured single-sex institutions. Those that accepted both genders generally removed the boys to male-only institutions at adolescence. Most orphanages were self-contained institutions, where the children were educated at internal schools, and did the bulk of the everyday work. Girls were generally occupied with inside domestic duties; boys working both inside their own quarters and outside in the gardens and farms which provided much of their food, or in external cleaning and maintenance. Once they reached school leaving age, children who had no family to return to were 'apprenticed out' – most commonly, boys as farm labourers and girls as domestic servants. The advantage of such employment was that it provided the young people with accommodation as well as wages, a proportion of which was usually remitted to the orphanage to be saved on the child's behalf. The ability of children to claim such savings relied on their being in good standing with the orphanage when they reached adulthood.

Find & Connect currently lists 43 institutions that began as orphanages (Figure 1): 19 in NSW (13 Catholic, three non-denominational, two government, one Anglican); eight in Victoria (five Catholic, three non-denominational), six in Western Australia (three Catholic, two Anglican, one non-denominational); five in Queensland (three government, one Anglican, one Catholic); three in Tasmania (one government, one non-denominational, one Catholic); and two in South Australia (one Anglican, one Catholic). Some were short-lived, but most had a continuing presence into the 20th century, often with very little change in the way they operated until well into the post-war period. Those that survived the move to deinstitutionalisation in the 1970s form the basis of many of the dominant agencies providing support for children and their families today.

Figure 5: Orphanages by state and auspice



Industrial schools

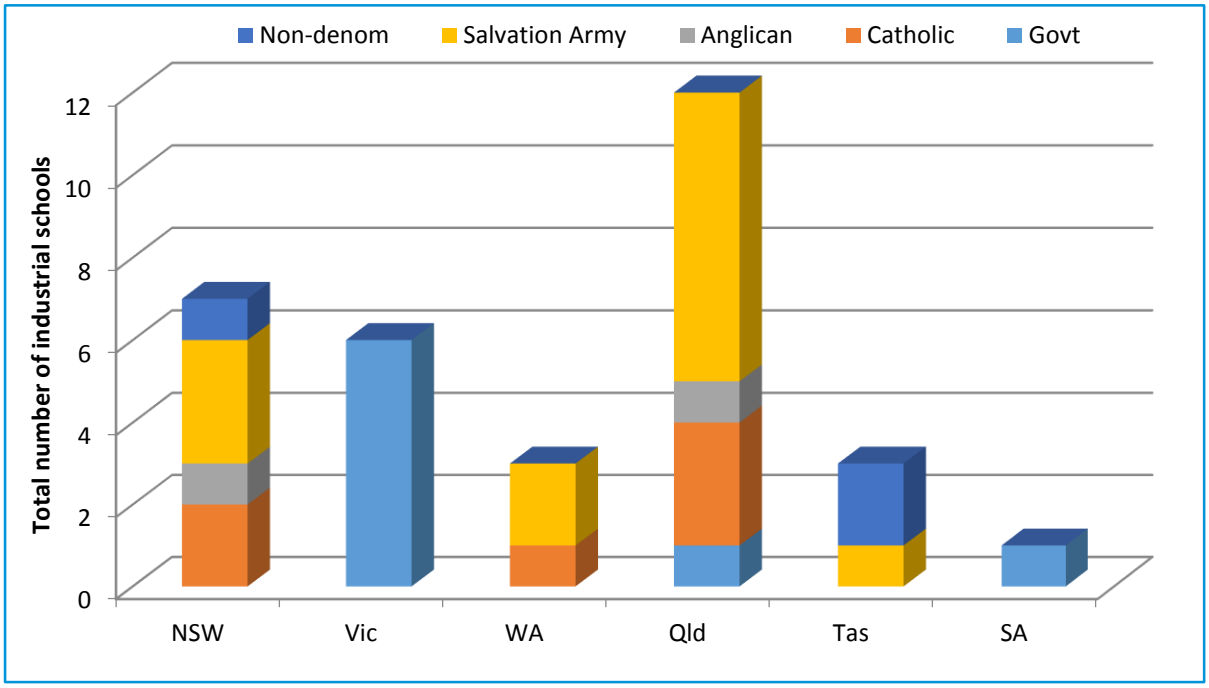
The eligibility rules applied to orphanages created a demand for a second type of institution to deal with apparently neglected children who still had living parents. For this, the colonies turned to a second model borrowed from England, the industrial school. The central idea underlying the notion of an industrial school was that such children, if left untrained, posed a risk in the future. It was thought that they would fall into the indolence, moral degradation or even criminality seen to be the cause of their family's poverty and produce another generation of 'paupers' dependent on government support. This risk was to be avoided by rendering the children industrious, teaching them the value of work and preparing them to support themselves in the future. Whereas, in England, such schools targeted particular groups of children removed from the workhouses, in the Australian colonies, they admitted children across the age spectrum. The first School of Industry opened in NSW in 1827, a non-government institution designed to prepare working-class girls for domestic service. However, it was the passage of legislation in the UK enabling the establishment of such schools for workhouse children (England 1857, Scotland 1860, Ireland 1868) which saw the adoption of the concept across Australia. After the Australian colonies passed similar legislation (Vic 1864, Qld 1865, NSW and SA 1866, Tas 1867, WA 1874) industrial schools were opened across the country (Vic 1865, Qld 1868, SA 1869, Tas 1877, NSW 1888, WA 1897). The government took parental responsibility for children admitted to such institutions, who, in most jurisdictions became known as wards of the state.

Industrial schools lacked the claim to gentility of the orphanages. The buildings were less impressive, and, with the exception of Victoria where they became the primary means of caring for children admitted to state care, they were more likely to be gender specific and restrict admission to at least school-age children. The children slept in large dormitories with others of their age and gender, and were cared for by staff of the same gender. The emphasis on industry meant that they were less likely than orphanage children to get anything but a very basic education. However, the training was similarly focused on activities needed to assist with the operation of the institution, and retained its gender focus. Industrial school children were more likely to be deprived of contact with their parents who nevertheless remained liable to contribute to their maintenance. Separated from their families, they were more likely to be sent to employment on their release – boys most likely to farm labour, girls to domestic service – with the state the official custodian of their wages.

Find & Connect currently lists 32 institutions that began their lives as Industrial Schools, although more adopted this function as part of their repertoire of services to access government funding. All but six were founded in the 19th century. Because of the differences in the enabling legislation, and the enthusiasm with which the idea was developed, the nature of industrial schools varied considerably between colonies/states (Figure 6). In Victoria, where industrial schools were central to providing for state children, the government dominated the field, although industrial school divisions were also developed within some existing Catholic orphanages. The new Department of Industrial and Reformatory Schools began by taking control of the children who had been living in the Immigrants' Home but was quickly overwhelmed by the demand as parents across the colony turned to the state for assistance in providing for their offspring. Overcrowded, poorly organised and riddled with disease, this system stumbled from crisis to crisis before being replaced by a boarding-out scheme from the 1870s. South Australia had little enthusiasm for the industrial school model, but in the other colonies the concept created opportunities for an assortment of denominational bodies, with the recently arrived Salvation Army playing a particularly important role. Organisations

that had their origins in Industrial Schools survived well into the 20th century, although not without adapting to changing patterns of provision over time.

Figure 6: Industrial Schools by state and auspice

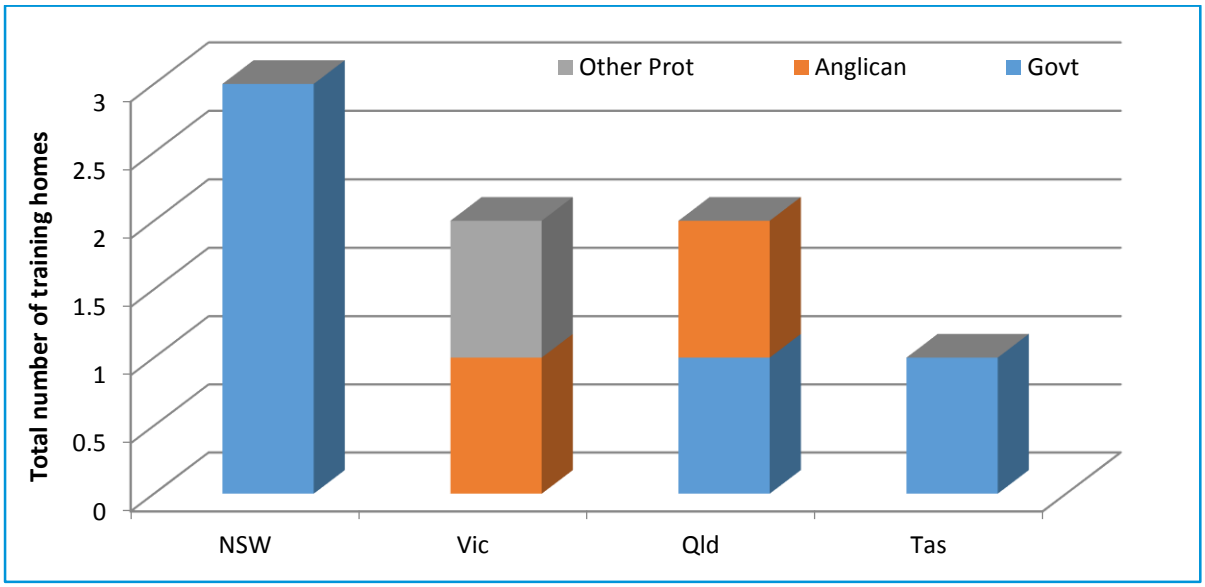


Training homes and farm training schools

Although some of the harsher elements of the industrial school model proved less attractive over time, the notion that poor children needed to be trained to be able to support themselves into the future had a longer lifespan, underlying two new forms of institution: domestic training homes for girls and farm training schools for boys. Both took in older children whose labour maintained the institution in which they resided. However, the type of training they were offered often related more to the perceived labour needs of the institutions' principal sponsors than to vacancies in the labour market which they entered on their discharge.

Find & Connect currently lists seven institutions that began as training homes, two established by Anglican organisations in the late 19th century (Vic 1883, Qld 1897), four of the remaining five by government in the 20th century (NSW beginning from 1920 and Tasmania in 1950), with a Presbyterian organisation opening a home in Victoria in 1906 (Figure 7). The training homes established by religiously aligned voluntary committees were designed to prepare young women to enter domestic service, often drawing their clientele from orphanages or children's homes controlled by the same denomination or organisation. Typically, the stay at such homes was relatively short and the number of children was quite small. On their discharge the girls were placed as servants in private homes. The government homes were on a similar scale but catered primarily for adolescent girls who had been in foster care. Although the market for domestic servants was in decline from the 1920s, all but one of these homes survived into the second half of the 20th century, often adapting their program to provide accommodation for girls who were continuing their education.

Figure 7: Training homes by state and auspice



Farm training schools were a later development than female training homes but were more prolific, reflecting a 20th-century belief that the skills required for rural employment needed to be explicitly taught rather than learnt on the job, as had been expected of boys sent to the country in the preceding century. The concept proved attractive to a range of sponsoring organisations, evidence of a widespread belief in the rehabilitative potential of rural labour. Given the difficulty in retaining male adolescents within female-staffed institutions, boys were often transferred to such schools at the age of nine or 10 and stayed until the end of their compulsory schooling at 14. Farm schools were also used by child migration agencies to introduce British children to Australian life. The type of accommodation varied: older institutions retained the dormitories while newer ones were built on the cottage model[14]. However, all relied on the labour of the residents to maintain the working farm and to do the domestic work within the institution. Where the institution had an internal school, often the demands of the farm overrode education time. On reaching school leaving age, children were placed in rural employment, although few achieved the status of independent farming, and most returned to city living in adulthood.

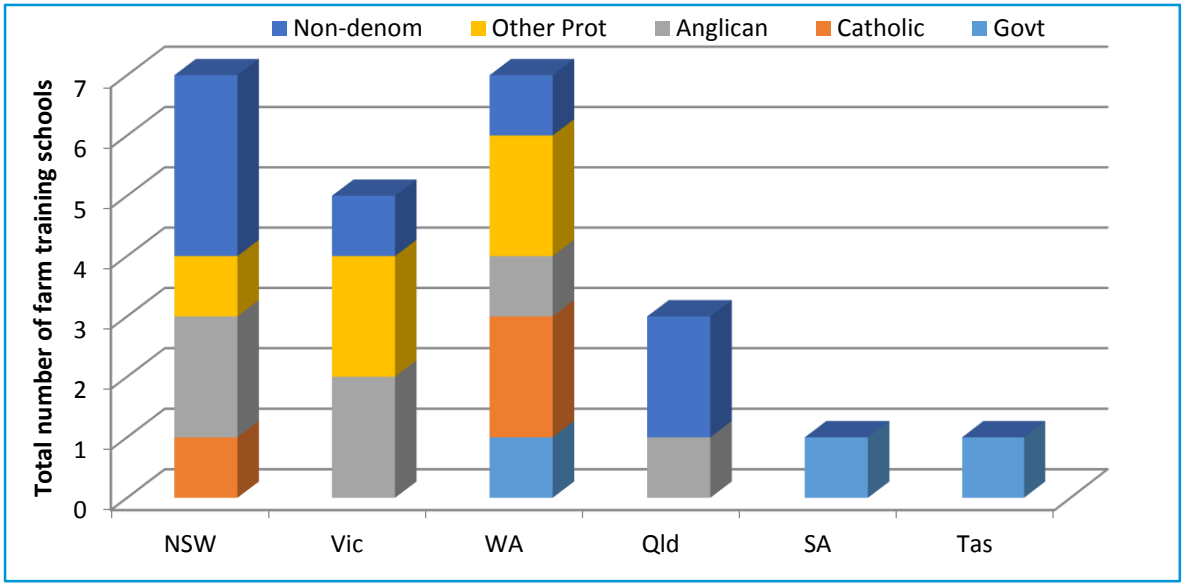
Find & Connect currently lists 24 organisations that began as farm schools (Figure 8). Governments followed this model in all states but Queensland, using such institutions to provide for older boys who could no longer be accommodated within the foster care system (NSW 1900, Vic 1904, Tas 1936, SA 1947, WA 1979). A wide range of denominational and non-denominational organisations also adopted this model, both for stand-alone facilities and as a final placement for boys who were proving troublesome in homes accommodating younger children.[15] Although few of these institutions survived as working farms following the mechanisation of rural properties in the post-

[14] Cottages were smaller units designed to replicate the structure of the family, although this did not always mean mixed ages and genders, or a married couple in charge. For reasons of institutional efficiency there was usually a heavy emphasis on communal facilities, as with the children's homes described below.

[15] Most mixed children's institutions had a predominantly if not totally female staff. Once boys reached adolescence they could become difficult for women to manage. Their increasing strength made them difficult to discipline, their emerging sexuality was often seen as a threat to younger children, and the greater freedom boys had in society made absconding less dangerous for them than for adolescent girls.

war period, the belief that troubled boys could be changed through exposure to rural conditions survived, with most such institutions continuing to offer a rural if not a strictly farming experience into the 1980s, and some new 'bush' or 'boot camp' programs in remote locations still being developed today.

Figure 8: Farm training schools by state and auspice



Children's homes

In their later histories many of the specialist institutions described above reverted to the more general and certainly most prolific form – the children's home. The term home was originally used in Britain by Evangelical Christians, eager to differentiate the institutions which they were founding from the 'barracks-style' institutions of the past. The word 'home' had connotations of the Christian family, in which the patriarchal father provided for his wife and family, safely ensconced in an environment imbued with love. As the British child rescuer, Dr Thomas Bowman Stephenson, argued: "God's way is not to bring up children in flocks, but families."[16] The rehabilitative power of the family was first expounded by German evangelical Johann Wichern who established a children's village outside Hamburg in 1833, using a model that was widely copied across the Western world.[17] However, the economies of scale meant that many of the homes which Evangelicals and their later followers developed bore little resemblance to family life. While, in general, homes were smaller than orphanages or industrial schools, they often still reverted to a dormitory model with children divided according to age and gender. Even where the accommodation was described as 'cottages', few organisations were prepared to tolerate a mix of genders and ages, and single women, known as sisters or aunts stood in place of parents. In the case of boys-only institutions, single men performed this role. Children still provided the labour, meals were eaten in communal dining rooms, and schools continued to be internal. The earliest institutions were reliant on private placements, funded by contributions from parents or guardians, augmented by charitable donations. However, as state

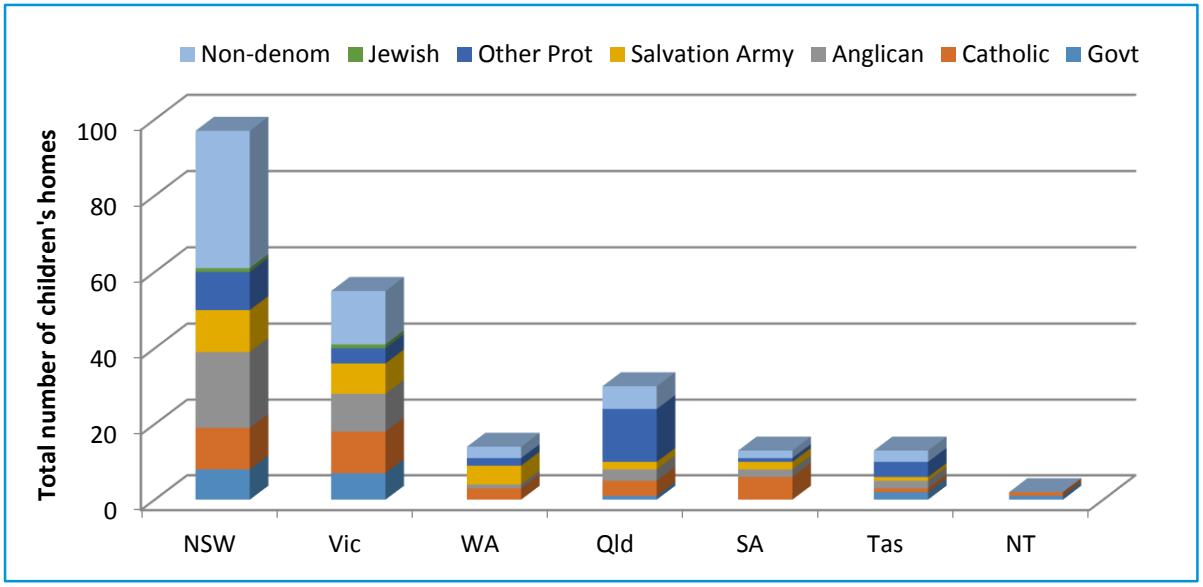
[16] 'Dr Bowman Stephenson and the children's home', *Spectator*, 20 November 1882, p. 294.

[17] Shurlee Swain and Margot Hillel, *Child, nation, race and empire: child rescue discourse, England, Canada and Australia, 1850-1915* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010). 129-30.

foster care systems came under increasing strain, governments too embraced this model, or negotiated with existing institutions to offer places to more of their children.

Find & Connect currently lists 224 organisations that were founded as children's homes, 116 of which took children of both genders, 73 only boys and 35 exclusively for girls (Figure 9). The disparity between the number of boys' and girls' homes resulted both from the difficulty children's homes, such as orphanages, experienced in caring for older boys due to the institutions' reliance on female staff and the marked preference for girls amongst potential adopters which left larger numbers of boys to pass through the institutional system. Although the first institution to adopt the title of 'home' was founded in Victoria in 1865 (Tas 1869, NSW 1880, SA 1886, Qld 1890, WA 1902, NT 1929), the children's home was predominantly a 20th century nomenclature, and continued to be used into the 1980s. Children's homes were established in all jurisdictions apart from the ACT. The desire to protect children of their own flock meant that most religious groups had their own homes, but the format also attracted non-denominational groups, and sometimes even individuals who believed that they had a calling to care for children. The proliferation of such institutions, and the looseness of the arrangements under which they could take custody of children meant that supervision was inadequate, leaving children vulnerable to abuse. Even nominally denominational homes were often only loosely connected to church hierarchies, which contributed little to their ongoing costs. Non-denominational organisations often became the fiefdom of committed individuals accountable to nobody. While, like orphanages, the sturdiest of these homes adapted to change to become the family support organisations of today, others were short-lived and have left little record of their activities.

Figure 9: Children's homes by state and auspice



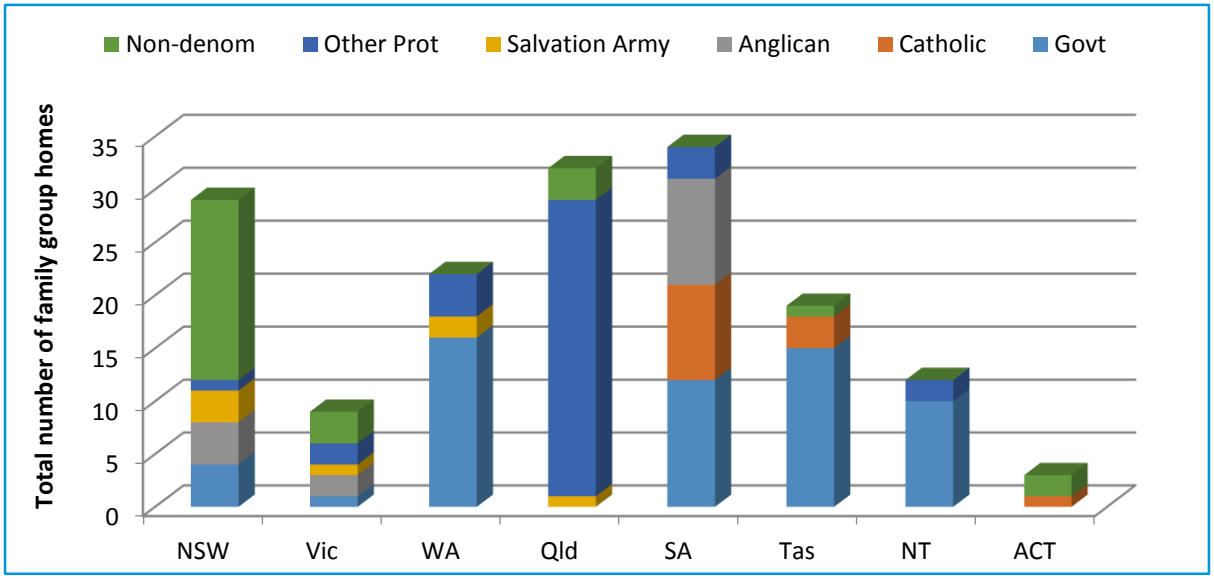
Family group homes

New ideas emanating, again from Britain, in the post-war era offered a model of care which more closely equated to idea of family than the structure of most children's homes. Even in homes that had moved to a cottage model, issues around staffing and economy too often meant that it was easier to make larger, more uniform groups of children than naturally formed families. Family group homes, scattered throughout the suburbs and staffed by married couples, many of whom brought

their own children, appeared to come closer to the family ideal. Siblings could stay together, and the children could attend local schools and churches and use other community facilities. In reality, the 'families' formed in this way continued to be larger than those in the surrounding neighbourhood, and while siblings may well have moved in together initially, they were still required to leave individually as each came to the end of their schooling, creating vacancies which were quickly filled by other unrelated children. With the turnover of staff and children over time, the facade of 'family' proved harder to maintain. It also became apparent that while the best of such facilities could come close to recreating a domestic family home, the worst perpetuated the risks of a family gone wrong, with children left isolated with no-one to whom they could report abuse.

The family group home model proved attractive not only to existing institutions anxious to embrace change in the face of a growing critique of institutionalisation but to both government and non-government agencies seeking to expand into the area of out-of-home care. Find & Connect currently lists 160 organisations that adopted this model of care (Figure 10). This figure does not include the many children's homes that also shifted their children into scattered cottages. The first new organisation to adopt this type of care was the Victorian Child Welfare Department which, struggling with all but collapse of its foster care system, and a shortage of beds in the non-government homes on which it had come to rely, returned to direct provision of care in 1956. In the other states, both government and non-government organisations opened their own family group homes over the next decade, and it was this model that became standard when the Northern Territory and the ACT, which had generally relied on the states to provide accommodation for non-Indigenous children for whom they were responsible, began to make their own provisions. It was a model particularly suited to sparsely populated areas where small units could be established in many centres rather than concentrating children in large institutions in capital cities and regional centres. Protestant organisations were able to move more quickly than Catholic or Salvation Army institutions whose staffing models did not adapt easily to family group care, but for new entrants into the field the family group home became the model of choice from the 1960s on.

Figure 10: Family group homes by state and auspice[18]



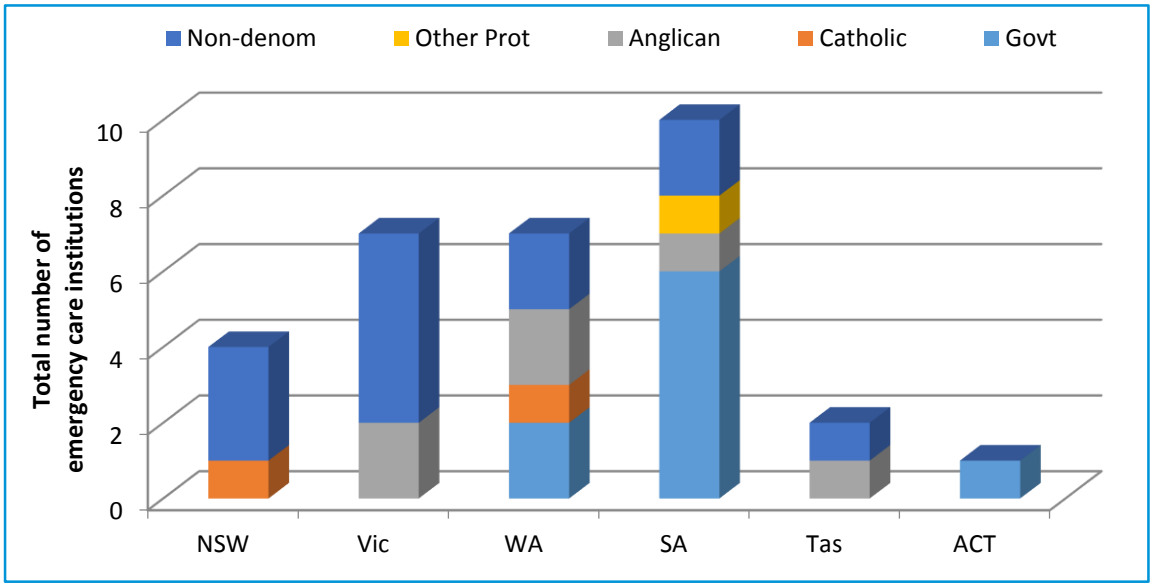
[18] The absolute numbers in this chart are distorted because of the way in which the data has been entered into the Find & Connect web resource. The state-based historians in smaller jurisdictions are able to identify and

Emergency accommodation

Ultimately, scattered family group homes were not able to stem a growing disillusionment with the notion that children in need could be best served by removing them from their families. From the late 1960s, state children's departments and the more progressive of the non-government providers responded to calls for families to be supported to care for their own children rather than being punished by being separated from them, a shift which was facilitated by an expansion in social security provision, particularly for supporting mothers. In this context, out-of-home care came to be imagined as a temporary necessity, the focus of which was to allow the family time to reform, rather than a long-term provision designed to fit the child for an independent self-sustaining future. Increasingly, the model was small units with rostered staff in which children could be placed within, where possible, their own community.

Find & Connect currently lists 31 institutions founded to provide short-term emergency care (Figure 11). The earliest dates from the 1940s (WA 1943, NSW 1945), established to help families deal with the disruption of World War II, but other states followed suit as the trend accelerated from the mid-1960s (SA 1947, Vic 1955, Tas 1969). As some of the larger organisations embraced change, they too added emergency care to their repertoire of services. The lower overheads offered an opportunity for a broader range of non-government organisations to enter the out-of-home 'care' field. In some states, government also embraced this concept, although those with reinvigorated foster care systems used short-term foster care to meet this need.

Figure 11: Emergency care by state and auspice



Reception centres

As child welfare systems diversified, most jurisdictions established a central, or later a series of institutions, in which children could be housed before going to court or being sent to a more permanent form of 'care'. Although they were envisioned as relatively small, short-stay institutions with rostered staff, delays in the system could lead to their becoming overcrowded. Newly arrived

list individual government-auspiced family groups homes, whereas this has not been possible in the larger states.

children mixed with those returned from failed placements and the semi-permanent population of 'hard-to-place' children who spent long periods at such centres. Among the hard-to-place were children with chronic illnesses or disabilities and infants infected with venereal disease. The familiarity of long-staying children with the institution meant that they often set its culture and took a leading role in the cleaning, caring and outdoor maintenance work that was the lot of all children in 'care'. In some extreme cases, such children spent their whole career in such centres, becoming part of the staff on reaching adulthood.[19]

Find & Connect currently lists 47 institutions that were initially established as reception centres. Thirty-eight 'receiving houses' were developed as adjuncts to the foster care system, beginning with SA in 1867 and WA in 1893. Victoria used its existing industrial school network to fill this role, converting the Royal Park School into its long-lived Depot after the rest of the schools were displaced by boarding-out. When it again developed its own institutions from the 1960s, five new reception centres were added to the array, two in Melbourne and three in regional centres. NSW built receiving houses in urban and regional centres from 1894, and both Tas (1898) and the NT (1956) adopted this model as an integral part of foster care schemes. Two of the child migrant agencies operating in NSW also used receiving houses as distribution centres (Barnardos 1921, Big Brother Movement 1951).

In the 20th century, governments in NSW (1905), NT (1976), WA (1993) and SA (1995) established remand homes for children going through the criminal justice system, but in other states these children were accommodated in special units within existing juvenile justice or reception centres. Another late 20th century development, reflecting the increasing engagement with psychology in the child welfare sector, was the establishment of reception facilities now labelled as assessment centres, seven of which were opened in between 1969 and 1995. All but one operated under government auspices although, again, many of the long-established non-government organisations also developed assessment and treatment centres as part of their increasingly diversified models of 'care'.

Specialist institutions for children and young people

Female rescue homes

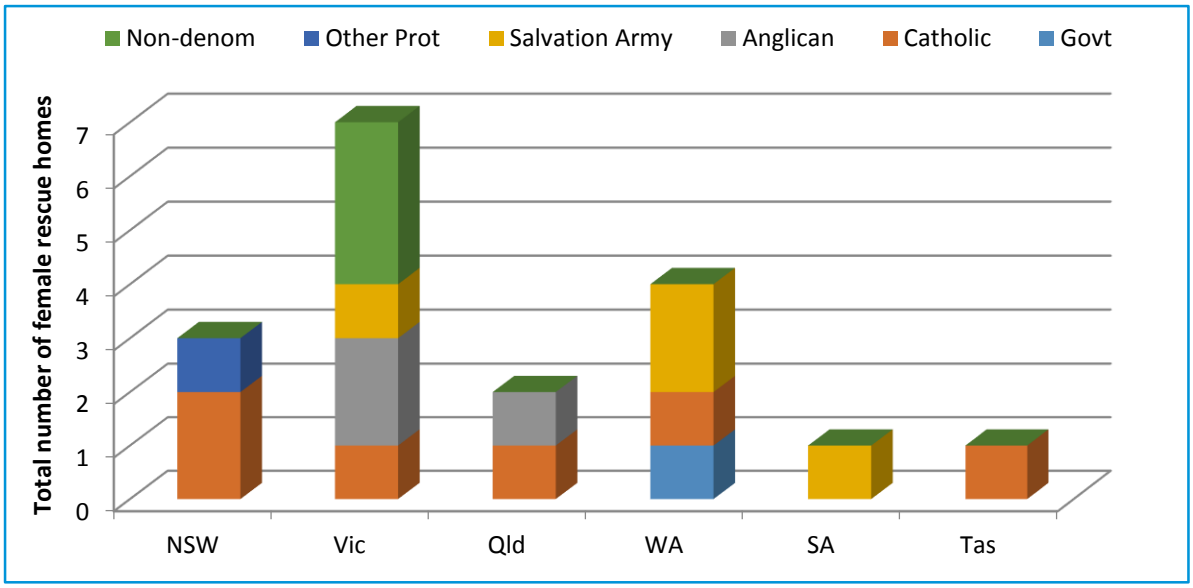
The potential threat that unprotected children were perceived to pose for the future nation was increasingly gender-related as they entered into adolescence. For girls, as future mothers, the threat was moral, leading to the establishment of a range of institutions designed to protect those at risk of moral contagion and contain those who had already 'fallen'. The model was the Magdalen Asylum, founded in London in 1758, but given new life in the colonies primarily through the enthusiasm of Evangelical Christians. They were staffed by women, often members of Catholic or Protestant religious orders, who saw the work as their mission. The focus of such institutions was the adolescent at risk of indulging in sex outside marriage, a behaviour thought to be the first step towards prostitution. The aim of the institutions was to remove such young women from 'temptation', confining them behind high walls for indefinite terms, clothing them in dull, unadorned clothing and subjecting them to a diet of prayer and hard work, often in commercial laundries which

[19] For a vivid recollection of this system in operation see: Walter Jacobsen, *Dussa and the maiden's prayer* (Melbourne: Victoria Press, 1994).

provided the organisations' main source of income. Young women could be sent to female rescue homes as an alternative to a fixed term of imprisonment, but others were despatched by parents who saw them as uncontrollable. Girls from children's homes or foster placements who were considered to be unruly were also sent to these institutions. Here, they mixed with older women who were so 'broken down' that they needed to seek permanent shelter, but also useful because of their long history of institutionalisation in keeping the laundry functional. When their term was finished the younger women were found employment, usually in some form of domestic service.

Find & Connect currently lists 18 organisations (Figure 12) that began their existence as rescue homes or female refuges, all but two of which were founded in the 19th century (WA 1851, Vic 1854, NSW 1882, Tas 1893, Qld 1930). They were auspiced by a range of denominational organisations with the Catholic Church and the Salvation Army, making this a consistent mission. Only in Victoria was there substantial non-religious participation, largely in the form of subscriber charity-based female refuges, the committees of which were predominantly composed of Protestant women. While many of the organisations which began as rescue homes survived well into the 20th century, most were modifying their focus from early in their history. Finding prostitutes or potential prostitutes difficult to recruit and contain, they looked instead to a more compliant group, single mothers.

Figure 12: Female rescue homes by state and auspice



Maternity Homes

At a time when almost all babies were born at home, both charities and governments realised that poor women needed somewhere to deliver their infants. Public lying-in hospitals met this need for women who had family support but for single women, already shamed by their pregnancy, specialist institutions were developed. These provided accommodation from the point at which they were unable to work through to the time when their presence was no longer considered essential for their baby's survival. In the 19th century, women entered such institutions quite late in their pregnancy but were required to stay for an extended time after delivery. Although this was justified in terms of the need for the infants to be breast fed, the fact that it also had a punitive element is apparent in the expectation that mothers whose infants had died were required to serve their full term as part

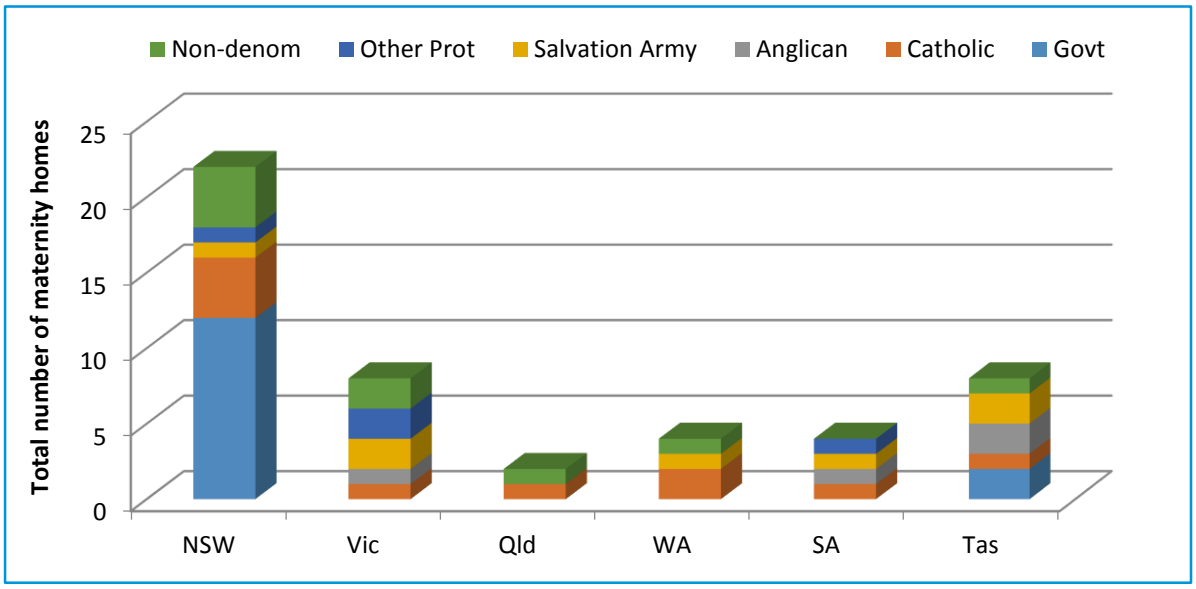
of their 'moral reclamation'. By contrast, those for whom a marriage had been arranged could leave immediately. The regime in maternity homes was little different from the rescue homes from which some had derived. Staff members were exclusively female, the regime was dreary and monotonous, and the residents did the bulk of the cleaning, child care and maintenance work, including labouring in commercial laundries in some cases. Maternity homes catered for single mothers of all ages, so adolescents who were already in 'care' and others placed directly by their parents or employers mixed with older women. Although most such institutions claimed publicly that they admitted only women who had 'fallen once', many did accept mothers a second or subsequent time, both as a result of a special appeal or because they had insufficient numbers to render the home's operation economical. On their release, young mothers who were not able to return to their families were placed in domestic service, contributing a substantial proportion of their wage to pay for the upkeep of their children.

In the 20th century, the nature and function of maternity homes changed. An increasing stigma around single motherhood and the availability of legal adoption saw women entering the homes earlier in their pregnancies with the promise that if they were admitted before their condition became visible and signed the child over for adoption their secret would never be known. At the other end of their term, improved methods of artificial feeding meant that they were no longer required to remain with their child for an extended period until weaning. The average age of women entering the homes also decreased, so that they typically became the preserve of teenage mothers. A minority of these teens came out of the care system; the rest direct from their family homes. However, the regime within the homes was slower to change. Despite a softer rhetoric, the young mothers continued to be treated as 'fallen', were subjected to religious injunctions to repent of their sin, and contributed through their labour to the work of the home. However, they were less likely to be placed in employment at the end of their term. Early in the century the authorities controlling the homes believed mothers should return to feed their babies for a time, so they would develop maternal feelings and be aware of the pain of separation. However, as the demand for adoption grew, the orthodoxy changed in favour of early separation. In these cases, mothers were not permitted to see their children after the birth, and stayed at the home only until the immediate symptoms of their confinement disappeared before returning to their previous lives.

Find & Connect currently lists 48 organisations that began as maternity homes, 21 of which date from the 19th century (Figure 13). The earliest was an adjunct of the Female Factory in Tasmania (1821) and all of the other colonies had at least one similar institution by 1900 (SA 1868, Qld 1870, WA 1891, NSW 1894, Vic 1897[20]). Although convict maternity homes operated under government auspices, and, in NSW, there was a series of such homes designed to accommodate wards who became pregnant while out at service, in general such institutions were the domain of the non-government sector. Churches saw this as an important part of their mission. Anxious to 'care' for their own, and, increasingly, to provide babies for adoption for childless couples within their flocks, most denominations provided institutions of this kind. Maternity homes survived until the 1970s when a reduction in the stigma around ex-nuptial pregnancy saw a dramatic decline in the number of young women prepared to hide their condition.

[20] In both Victoria and NSW there were older institutions which added a maternity home to their existing functions.

Figure 13: Maternity homes by state and auspice



Babies' homes

Prior to the development of safe artificial feeding, children's institutions were reluctant to accept babies. State children's departments, which had no choice about who they would accept, generally arranged for infants to be wet-nursed, initially within the multi-purpose asylums or, in the case of Victoria, the industrial schools, but later in the community. Mothers who were unable to provide for their own children were forced to resort to private nurses, most of whom were required to be licensed under Infant Life Protection legislation from the late 19th century. Few of these women were wet-nurses and death rates were high. Rising concerns about this loss of infant life led to the establishment of specialist homes or asylums for babies (NSW 1874, Vic 1877), but most quickly found that they needed to admit the mothers as well if the children were to survive. They thus became parallel institutions to maternity homes but more focused on saving the life of the children than on reforming the mother. Mothers were discharged after the babies were weaned, but expected to continue to make payments for their support.

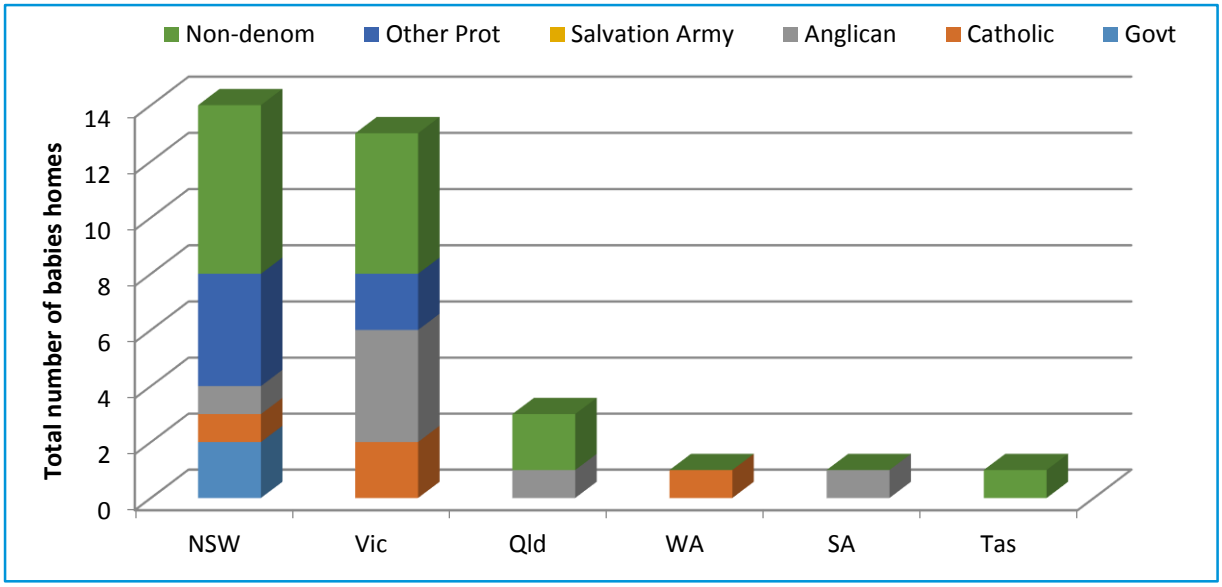
In the 20th century, and particularly from the 1920s, new babies' homes were established to care for children destined for adoption. Adoption was made legal across the various states in Australia beginning in Western Australia in 1896.[21] Eugenics-inspired doubts about the quality of children made available for adoption meant that demand immediately after the passage of the enabling legislation was low. Babies' homes were designed to address such doubts, keeping children for up to 18 months, during which time they were 'scientifically nursed' in order to overcome any possible problems. The homes were staffed by young women training as mothercraft nurses who were discouraged from forming close emotional relationships with the infants, concentrating instead on the physical care needed to provide prospective adoptive parents with a 'guaranteed product'. New theories of childcare after World War II discredited such practice. Adoption was now to take place as

[21] Western Australian *Adoption of Children Act*, 1896; Tasmanian *Adoption of Children Act*, 1920; the New South Wales *Child Welfare Act* 1923; South Australian *Adoption of Children Act*, 1925; Victorian *Adoption of Children Act*, 1928; the Northern Territory *Adoption of Children Ordinance*, 1935; Queensland *Adoption of Children Act*, 1935; Australian Capital Territory *Adoption of Children Ordinance*, 1938.

soon as the child was legally and medically cleared, but the babies' homes survived as mothercraft training institutions, becoming repositories for the hard-to-place' child, and for pre-school age children who would later move on to children's homes. Given the preference of adoptive parents for girls, most of the children for whom babies' homes were the first step in an institutional career were boys. By the 1970s the increased effectiveness of contraceptives, the relaxing of laws around abortion, the extension of social security benefits to single mothers, the consequent decline in adoption and the transfer of mothercraft to the tertiary sector saw the closure of most of these institutions. Some survived by transforming themselves into more general family support services.

Find & Connect currently lists 33 organisations initially founded as babies' homes or infant asylums, overwhelmingly in the years after World War I (Figure 14). Babies were an attractive focus for the charitable and many of these homes were established by committees of women moved by their plight. The churches were also well represented, largely through their association with adoption, but only in NSW was the government a significant provider, again indicative of the extensive array of institutions established to augment the boarding-out or foster care program.

Figure 14: Babies' homes by state and auspice



Mother and baby homes

The forces which saw the closure of most children's homes were also complicit in the closure of babies' homes, as policy makers and women themselves began to question the need to separate infants from their mothers to provide for their care. From the 1920s, some charitable organisations began to provide institutions where mothers and children could be accommodated together. The initial focus of such institutions was instructional, the assumption being that while the mother was responsible for her plight, she could be educated as to how to care for her children. Increasingly, however, institutions variously entitled as 'mother and baby' or 'women and children's' homes, were seen as offering preventive care, keeping families together in the absence of a male breadwinner, while working to position the mother to provide for her children. Accommodation was typically short

term, but where mothers were unable to recover their financial situation, their children were still at risk of moving into 'care'.

Find & Connect currently lists eight organisations in this category, established in Victoria (1920, 1978), NSW (1924, 1944), Tasmania (1925) and SA (1928, 1945, 1975), primarily by religious and other voluntary organisations. While the oldest still operates as a mother and babies' hospital today, most of the others closed as a result of deinstitutionalisation in the 1980s.

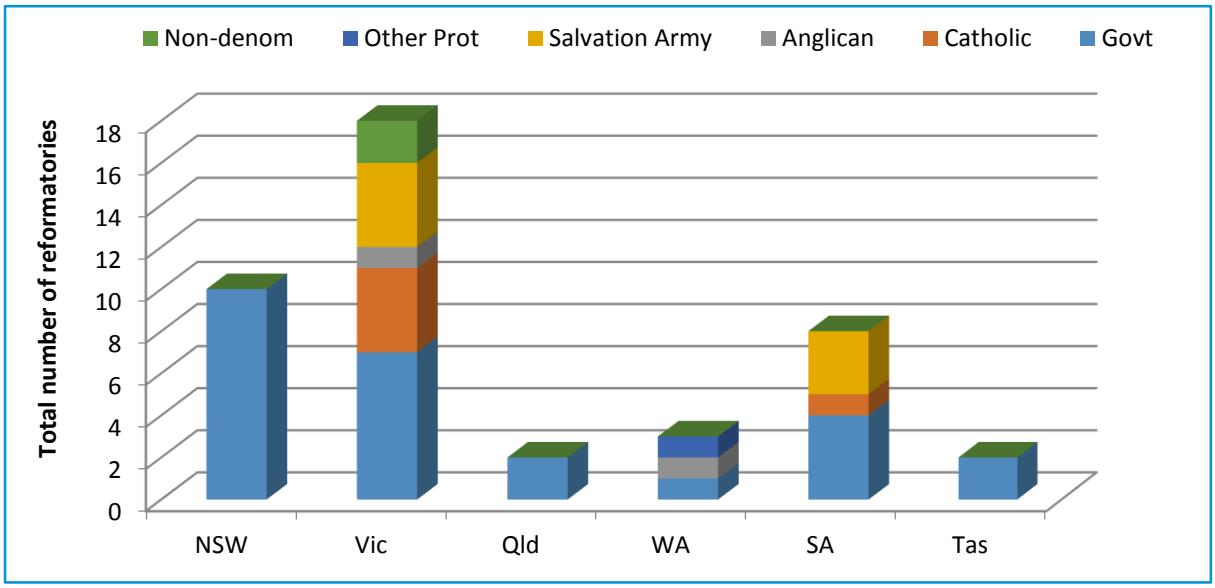
Reformatories

The welfare system evolved to provide specialised accommodation at the other end of childhood as well. Just as orphanages and industrial schools were opened to remove children from the undifferentiated poorhouses or equivalents, the earliest specialist provision for adolescents – the reformatory – was designed to remove offenders from the morally polluted environment of the prison. Again, the model was British, although the first Australian institution, Point Puer in Tasmania (1834), established as part of the convict system, predated England's first reformatory, Parkhurst, by four years. The other colonies quickly followed, Victoria establishing reformatories alongside its industrial schools from 1864, New South Wales in 1867, South Australia in 1869, Queensland in 1871 and Western Australia in 1881. The name of this new type of institution encoded the beliefs of its founders that, intercepted early enough, young criminals could be reformed. The regime varied little from the range of 19th century institutions that assumed prayer and hard work could transform juvenile offenders into honest workers. However, the struggle to contain the children and adolescents unwillingly confined to often overcrowded and poorly staffed institutions, created a space for both staff–resident and resident-on-resident violence.

Reformatories were strictly gendered, with girls controlled by female staff, boys by males. Boys were admitted because they were perceived as being in danger of embarking on a criminal life, while girls were predominately admitted for moral offences. Although they were supposedly designed to rescue children from the prison, reformatories mimicked many prison routines, justified by the need to maintain order. The bulk of the residents had been sentenced by the courts but children judged to be out of control within state boarding-out placements and other institutions could also be admitted. The space created in several jurisdictions for churches to conduct their own reformatories made such transfers relatively simple for children who were considered to be out of control in institutional care.

Find & Connect currently lists 43 institutions that began as reformatories, 28 for boys and 15 for girls (Figure 15). All but eight were founded in the 19th century, with the government being the major provider. In colonies which allowed for private reformatories, several churches proved eager to enter into the field. There were fears of proselytism even at this late stage in a children's lives. The most dominant were the Salvation Army, which became a trusted provider to governments willing to outsource responsibility for Protestant children, and the Catholic Church which asserted a claim to reform those of its own faith. These two denominational groups were the only ones to sustain a long-term interest in the field, able to reshape their institutions in response to new ideas in the 20th century when the government retreated from a diversity of provision to copy the NSW model where juvenile justice was clearly identified as a responsibility of government.

Figure 15: Reformatories by state and auspice



The 25 organisations listed in Find & Connect as being founded as juvenile justice institutions were all creations of the mid to late 20th century, and all were auspiced by government. Many survive to form the basis of the juvenile justice provision today. Although the idealism of the 19th century reformatory system has dulled, such institutions continue to encode a belief that young offenders are better dealt with apart from the adult system if there is to be any hope of reform. Juvenile justice institutions are now the end point of an extensive array of diversionary procedures but they still work on a prison model.

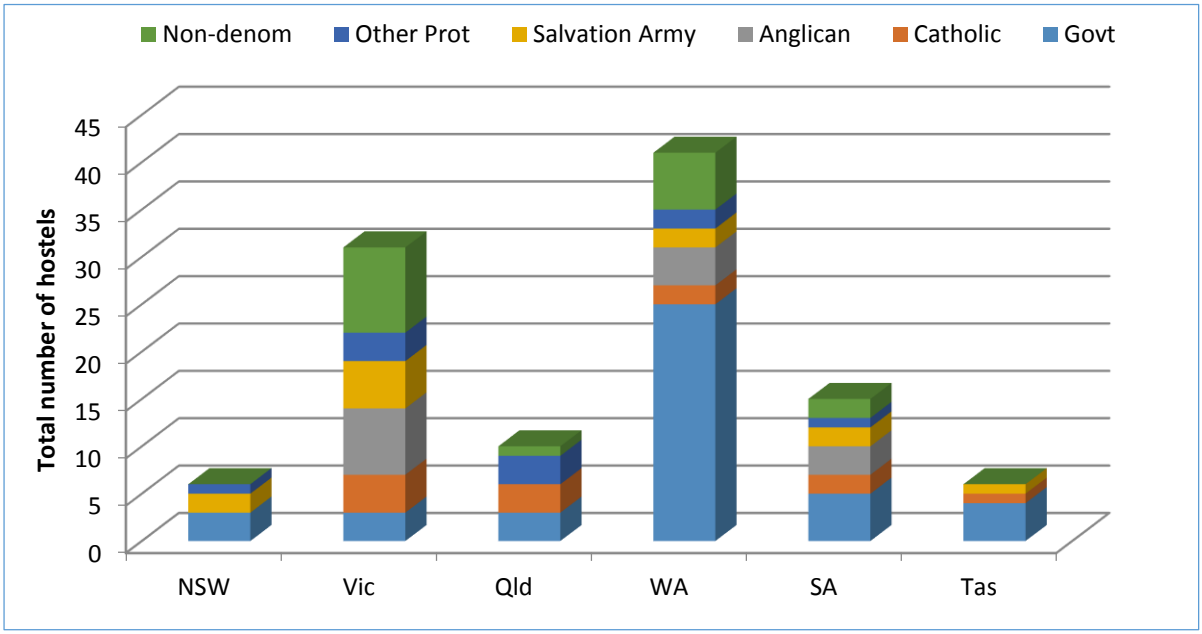
Hostels

Generalist institutions worked on the assumption that children would be sent to employment as early as school leaving regulations allowed, with the employer of choice offering both work and accommodation. However, changes in the availability of such employment and rising educational expectations, particularly after World War II, extended the period that children would be in 'care', creating a crisis in management for organisations struggling to contain adolescents within environments designed primarily for children. Hostels were developed as a solution to this difficulty, providing male- or female-only environments for adolescents pursing education or work in the city. The model dated back to the early years of the 20th century where it had been developed by churches and charitable institutions to provide protected accommodation, primarily for young

women living alone in the city. It had also been used by governments, particularly in more remote areas, to provide supervised accommodation for adolescents pursuing secondary education. Many of the organisations running children's homes added hostels to their array of services in the post-war period. While young people who had grown up in 'care' were accommodated across the various types of hostels, most were sent to hostels associated with the institution from which they had come.

Find & Connect currently lists 109 organisations that were founded as hostels (Figure 16). They were generally small units, with either a rostered staff of the same gender as the residents, or, in some cases, a married couple in a setting based on the cottage–parent model. The first was established by the Anglican Church in SA in 1898, with a scattering of similar institutions founded in other states prior to World War II (NSW 1912, Vic 1919, Qld 1930, WA 1931, Tas 1943). These early hostels were not designed for children who had grown up in 'care' although, in rare instances, children perceived as particularly talented may have been lodged there while pursuing city-based work. With the spread of secondary education after World War II, the rate of development of hostels accelerated. As relatively small-scale operations, hostels were attractive to a range of providers. However, in all states apart from Western Australia, where governments established hostels for secondary school students in many regional centres, churches dominated the field. With lower staffing levels, and the ability of working residents to contribute towards the cost of their own board, hostels made fewer demands on state and charitable funding, but were also subject to lighter levels of regulation as a result. The relaxation of sexual mores and a decrease in adolescent employment rates by the 1970s, removed much of the demand for hostels within the general population. Deinstitutionalisation also saw the closure of many hostels that had been attached to children's homes, with adolescents then admitted to 'care' seen as requiring a greater degree of intervention than hostels had been able to provide.

Figure 16: Hostels by state and auspice

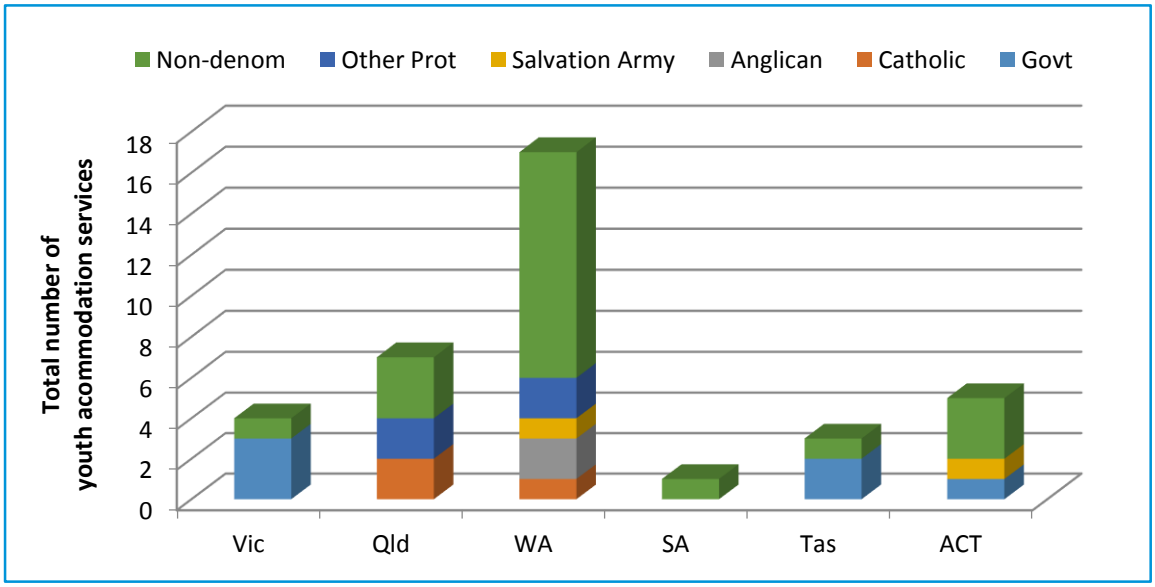


Youth accommodation

From the 1970s both government and non-government organisations began to develop a new form of care for adolescents no longer able to be contained within foster care or family group homes, or more recently admitted to 'care' because of family breakdown or minor offending. These youth accommodation units house small groups of adolescents, some gendered, some mixed, supervised by rostered staff. Many were designed to have a therapeutic aspect, aiming to work with their residents to continue their education. However, an increasing prevalence of mental illness and substance abuse has rendered this task challenging. With the collapse of the market for youth employment, the system struggles to find alternatives for young people whose educational experiences are poor and many such services attempt to extend eligibility well into early adulthood.

Find & Connect currently lists 37 organisations founded specifically as youth accommodation services (Figure 17). Many of these are small community-based facilities focusing primarily on the issue of youth homelessness. In addition to these new services, many of the larger, long-established childcare organisations have developed such units as part of their array of services. Youth accommodation services are the main type of provision for young people within the welfare system today.

Figure 17: Youth accommodation by state and auspice



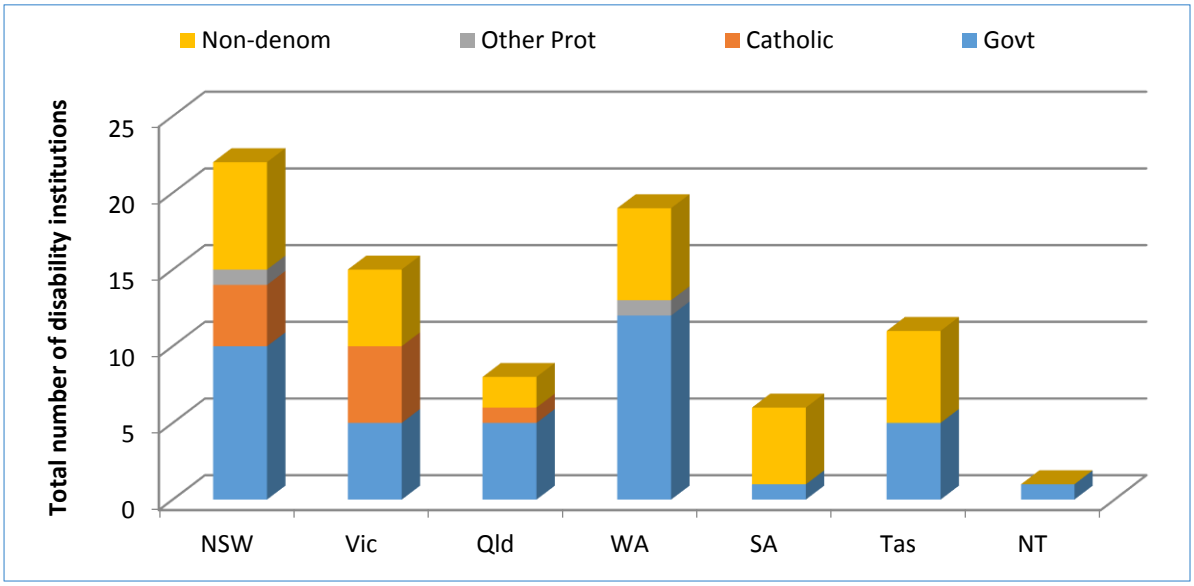
Disability institutions

The final group of specialist institutions did not fall formally within the child welfare system, but similarly derived from a belief that children should not be confined in adult institutions. The earliest, established during the colonial era (WA 1857, Vic 1860, Qld 1865, SA 1874, NSW 1886, NT 1889, Tas 1898) were designed to remove children from the generic asylums, in the case of children with physical disabilities, and lunatic asylums for those with intellectual disability. Some of the new institutions were constituted as schools, designed to give their graduates skills through which they could become self-supporting in the future. For the more seriously disabled, and particularly the intellectually disabled, they were essentially seen as long-term options with little therapeutic input.

Colonial institutions tended to be large, the children housed in dormitories with shared facilities and low levels of staffing. Institutions founded in the 20th century – many in response to the polio epidemics and increasing survival rates among infants with disabilities – were more domestic in scale, often with some parent input in their management. However, they still tended to see residents as in need of long-term care, and to operate on an institutional model.

Find & Connect currently lists 83 disability institutions in which children were accommodated from the second half of the 19th century (Figure 18). Governments were the major providers in the area of intellectual disability, typically establishing units within existing facilities that could separate children from adult patients. Most of the other institutions founded in the 19th century were subscriber charities. However, the proliferation of smaller institutions in the 20th century saw a wider range of non-government institutions as the major providers – some religious and charitable institutions but also parent organisations – motivated by a desire to see their children properly and permanently housed. Most such institutions reconsidered their operation during the push towards deinstitutionalisation from the 1970s, breaking down the large structures to house residents in smaller community-based units, providing the basis for disability care systems today.

Figure 18: Disability institutions by state and auspice

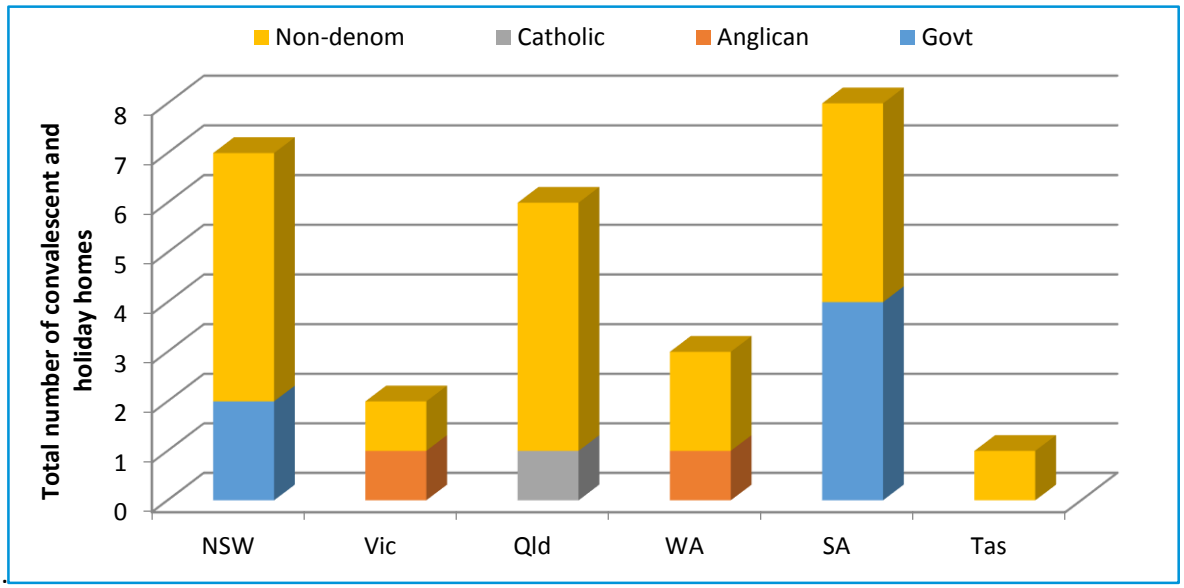


Convalescent and holiday homes

A second, smaller group of institutions offered accommodation to children who through illness needed to be cared for away from their families or foster parents. Founded from the late 19th century, such homes were primarily the preserve of charitable or community organisations. Convalescent, sick children's and holiday homes offered temporary respite for small groups of children, usually based on a hospital model. Although most children were admitted to these institutions from their family homes, children in out-of-home 'care' could also be placed there. In jurisdictions with large foster care systems, state children's departments ran such institutions as well. Find & Connect currently lists 27 institutions which began in this way (Figure 19). Although the need for such institutions declined with decreasing rates of debilitating childhood illness in the post-war era, their continued appeal to the charitable public has seen many of them survive, continuing

to provide respite care for children from troubled homes. Their location outside the existing child welfare network has meant that they are not subject to the degree of regulation of existing institutions.

Figure 19: Convalescent and holiday homes by state and auspice

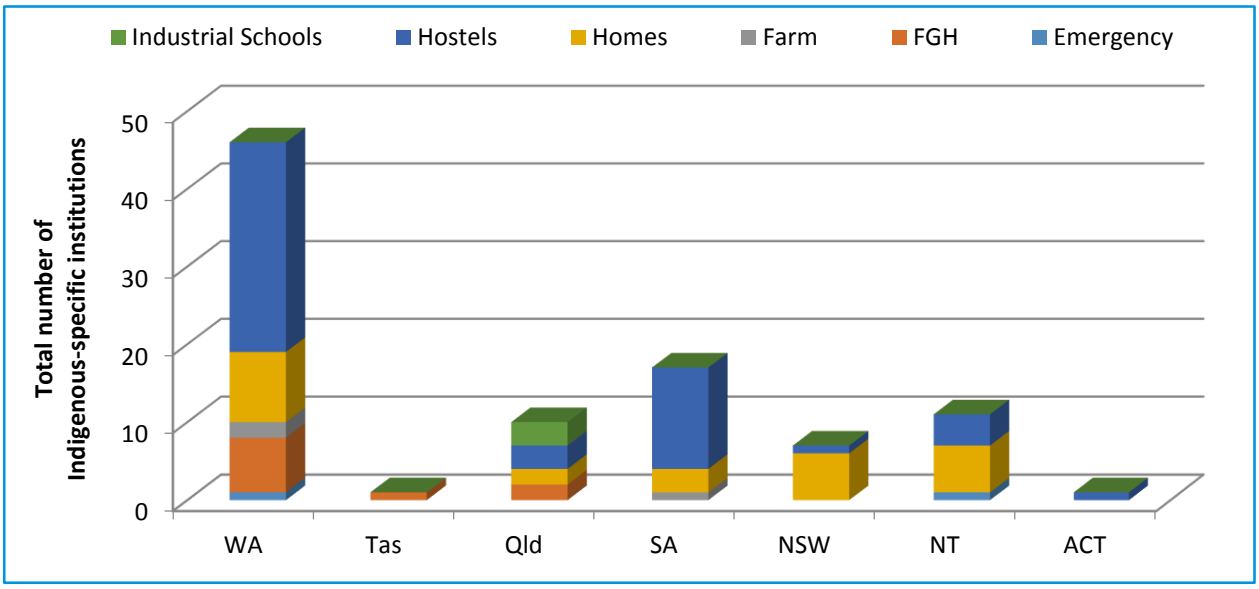


Indigenous-specific institutions

Indigenous children have always been represented within government and non-government institutions but states with substantial surviving Indigenous populations also developed parallel Indigenous-specific systems which replicated many of the institutions in the mainstream system. Intrinsic to the development of such institutions was the separation of the children from home and community, usually with the aim of assimilation.[22] Find & Connect currently lists 98 organisations founded as Indigenous-specific institutions that fall into this category (Figure 20). Hostels predominated, particularly in Western Australia, but given the size differentials, it is likely that these institutions generally accommodated more children than hostels. They were established throughout the 20th century with the rate of foundation accelerating in the post-war era when the assimilation policy was at its peak. Many were relatively short-lived, but some survived into the next century, suggesting a continued reliance on older models of care than in the non-Indigenous sector.

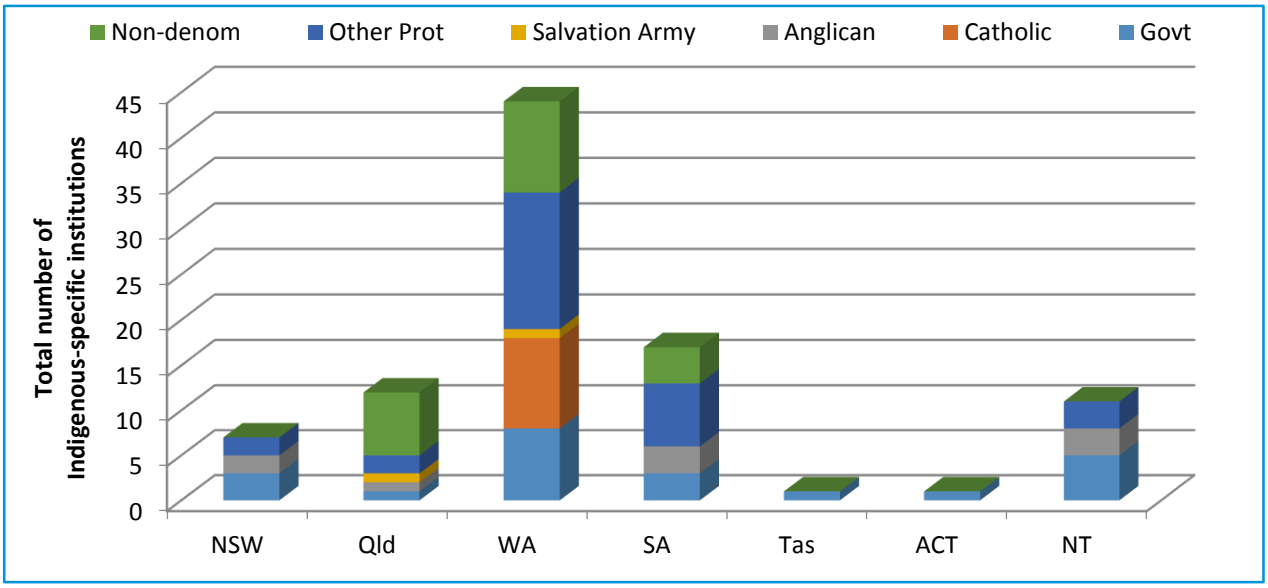
[22] Anna Haebich, *Broken circles* (Fremantle: Fremantle Arts Centre Press, 2000).

Figure 20: Categories of Indigenous-specific institutions by state



In states with substantial Indigenous populations, the government was a significant provider. However, in general, this type of institution was the domain of the church and community sector, with all the risks and benefits that involved (Figure 21).

Figure 21: Indigenous-specific institutions by state and auspice

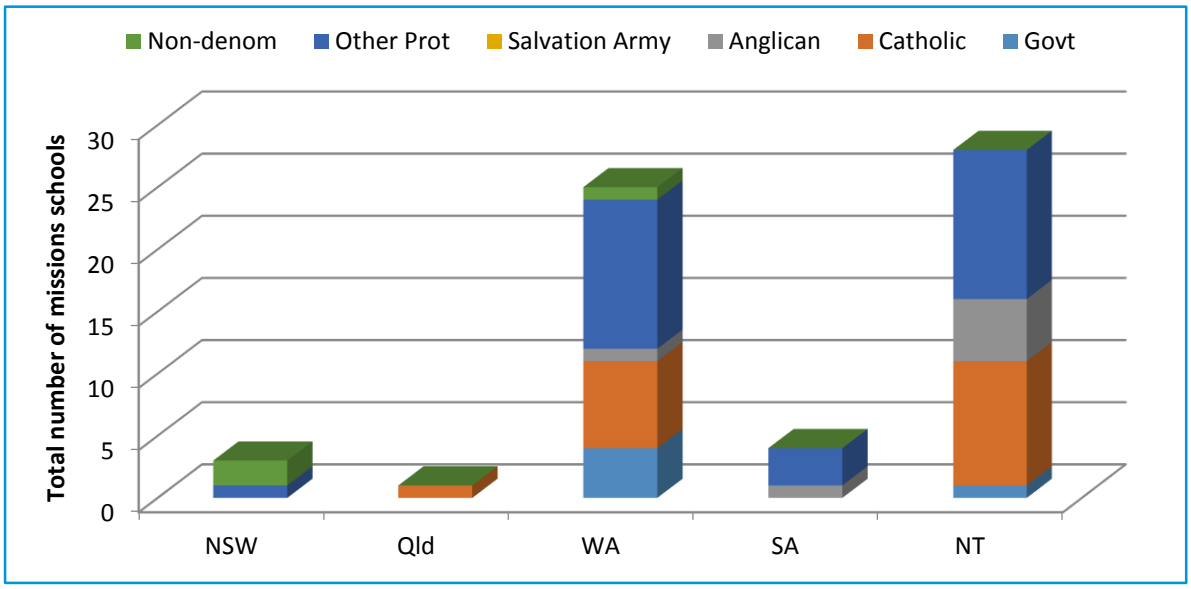


Mission homes

One form of institution was specific to the Indigenous population – the mission. Established from the early 19th century, missions were designed to accommodate children who were deemed to be orphans. However, an increasing proportion of residents were children whose parents lived on the mission, as well as children brought in from other communities. While, in principle, the children could still have contact with their parents and other members of their community, in practice, the assumption that adults were an obstacle to their children's progress meant that separation was increasingly enforced. Mission dormitories became the schools and homes that were central to the child removal policy, introduced in the late 19th century and spreading across the country in the 20th century.[23]

Find & Connect currently documents 61 organisations that began as mission schools (Figure 22).[24] They were predominantly established by religious organisations with most major and several minor denominations having an involvement in this field. The oldest listed so far opened in Western Australia in 1834. South Australia followed in 1851, the Northern Territory in 1877, Queensland in 1887 and New South Wales in 1893. They were most plentiful in the colonies and later the states whose substantial Indigenous communities provided a fertile field for missionaries. While some were short-lived, most survived into the second half of the 20th century when the move towards Indigenous self-determination saw them returned to local community control.

Figure 22: Mission schools by state and auspice



[23] The conditions in such homes are well described in the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission report, *Bringing Them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families* (Sydney: HREOC, 1997).

[24] Documenting the Stolen Generations is not the core business of the Find & Connect project, so the current representation is uneven, with the missions in the earliest colonies not yet listed.

Conclusion

From earliest colonial times the Australian welfare system developed as a mixed economy in which governments engaged with a wide array of church, charitable and community organisations to provide services considered necessary for citizens unable to provide for themselves. The result was an extraordinarily complex and diverse mix of out-of-home 'care' of children. Except where government was a direct provider, lines of responsibility were loose and often blurred. Where governments funded church or charitable efforts there was the potential for inspection and regulation, but departments dependent on non-government organisations for places were aware of their limited bargaining power. Where there was no transfer of funds between government and institution, the regulatory hand was even lighter. There was little to rein in the activities of individuals and organisations who believed that they had a calling to 'care' for children they perceived to be unwanted or otherwise in need. Relationships with church-led or other supervising authorities were similarly lax, with few prepared to question self-funding and well-meaning individuals or committees undertaking this work. The children were left powerless within this diffuse system. They were placed where beds were available, moved when institutional efficiency demanded, cut off from kin whom the authorities judged as neglectful, and all too often left with no-one to whom they could turn for support as they navigated their way into adulthood.

Appendix 1: List of institution type by state auspice and period of operation

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
Assessment unit				
Qld	Government	1	1995	2001
Qld	Uniting Church	1	1993	1996
SA	Government	4	1974	2008
WA	Government	1	1969	1983
Babies' homes				
NSW	Anglican	1	1918	1950
NSW	Benevolent Society	1	1920	1986
NSW	Catholic	1	1898	1927
NSW	George Ardill	3	1894	1976
NSW	Government	2	1945	1978
NSW	Other non-government	5	1874	1972
NSW	United Protestant Association	1	1951	1980
Qld	Anglican	1	1947	1975
Qld	Other non-government	2	1915	1923
SA	Anglican	1	1912	1945
Tas	Children's Protection Society	1	1907	1911
Vic	Anglican	4	1925	1974
Vic	Catholic	2	1901	1997
Vic	Melbourne City Mission	1	1935	1982
Vic	Methodist	1	1929	1974
Vic	Other non-government	4	1877	2013
Vic	Presbyterian	1	1928	1977

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
WA	Catholic	1	1914	1971
Convalescent and sick children's homes				
NSW	Barnardos	1	1924	1960s
NSW	Benevolent Society	1	1911	1920
NSW	Big Brother Movement	1	1951	1982
NSW	Government	2	1907	1940
NSW	Other non-government	1	1924	2013
Qld	Bush Children's Health Scheme	4	1936	1994
SA	Government	4	1898	1988
SA	Other non-government	2	1915	1981
SA	Red Cross	2	1933	1968
WA	Catholic	1	1938	1957
WA	Other non-government	2	1897	2012
Disability Institution				
NSW	Catholic	5	1886	2013
NSW	Government	10	1904	2013
NSW	Methodist	1	1965	1979
NSW	NSW Society for Crippled Children	2	1937	2013
NSW	Other non-government	5	1923	2013
NT	Government	1	1889	1982
Qld	Catholic	1	1949	1994
Qld	Government	5	1865	2013
Qld	NQ Society for Crippled Children	1	1957	1994
Qld	Qld Society for Crippled Children	1	1933	2001
SA	Crippled Children's Association of SA	1	1939	1992
SA	Government	1	1958	2008

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
SA	Other non-government	4	1874	2013
Tas	Government	5	1912	1983
Tas	Other non-government	1	1898	1987
Tas	Retarded Children's Welfare Association	3	1958	2013
Tas	Society for the Care of Crippled Children	1	1937	1995
Tas	Tasmanian Spastics Association	1	1979	1994
Vic	Catholic	5	1943	2012
Vic	Government	5	1887	2008
Vic	Other non-government	5	1860	2013
WA	Government	12	1857	2006
WA	Mentally Incurable Children's Association	1	1956	1992
WA	Other non-government	2	1895	2004
WA	Presbyterian	1	1975	1987
WA	Slow Learning Children's Group	3	1957	1989
Emergency accommodation				
ACT	Government	1	1957	1968
NSW	Catholic	1	1979	1985
NSW	Red Cross	3	1945	1980
SA	Anglican	1	1988	1993
SA	Government	6	1968	1993
SA	Lutheran	1	1966	1984
SA	Other non-government	1	1947	1980s
SA	Red Cross	1	1970	? (not known)
Tas	Anglican	1	1969	1977

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
Tas	Other non-government	1	1978	2013
Vic	Anglican	2	1955	1994
Vic	Children's Protection Society	3	1962	1985
Vic	Other non-government	2	1960	1988
WA	Anglican	2	1983	2001
WA	Catholic	1	1975	?
WA	Government	2	1968	?
WA	Other non-government	2	1943	2002
WA	Aboriginal community organisation	1	1982	1994
Family group homes				
ACT	Barnardos	2	1964	1978
ACT	Catholic	1	1967	2013
NSW	Anglican	4	1978	1990
NSW	Barnardos	6	1960	1977
NSW	Government	4	1973	1994
NSW	Presbyterian	1	1990	1999
NSW	Salvation Army	3	1987	1995
NSW	Sydney City Mission	4	1980s	2004
NSW	United Protestant Association	7	1982	1996
NT	Government	10	1968	?
NT	Lutheran	1	1963	1982
NT	Methodist	1	1969	1976
Qld	Baptist	4	1974	2001
Qld	Churches of Christ	3	1970	2001
Qld	Congregational	1	1974	2001
Qld	Methodist	9	1960	2001

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
Qld	Other non-government	3	1980	1992
Qld	Presbyterian	8	1963	2001
Qld	Salvation Army	1	1979	1987
Qld	Uniting Church	3	1980	1997
SA	Anglican	10	1983	1994
SA	Catholic	9	1975	?
SA	Government	12	1960	1990
SA	Methodist	3	1976	1985
Tas	Catholic	3	1964	1982
Tas	Government	15	1970	2005
Tas	Other non-government	1	1982	1985
Vic	Anglican	2	1963	1988
Vic	Baptist	1	1970	1985
Vic	Christian Brethren	1	1968	1970s
Vic	Government	1	1956	1990
Vic	Other non-government	3	1967	2006
Vic	Salvation Army	1	1980	2013
WA	Baptist	3	1959	1984
WA	Churches of Christ	1	1966	1988
WA	Government	16	1967	2004
WA	Salvation Army	2	1975	2013
Family group homes – Aboriginal				
Qld	Churches of Christ	1	1976	2001
Qld	Other non-government	1	1990	2001
Tas	Government	1	1975	1996
WA	Catholic	3	1978	1992

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
WA	Churches of Christ	1	1975	1984
WA	Government	2	1976	2013
WA	Uniting Church	1	1982	?
Farm training schools				
NSW	Anglican	2	1923	1930
NSW	Barnardos	2	1929	1982
NSW	Big Brother Movement	2	1905	1971
NSW	Catholic	1	1948	1961
NSW	Fairbridge	1	1938	1973
NSW	Government	7	1900	1977
NSW	Methodist	1	1956	1974
Qld	Anglican	1	1934	1959
Qld	Other non-government	2	1978	1999
SA	Government	1	1947	1969
Tas	Government	1	1936	2013
Vic	Anglican	2	1937	1967
Vic	Government	2	1904	1993
Vic	Methodist	1	1903	1986
Vic	Other non-government	1	1938	1957
Vic	Presbyterian	2	1951	1964
WA	Anglican	1	1955	1984
WA	Baptist	1	1952	1988
WA	Catholic	2	1928	1967
WA	Fairbridge	1	1913	1981
WA	Government	1	1979	2004
WA	Presbyterian	1	1947	1962

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
Farm training schools – Aboriginal				
SA	Aborigines Protection Board	1	1959	1963
WA	Baptist	1	1954	?
WA	Other non-government	1	1954	1993
Female rescue homes				
NSW	Catholic	2	1913	1969
NSW	George Ardill	1	1882	1950s
Qld	Anglican	1	1894	1981
Qld	Catholic	1	1930	1974
SA	Salvation Army	1	1899	1977
Tas	Catholic	1	1893	1974
Vic	Anglican	2	1892	1951
Vic	Catholic	1	1863	1971
Vic	Other non-government	3	1854	1957
Vic	Salvation Army	1	1884	1886
WA	Catholic	1	1902	1979
WA	Government	1	1851	1909
WA	Salvation Army	2	1894	1914
Holiday home				
NSW	Teachers Federation	1	1931	2013
Qld	Bush Children's Health Scheme	1	1940	2005
Qld	Catholic	1	1933	1943
Tas	Other non-government	1	1951	1980
Vic	Anglican	1	1979	2004
Vic	Other non-government	1	1890	2013
Home – children's – Aboriginal				

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
NSW	Anglican	2	1942	1946
NSW	Methodist	1	1940	1946
NSW	United Aborigines Mission	1	1908	1980
NT	Anglican	1	1947	1975
NT	Australian Inland Mission	1	1946	1982
NT	Government	4	1913	1942
Qld	Aboriginal community organisation	1	1977	1991
Qld	Government	1	1985	2010
Qld	Other non-government	2	1966	1977
SA	Lutheran	1	1913	1963
SA	United Aborigines Mission	2	1924	1981
WA	Anglican	2	1842	1920
WA	Australian Aborigines Mission	1	1909	1918
WA	Catholic	2	1939	1991
WA	Churches of Christ	1	1973	1984
WA	Government	1	1971	1986
WA	Other non-government	1	1933	2002
Home – girls' – Aboriginal				
NSW	Government	1	1969	1974
WA	Catholic	1	1909	1975
WA	Salvation Army	1	1904	1924
Homes – boys'				
NSW	Anglican	8	1919	1991
NSW	Baptist	1	1959	1985

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
NSW	Catholic	4	1891	1985
NSW	Churches of Christ	1	1930	1980
NSW	Government	4	1943	1994
NSW	Other non-government	1	1951	2013
NSW	Red Cross	1	1925	1944
NSW	Salvation Army	5	1903	1996
NSW	Sydney City Mission	1	1950	1967
NSW	United Protestant Association	4	1947	1997
Qld	Catholic	2	1961	2001
Qld	Congregational	2	1929	1992
Qld	Methodist	1	1924	1973
Qld	Other non-government	1	1890	1906
Qld	Presbyterian	2	1924	2011
Qld	Salvation Army	2	1922	2001
SA	Catholic	2	1898	1984
SA	Salvation Army	1	1929	1972
Tas	Anglican	1	1951	1993
Tas	Catholic	1	1945	1973
Tas	Churches of Christ	1	1947	1978
Tas	Government	1	1956	1988
Tas	Other non-government	2	1869	2013
Tas	Salvation Army	1	1946	1981
Vic	Anglican	6	1921	1997
Vic	Catholic	2	1911	1980
Vic	Government	2	1959	1988
Vic	Other non-government	6	1865	2006

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
Vic	Presbyterian	1	1923	1978
Vic	Salvation Army	2	1897	1986
WA	Catholic	1	1929	1983
WA	Salvation Army	3	1902	1969
Homes – boys' – Aboriginal				
NSW	Government	1	1923	1970
Homes – children's				
NSW	Anglican	9	1893	2000
NSW	Baptist	3	1956	1995
NSW	Barnardos	2	1924	1968
NSW	Catholic	4	1925	1985
NSW	Churches of Christ	1	1936	1990s
NSW	Congregational	1	1941	1879
NSW	George Ardill	3	1890	1982
NSW	Government	2	1970	1993
NSW	Jewish	1	1939	1967
NSW	Methodist	1	1893	2011
NSW	Other non-government	10	1909	1989
NSW	Presbyterian	2	1911	2000
NSW	Red Cross	1	1940	1960
NSW	Salvation Army	3	1930	1988
NSW	Sydney City Mission	1	1929	1951
NSW	United Protestant Association	5	1943	1983
NT	Catholic	1	1929	1942
NT	Government	1	1966	1976
Qld	Open Brethren	1	1940	2013

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
Qld	Anglican	3	1901	2013
Qld	Baptist	2	1952	1988
Qld	Catholic	2	1926	1995
Qld	Government	1	1984	1985
Qld	Lutheran	1	1982	1996
Qld	Other non-government	3	1921	1991
Qld	Presbyterian	2	1969	1995
Qld	United Protestant Association	1	1971	1974
Qld	Uniting Church	2	1980	2001
SA	Anglican	1	1886	1982
SA	Catholic	2	1956	?
SA	Fairbridge	1	1962	1981
SA	Methodist	1	1905	1977
SA	Protestant	1	1924	1974
Tas	Anglican	1	1923	2006
Tas	Christian Brethren	3	1966	1992
Tas	Fairbridge	1	1958	1976
Vic	Anglican	3	1894	1980
Vic	Catholic	5	1888	1997
Vic	Government	4	1957	1985
Vic	Jewish	1	1939	2013
Vic	Legacy	2	1942	1982
Vic	Lutheran	1	1950	1983
Vic	Methodist	1	1888	2012
Vic	Other non-government	6	1880	1994
Vic	Presbyterian	1	1890	2007

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
Vic	Salvation Army	2	1947	1995
WA	Anglican	1	1903	2013
WA	Catholic	2	1941	1985
WA	Methodist	1	1922	1984
WA	Other non-government	3	1921	2002
WA	Presbyterian	1	1938	1956
WA	Salvation Army	1	1946	1946
Qld	Methodist	1	1910	1960
Homes – girls'				
NSW	Anglican	3	1913	1977
NSW	Barnardos	1	1938	1958
NSW	Catholic	3	1880	1979
NSW	Government	2	1930	1993
NSW	Protestant Federation	1	1921	1980
NSW	Red Cross	1	1925	1946
NSW	Salvation Army	3	1924	1977
NSW	Sydney City Mission	1	1927	1930
NSW	United Protestant Association	3	1945	1983
Qld	Other non-government	1	1980	1983
SA	Anglican	1	1904	1990
SA	Catholic	2	1930	1974
SA	Salvation Army	1	1901	1986
Tas	Government	1	1943	1962
Vic	Anglican	1	1926	1963
Vic	Catholic	4	1888	1976
Vic	Government	1	1961	1980

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
Vic	Salvation Army	4	1897	1976
WA	Salvation Army	1	1918	1969
Hostels				
NSW	Government	3	1936	1992
NSW	Methodist	1	1960	1979
NSW	Salvation Army	2	1912	1975
Qld	Baptist	1	1971	1995
Qld	Catholic	3	1974	1991
Qld	Churches of Christ	1	1959	1978
Qld	Government	3	1973	1985
Qld	Other non-government	1	1980	1985
Qld	Presbyterian and Methodist	1	1930	1953
SA	Anglican	3	1898	1975
SA	Catholic	2	1972	?
SA	Government	5	1947	1997
SA	Legacy	2	1945	1964
SA	Lutheran	1	1959	1982
SA	Salvation Army	2	1922	1988
Tas	Catholic	1	1973	1991
Tas	Government	4	1950	1985
Tas	Salvation Army	1	1943	1978
Vic	Anglican	7	1934	1997
Vic	Catholic	4	1942	1965
Vic	Government	3	1942	1988
Vic	Legacy	1	1952	1977
Vic	Methodist	1	1939	1950

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
Vic	Other non-government	8	1927	2012
Vic	Presbyterian	2	1926	1977
Vic	Salvation Army	5	1919	2013
WA	Anglican	4	1941	2009
WA	Catholic	2	1955	1993
WA	Government	25	1952	2013
WA	Methodist	2	1946	1987
WA	Other non-government	6	1931	2001
WA	Salvation Army	2	1953	?
Hostels – Aboriginal				
ACT	Government	1	1980	2013
NSW	Government	1	1974	2013
NT	Anglican	2	1941	1970s
NT	Government	1	1967	2013
NT	Methodist	1	1945	1965
Qld	Aboriginal community organisation	3	1978	2003
SA	Aborigines Advancement League	1	1956	1978
SA	Anglican	3	1945	1962
SA	Australian Inland Mission	1	1950	1975
SA	Government	2	1971	2013
SA	Methodist	1	1926	1975
SA	Other non-government	3	1967	1986
SA	United Aborigines Mission	2	1952	1977
WA	Anglican	1	1971	2010
WA	Australian Aboriginal Evangelical Mission	1	1966	1980
WA	Baptist	6	1950	2013

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
WA	Catholic	3	1958	1994
WA	Churches of Christ	1	1965	1987
WA	Government	5	1931	2004
WA	Other non-government	6	1970	2011
WA	Presbyterian	2	1969	1986
WA	United Aborigines Mission	2	1952	1994
Industrial school – boys’				
NSW	Salvation Army	1	1897	1903
Qld	Salvation Army	1	1898	1980
WA	Catholic	1	1897	1922
WA	Salvation Army	1	1901	1955
Industrial school – children’s				
Qld	Salvation Army	1	1930	1979
SA	Government	1	1869	1986
Vic	Government	6	1865	1887
Industrial school – children’s – Aboriginal				
Qld	Anglican	1	1900	1960
Qld	Salvation Army	1	1937	1948
Industrial school – girls’				
NSW	Salvation Army	2	1916	1948
Qld	Anglican	1	1903	1920
Qld	Catholic	3	1868	1942
Qld	Government	1	1881	1903
Tas	Other non-government	2	1877	1998
Tas	Salvation Army	1	1881	1998
WA	Catholic	1	1909	1979

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
WA	Salvation Army	1	1901	1942
Industrial school – girls' – Aboriginal				
Qld	Presbyterian	1	1901	1963
NSW	Catholic	2	1888	1969
NSW	Other non-government	1	1827	1926
Qld	Salvation Army	5	1881	1985
Juvenile justice				
ACT	Government	2	1962	2013
NSW	Government	5	1973	2004
NT	Government	5	1938	2013
Qld	Government	4	1961	2012
SA	Government	2	1961	2013
Vic	Government	4	1951	2013
WA	Government	3	1960	2004
Maternity homes				
NSW	Anglican	1	1961	1979
NSW	Benevolent Society	3	1904	1965
NSW	Catholic	4	1894	2003
NSW	Government	12	1907	1970s
NSW	Other non-government	1	1942	1948
NSW	Presbyterian	1	1895	1976
NSW	Salvation Army	1	1898	1956
Qld	Catholic	1	1904	1973
Qld	Other non-government	1	1870	1919
SA	Anglican	1	1881	1974
SA	Catholic	1	1868	2001

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
SA	Methodist	1	1937	1976
SA	Salvation Army	1	1893	1975
Tas	Anglican	2	1887	1953
Tas	Catholic	1	1960	1980
Tas	Government	2	1827	1900
Tas	Other non-government	1	1889	1920
Tas	Salvation Army	2	1895	1973
Vic	Anglican	1	1926	1986
Vic	Catholic	1	1902	1985
Vic	Melbourne City Mission	1	1900	1982
Vic	Methodist	1	1922	1973
Vic	Other non-government	1	1897	1921
Vic	Presbyterian	1	1909	1978
Vic	Salvation Army	2	1897	1994
WA	Catholic	2	1918	1972
WA	Other non-government	1	1891	1989
WA	Salvation Army	1	1903	1974
Mission home – Aboriginal				
NSW	Aborigines Protection Society	1	1893	1912
NSW	Other non-government	1	1948	1986
NSW	United Aborigines Mission	1	1906	1923
NT	Anglican	5	1899	1988
NT	Baptist	1	1946	1976
NT	Catholic	10	1882	1983
NT	Government	1	1945	1956
NT	Lutheran	5	1877	1990

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
NT	Methodist	5	1923	1974
NT	Presbyterian	1	1937	1981
Qld	Catholic	1	1887	1941
SA	Anglican	1	1851	1890
SA	Christian Brethren	1	1937	1995
SA	United Aborigines Mission	2	1938	1961
WA	Anglican	1	1913	1968
WA	Baptist	1	1950	1983
WA	Catholic	7	1848	2004
WA	Christian Brethren	1	1951	1986
WA	Churches of Christ	2	1935	1986
WA	Government	4	1834	1988
WA	Methodist	2	1840	1974
WA	Other non-government	1	1899	1965
WA	Presbyterian	2	1921	1981
WA	Seventh Day Adventists	1	1954	1974
WA	United Aborigines Mission	3	1912	1987
Mother and baby homes				
NSW	Government	1	1924	1935
SA	Other non-government	1	1928	1973
SA	Salvation Army	1	1975	1986
Tas	Children's Welfare Association	1	1925	1988
Vic	Anglican	1	1978	1991
Vic	Other non-government	1	1920	2013
Mother and baby homes – Aboriginal				
NT	Presbyterian	1	1926	1961

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
Orphanages				
NSW	Anglican	1	1893	1927
NSW	Catholic	9	1881	1993
NSW	Freemasons	1	1922	1972
NSW	Government	2	1819	1886
NSW	Other non-government	2	1852	1915
Qld	Anglican	1	1922	1982
Qld	Catholic	1	1860	1971
Qld	Government	3	1865	1989
SA	Catholic	1	1940	1979
Tas	Government	1	1833	1912
Tas	Other non-government	1	1898	1912
Vic	Other non-government	3	1845	2013
WA	Other non-government	1	1905	1940
Orphanages – boys'				
NSW	Catholic	2	1887	1979
Vic	Catholic	2	1855	1997
WA	Anglican	1	1869	2010
WA	Catholic	2	1872	1983
Orphanages – girls'				
NSW	Catholic	2	1867	1990
SA	Anglican	1	1860	1982
Tas	Catholic	1	1879	1978
Vic	Catholic	3	1861	1997
WA	Anglican	1	1883	1888
WA	Catholic	1	1868	2002

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
Orphanages – girls' – Aboriginal				
WA	Catholic	1	1941	1962
Receiving homes				
NSW	Government	8	1884	2006
NT	Government	5	1956	1979
SA	Government	2	1867	1965
Tas	Government	15	1898	2005
Vic	Government	5	1961	1992
WA	Government	1	1893	1984
Receiving house – child migrant				
NSW	Barnardos	1	1921	1924
NSW	Big Brother Movement	1	1951	1982
Reformatories – boys'				
NSW	Government	7	1867	1999
Qld	Government	2	1871	2012
SA	Government	2	1869	2012
SA	Salvation Army	1	1900	1982
Tas	Government	1	1834	1849
Vic	Anglican	1	1905	1915
Vic	Catholic	2	1895	1975
Vic	Government	6	1864	1918
Vic	Other non-government	2	1893	1900
Vic	Salvation Army	2	1893	1897
WA	Anglican	1	1903	1922
WA	Government	1	1881	1902
Reformatories – girls'				

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
NSW	Government	3	1880	1974
SA	Catholic	1	1897	1909
SA	Government	2	1881	2012
SA	Salvation Army	2	1901	1981
Tas	Government	1	1869	1999
Vic	Catholic	2	1883	1981
Vic	Government	1	1864	1893
Remand homes				
NSW	Government	6	1905	2009
NT	Government	1	1976	1979
SA	Government	1	1995	2013
WA	Government	1	1993	2013
Training homes – girls'				
NSW	Government	3	1920	1983
Qld	Anglican	1	1897	1913
Tas	Government	1	1959	1979
Vic	Anglican	1	1883	1976
Vic	Presbyterian	1	1906	1977
Women and children's homes				
NSW	Salvation Army	1	1944	1988
SA	Anglican	1	1945	1949
Youth accommodation				
ACT	Government	1	1989	2013
ACT	Other non-government	1	2010	2013
ACT	Richmond Fellowship	2	1976	2013
ACT	Salvation Army	1	1978	2013

State	Auspice	Number	Earliest	Latest
Qld	Catholic	2	1989	2001
Qld	Churches of Christ	2	1980	2013
Qld	Other non-government	3	1978	2011
SA	Other non-government	1	1978	1984
Tas	Government	2	1983	1995
Tas	Other non-government	1	1985	2013
Vic	Government	3	1973	?
Vic	Other non-government	1	1979	?
WA	Anglican	2	1976	2013
WA	Catholic	1	1983	1990
WA	Other non-government	10	1977	2013
WA	Perth City Mission	1	1991	2013
WA	Presbyterian	1	1976	1980
WA	Salvation Army	1	1999	?
WA	Uniting Church	1	1985	1991
Youth accommodation – Aboriginal				
WA	Aboriginal Evangelical Fellowship	1	1970	2001