

# 1 Children committing offences – early punishments

In the early days of the Victorian colony, children committing offences were tried, convicted and sentenced in the same courts as adults, and were subject to the same harsh penalties. From 1788 until the 1860s, children as young as seven could be charged, although children up to fourteen were presumed to be incapable of committing a crime, unless it could be proved that the child knew his or her act was wrong. This rule, known as the *doli incapax* rule, still applies in Victoria.

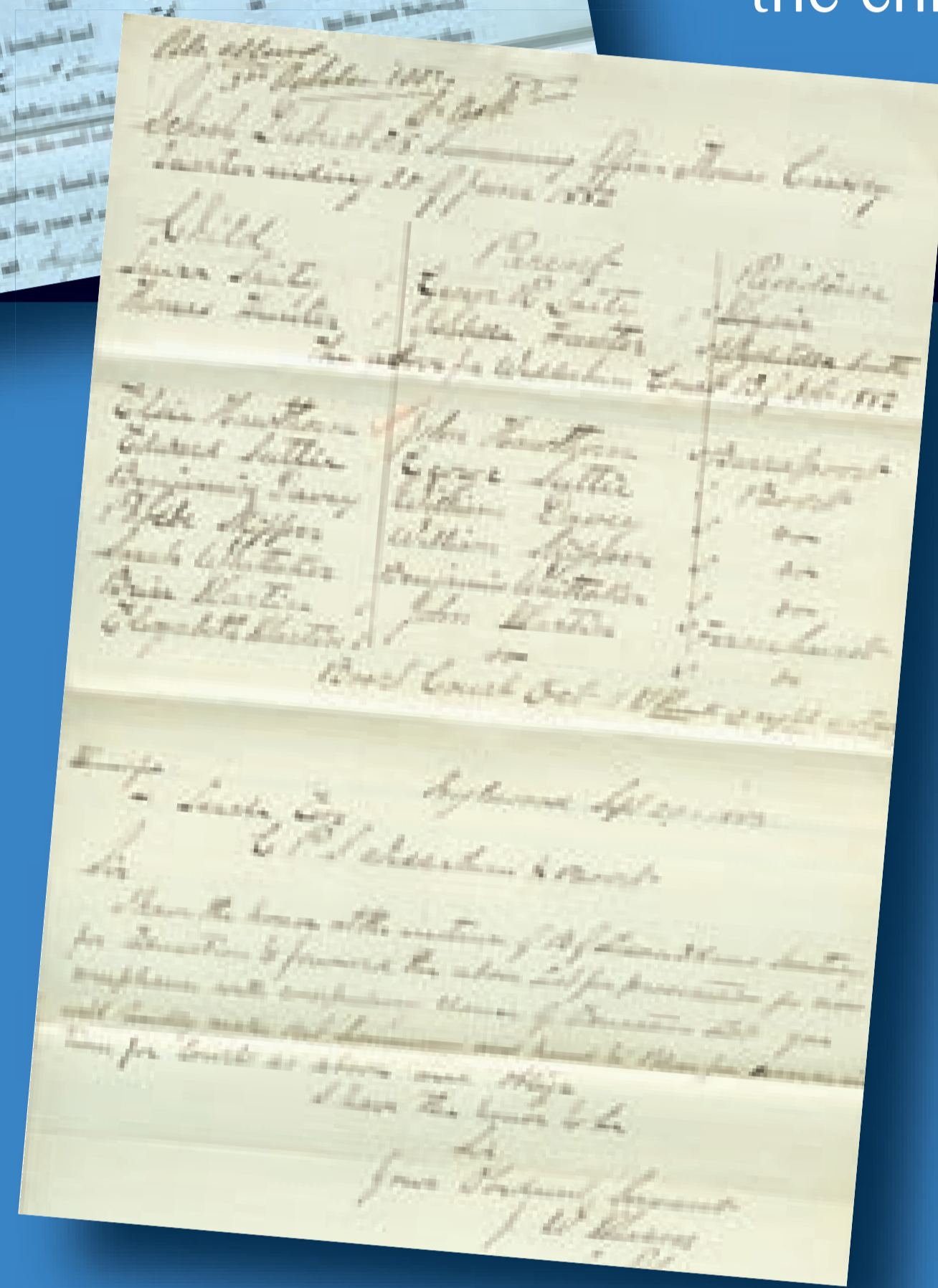


Charging a parent for neglecting to ensure their child attended school, 1886.

## PUNISHING PARENTS

If the court believed that a child's parents had contributed to the child committing the offence, through neglect or coercion, the court would also charge and convict the parent. Sometimes the parent would serve the child's penalty instead of the child.

List of parents to be prosecuted for failing to ensure their child attended school, 1882.



"Sir, I have the honour at the instance of the secretary for Education to forward the above list for prosecutions for non-compliance with compulsory clause of Education Act you will kindly make out summonses and hand to police for service in time for courts as above and oblige".

## PUNISHMENT UP UNTIL 1906

Throughout Australia, sentences for children convicted of theft or murder included:

- public flogging
- adult prison
- work in road gangs
- transportation to penal colonies, including Van Diemen's Land
- hanging

Magistrates would find alternatives to these harsh penalties wherever possible. For example, in 1847, children convicted of stealing would be sentenced to a private whipping – this may seem brutal by today's standards, but in the 19th century it was viewed as less severe than a public flogging.

## A GENTLER APPROACH

From the late 1880s, Courts began to recognise that children didn't always understand the consequences of their actions, and age became a mitigating factor in sentencing. Theft cases involving children would be tried summarily, with a single magistrate and no jury, which meant that less severe penalties would be imposed.

## THE CHILDREN'S COURT

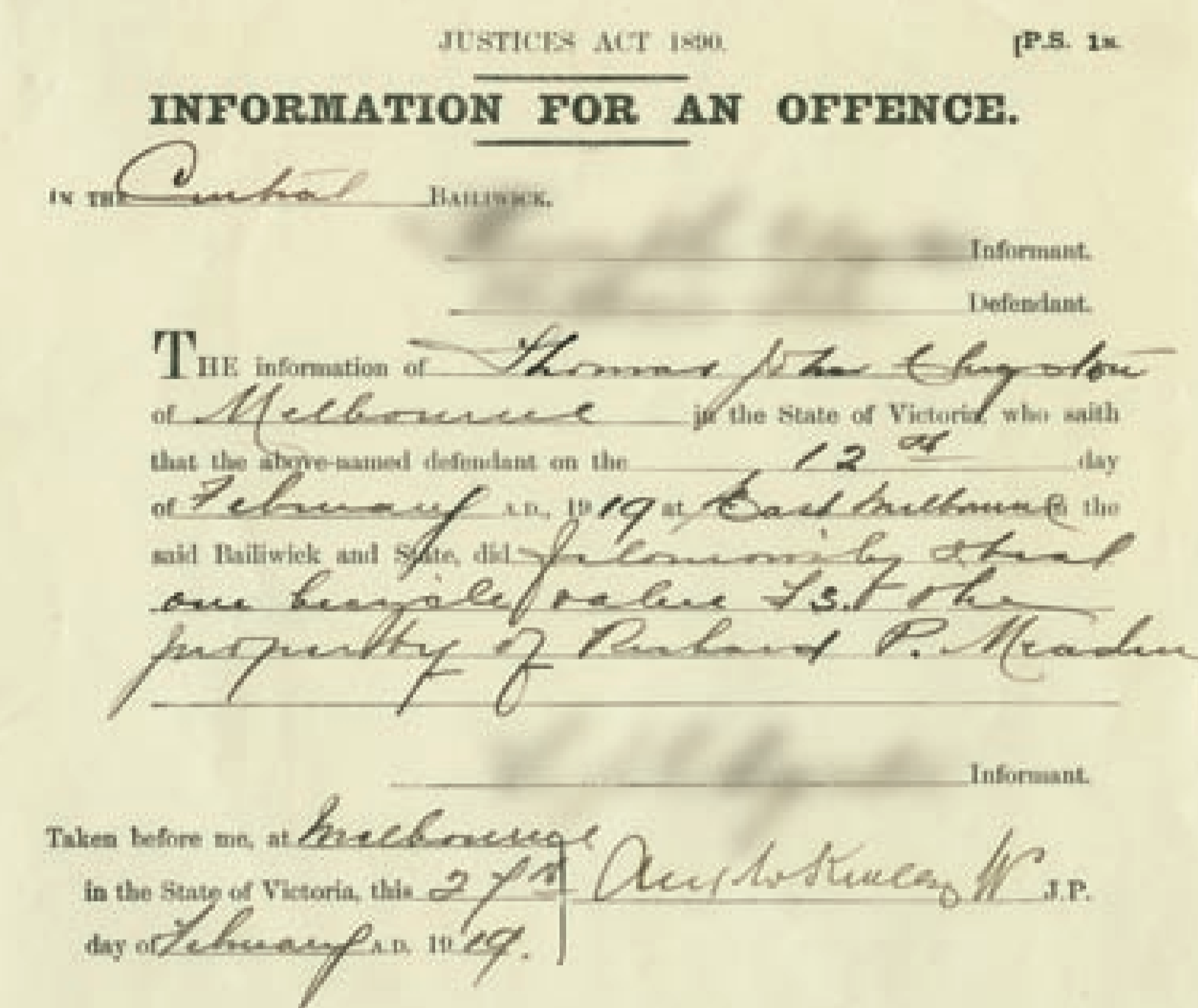
These changing attitudes and practices eventually lead to the establishment of the Children's Court in 1906. The new Court dealt with all offenders and neglected children aged between seven and sixteen. Judges at the Court no longer handed out adult penalties.

The Court practices reflected a shift away from punishment, and a greater focus on protection and reform.

At this time, if found guilty in the Children's Court, children could be sentenced to:

- a term in a reformatory
- a term at an industrial school
- a whipping
- probation
- dismissal with a promise of good behaviour.

The age of children dealt with by the Court has changed over the century. The minimum age is now 10. The maximum age was changed in 2005 to 18 in conformity with our international obligations under the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child*.

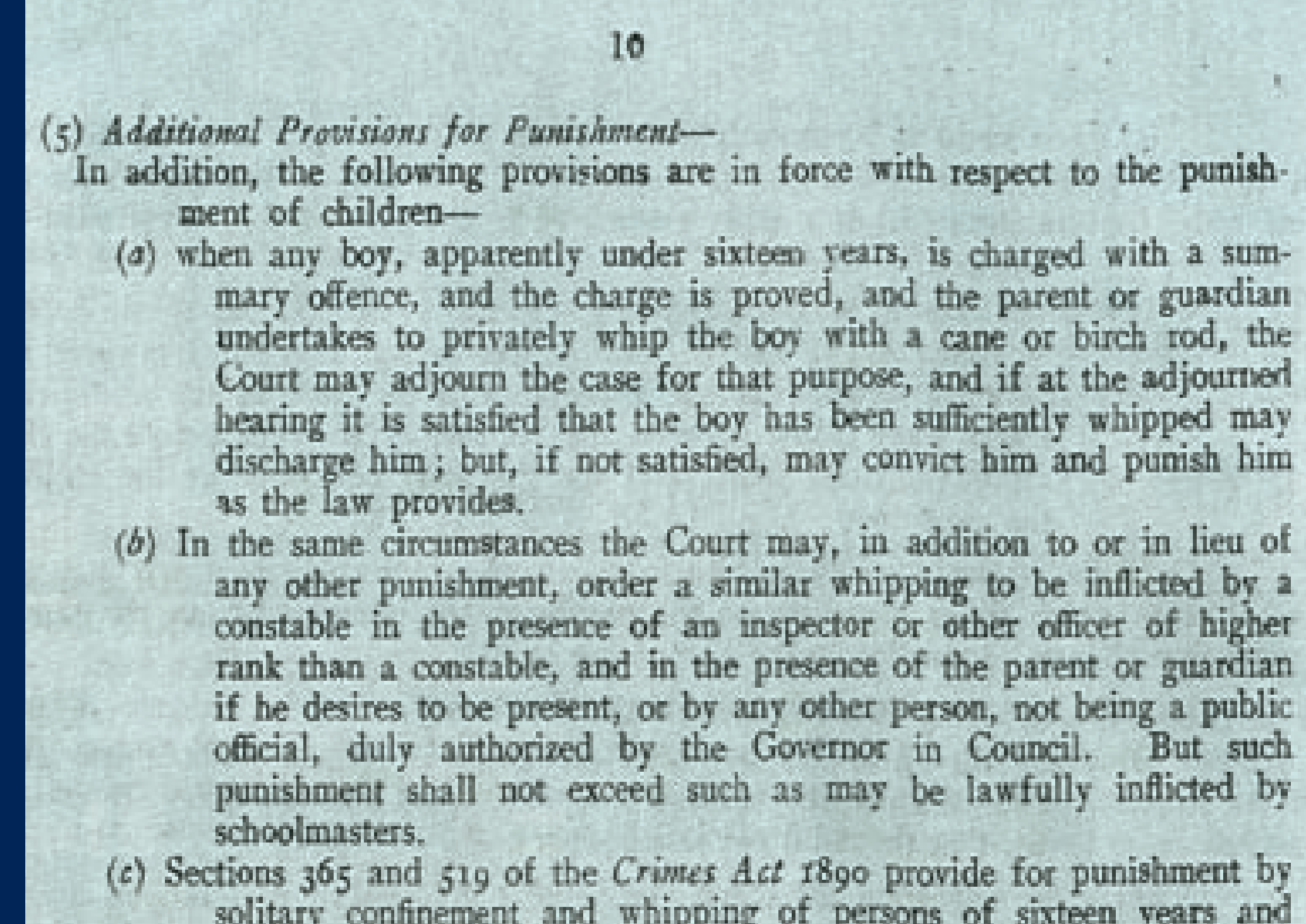


Information for an offence committed by WL – "feloniously stealing one bicycle valued 3 pounds, on the property of RPM", East Melbourne, 12th February 1919.

## CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

Despite showing greater lenience towards children, the *Children's Court Act* did not do away with corporal punishment. From 1906, a child found guilty of an offence could be whipped by order of the Court. Whipping was carried out by a constable, parent or guardian, and the child could be struck no more than three times with a cane.

If the magistrate did not think the child had been whipped sufficiently, the Court could further punish the child using the usual sentencing procedures. Whipping was not abolished until 1958.



Extract from the Children's Court Act 1906.



Sunbury Court of Petty Sessions, 1880. Reproduced with permission from Mr. Michael Challenger.

# Industrial training schools and reformatories

Until the mid 19th century, children found guilty of an offence were sentenced to the same prisons as adults. By the 1860s, however, magistrates had become concerned about the effect of prisons on the development of the child. Many philanthropic and church-based childcare agencies agreed. They believed child offenders were a product of their environment in which they grew up, and not inherently evil or criminal. Sentencing children to adult prisons would expose them to harsh conditions, poor role models and offer little hope of rehabilitation. These concerns lead to the birth of child reformatories and industrial schools.

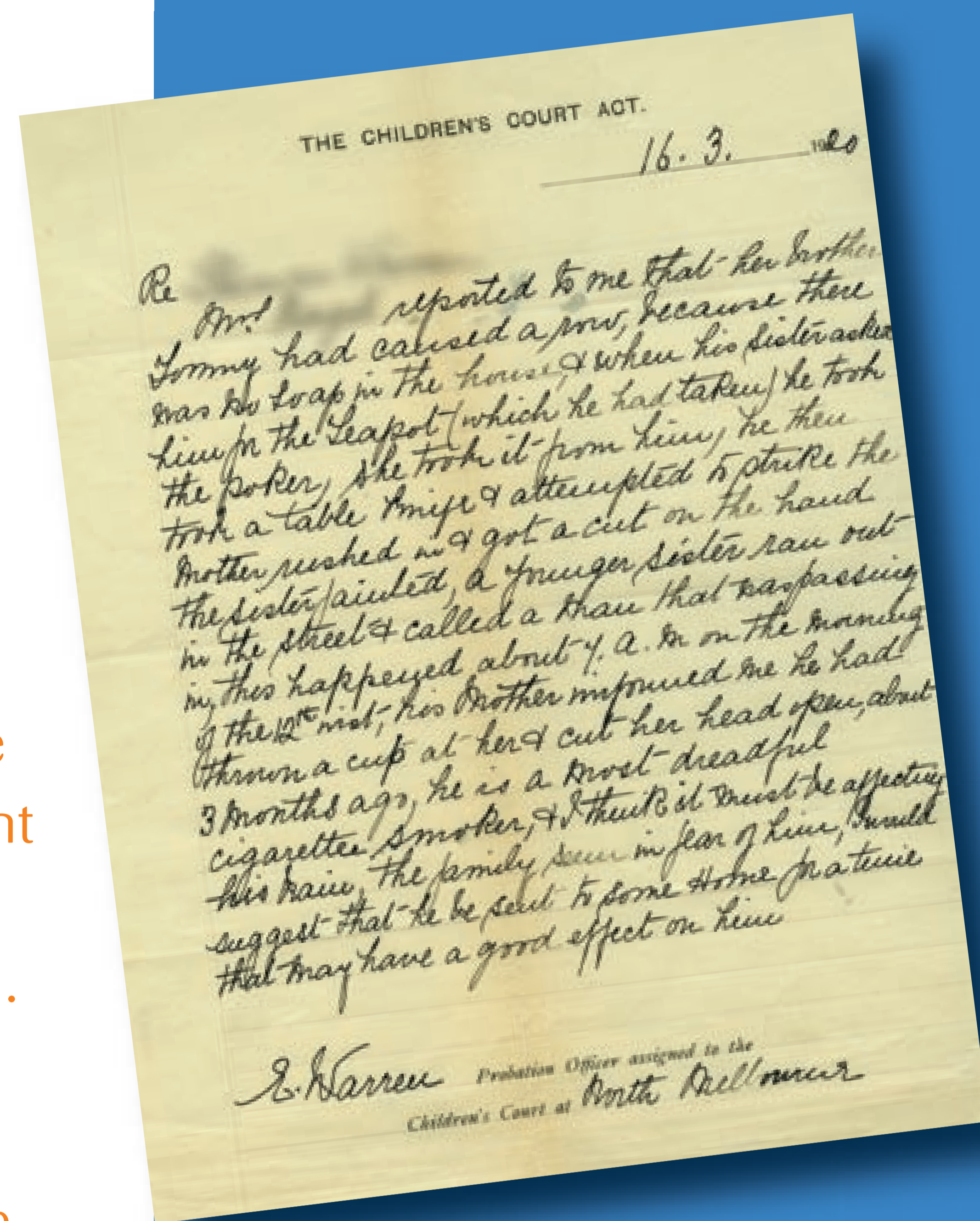
## CHILD REFORMATORIES

Reformatories were established by the *Neglected and Criminal Children's Act 1864*. At these institutions, children were deterred from pursuing a life of crime through a combination of practical education, religious studies and strong discipline. Rules were enforced through strict routines, physical punishment and social isolation.



Ballarat Boys Reformatory, c.1890.

Most children were sent to reformatories for stealing or for being 'uncontrollable' (see letter below).



Report by Probation officer  
E. Warren, 16th March 1920.

Re TW,

"Mrs. R reported to me that her brother had caused a row, because there was no strap(?) in the house, and when his sister asked him for the teapot (which he had taken) he took the pottery(?), she took it from him, he then took a table knife and attempted to strike the mother, she rushed in and got a cut on the hand. The sister fainted, a younger sister ran out in the street and called a man that was passing in. This happened about 7 a.m. on the morning of the 12th inst. His mother informed me he had thrown a cup at her and cut her head open about three months ago, he is a most dreadful cigarette smoker and I think it must be affecting his brain, the family seem in fear of him, I would suggest that he be sent to some home for a time that may have a good affect on him".

This happened about 7am on the morning of the 12th inst. His mother informed me he had thrown a cup at her and cut her head open about three months ago, he is a most dreadful cigarette smoker and I think it must be affecting his brain, the family seem in fear of him, I would suggest that he be sent to some home for a time that may have a good affect on him".

Stays at reformatories could be lengthy. By 1917, a court could order that even after a child's initial sentence had expired, the child could remain detained at the governor's discretion - possibly indefinitely!

## GIRLS AND PUNISHMENT

Girls were often sent to reformatories for different reasons than boys - for example, for 'wild' (meaning disorderly) behaviour, or for being 'impure' (meaning sexually active). It was feared that if not reformed, these girls would grow into a life of poverty and prostitution, and that their own children would then follow a similar path into a 'career of crime'.

Unlike boys, girls were believed to misbehave due to inherent defects in their nature - particularly if they were sexually active. Stronger measures were thought to be required to reform their inherent immorality.

Girls were often sentenced to longer periods in the reformatory than boys, and received more intensive training and attention from superintendents, matrons and teachers.

"A girl is mischievous, idle, careless, untruthful and she is housed in a bare, ugly place; she is put to monotonous, resultless toil; her instincts for fun, her harmless vanities are all starved; she must not wear a pretty dress even if she has earned it out of service; because she is wicked and cannot be allowed to forget it."

Report on the conditions in the Brookside Reformatory for girls in *The Argus*, 2 August 1899, p 4.



Christening of the Training Ship 'John Murray' at the Williamstown Pier. *Weekly Times*, 17th September 1910. Reproduced with permission of the Newspaper Collection, State Library of Victoria.

## INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

Not all children who committed crimes were sent to reformatories.

If the offending child had an 'agreeable' manner, a Magistrate could instead send the child to an industrial training school for neglected children. These schools provided basic education, industrial and domestic training and care, rather than punishment.

Some schools, such as the 'The John Murray' (pictured above), were industrial training ships, where boys trained to be sailors.

# 3 Neglected children and the law

Under the *Neglected and Criminal Children's Act 1864*, being a 'neglected' child in Victoria was a criminal offence, for which the child was charged.

## WHAT DID IT MEAN TO BE 'NEGLECTED'?

Children could be charged with neglect if they were destitute, homeless or if their parents were unable to properly care for them.

13. Every child who answers to any of the descriptions hereinafter mentioned shall be deemed to be a "neglected child" within the meaning and for the purposes of this Act—

- (1.) Any child found begging or receiving alms or being in any street or public place for the purpose of begging or receiving alms
- (2.) Any child who shall be found wandering about or frequenting any street thoroughfare tavern or place of public resort or sleeping in the open air and who shall not have any home or settled place of abode or any visible means of subsistence
- (3.) Any child who shall reside in any brothel or associate or dwell with any person known or reputed to be a thief prostitute or drunkard or with any person convicted of vagrancy under any Act now or hereafter to be in force
- (4.) Any child who having committed an offence punishable by imprisonment or some less punishment ought nevertheless in the opinion of the justices regard being had to his age and the circumstances of his case to be sent to an industrial school.
- (5.) Any child whose parent represents that he is unable to control such child and that he wishes him to be sent to an industrial school and gives security to the satisfaction of the justices before whom such child may be brought for payment of the maintenance of such child in such school
- (6.) Any child who at the time of the passing of this Act shall be an inmate of the home commonly known as the Immigrants' Home.

Extract from the *Neglected and Criminal Children's Act 1864*. Section 13 provides definitions for determining a 'neglected child'.

## WHAT HAPPENED TO NEGLECTED CHILDREN?

Police could arrest a neglected child on the spot, without a warrant (a court document giving police permission to arrest someone).

The child would be charged with being neglected or uncontrollable, and ordered to appear in court by a 'summons' (pictured right).

The case would be heard before the Court of Petty Sessions, or, after 1906, at the Children's Court. If proven, the child would have the charge of 'neglect' marked on his or her criminal record.

## CHILDREN'S HOMES

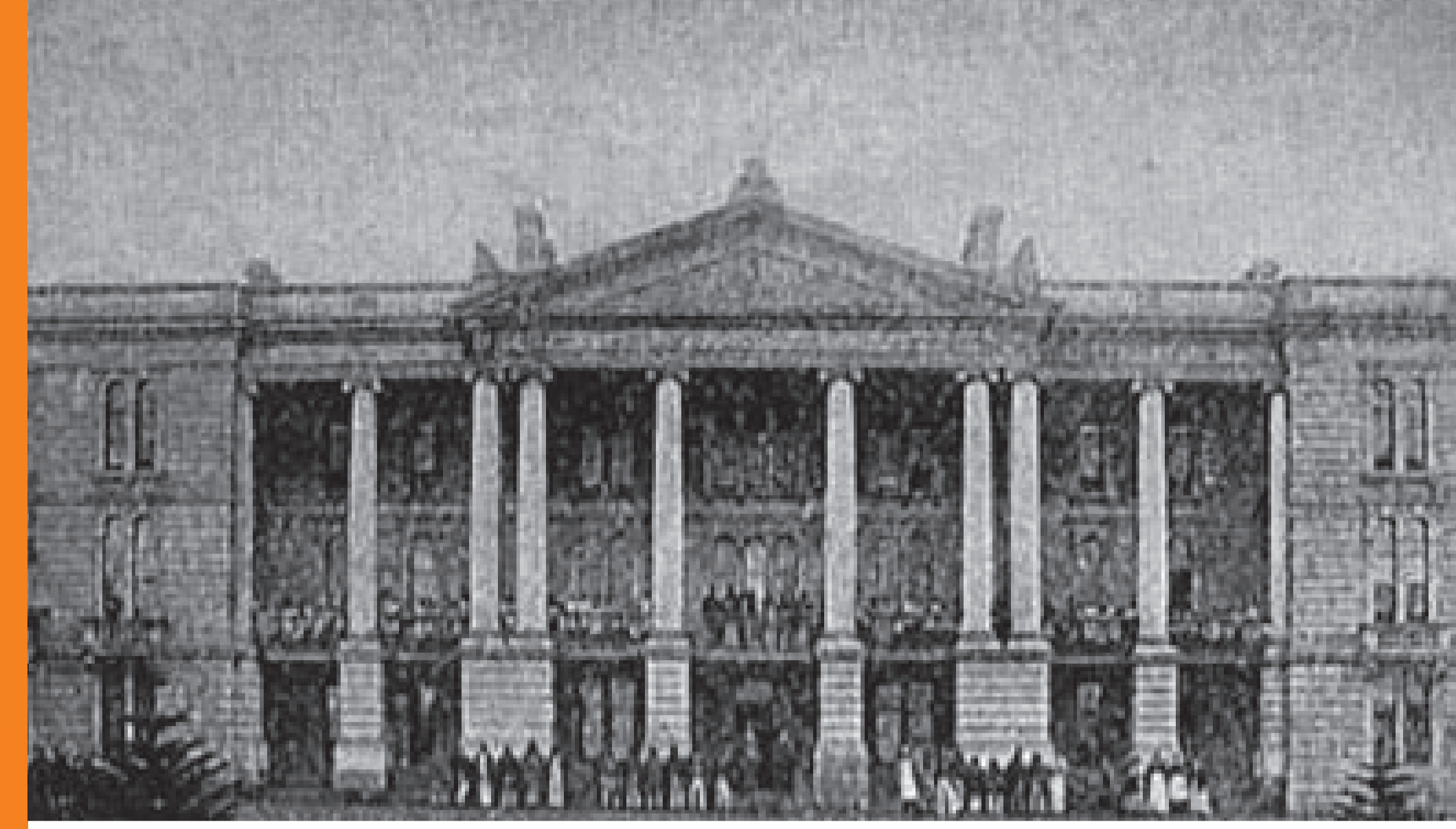
Children who were convicted of being neglected were put into the care of large orphanages or children's homes, usually run by charities or church groups. The homes, often large dormitories, provided food, schooling and religious education.

"I, 'ES' (Sister Esther) being the manager of the Church of England Neglected Children's Aid Society, an institution approved of by the governor in council under Section Sixty One of the *Neglected Children's Act 1915*,

do hereby consent to take charge of 'JT', a neglected child from before the court, under the provision of the said Act".

— Melbourne, 22nd June 1922.

Children's welfare homes were often called 'asylums'. Today we think of an 'asylum' as a home for people with psychiatric disability, but for children in the 19th century it was meant to be a safe place of refuge and protection.



*Benevolent Asylum and Industrial School.*  
Reproduced with permission of La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria.



*Visits by Children's Welfare Committee to Benevolent Homes. Weekly Times, 17th October, 1914, p.28.*  
Reproduced with permission of the Newspaper Collection, State Library of Victoria.

## CHANGING TIMES

The practice of charging children with neglect if their parents were unable to care for them, may have led many children to believe they had done something wrong and were being punished.

Fortunately, the law changed in 1954, and the crime of being 'neglected' was replaced with a standard procedure for removing children from harmful environments and committing them into care.

The definition of neglect, however, continued until the 1960s.

VICTORIA POLICE.—(21.)

*North Melbourne 29.7.37*

**Application for Summons.**

The Officer in charge of Police at CHILDREN'S COURT.  
Nth MELBOURNE.

directs Lionel H. Stuekey Constable of Police  
of Melbourne.

to apply to the Magistrates at the Police Court at Nth Melbourne.

for a summons against John James  
of 8 Campbell Place Nth Melbourne.

for that on the 3/7/37 at Nth Melbourne was deemed to be a neglected child for that he was living under such conditions as to indicate that he is likely to lapse into a career of crime.

Signature of Officer J. H. Stuekey  
Office Inspector  
Date 8.7.37

F.317/10.82.—1004.

*Summons against JM for being a neglected child and 'likely to lapse into a career of crime' - North Melbourne Children's Court, 8th July 1939.*

# 4 Youth welfare – a shift in policy

During the 1960s and early 1970s, the Court and the community became concerned that reformatories were becoming overcrowded and expensive. Research began to show that institutionalisation could be harmful, particularly for first time offenders, and that after leaving a reformatory, many children would re-offend.

The Government began to develop alternatives aimed at minimising the child's contact with detention centres and, where possible, keeping the child at home while reforming his or her behaviour.



An earlier Children's Court Clinic, 87 Chetwynd Street, North Melbourne, constructed in 1911. Reproduced with permission by Mr. Michael Challenger.

## PROBATION

By the 1970s, many of the reformatories dating from 1864 to the 1930s had closed down, and probation became a key policy and practice of the Children's Court. Probationary sentences had been available for children since the late 1887, and their original purpose was to:

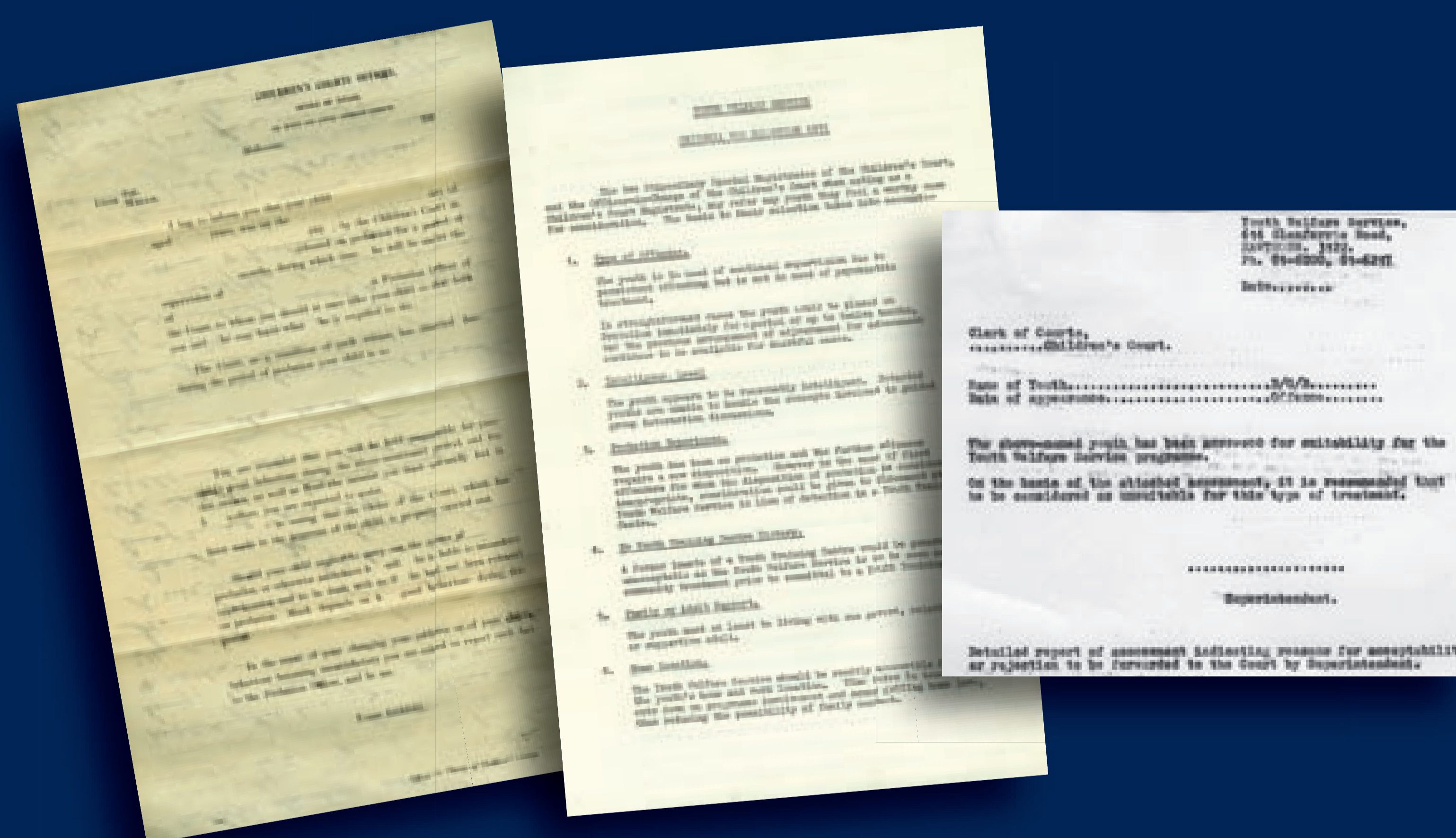
- allow magistrates to show mercy to first time offenders
- dissuade children from a life of crime through close supervision and community integration
- encourage respect for the law by providing a more suitable penalty for less serious crimes.

The 1970s saw the establishment of community programs, such as the Youth Welfare Services (YWS) set up by the Social Welfare Department, aimed at maximising the impact of probation. The YWS would provide children with counselling, help with homework, and weekend camps, and would ensure the child performed community service.

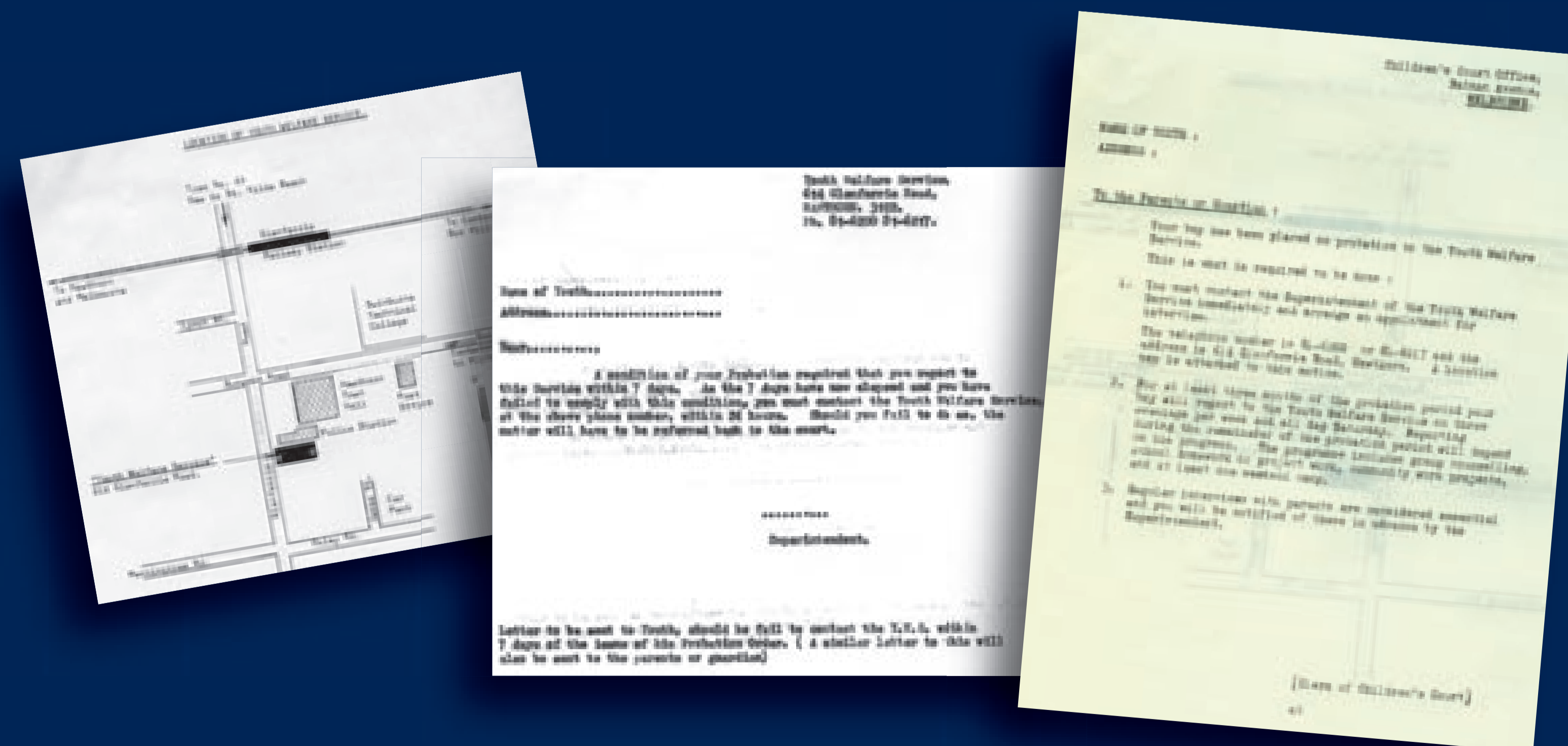
A child on probation had to visit their local YWS several times a week. Failure to comply meant being sent back to the Children's Court for breach of probation.

Not all children could be referred to a YWS – a child needed to fit a number of strict criteria. If the criteria were not met, the child would be sent to a reformatory.

## 1970s PROBATIONARY PROCESS



1. Letter to parent notifying of child's probation order.
2. Criteria for being sent to Youth Welfare Service: Do you pass the test?
3. If not, you may be sent to detention centre or industrial training for as long as the magistrate deems fit: Notice from the Superintendent of YWS to the Children's Court rejecting your application.



4. If so, you will be required to attend regularly: Directions to the local YWS in Hawthorn, issued by the Children's Court to your parent/guardian.
5. Have you complied with the conditions of your probation? Notice of failure to attend the YWS on time.
6. What were the parent's responsibilities? Notice of instructions from the Court to your parents.

## THE CHILDREN'S COURT CLINIC

Founded in 1944, the Children's Court Clinic is the investigative arm of the Children's Court. It assesses the children and parents, and provides detailed clinical psychiatric and psychological advice to the court on the child's best interests.

Operating independently of any agency, the Clinic undertakes assessments at the request of the Children's Court, and also assists the Magistrates' Court in dealing with child witnesses.

Initially, the Clinic operated on a small scale with very few staff – one psychologist, an informal administrator, a social worker and a secretary. In the 1970s, the number of staff grew to encompass a Psychiatrist Superintendent, two consultant psychiatrists, two medical officers, two social workers, three psychologists, a nurse and three typists.

Today's clinic, run by Dr. Patricia Brown PSM, Director and Principal Psychologist, is a much larger operation. The clinic has 47 sessional clinicians in addition to its permanent staff, and conducts approximately 900 assessments each year.

\* CA 23/19/60 Where a board requires an examination and report the Clerk must advise the Children's Court, obtain the agreement, give a statement of the facts and such other information as can be obtained concerning the child and his surroundings.

AMENDMENT No. 23.  
The following paragraph is to be substituted for the first paragraph of Clause 222(a) of the Instructions to Clerks of Courts:—  
“(a) A Children's Court Clinic, staffed by a psychiatrist, psychologist, social worker, and trained nurse, has been established at Carlow House, 299 Flinders Lane, Melbourne. This clinic is available, on occasion, to examine delinquent children referred to it by Children's Courts.”

Instructions to the Clerks of Courts – Amendment No. 23, establishing the Children's Court Clinic at Carlow House.

# Recent developments in the Children's Court

The 1980s saw significant change in policy and laws relating to children. In 1982 the Victorian Government set up a committee to conduct a major review of child welfare legislation and practices. The committee's report formed the basis of the *Children and Young Persons Act 1989*.



The Melbourne Children's Court at 477 Little Lonsdale Street. All photography of the Court by John Gollings.



The entry foyer at the Melbourne Children's Court.



The west façade of the Melbourne Children's Court.

Major changes brought about by the Act include:

- Replacing the 'child-saving' philosophy of punishing and institutionalising children for long periods with a philosophy centred around rehabilitation
- Separation and differentiation between child criminal law cases and child protection proceedings
- A new emphasis on children's civil rights.

## SENTENCING

The legislation established a range of sentencing options, including good behaviour bonds, fines, probation, and youth supervision orders through to detention as a last resort. The key aim of modern juvenile justice is to minimise children's contact with the justice system wherever possible. A child's identity and self esteem can be fragile, and the stigma of treating a child like a criminal can be deeply harmful. Custodial sentences that isolate the child from their family and community can also deter rehabilitation. The general principles require the Court to ensure that:

- Sentences must be specific and for a fixed period, rather than indefinite custody in a reformatory
- Children need to understand and participate in proceedings as much as possible
- Family autonomy is respected, with a preference for sentences that preserve and foster the child's relationship with their family
- Children are, where possible, kept at home
- Embarrassment and stigmatisation are minimised
- Children are allowed to continue their education and/or employment uninterrupted, if appropriate and possible
- Cases are conducted and decisions handed down as efficiently as possible.

## 2006 AND BEYOND...

The *Children, Youth and Families Act* was passed by the Victorian Parliament in 2005, and is expected to be operational in October 2006. The Act aims to improve children's rights and protections. For the first time, the Act gives an expansive definition of matters to be taken into account when deciding the best interests of a child in the Family Division.

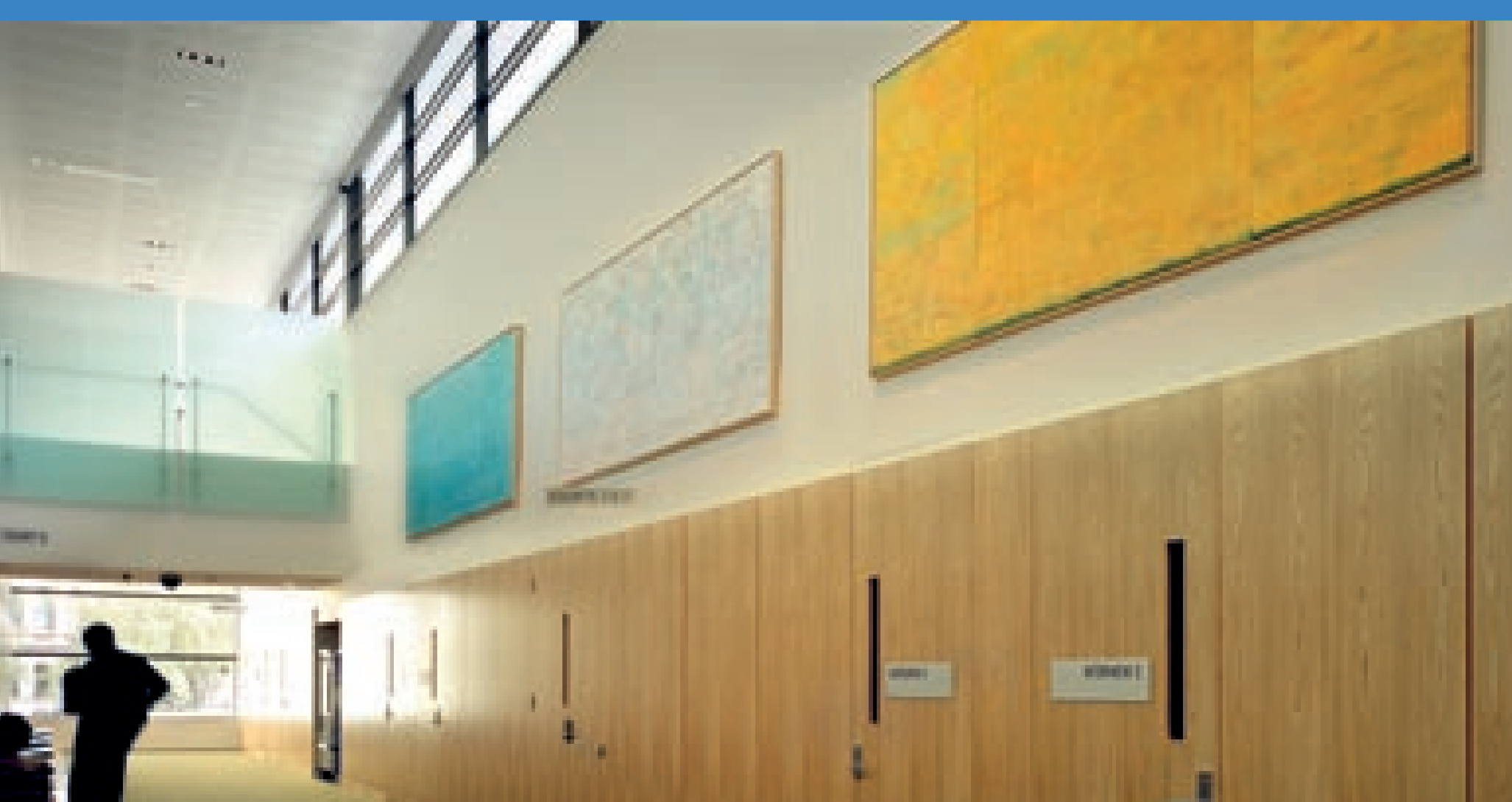
The full nature and effect of these laws remains to be seen. The Children's Court hopes that future generations of Victorian children will enjoy even greater safeguards to their rights and needs in the years to come.



Interior view of a courtroom in the Melbourne Children's Court.

## FAST FACTS

- The rate of child detention in Victoria has significantly decreased over the past 20 years
- Victoria has the lowest rate of detention in Australia, with less than half of that of NSW and WA and less than one eighth of that of NT
- As of 2002, Victoria has the lowest number of children in detention in Australia
- Between 2004-2005: 2.6% of the Children's Court sentences were detention
- The latest National Crime Report voted Victoria as the safest state in Australia, with the crime rate 21.7% below the national average.



The foyer for the Family Division at the Melbourne Children's Court.

# The Children's Court and Koori History

In the history of the Koori community's contact with the juvenile justice system in Victoria, we find a different and equally important historical narrative.

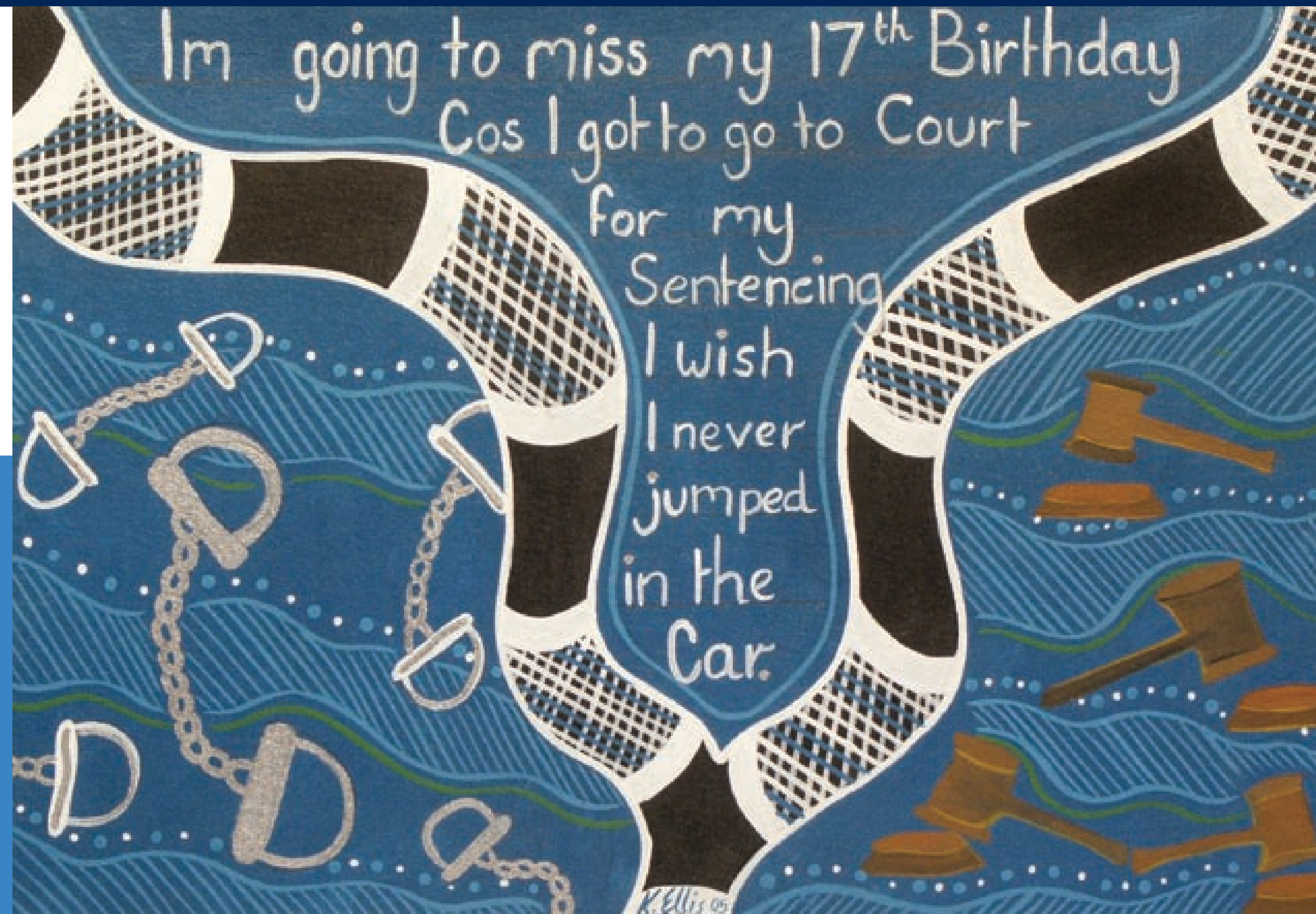
Beginning in 1788, Indigenous children across Australia were forcibly removed from their families and were institutionalised by European colonisation. In Victoria, from 1835, the government segregated the Indigenous community from their traditional lands onto reserves controlled by missionaries and government appointed 'protectors'. In many such communities, the children lived in a separate area of the reserve for schooling, meals and sleeping.

In 1864, aspects of the *Neglected and Criminal Children's Act*, while not referring to Koori children specifically, could be more readily applied to charge them.

In 1869, the Aborigines Protection Board was established by the *Aborigines Protection Act* to regulate the custody of Koori children specifically. In particular, it enabled the removal of Koori children to industrial schools or reformatories.

After the establishment of the Children's Court in 1906, Koori children taken by police from their communities and reserves would be charged before the Court with being a neglected child and in need of protection and custody.

Before the 1960s Koori children often appeared before the Children's Court without legal representation. After the *Aboriginal Affairs Act* became law in 1969, more care was taken to ensure Koori children had representation in court.



*This painting is a life experience for me and I never thought that Koori Court could have a big affect on a person's life. Because of me I had to miss my 17th birthday because I had to go to Koori Court and my family was mad at me.*

'Two Ways' by Kevin Ellis (2005)

## INQUIRIES AND COMMISSIONS

### Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody

The Royal Commission was established by the Commonwealth Government in 1987, to investigate the high rate of deaths of Indigenous people in police custody, juvenile detention and prison.

The Commission found that the deaths of Indigenous persons were relative to the disproportionate number of Aboriginal people in the prison system, indicating deeper issues about problems in the criminal justice system and the economic and social inequalities that bring Indigenous people into contact with that system.

In particular, the Royal Commission described the rate of Indigenous children in custody as 'alarming', and reported that in Victoria, Koori children are 20 times more likely to be in detention than non-Aboriginal children.

### Bringing Them Home

#### National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families

The *Bringing Them Home Review* reported on the nature and extent of the forcible removal of Indigenous children from their families, primarily through oral histories.

The report aimed to raise public awareness on the history of child welfare policies, and to open discussion on the more complex social, political legal implications of this history in Australia.

### The Victorian Aboriginal Justice Agreement

The Agreement, launched in June 2000, is a joint initiative by the Victorian government and the Koori community to both reduce negative Koori contact with the justice system, while at the same time increasing positive Koori participation in all sectors and all levels of the justice system.

The Agreement determines projects to reform the justice system, through extensive consultation with the Koori community. In particular, it focuses on projects that reform criminal procedures to improve Koori access to services and reduce their over-representation in custody.



*Judge Jennifer Coate, President, Children's Court of Victoria, with Koori Elders Uncle Kevin Coombs and Mrs Georgina Williams, at the opening of the Children's Koori Court.*

## THE CHILDREN'S KOORI COURT

As an initiative of the Aboriginal Justice Agreement and after much work with the Koori community, the Children's Koori Court was established in December 2004, under the *Children and Young Persons (Koori Court) Act*. The Court's first sitting was held in October 2005.

The Children's Koori Court serves as a criminal justice model that is culturally sensitive and ensures greater and more positive participation of young Koori people who must come before the Court.

The participation of Koori Elders encourages the family and community of the young person to attend Court and assists in the rehabilitation options for the offender.

During a court hearing, all parties, including the Magistrate and the young person sit at an oval table. One or more Koori Elders, or respected persons from the Koori community, sit on either side of the Magistrate. The Elder has the authority and respect of both the Court and the Koori community, and advises the Magistrate on the young offender's situation and on culturally appropriate sentencing options.



*Auntie Joy Murphy-Wandin, Wurundjeri Elder, performing a smoking ceremony at the opening of the Children's Koori Court.*



*The Attorney General, Hon. Rob Hulls, with members of the Preston Kode School dancers, at the opening ceremony of the Children's Koori Court.*



# Children's Court of Victoria 1906 - 2006

This year marks the 100th birthday of the Children's Court of Victoria. Through this exhibition, we invite you to explore the history of this specialised court, and to think about the wider social and legal issues that have affected the way our children and young people experience the criminal justice and welfare systems in Victoria.



*The Melbourne Children's Court at the Gordon Institute, Bowen Street.*  
Reproduced with permission of Gordoncare.

Children in eighteenth and nineteenth century Victoria faced a harsh and relatively rigid justice system. From the late eighteenth century onwards, changing social attitudes lead to a gradual improvement in conditions (see Panels 2, 3 and 6). The establishment of the Children's Court in 1906 confirmed this approach, and was an important step towards recognising the special needs of children in their encounters with the justice system.

Originally part of the Magistrates' Court (then known as the Court of Petty Sessions), the Children's Court was established to deal with criminal and child welfare matters (see Panel 1). The first Court was staffed by special magistrates and honorary probation officers. Proceedings were closed to the public, which meant that only people involved in a case could come into the courtroom.

A specific facility was created for the Court in Melbourne in 1908. During the 1930s, the first paid magistrate and probation officers were appointed to the Court. The Court's caseload was ever growing. Throughout Victoria between 1911 and 1939, the number of cases heard grew by over 60% - from 3,303 to 5,491. By 1972, daily sittings had commenced at the Melbourne Children's Court.

The last thirty years saw major changes in the Court. Magistrates in the 1970s placed an increasing emphasis on probation orders for young offenders, rather than imprisonment (see Panel 4). The *Carney Report* on Child Welfare, released in 1984, sparked significant reform including establishing a separate Family Division of the Court to deal with child protection cases and opening the Court to the public (see Panel 5).



*The Melbourne Children's Court at Queensbridge Street.*  
Photograph by Janet Matthew.

In 2000, the Children's Court became independent of the Magistrates' Court, and a new position of President of the Children's Court was created. The aim of these reforms was to elevate the status and authority of the Court, and reflect the significance of the Children's Court in today's judicial system.

**Melbourne Children's Court**  
**The future will judge us  
by the way  
we treat our children**

This building was opened by  
The Premier of Victoria the Honourable John Cain, M.P.  
and  
The Attorney-General of Victoria the Honourable Andrew McCutcheon, M.P.  
on 9 February 1990

*Commemorative plaque for the Melbourne Children's Court at Queensbridge Street.*

## LOCATION OF THE COURT: A ROUNDABOUT JOURNEY TO LITTLE LONSDALE

The Children's Court was initially established at every place where a Court of Petty Sessions was held. In 1908 the first sittings of the Melbourne Children's Court were held at the Gordon Institute on Bowen St (now part of RMIT). In 1941 the Court moved to Carlow House on the corner of Flinders Lane and Elizabeth St. In 1960, a new Melbourne Children's Court was opened on Batman Avenue.

The Court moved once again in 1990 to a converted factory in Queensbridge St, South Melbourne. This was the first attempt at separating young people at Court for criminal offending from young people at Court in relation to child protection matters.

However, the building lacked natural light, had no rooms for meetings or pre-hearing conferences, and there were no child play areas. Young people in secure welfare custody still faced the stigma of being placed in cells.

On 29 December 1999, Melbourne Children's Court moved to its current home at the purpose-built court complex at 477 Little Lonsdale St, and was officially opened by the Attorney-General on 14 April 2000. A significant feature of the building is the geographic separation of the two Divisions of the Court. The building's eight courtrooms are designed to be accessible and non-threatening. The courtrooms contain state-of-the-art technology, including video-conferencing and remote witness facilities, allowing witnesses in certain circumstances to give evidence without being physically present in the courtroom. Other features include pre-hearing conference facilities, interview rooms, natural light to the courtrooms and public waiting areas, private outdoor courtyards, and a children's playroom.

In 2005, the first Children's Koori Court was established and sits one day per fortnight at Melbourne Children's Court (see Panel 6).



*The Melbourne Children's Court at Carlow House, on the corner of Flinders Lane and Elizabeth Street.*  
Photograph by Janet Matthew.

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Bates Smart  
Mr. Michael Challenger

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