1942

Study of the social case treatment of nineteen unmarried mothers

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Boston University

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Boston University
A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL CASE TREATMENT OF
NINETEEN UNMARRIED MOTHERS

A Thesis
submitted by
Blanche Harriett White
(A.B., Scarritt College, 1929)
in partial fulfilment of requirements for
the degree of Master of Science in Social Service.
1942.
Approved by:

First Reader  Sua Morgan
Second Reader  Janette R. Brown
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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The cases used in this study were unmarried mothers served by the Talitha Cumi Home during 1941 and 1942. The Home was founded in 1836 for the purpose which the name, at that time, indicated, the New England Female Reform Society. A group of charitable women formed a self-perpetuating board with membership passing, often, from one generation to the next in the same family. The charter authorized the organization of the agency "to reform" those young women whose behavior was morally and socially unacceptable to society. In 1924 the name of the Home was changed to the Talitha Cumi Maternity Home and Hospital, and in 1934, to the Talitha Cumi Home. The program has grown with the changing psychology of social work as Virginia Robinson has described it in her book by that name. The present policy is to offer prenatal, natal, and post-natal care to unmarried mothers through the Home and foster home programs.

The agency maintains an institution composed of a dormitory division of single and double rooms, hospital facilities for medical supervision and delivery, and a nursery for the babies. Unmarried mothers who are pregnant

for the first time may enter any time after the determination of pregnancy with the understanding that they will remain two months after delivery. Training, in home nursing, care of children, and home economics, is given to help fit the girls for their return to the community.

The agency is non-sectarian with religious guidance provided for each girl through the church of her choice. A recreational program is arranged as an integral part of the regular activities.

The applicants are, in the majority, of average or superior mentality. Those with venereal disease infections cannot be admitted because isolation quarters are limited.

Foster home provisions are available through the use of private homes, with medical provisions through community clinics and hospitals. Some clients prefer boarding home placement because they feel it is quieter and adjustments can be made in the length of stay and care of the babies after delivery to fit the individual wish and need.

Social service is available to the girls, the alleged fathers, and others involved, to help them work out the problems and conditions incident to illegitimacy. The department consists of three case workers, two women and one man. The employment of the man worker was initiated to
make available more adequate service to the alleged fathers who are his particular clients. The cooperation between the workers and the mothers and the alleged fathers makes possible a more inclusive program.

The mothers, who request boarding or adoptive placement for their babies, are referred to community child placing agencies. If further social service seems indicated by the needs of the mothers and alleged fathers, this is provided through the Talitha Cumi Home or through other agencies as suggested by the needs.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this thesis is to study the nineteen unmarried mothers to determine how their needs became apparent through the worker-client relationship and whether they were met, as evidenced by the girls' ability to meet the realities of their life situations. The needs may be for satisfying relationships with other persons, cooperation with relatives and friends, assistance in planning care during the pre-natal, natal, and post-natal periods, psychological, psychiatric, and vocational guidance, financial help, planning for the future illegitimate parents and the baby, or the furtherance of court action.
A study of the needs of unmarried motherhood is particularly opportune because of the realization of social workers, of their inadequacies in dealing with and understanding the causes, treatment, and prevention of this social and cultural problem.

SCOPE

The scope of this thesis is limited to the nineteen unmarried mothers with whom the writer, a second year field work student, in the Boston University School of Social Work, carried on social supervision. All were under the care of the Talitha Cumi Home in the fall and winter of 1941 and 1942. The group of cases was chosen to provide a cross section of the agency population in the institution and foster home, to give the student a comprehensive experience with the social problems inherent in the agency program.

SOURCES OF DATA

The sources of the data were the agency records of nineteen cases, personal interviews with the clients, alleged fathers, relatives and psychiatrists, by the writer, and the bibliography of pertinent psychological, psychiatric, legal, and social work literature. The historical background of the agency was obtained through interviews with
the superintendent. The statistical data were secured from the agency records, reports of psychological tests, and additional interviews. The social histories were compiled by summarizing the agency case records. Pertinent materials were selected from the bibliography for criteria against which to study the findings of the summary.
CHAPTER II

SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS
CHAPTER II
SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

The following social and psychological factors involved in the background of the unmarried mothers and the alleged fathers were studied to secure help in understanding the needs the mothers presented.

Eleven of the girls came from homes broken by illness, death, separation, and divorce, and two from those disturbed by severe marital conflict. Eight were from unbroken homes but of these, seven presented major disturbances.

Nineteen of the thirty-eight parents of the girls were American born, seventeen had been born in foreign countries but had migrated to the United States from Armenia, Poland, Italy, Sweden, Ireland, Portugal, England, and Canada. The Syrian born parents of one girl remained in Cuba to which they had emigrated. Fourteen of the foreign born parents had become naturalized.

There were slightly above five siblings in each family of the unmarried mothers. In four instances, the clients were the oldest siblings, in four the youngest, and in two the only children in the respective families.

Seventeen of the girls were white, one was of American Negro parentage, and one of American negro and Portugeuse parentage.
All of the girls were pregnant for the first time and were unmarried when the pregnancy began.

The median age of the group at the time of delivery was 21 years, 7 months, and 25 days, with the chronological age range from fourteen to thirty-nine years of age with a majority falling in the age group of between twenty and twenty-four. Fifteen were between the ages of fourteen and twenty-four.

TABLE I

AGE OF UNMARRIED MOTHERS AT BIRTH OF BABIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Class Interval in years</th>
<th>Number of mothers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 — 14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 — 19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 — 24</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 — 29</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 — 34</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 — 39</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Total Number Unmarried Mothers 19

Seven of the girls were catholics, eleven were protestants, and one professed no religious affiliation or inclination.
They had been variously employed in the capacities of factory inspector, nurse-attendant, waitress, bookkeeper, NYA, stenographer, dietician, manicurist, and dancer.

The average school accomplishment of the client group was ten and two-thirds years.

The median I.Q. of eighteen of the group was 105 with a range in I.Q. of from 69 to 143 on the Weschler Bellevue Intelligence Test. A test was not available for one of the group.

**TABLE II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.Q. Class Interval</th>
<th>Number of Mothers</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60-69</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70-79</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-89</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90-99</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-109</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110-119</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120-129</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130-139</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140-149</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Tests 18
Eleven alleged fathers voluntarily acknowledged paternity, two were legally determined, and three were alleged by the mothers without confirmation from the fathers. Two girls alleged attacks by unknown men and one girl who could not name the alleged father was found to have been promiscuous. Six of these known were married, and of these, four had separated from their wives previous to their relationship with the clients. Ten had never married.

They had been variously employed in the capacities of bartender, salesman, carpenter, laborer, farmer, steelworker, truck driver, horticulturist, and gambler.

The average grade accomplishment in school for the alleged fathers was ten and two-thirds years.

This material has been given for the purpose of presenting a background summary of the mothers and alleged fathers.
CHAPTER III
HISTORY
CHAPTER III

The following histories of the nineteen unmarried mothers were compiled from the case records of these clients from the Talitha Cumi Home. They are presented to indicate the forces motivating the mothers and how they used the resources available to carry through in meeting their problems.

ALICE

I

Alice, a seventeen year old, American, negro girl of small stature and simian-like appearance was referred for social service upon her entrance to the Talitha Cumi Home for convalescent care from the hospital where she had gone for the delivery of her baby girl. She looked frightened and bewildered and was crying because she said she was afraid that her baby was to be removed from her custody. She could not accept assurances that this would not be done without her consent.

Alice insisted that her parents had promised she could come home and bring the baby. They and the oldest sister worked outside the home and needed someone to do the work and take care of the four youngest children. When she was in the third year of high school, she became pregnant and from
then until the baby was born she had worked in the home.
She said, further, that if she could not go home, she could
go to the home of an older, widowed cousin to whom she and
the other children went with their problems and questions
when they were "afraid and ashamed" to go to their parents.

Alice was in the Home six weeks but the nurses were
unable to gain her cooperation in the routine activities
and the care of the baby whom she nursed and fondled at
will. Efforts to persuade her to conform were futile and
were met with evasions and untruths.

Alice's parents consented for her to bring the baby
to their home providing support could be obtained from the
alleged father whose name they did not know. Alice gave a
name without hesitating, but before he could be contacted,
she gave the names of two other men. She seemed unable to
understand that this might defeat her wishes and when en­
couraged to tell the truth she said "I do when I have to".  
Thinking she might be defective mentally, she was given a
Weschler-Bellevue intelligence test and an I Q of 91 was
obtained when her glasses, which corrected a severely im­
paired vision, were broken. It was felt that her function­
ing was impaired by the defenses she had built up because
of her anxiety. She remained untruthful and suspicious
until the time came for her release. Her parents decided to take her and the baby home and "force the truth out of her and make her file a charge at court against the right man".

BERNICE AND CLARA

II and III

Bernice, 24, and Clara, 21, sisters, came together to apply for admittance to Talitha Cumi Home. Bernice was tall and fair, Clara dark and small, and they were neat, attractive girls. They volunteered little information about their parents. They said they had always lived on a farm in an adjoining state. Their father died when Clara was a baby and ten years later their mother married a paternal uncle who had made his home with the family since before the death of the father. He had seemed like a father to the girls and their two older sisters. They felt that their mother had worked too hard all of her life and had had so much trouble that they must protect her from the knowledge of their pregnancies, because she would be distressed and would feel disgraced. They were not willing for their uncle to know, either, for it would make him unhappy. They said they planned to place the babies for adoption.
Bernice completed high school and worked as a maid and a waitress during the following years. Two months before she applied to Talitha Cumi Home, she had come to Boston and had worked in the intervening months as a waitress.

Clara too, had completed high school and entered nurse's training, which she had interrupted because of a lack of interest, and since she had worked as a maid and practical nurse. She came to Boston and worked as a waitress with Bernice.

In separate interviews, the sisters said they did not know the name of the father of the other's baby. Each identified the same twenty-five year old son of a farmer-neighbor of their parents as the alleged father of her baby.

Bernice had approached him for financial assistance, through a lawyer, and had accepted a cash settlement, out of which she had realized fifty dollars, and she asked that no effort be made to reach him as she no longer liked him.

Clara said the alleged father did not know of her condition and she did not want him to for she felt a growing dislike of him and preferred to finance her confinement herself.

In the Home, Bernice was courteous to everyone, easy going and well liked. She did her share of the work satis-
factorily and kept her own council, never discussing her affairs nor those of others. She appeared above average in her intellectual ability. Three weeks after she entered the Home, she gave birth to a baby boy who died an hour after birth because of the difficult delivery.

Clara seemed young and unsophisticated. She fitted into the Home routine efficiently and happily and was companionable with the other girls. An I Q of 114 was obtained on a Weschler Bellevue intelligence test and this correlated with her functioning. Her baby girl was born two weeks after she entered the Home and she cared and sewed for her assiduously and exhibited her proudly.

No one learned that Bernice and Clara were sisters. They were referred for social service when they had been in the Home six weeks.

Bernice was eligible for discharge in two weeks, since the baby had died. She made immediate use of the service in the three interviews. She said it seemed a shame that the baby had died for he would have made adoptive parents happy because he was a fine baby, but she thought it was the easiest "way out" for her. She wondered what her mother would think of her daughters for she had always thought that such girls were "bad", yet she did not think they were "bad" be-
cause she did not know. She recognized the social worker's acceptance of her and was able to state that although she felt she had misbehaved and she was ashamed, that she did not feel "bad". She asked for help, and cooperated, in getting work.

In the one joint conference, the two girls expressed eagerness to room together after they left the Home even if they could not work together. Bernice assumed a maternal attitude toward Clara which she accepted naturally. Both were adamant that the only solution to the problem was the adoption of Clara's baby.

Clara too, made immediate use of the social service and in the seven interviews showed insecurity in her emotional dependency on the worker which intensified after her sister left. She was accepting of the resources available for the baby and was able to cooperate in making plans and she decided that after the placement she would not see the child again. She showed anxiety in looking for work and solicited assistance after which she was able to carry through her plans for leaving the Home and the baby.

DOROTHY

IV
Dorothy's aunt and her father came for the first interviews to make application for her admittance to the Talitha Cumi Home. Later, Dorothy, her aunt and her mother came together to discuss plans. They all showed evidences of distress over her pregnancy but were understanding and sympathetic toward Dorothy and the alleged father. This was the first trouble she had caused them. She had been going with a young man of whom they did not approve and they asked her to stop seeing him. The night she told him, they became emotionally upset at the prospect of the separation, and there followed a sexual relationship, and she became pregnant. He urged her to marry him but she refused as she did not love him. A friend with whom she had gone intermittently since she was sixteen, asked her to marry him when she told him of her predicament but she decided that this would not be fair to him and refused.

After she decided that marriage was not wise, she felt it was best to leave home until after the baby was born and then to place it for adoption. Her parents urged that she return afterwards. She had completed high school and one year of college and she had worked as a dietician in a local hospital and she could return to this position. They felt if she were home, they could help her to get readjusted to
community life and that would be easier, too, as she had many friends who loved her because of her sweet disposition.

Dorothy's parents volunteered to take care of her expenses although they were hopeful that the alleged father would. The father said his income was good, their home adequate, and their family small, composed of Dorothy and two younger brothers.

The alleged father came to the home immediately following a request from the male worker. He readily acknowledged paternity and assumed financial responsibility. He said he was anxious for Dorothy to keep the custody of the baby and, in case she did not, he asked that he be allowed to pay the board until he could provide a home for it with him. He appeared normally intelligent and said he had completed high school, and had been employed regularly since as a leather worker. Dorothy made an excellent adjustment in the Home, both in regard to the routine and the other girls who praised her for her gentleness and kindliness. She appeared above average in her intellectual functioning and an IQ of 109 was obtained in a Weschler-Bellevue intelligence test.

Dorothy's baby girl was born four months after her entrance to the Home. She related herself readily to the
child, handled it affectionately, accepted the nursing of it with evident pleasure, gave it good care, and sewed with apparent satisfaction in what she accomplished.

Dorothy was referred for social service when the baby was three weeks old. She insisted, in the five interviews, that she retained her original decision to place the baby for adoption. She said she did not love the alleged father and could not live happily with him. She showed she felt she stood alone when she said decisions were hard for her to make but that no one could make this one for her. She expressed remorse at the suffering her pregnancy had caused her parents. Her grief at the prospect of separation from the baby was apparent. She accepted boarding home care for the baby, with future adoption, as the best solution and she cooperated in the details in planning. She and her parents cried the day they came to take her home because of her separation from the baby, but she remained adamant and was able to carry out her plans.

ELSIE

ELSIE

Elsie, a 17 year old, mulatto girl, her husband, and his mother came to make application for Elsie to enter the
Home. She was pregnant prior to their marriage. His commanding officer had forbidden marriage when he asked permission, so they were married secretly for he felt his first obligation was to her. He had been promised a promotion which would be denied if his disobedience became known. After he completed his preparation and received his promotion, he planned to reveal their marriage. He felt that because of his responsibility to Elsie and the baby, he must use every precaution to protect his career. He agreed to pay her expenses at the Home and Elsie promised that she would not tell the other girls she was married.

Elsie said her mother had been mentally ill in a state institution for eight years. Elsie, her oldest sister, and two younger brothers had been given foster care in a boarding home during that time, and the son of the foster mother is now her husband. Her father, a Portuguese, had been unable to care for the children. She said they had been happy in their foster home and were a part of the family. The Catholic Church had always been an integral part of their home life, and they attended the functions regularly.

Elsie adjusted well to the routine of the Home and accepted her pregnancy and delivery without complaint and
with apparent satisfaction. She was quiet, courteous, and friendly with everyone and she was popular. She presented no behavior problems. She was appraised as normal mentally and an I Q of 106 was obtained on a Weschler-Bellevue intelligence test. The findings were borne out in her school accomplishment, for she had completed high school at 16 with a record above average.

When her son was one month old, Elsie was referred for social service, for help in working out home going plans. She was calm and poised as she expressed her pride in and love for her son and husband. She asked when "Mother" had been to plan for her going home, as she referred to her former foster mother and present mother-in-law.

Elsie left the Home with the same confidence with which she entered and seemed assured of her happiness.

FLORINE

VI

Florine's step-father came to the Talitha Cumi Home to make application for her without having told her of his intentions. He said that when she told him of her pregnancy, she said that she had decided to return home, say she was married, and that her husband was in the army. The step-
father, fearing this would not be believed and that the resultant gossip would ruin his political career, asked advice from a lawyer friend, who recommended the Home. He said he felt resentful that neither he nor the mother had known, until the pregnancy occurred, that the alleged father had been married. He felt that the young people should bear the responsibility of their own conduct.

When Florine, 26, came to the Home, she seemed to accept the planning of her step-father as a logical solution to her problem. She said her own father died when she, an only child, was three. Her mother had remarried when she was twenty. She completed two years of high school, attended a beauty school, and obtained employment as a manicurist. Her mother and step-father moved to another state but she remained where she was employed and where she met the alleged father.

The alleged father, 32, home on leave from the army in which he was a corporal, came voluntarily to the Home, before Florine entered, to acknowledge paternity and assume financial responsibility. He said that he and his wife had separated in 1938 agreeing that she would file suit for a divorce in 1941 on the grounds of desertion, and if she did not, he would file. He planned to marry Florine at the
earliest opportunity, in fact, he felt as if they were already married. His mother felt this, too, and she planned for Florine and the baby to come to her home until he can make a home for them. He felt assured that he could care for them financially for he had been able to earn a substantial income since he completed a one year horticulturist course, in college.

Florine made a satisfactory adjustment to the routine of the Home but she said she felt herself different from the other girls because she was "practically a married woman and her pregnancy and baby as welcome as if she had been married". If she felt a staff member or one of the girls was interested in her affairs, she became defensive. She functioned on a normal level and earned an I Q of 104 on a Weschler-Bellevue intelligence test.

She was referred for social service when her baby was one month old. She composedly assured the worker that she had no need for help as her plans were all made. Her decision was accepted and she was asked to send word if later some need for help became apparent to her. Several times she drew attention to her baby and explained that she could continue to nurse her as they would not have to be separated when they were free "to leave here". She
finally asked for assistance in working out some minor details about her leaving and when these received attention, she said "I know I am spoiled. I want my own way and if I think people are interfering I don't like it. My situation is so different from the others".

The alleged father and his mother came for her and the baby and she left apparently as confident and happy as if she had the security of marriage.

GLORIA

VII

Gloria, 17, came to the Talitha Cumi Home with her sister, Louise, to make application to enter. She talked very little and seemed not to understand what had happened to her. Louise took the initiative in the interview. She said she had to take the responsibility for the family and that all the children, with the exception of herself, were afraid of the mother, but that she herself, could not imagine why. She said their parents both worked out of the home. All of the children were at home except the oldest girl who is married. Louise has kept house for the family while the mother worked.
Gloria was the first of the children to get into trouble. She was the mother's favorite too. The mother would not allow boys to come to the home and the girls had to meet them on street corners. The mother was angry when she first learned of Gloria's pregnancy. They all feel it is a disgrace but other girls have had such trouble and she is a "good girl". They want her to return home but feel that the baby should be placed for adoption.

The alleged father was crippled from infantile paralysis. He walks without crutches and works but the mother said he "was just a dirty old cripple" and his family is much beneath Gloria's and "not fit for her to be in". When the mother learned of the pregnancy, she forced Gloria to file a complaint in court although she "begged" that it not be done. The alleged father and his mother came to see what could be arranged after the warrant was served which was their first knowledge of the pregnancy. Gloria and the alleged father wanted to be married and his mother approved but her mother refused permission and would not allow a settlement out of court. She ordered the alleged father and his mother to leave and asked police cooperation to prevent a return visit.

Gloria was well liked in the Home and was gentle and
cooperative but quiet and shy. She accepted her share of the work, her pregnancy, and her part of the responsibility, without complaint. She said she had always wanted a baby. She sewed well, and with evident pleasure for the baby. She appeared slower mentally than the I Q of 95 obtained on a Weschler Bellevue test indicated. She said she had never liked school and had not passed the eighth grammar grade although she spent a year in it.

Gloria was referred for social service upon her admittance to the Home. In two interviews before the birth of the baby, she expressed her love for the alleged father and her desire to keep the baby. She showed relief when she was told of available resources so that she might retain the custody of the child. She did not evidence resentment towards her mother but stated that she wished she had not demanded the court action and that she would allow her and the alleged father to marry.

In the two interviews following the birth of her baby girl, Gloria showed intense anxiety because her mother had visited her and told her she could not bring the baby home. She accepted reassurances that she could retain the custody and was overjoyed later when her father wrote her she was to bring the child home.
At the court hearing, Gloria became so acutely anxious that she could not talk coherently. She could not keep simple facts straight, and cried so that it was necessary to recess court. The alleged father was legally adjudicated the father and appealed the decision.

In the next interview Gloria urged that the case be settled out of court and insisted that she still loved and wished to marry the father of her baby. She showed resentment towards her mother for forcing this procedure on her.

The father, 23, renewed his offer of marriage stating that he loved Gloria and his child, could not put her through the ordeal of a trial, and that neither had anything to gain and everything to lose by further litigation. He appeared normal mentally, had completed high school, and had worked steadily for several years, the last as an assistant filling station operator.

In the final three interviews, Gloria was able to make her decision to marry against her mother's wishes. She said that since she was now 18, she was legally the one to decide and that the responsibility of the baby's happiness was hers. She felt sure of the love she and the father entertained for each other. She was able to withstand her mother's opposition and the marriage was completed. She was able to accept her mother's aggressive rejection of her after the
marriage and to accept her husband's mother as a mother substitute.

HAZEL

VIII

Hazel, 22, came to the Talitha Cumi Home to make application. She appeared unhappy over her condition and guilty because she had broken the mores of her father's native land, Italy. Her church, the catholic, had taught her that what she had done was wrong and in addition, she had "sinned" by attempting an abortion, and considering suicide. Her parents, particularly, her father, had been understanding and she had always been considered his favorite. She felt "very sad and hurt" because she had disappointed him. He had been ill a long time from heart trouble but he has "to bear the burden of this and Mama" because she acts like a child.

Hazel said her two brothers and two sisters have been kind but she feels she has disgraced them and cannot take her baby home because people will "look down" on them, her sisters in particular.

Hazel, said she had not told her father who the alleged father is for he might kill him as he says they would
have in his native land. She identified him as a married man with one child, but when they were intimate, he and his wife were separated. She said it was as equally her fault as his. He stopped coming to visit her when her father ordered him to because he learned he was married. She has not seen him since. She was glad to accept the man social worker's offer to find him and said if he would not help her, she would file action but that she did not want to do so.

The alleged father came at once to the Home when he was located after a long search. He said he had tried to find Hazel after she quit the factory where they had worked together for he feared she might be pregnant. He readily admitted their relationship and his probable paternity of her child, and agreed to helping with the expenses and care of the child.

Hazel was referred to social service at the time of her application. She continued to express feelings of "shame", guilt and remorse. She evidenced need to punish herself by working at a difficult job as an attendant with violently ill patients at a mental hospital although she was urged to enter the Home at once because of her serious need of medical care. She accepted an explanation of her behavior and was able to quit work and enter the Home.
In the first five interviews after she entered the Home, Hazel discussed her feelings of guilt and was able to articulate her growth in understanding of her behavior. She accepted the staff evaluation of her as a "good girl". She studied the other girls and said they were not "bad" so that even if she had done "wrong" that did not mean that she was "all bad." She expressed a desire to attend the confession-al and relief in believing she was forgiven. She said it would be foolish not to forgive herself when God, the priest, and the staff had. When she reached this point she discussed her future plans. She said she knew it would not be easy "to face the world" or keep the baby against her father's wishes. After she learned of the possibilities for keeping the custody of the child, she decided to dismiss the problem of the future from her mind until after the birth of the child.

Hazel adjusted nicely to the Home routine and although she was bedfast for some weeks before the birth of the baby, she was cheerful. She functioned on a superior level, and an I Q of 115 on the Weschler Bellevue Intelligence Test bore out the observations of the staff. Her high school graduation grades were above average. Her employment had been below her ability.

Hazel did not seem to resent her pregnancy and
seemed happy, with a ready smile and a laugh for everyone. After the birth of her baby boy, whom she named after her father, she related herself warmly to him and seemed to enjoy her maternal capacity. She became conscious that the separation from the baby permanently was not possible as she felt she loved him too much to endure that. She was able to cooperate in placement plans and felt in the months following that she could gain her father's approval of her decision to keep her baby.

IONE

IX

Ione, 13, came to the Talitha Cumi Home with her mother at the suggestion of a social worker from a hospital where she had undergone an appendectomy and where, during the operation, the surgeon had discovered her pregnancy.

Ione was the only girl and fifth of nine children. The father was Italian and the mother, English. Both were greatly disturbed over their daughter's condition. They claimed she had always been an obedient child and had not been a problem at home or at school. She completed the sixth grade three months after her thirteenth birthday. She attend-
ed the Catholic Church faithfully. When the father learned of her condition he became greatly incensed and reported the matter to the police demanding the immediate arrest of the man whom Ione identified as the father of her baby. He threatened to kill the alleged father and the police disarmed him and revoked his permit to carry a gun. The mother explained that the father had always been excitable and extremely nervous.

The alleged father was arrested on a charge of statutory rape but he denied paternity of Ione's baby. He was forty-seven years of age and lived with his wife and two grown daughters. He was employed as a maintenance man in the park where Ione and her brothers played, and she claimed he had taken her to a tool shed several times and assaulted her.

Ione was referred for social service before her admittance to the Home. During the first thirteen interviews she was sullen and often angry with the worker but found it difficult to explain her anger. She was able to state that the alleged father had told her that she would be placed in a correctional institution if she told of their relationship. She felt that the Home social worker had made her come and was making her stay at the Home. When she was convinced this was not true, she was determined that a day should be set on
which she could be sure she could go home. She could not accept the worker's explanation that she could not do this but that her going home depended upon her date of delivery. During the trial and conviction of the alleged father, she seemed to be less antagonistic toward the worker and to accept her interest.

Ione related herself to the domestic science teacher of the Home, and expressed herself freely and easily to her. She cooperated exceptionally well in the Home life and carried responsibility happily and proved to be reliable. Her blocking in discussing things which worried her disappeared and she was able to be friendly with the worker and to accept her in the function of placing the baby and planning for her return home.

Ione appeared to be normal in intelligence although her school accomplishment and an I Q of 91 obtained on a Weschler-Bellevue Intelligence test showed her to be within the normal range. Her practical ability seemed above average, and she learned to sew beautifully.

Ione accepted her baby girl and was able to carry through her plans for the adoptive placement of the child and for her return home with mature behavior.
KATHERINE

Katherine was 21 when she came to the Talitha Cumi Home. She was attractively dressed and was a slender, pretty, dark haired girl. She said she had no relatives to whom she could go for help. Her parents had quarrelled constantly and were promiscuous sexually until the home became so bad that following an attempted sexual attack on Katherine by the father when she was eleven, the state welfare department assumed custody of the six children. Katherine, the oldest, was committed to the state correctional institution, the sister was placed with the maternal grandmother, and the boys in children's institutions.

When she was twelve, Katherine was placed in a foster home with a lawyer, his wife, and baby girl, wherefor nine years, she lived in constant fear of being returned to the institution because of the threats the foster parents made if she misbehaved. She remained in this home after she completed high school, and was working as a secretary and paid board until she came to the Talitha Cumi Home.

The first indication of Katherine's unacceptable behavior with the alleged father, came when the latter's wife accused her of intimate relations with him. She denied any
kind of relationship vehemently and the foster parents believed her.

Katherine said she did not tell the truth because she was afraid the foster parents would return her to the institution. By the time she was 21, two months later, she had learned she was pregnant but she was so ashamed of her untruthfulness, her behavior with the alleged father, her condition, and thinking "I am not as good as other girls," she felt she must leave at once. She had heard of the Talitha Cumi Home and on the advice of friends and the alleged father, she left the foster home saying she was called to her grandmother's home because of serious illness there and instead she came to the Home.

Katherine said she would not have to ask for "charity" as the alleged father had promised to pay for care and the baby's until he could divorce his wife and marry her. She asked that the alleged father be seen about arrangements.

At the request of the male worker, the alleged father came to the Home. He volunteered that he was the father of Katherine's baby, and that he would pay all expenses and later on the board for the baby until his divorce when he planned to marry Katherine and make a home for them.

The alleged father, now 27, said he had completed high
school when his parents died. From then on he moved frequently. He enrolled in several mechanical and electrical courses from which he did not graduate. He had held many short time jobs as a mechanic, in CCC Camps, and in his present capacity as bus driver.

Katherine showed a great need to be accepted by the staff during the five months after she entered the Home. She told them frequently how ashamed she was and how she felt she was not as good as other girls. She seemed unable to accept assurances of the staff's faith in her. She wrote repeatedly to the foster parents pleading for understanding, to her grandmother attacking her for her criticism and asking her forgiveness, and to the father of her baby, demanding answers to her letters and financial assistance as proof of his love.

Katherine did not find any fault with the Home or her treatment but she was irascible with and critical of the other girls and they told her she thought she was better than they. She did her share of the work efficiently and sewed neatly and artistically for the baby. An I Q of 130 was obtained on the Weschler-Bellevue Intelligence test and the staff felt this was correlated with her intellectual functioning.
At the end of five months, Katherine was referred for social service, at which time her son was one month old, preparatory to their leaving the Home one month later.

During the first five interviews, she presented the anxieties evident before her referral and new ones in reference to foster home placement for the baby, a home and work for herself, and medical treatment because of an injury to her hand which might delay her departure from the Home. She was able, however, even with these anxieties to decide that the foster parent's rejection of her must be accepted. She said they were no different than they had always been but that she had idealized them as parent substitutes which in reality they were not. She was able, too, to write her grandmother that "I want no more criticism without help."

During the remaining four interviews, Katherine showed release from her anxieties. She became angry twice with the social worker when she thought the details of her problems were not receiving adequate attention and afterwards gave no evidence of guilt or fear of retaliation. She occupied herself with active participation in the procedures in preparation for leaving the Home and in placing the baby. She discussed proof she had received that the father did
not intend to and could not help her for he had become involved in legal difficulties and had left the state declaring he had no intention of marrying her or helping her. She remarked "I could not have accepted this before although I really knew it even if I could not admit it even to myself. I can see where to go and what to do."

Katherine made her own arrangements to go with the baby to the boarding home and although the separation was difficult, she showed strength in carrying through. At her request, plans were made for her to stay for a time at a girl's club and as she left for the Club she asked that she be allowed to look for work by herself stipulating that she be free to seek help if she were not successful in a few days.

Katherine found work the day after she left the Talitha Cumi Home and immediately assumed payment of the baby's board.

LULU

XI

Lulu, 21, telephoned for an appointment and later came with her mother to make an application to enter the Talitha Cumi Home. She said she regretted her pregnancy because it
made her mother unhappy, but on the other hand, she rejoiced in it for herself for she loved the alleged father and wanted his baby. Her mother had had considerable trouble in her life, so that one felt she needed protection. Lulu's parents had separated when she was six. She made her home with her father and a young step mother. The brother, 9, and the sister, 4, continued to live with the mother. Lulu and the step mother quarreled constantly and finally Lulu was placed in a work home from which she ran away.

When she was referred to the juvenile authorities, her father refused to help her and her brother, hearing of her predicament, came for her. She was released to him, and at sixteen returned with him to her mother's home. They all worked together to establish the ideal home as envisaged by the brother. The home revolved around the mother, who, they felt, was "the perfect mother." She was partial to the younger sister but carried her burdens to Lulu. Before she returned home, the mother had remarried, but the children refused to allow the step father to remain in the home because of his drinking.

Lulu said she and her sister were friends for three years but as they grew older, competition over boys became intense and flamed into open friction over the alleged
father. He came to visit the sister and after they quarreled, he and Lulu became interested in each other culminating in their living together at the home of friends where she worked. His interest in the sister revived when she was ill concurrently with Lulu's discovery of her pregnancy. He continued to see Lulu at her instigation to discuss how this problem could be solved. He insisted upon an abortion and bought medicine and when it was ineffectual, he gave her money for other drugs. He refused to marry her as they had planned before her pregnancy because her sister had encouraged him to believe that Lulu had been promiscuous and, if pregnant by him, had allowed it that she might "get him." He agreed to help her financially if she entered the Home, and her brother offered to in case the alleged father did not.

The male worker made eight attempts to reach the alleged father, aged 22, before he finally came to the Home. He was non-committal regarding his responsibility for her pregnancy but said he had given her money for an abortion and agreed to help with her expenses. He impressed the social worker as being slow in comprehension but he said he had completed one year of high school.

Lulu had trouble adjusting herself in the Home because she was easily annoyed with the other girls, tried to order
them in their activities, and when they retaliated by ridiculing her because she talked so much about herself and her brother, she became angry and sarcastic. She was unable to stand their punishment and changed her behavior toward them until they were more accepting of her. She went on a hunger strike to gain attention from the superintendent, but when it did not succeed she did not try it again. She anticipated ways to be helpful about the Home and sewed and knitted exquisitely for the baby.

Lulu functioned on a superior level, and an I Q of 143 was obtained on a Weschler Bellevue Intelligence test with a verbal score of 146. Aptitude tests showed that she was able to excel in intellectual attainment with a superior level of mechanical ability and that her twelfth grade accomplishment and waitress and factory employment were far below the level of her ability.

Lulu had been in the Home three months when she was referred for social service. She came eagerly for and sought interviews and articulated readily. She understood the purpose of social service and used it intelligently. She worried for fear her grandmother would learn of her condition and be unkind to her mother or die of the shock and that her mother would "blame me". She wanted to take her
baby home but her sister had said she would leave home, and as she was the favorite, Lulu felt they would not want her if this happened. She expressed resentment at her sister's influence over the alleged father and said it was her fault he had failed to marry or help her. She was defensive because her mother avoided seeing the visitor after requests for an interview.

Her brother had joined the air force a few weeks before the birth of the baby. She said he expected her to hold the "family together" and to do this she would have to place the baby for adoption. She said she did not see how she could plan for her future or keep the baby without his help. She wrote many letters seeking assurances of his love and understanding.

As the time for delivery drew near, she became increasingly nervous and uncertain, urging that more aggressive tactics to used to effect an interview with her mother to learn her real attitude and intentions about Lulu and the baby. She asked that the man worker ascertain the alleged father's intentions and said she was willing to accept his decision if he would not marry her as she felt she did not love him as she had.

Lulu was sent to a community hospital for a Cesarian operation when the delivery was three weeks overdue. She
resisted the operation and after a difficult labor during which she cooperated, her ten pound son was born normally.

There were ten interviews after the birth of the baby. She related herself to him immediately and was proud of his size, strength, beauty and the attention he attracted. She nursed him and enjoyed the maternal functions. She dismissed adoption and was aggressive in discussions regarding their future. She identified with him and was able to be objective about her mother's refusal to face the reality problems of the situation. She asked for help in planning for Episcopal baptism for the baby and planned with the rector to complete the requirements for herself that she might become a regular communicant.

Lulu decided to file action against the alleged father and actively participated in the procedure. She took the initiative in interviews with the worker from the children's agency, choosing and rejecting among the possibilities until she was satisfied. She left the Home happy to be with the baby in a joint boarding home for a few weeks.

Lulu became acutely anxious when the mother insisted that she drop her court action, rather than to force a wider rift with her sister who was appearing in court for the defense, and, was actively ill for a day. She was angry with
the alleged father and her sister but was able to discuss that her mother was unable to face the problems and so evaded them and that her sister's behavior was further evidence of sibling conflict. She remarked "She is jealous. I have a baby." She recognized that her previous strivings toward her mother and the alleged father were evidence of her insecurity and her need for love. She stated her feeling of security in both social work relationships and her satisfaction in her love for the baby and his response to her.

**MARGARET**

**XII**

Margaret, 21, came to the Talitha Cumi Home with a Miss C., a retired social worker who had supervised her when Margaret was under the care of a children's agency during her childhood. Miss C. took the initiative in the interview stating that Margaret wanted to place the baby for adoption and that she had already consulted an agency about the care of the baby. She said Margaret had married in Canada last summer, not knowing she had become pregnant following an assault, a few months before her marriage, when she was returning home late one night, following a
visit to her brother. She and her husband lived in Canada and she discovered her condition. Since the husband's family and friends knew she had not seen him for over a year before their marriage, no one could have accepted the child as theirs. Her husband said he believed her story and they planned for her to come to Boston where she was a legal resident and he promised full financial support. He asked that she return as soon as possible after delivery and they decided that it would be best to leave the baby for adoption without her having seen it.

Margaret's mother had been mentally ill and under treatment for schizophrenia catatonic type at one of the state hospitals since before Margaret's birth. She returned home for the delivery and lay in a catatonic stupor until she was returned to the hospital three weeks later. She has remained a patient and has deteriorated and has not recognized her children when they have visited her at rare intervals.

For four years the father employed various housekeepers to care for Margaret and her older sister and brother. Eventually he applied to a children's agency for boarding home care for the children and they assumed custody of them. He gradually lost interest in them and ceased contributing
to their support although he was financially able to care
for them. He became enamoured of a young woman with whom
he lived and by whom he had two children.

The maternal grandfather continued his interest in the
children, supplied many of their needs, and visited them
regularly.

The three children were placed together and later were
separated. There were frequent problems which seemed to
arise because of their association. The older children,
the sister in particular, showed evidence of promise early,
and made excellent adjustments. They both married recently
and well.

Margaret was studied in the habit clinic when she was
four because of exhibitionism, untidy toilet habits, and
untruthfulness. Later she was studied in a child guidance
clinic because of sexual misconduct with her brother,
"lying, quarrelsomeness with her siblings, disobedience,
instability and excitability."

There followed a series of replacements for all the
children in which they were separated and for Margaret
there were eventually five replacements. She complained al-
ways that she was unloved, and expressed remorse over her
difficult behavior. She did inferior school work and her
average was so low as to jeopardize her high school graduation. On three occasions, there was evidence of sexual misconduct. She appeared devoutly religious, was a regular church attendant, and prayed earnestly for forgiveness.

After her graduation from high school, Margaret was an attendant in a hospital where her sister, who was ashamed of Margaret's position, was a nurse. The young man whom Margaret later married, came to the hospital as a patient three times for a colostomy. She loved him for the first as he did her. She admired his gentleness and patience. He arranged for her to come to Canada to marry him as soon as he was financially able to support her.

Margaret was referred for social service at the time of the application to the Home. She did not want to enter the home because she was married and did not want to nurse the baby. She accepted boarding home placement and referral to a community hospital for medical care and delivery.

Margaret asked for help in working out her plans and it was necessary to ask the hospital medical and children's home workers to come into the situation at once. She used each worker according to the agency function and appealed to Miss C or higher authorities in the agencies if any details of her plans were questioned.
Margaret became angry with the writer when she spoke to another client in a ward where both were patients for pre-natal treatment and again when the writer could not have a fee rescinded. She showed no evidences of a feeling of guilt or anxiety because of her aggressiveness. She showed no evidence of a sense of guilt about her pregnancy and was not defensive about her stereotyped story even though she said it was incredible and she doubted that people believed her.

Margaret talked freely of her husband and of his "beautiful disposition" and that they looked like brother and sister. She regarded their relationship as ideal and told of her day dreams of when she could have "our baby". She showed pride in her ability to carry through under the difficult ordeal. She manoeuvred the hospital authorities about to carry out her plans and was placed in a private room at ward rates so that she would not grieve when the other mothers should see their babies while she could not have hers. She asked others to see the baby and then identified the description of the child with her own appearance.

In the final of ten interviews, Margaret reviewed what had happened as if it were a play she was describing and dismissed the social worker as if completing a phantasy as
she left to return to the reality of her life with her husband. She prided herself that her sister could not have borne such a trial even though she thought she was "Better than I am" and the report that an IQ of 108 on a Wechsler Bellevue Intelligence test made her feel, she said, that she was surely "as good as my sister". She said "Life ahead will be perfect."

NORA

XIII

Nora, 19, came to the Talitha Cumi Home with her married sister, to make application for an early admittance because her father was making it difficult for her to remain at home. Her pregnancy was impossible for him to accept because of the mores of his native country, Poland, and their church, the Roman Catholic. Her mother had been kind to her but she felt it was best for Nora to leave for her own protection from her father and the community.

Nora said her parents were both employed at a curtain factory where she, too, had worked since she completed her second year of high school. She was the middle child of five. Their home had always been unhappy because her
father drank heavily. The children identified with the mother and arranged themselves against him. Despite the fact that she was his favorite, Nora said she hated him.

Nora said she wanted to keep the custody of her baby but her mother said if she brought the child home there "would be no peace for any of them" from her father, and Nora would be disgraced in the community.

Nora said the alleged father lived in her home town. They had loved each other for a long time and had had incomplete sexual relations several times but since they were painful to her she had been unable to allow their completion. For this reason neither of them could believe she was pregnant although the alleged father offered to marry her when they first feared she might be. Later he came to believe that if she were pregnant, the child could not be his because people of whom he had inquired told him it was impossible when intercourse was not complete. He felt she did not love him if she could let another man have complete relations with her and would not allow him that privilege. He offered to pay her expenses if she entered the Home and to marry her after the delivery if she placed the baby for adoption. Nora was unhappy that he did not trust her and she insisted that she had never had relations
with anyone else. She could not accept her pregnancy as possible, either, and could understand the alleged father's doubt. She said she felt she had been wicked and was ashamed that she had acted as she had and had hurt her mother.

The male worker persuaded the 25 year old alleged father to come to the home for an interview and he related essentially the same story of their love and sexual relationship. He was eager for an explanation of the anatomical structure which made it possible for him to believe the baby was his and he promised that as soon as he could get work he would return to marry Nora.

Nora was referred for social service a week after her entry. She had cried often and said she could not stay at the Home because she was homesick. She was determined to go to the home of an aunt since she could not go home because of her father, and later decided to remain only because the aunt could not care for her.

Nora cooperated nicely at the Home in the routine and accepted the regulations. She sewed well on her layette and seemed to enjoy it. She cried and fretted until she did not sleep well nights and was so finicky about her food that it was necessary to place her at a table with a staff member to ensure her getting sufficient nourishment. She requested
repeated interviews in addition to the regular weekly ones until the other girls joked that "Nora wants to see Miss W".

She impressed that staff as functioning normally mentally and an I Q of 99 was obtained on a Weschler Bellevue Intelligence test.

In 16 interviews before the birth of the baby, Nora expressed her love for the alleged father and distress at his treatment of her. She would ask cooperation and would decide to allow the male worker freedom in working with the alleged father but before any progress could be made, she would write him in such a way as to defeat her expressed wishes. He finally joined the Marines after refusing to come to the Home for further conferences. When he was interviewed by a Red Cross worker, he denied sexual relations with Nora and refused cooperation.

Nora did not appear to reject either her pregnancy or the baby but she refused to accept any plan to retain custody unless her mother agreed to it. It seemed impossible for Nora to take the baby to her parent's home because of her father's attitude. She cried when her mother insisted that there were no relatives who could take the baby and resisted the request that the workers be allowed to interview them. She was insistent that Nora place the baby and
after letters from her and to her, Nora was more upset than normal, even with her. Nora could not accept her mother's decision that the child be placed for adoption and yet could not accept boarding home care when her mother refused consent. It was possible to make arrangements with Nora's sister and brother-in-law to take the baby until such time as she could care for the child herself. Although neither they nor Nora felt adoption was necessary as the sister did not plan to keep the child permanently, yet since the mother insisted, Nora consented.

Nora showed immediate release from her anxiety when her mother agreed to the relative placement of the baby, and she said "Mother said I could come home and she would make me forget."

Nora gave birth to a baby girl when she had been in the Home three months. She related herself warmly to the baby and gave less evidence of unrest during the interval between the birth and the time of her release.

After the decision was made about the baby, Nora showed anger at two different times, in an interview. She had asked for the alleged father's address and was asked if she felt it would be wise for her to write him before he was interviewed by a Red Cross worker at Camp. She said "If you do not give it to me, I'll get it someplace else."
When discussing the community attitude and how they treated other girls who had been in the same trouble, she had said, "I'll show them!! I'll not go home for a while. They can't prove it on me. I hate them." From soliciting interviews, she turned to looking away when the visitor came on the floor. It seemed that when she was again assured of the privilege of being dependent on her mother, she did not want further help from others.

OLIVE

XIV

Olive, 26, came to the Talitha Cumi Home, with her sister, Jane, to make application. Jane took the initiative during the first interview because she spoke English more easily. Olive expressed nothing about her pregnancy, but Jane was voluble about the disgrace of illegitimacy and the importance of keeping this a secret.

Jane said her parents were born in Syria and had lived in Cuba many years. Her father, who is 23 years older than her mother, has a clothing business there. They have always been strict and protective of the eleven children, particularly of the girls, according to their Syrian customs. They allowed Jane and her older sister and brother...
to come to the United States with an aunt. The brother returned to Cuba but the two girls married and remained here. Jane asked to have Olive come for a visit and she has remained in her home for ten years. The sister who came with Jane does not know of Olive's condition and must not for she would tell her parents and their father might come and kill her. Because of this, Olive and Jane agreed that the baby must be placed for adoption. Jane was insistent that she and her husband wanted Olive to return to their home because they love her and their seven children are never happy when "Auntie" is away from them for even a few days.

Olive said she did not know the identity of the alleged father. She and two girls from the factory where she worked went out one afternoon when work was slack with three strange boys. They all had sexual relations and Olive became pregnant. She did not see any of the boys again.

Olive adjusted readily to the Home routine and seemed to have unusual understanding of the reasons for the rules. She did her share of the work willingly and well. She had been taught to sew by the Catholic sisters in school in Cuba and her sewing for the baby was exquisite. She
mothered the younger girls who liked her particularly well. She caused trouble occasionally among the older girls by repeating or making up remarks about them. If accused of this, she denied it vigorously.

Olive appeared to function on a normal level intellectually but an I.Q. of 77 was obtained on a Weschler Bellevue Intelligence test. The staff felt this might result from the difficulty she evidenced in relating herself to strangers and her language handicap. Olive seemed to know she had not done well and defended herself by telling of her good work in grammar school in Cuba.

In the first seven interviews with Olive after she entered the Home, she spoke frequently of the "shame" she felt at the "terrible" thing which had happened to her and asked to see a priest so that she might be relieved of her guilt through the confessional. She felt if she were married, pregnancy and a child would bring her happiness. She insisted that she must place the baby for adoption but listened eagerly to interpretation of possibilities for boarding care.

Olive repeatedly sought assurances that her sister planned to "stand by" her and told of her years of financial contribution to the family and service in helping with the work of the home. When she spoke of her fear her sister
would not help her, she would become angry but was soothed
when statements her sister made about their love for her and
their desire to have her home again, were repeated.

When her baby girl was born, Olive related herself to
the child immediately and welcomed the nursing period to
which both adjusted quickly. She gave the baby excellent
care and belligerently accused the nurses of neglect of their
duties toward the child when there was no neglect.

Olive was positive from the birth that she could not
place her child for adoption outside the family. She in-
sisted that her sister adopt it and the sister agreed to
after some resistance to the idea. Olive showed resentment
at losing the custody of the child but could not face re-
vealing her violation of church and Syrian mores. She was
angry over the restrictions imposed on her as a single girl
by her sister and brother-in-law but she could not bring
herself to leave their home, the security it offered, and the
love accorded her there. She did not want the baby to have
Jane for a mother yet she could not allow the child to suffer
from the stigma attached to illegitimacy. She welcomed the
love of her sister's children for herself and her baby and
showed much warmth in her feeling for them.

Olive and her sister asked for supervision and seemed to
find relief in expressing their problems. Olive was able to articulate both sides of each problem and to choose the one she felt she could bear and expressed her need of someone who understood and to whom she could talk.

POLLY

XV

Polly, 14, was brought to the Talitha Cumi Home by her parents and a church secretary to whom the parents had gone for advice. The father took the initiative in the interview and said they did not know what to do for nothing worse could have happened than an illegitimate pregnancy in an Armenian family. They and Polly had not known she was pregnant until it became physically apparent. She had always been a "good girl; so sweet and gentle, and religious, with a smile worth a million." Polly was the fourth of their five girls and the last one with whom they would have expected to have trouble. They were sure she was not to blame for she had been raped by a forty year old man but they had been angry because she had not told them when it happened. They wanted her to come into the Home at once so that no one will know of her pregnancy, and they have all decided that the baby must be placed for adoption. After
everything is over, they want her to come home and they plan never to mention this trouble to her again.

They cannot take care of her financially without help for the father has been unable to work because of illness for two years. The oldest daughter married but the next two maintain the family. They have never had to ask for financial help before and they felt that the two problems were almost too much to bear. When they learned of Polly's condition, they filed a complaint with the police and an older daughter, Susan, has worked with the officers for she speaks English fluently because she was born in the United States. They welcomed the explanation of the agency social service work as another resource to help them with their problems.

Polly was referred for social service before she entered the Home. She seemed unable to comprehend what had happened to her. She cried because she had to be away from home.

Through Susan and the officers, it was learned that the parents did not know the extent of the relationship between Polly and the alleged father. In a conference he had admitted the relationship but insisted they had sex relations eight times and that after the first time she came to the store voluntarily and that he paid her small sums of money.
He agreed to pay the expenses but became acutely anxious when he learned the charge was statutory rape since Polly was under 16 and that he was liable for a long penitentiary sentence. He was an only child of foreign-born Italian parents who owned a small store in the neighborhood. A wealthy relative has agreed to help him financially.

Susan and the officer in charge were gravely concerned for fear the father would learn what actually happened. If he did, they felt that he might kill Polly, refuse to let her come home again, or if she did return home, make their home impossible with his harshness, for such conduct violated the Armenian mores by which their home is ruled.

Polly was in the Home four months and two weeks. She cooperated nicely in the routine, did her work well, was gentle and quiet. She could not seem to accept her pregnancy as real. She seemed detached from reality at times. She sewed obediently and accomplished a minimum amount so that her layette had to be supplemented by custom made garments. The girls and the staff liked Polly but she formed no close ties except with an older girl who entered the day she did and who "mothered" her. Polly seemed to depend upon this relationship.

The staff felt Polly functioned intellectually on a normal level and an I Q of 107 was obtained on a Weschler
Bellevue Intelligence test. This corresponded with her school accomplishment for she had completed eight grades at fourteen years of age.

During the first six interviews, Polly expressed freely her unhappiness at being away from home even though when she was there, she was "shut away". She cried, and lamented her crying, saying she had always cried if anyone was the least cross with her. She felt she had been "bad" for she knew that what she was doing was "wrong" although she had not realized what the consequences might be. She had no idea what her mother meant the night they noticed her condition. She felt she was "wicked" too because she thought "ugly" things about people and the preacher at their church told them this was wrong.

Polly talked warmly of her father and Susan showing toward them a strong attachment but seldom spoke of her mother. She evidenced acute anxiety about her physical condition and talked of her day dream about going home. She developed high blood pressure and edematous ankles until hospitalization became necessary three weeks preceding the birth of the baby. She seemed unable to accept reassurance and explanations and looked anxious and fearful.

The delivery of the baby boy was easy and the labor
short. Polly seemed bewildered by the child and unrelated to him and to the envolvements of maternity. Her breasts were painful, and the baby was weaned, Polly expressing joy at this. Christmas, when the girls arranged a baby show, Polly left her child in the nursery, the only one not in the parade.

In the six interviews after the delivery, Polly expressed fear of the court hearing, and pleaded to be allowed to escape it. She was delighted when she learned that she would not have to go, and when a settlement, taking care of her expenses, together with a fund of $2,000 for the baby, was established, she felt that the way was clearing for her to return home.

Polly expressed her wish to be relieved of the responsibility of the baby, entirely, but accepted the point that such a step required her cooperation. She resisted the attitude of the worker from the children's agency, when, at intervals, she was asked to see this worker; and she seemed angry over the fact that the Home worker could not relieve her of this. She was able to accept her own anger without any apparent sense of guilt, or fear of retaliation. When she realized that her cooperation was necessary, and that there could be no way of escaping from it, she accepted it, also, without any apparent unhappiness. She was able to return home, and to school, without any obvious disturbance.
Rosa, 39, was referred to the Talitha Cumi Home by an agency in her home community to whom she had gone for help. She had arranged with them for the placement of her baby for adoption.

When Rosa entered the Home she reserved the privilege of staying there or of transferring to a foster home. She felt the number of girls in the institution might make it hard for her to adjust. Her leave of absence from her work would expire, too, before she would be free to leave the Home after delivery and she felt she might not be able to get an extension of time.

Rosa identified the alleged father as another employee of the company for which she worked. He was married and the father of two children. She had known him casually for several years and they ate lunch and dinner together upon occasion. They were both unhappy in their home life and sought comfort from their mutual companionship. Her pregnancy came as a surprise to both of them because the isolated instance of their sexual relationship. The alleged father had been regretful of the result and had insisted upon paying the expense involved and was determined that she have adequate protection physically and socially. He had cooperated in work-
ing out the details of her plans in coming to the Home.

During her time in the Home, Rosa was well liked by the other girls and the staff. She fitted nicely into the routine and cooperated well in the work and the sewing for the baby which she insisted upon doing even though she was bed-fast several weeks preceding the birth of the baby.

She functioned on a superior level mentally and an I Q of 115 was obtained on a Weschler Bellevue Intelligence test. Her school record during grammar school and her work record following school bore out the findings of the psychologist.

Rosa was referred to social service immediately upon her entrance to the Home. She stated that she saw no need for help since her future plans had been made with the agency from her home community. However, in the same interview, she asked for help in placing the baby through a Boston agency, for she feared to return with it where she and the father were known, for fear of discovery. She stated that she found the Home better than she had thought possible and less lonely than a boarding home would be, so she had decided to remain in the Home. She felt sure that she could get a sufficiently long leave of absence from her work to allow her to remain two months after delivery. She expressed herself as able to accept the rule and to ask for the leave because
of her preference to the Home.

The initiative in seeking interviews was left to Rosa who sought six before the baby came and five afterwards.

She expressed anxiety repeatedly for fear her request for the Boston placement of her baby might "anger" or "hurt" the worker from the referring agency from her home community. She could not accept reassurances to the contrary. When their representative visited her, she was unable to take the responsibility for having requested the Boston placement plan nor for the interviews with the Home worker, and intimated that she did not want the latter's help.

Rosa showed anxiety about her correspondence from friends, stating that she had no Boston address to which to have letters sent, as she could not let them know her real one. She accepted the offer of two and later revealed she had had one arranged before she came to the Home.

Rosa related the story of the death of her father and brother when she was a baby and the close attachment between her mother and the remaining brother to her exclusion. She expressed anger at the way she had been "Used as a convenience and imposed upon." She felt ashamed at her resentment, feeling that according to her deep "religious conviction" that this was wrong. She evidenced relief when her hate was accepted without judgment.
Rosa showed no apparent signs of shame because of her pregnancy but said she had felt "sinful" until her minister and physician had assured her that she was not to feel disgraced. She seemed assured that she had the respect of the staff.

Before the birth of her baby boy, Rosa said she had no feeling about the child, but after, she related herself warmly to him and was disappointed when she was not physically strong enough to nurse him.

In later interviews, she insisted that the baby be placed in Boston, but during the same period she wrote the referring agency that she wanted them to place him close to home so she could see him. She was assured that the choice was hers and she was able to state that the father was the one who feared the baby's placement at home. He had finally acceded to her wishes.

Rosa insisted that she must leave before the two months were ended and said that this ruling had not been made clear to her. She discussed this with the superintendent who assured her that it was her privilege to leave when she wished, although it did not seem possible that she had misunderstood when she had discussed this earlier with both the superintendent and the social worker. She was defensive when later she discussed her date to leave with the Home social worker and
anxious as she asserted aggressively that she had not understood and that the superintendent's attitude was forcing her to stay. She showed relief when there was no retaliation and the interview was ended. She did not show evidence of anxiety or guilt when her wish for the Home worker to withdraw from the case planning was accepted but she asked for help immediately with three details about her leaving.

Rosa was able to carry out her plan for returning to her home community but was not able to go earlier than the two months period.

SUSAN

XVII

Susan, 24, came to the Talitha Cumi Home with a social worker from a hospital outpatient department where she had gone for treatment of bronchiectasis and where her pregnancy had been discovered. In the first interview, she alternately sulked and cried, threatening murder of the baby unless it was placed for adoption immediately after birth. She resented anything the worker said and finally burst out in fury "Well, you would feel the same way if your brother was responsible." She was aggressively determined that such a
child would have "bad blood" and that no one would adopt it. She refused to enter the Home unless she had the money with which to pay her expenses. She expected some from a compensation claim to which she was entitled since her mother's death.

It took concerted efforts of the hospital and the Home social workers to persuade Susan to enter the Home after she had attempted to suicide and to abort.

Susan was sarcastic and ungracious to the staff and the other girls. She frequently became angry and openly rebellious at which times she was rude and usually resorted to tears. After these outbursts, she would be more amenable. She had a saving sense of humor both in regard to herself and others. She did her share of the work well when she was not rebellious. She asserted that she disliked sewing but was ashamed not to sew because the domestic science teacher was kind to her in spite of her rudeness to the teacher.

She functioned on a normal level mentally and showed good reasoning ability but an I Q of 69 was obtained on a Weschler Bellevue Intelligence test and 68 on an Otis Self Administering test. The psychologist felt she did not cooperate and she was sullen. She read the Reader's Digest and Coronet magazine, the daily papers and detective stories,
assiduously and seemed to understand what she read.

Susan recognized that she had done poorly on the tests but said that she had never like school and had not completed the eighth grade until she was sixteen.

There were twenty interviews with Susan during which much of her discussion centered about her family history and her feelings toward her parents, brothers, and sister. She said she was the fifth of six children. Her parents had separated when she was four and the youngest brother was two. They were placed in a children's Home in Canada, the oldest brother and her sister were placed with paternal relatives, the father kept one boy with him, and the mother, one with her. At the Home, Susan and the youngest brother were kept apart because they were for adoption. She was whipped if she called him her brother or tried to see him. He was placed in an adoptive home, and when she was eleven she was to have been but her mother sent for her. Her parents were reunited and had brought all but the youngest and oldest boys into the home. The parents quarreled constantly, drank, and were promiscuous sexually. The mother used Susan as a shield for her activities, taught her to smoke at twelve, and tried to teach her to drink. Since drinking made Susan ill, she could not.
Susan's father drank too heavily to hold a job and her mother worked in a factory and maintained the home. At the time of her death, the children were all out of the home, but they assembled, except for the youngest for the funeral.

Susan had not seen the oldest brother since she was fourteen and then but once since she had been four. At the wake, they were drinking and he attacked her sexually. After the funeral, he returned to Canada and she did not know his whereabouts. She expressed violent hate of him, insisted that he was "no good" and interpreted his attack on her as proof. "I wonder what his mother and my father's mother would think of their shining son now."

At first Susan refused permission to allow the man worker to try to reach the brother and alleged father but consented because she saw an opportunity of making "him pay." She was determined that the baby would be defective and, after it was born and appeared normal physically, she was adamant that the child would be subnormal mentally. She said that had he been the illegitimate child of another man, she could have accepted it but not her brother's child. She remarked, "Let him take his baby. I'll not have it."

Susan could not accept the unalterable fact that the past could not be recalled and changed. She discussed how,
if her father were a real father, she could go to him, keep house and keep her baby, "If it were not his kid." She would cry out, "What I want more than anything else in the world is a home, and parents, and brothers and sister, like those of other girls." At such times, she showed frustration, hostility and grief.

Susan showed ability to relate herself to social workers and staff members and to understand and accept the interest in her welfare. Her first reaction was one of resistance and rejection but she was soon convinced of the workers' interest in her and then she could accept them. She was able to understand that she could be arbitrary and aggressive in her demands and could express her hate, without apparent fear of retaliation.

Susan stated that "I am through with the Church." She had been a faithful Catholic since her conversion during her grade school days when the nuns had been kind to her. She was resentful that God had not answered her prayers that she and the baby die. She was able to accept the suggestion that perhaps God did not interfere with natural processes and that putting God out of her life might hurt her more than accepting that she had been unreasonable in her demands. She agreed to withhold her decision until she had talked with the priest.
Susan showed an ambivalent attitude about the baby after his very difficult delivery. She could not accept him nor believe he was normal but she showed pride in his beauty. She identified him with her youngest brother saying that the latter "acted funny." He keeps writing all of us to know about the folks and our family history. I don't see why. I don't answer any more. I guess he feels like me, wants a decent family. I guess the baby will do that, too but (angrily) I can't help that." While she seemed able to believe others did not "blame" her nor feel she was "bad", she could not accept that she was not.

Susan said that she was afraid of other people because she hated them. She cried as she talked over the baby's future because she could not love him. She felt she could not care for the child nor nurse him unless she could know she could "get rid" of him. She related a dream of "killing my baby with my poisoned milk" and told with obvious pleasure "My baby is the only one who is not gaining." She answered queries as to the possible meaning of these things "I guess that is what I want." She handled him with little warmth and once when he was crying with hunger said "Let him wait for me. I waited nine months for him."

Susan did not hate the Home nor her stay there in spite
of her unhappiness and eagerly accepted help with her plans for her own future. She carried out her plans for releasing the baby to the city without an apparent increase of a sense of guilt.

THERESA

XVIII

Theresa, 30, came to the Talitha Cumi Home in the rain late one night, asking shelter, and saying she was without food and medical care. The alleged father had promised to supply all of her needs but had given her only two dollars a week for room and board. She had begun to realize he was not reliable and when she heard of the Home, she came at once to apply for admittance. She feared she was losing "her mind" for she had begun to hear voices, "things kept going around and around" in her head and she could no longer stay in her room alone and starve.

Theresa felt she had "disgraced" her family and she felt "ashamed" but she wanted her baby, had always wanted one, and had refused to submit to an abortion when the alleged father had urged one. She had talked with her priest who assured her that she was "doing right now" to go through with her pregnancy and to care for her child. Her father has been
furious with her since he discovered she was pregnant and he said she must marry the father or he would kill him. Her father has been "mean" to the children as long as she can remember. Her mother died when she was sixteen. She was the oldest of eleven children and she kept the house until she could not bear her father's unkindness longer. Since then an aunt has kept the home together but she is ill and plans to leave. The father would be glad for Theresa to come home and bring the baby but he will not allow this, although he needs her, unless she is married to the father of her baby. She said she could not bear to live at home under any circumstances.

The alleged father met the male worker for a conference after several requests and broken appointments. He acknowledged paternity of the baby but refused to help financially unless the baby was placed for adoption. He went on to suggest that he might not be the father and implicated other men as possibilities, intimating that Theresa had been promiscuous.

Theresa insisted upon filing court action and carried through, with the assistance of the male worker, without deviation, her plans to have the alleged father take care of the financial responsibility.

Theresa was not well liked by the girls in the Home.
They said she was "crude and told dirty jokes" to one of the younger girls and was "bossy".

She functioned on a lower level than her IQ of 104 on a Weschler Bellevue Intelligence test and her high school graduation indicated.

Theresa accepted the routine of the Home and her share of activities easily. She enjoyed sewing for the baby and felt she was accepted by the staff.

She was referred for social service immediately. She talked volubly, expressing concern over her ability to retain custody of her baby, her grief because of what had happened to her, and her amazement that the alleged father could mistreat her as he had. She repeatedly told of her intense anxiety in the weeks before her entrance to the Home and her physical hunger. She articulated that her "voices" were caused by her weakness and her constant "mulling" over of things people said to her when she had nothing to do but to think and worry. She accepted assurances of the possibility of plans so that she might retain the custody of her baby and did not appear to worry further. She came to view her father's wrath with some amusement and decided not to worry about his possible violence since she could not alter his behavior.
Theresa expressed her satisfaction that her sisters and maternal uncle and his wife "stood by her regardless" although she had been afraid to go to see them when she discovered her pregnancy. She decided the offer of an aunt and uncle of their home, for her and the baby, was satisfactory and she became sure she could manage her affairs with their assistance. She said that the alleged father had not been any real satisfaction to her. She left for the home of the relatives with confidence in the future.

VIVIAN

XIX

Vivian came to the Talitha Cumi Home alone to make application to enter. She appeared greatly distressed over her condition and said that her mother and step father were very angry with her. Her own father died when she, an only child, was three. She lived until she was ten, the time of her mother's marriage, with her maternal grandmother. Her mother taught school from the father's death until two years before Vivian's entrance to the Home. The step father was ten years the Mother's junior. He had never like children but had been "kind enough" to Vivian. Since he learned of her pregnancy, he has said he does not want to have anything
further "to do with" her. Her mother had an operation two years ago and has been extremely nervous since. Vivian said she was ashamed to have given her additional cause for nervousness.

Vivian completed high school when she was seventeen and since then she has cared for herself. She was a professional dancer, usually with a troupe. Her eyes prevented her going to college as she had only two fifths normal vision and if she strained her eyes she had severe headaches. She and her mother feel her dancing is "below the dignity" of the family in which all members were college graduates. Vivian said she liked to dance and had been able to provide for herself financially since she was out of high school. She bought a car and saved money, too. "I haven't had to ask mother for anything for years."

Vivian said the alleged father was an Italian who frequented the night club where she danced in the town where he lived. He had no steady work but was involved in a "numbers racket" and gambled. He came to see her frequently and asked her to marry him. He attempted to assault her twice before he succeeded and her pregnancy was the result. She insisted she had not had sexual relations before.

The alleged father readily admitted paternity and said he was sorry for what had happened for Vivian was a "good
girl" and he was sure she had not had sexual relations before. He insisted he had a small income but agreed to make small payments until he had completed payment for her expenses at the Home. He signed an acknowledgment of the paternity of the baby but refused the marriage which she requested "to give the baby a name."

Vivian did not adjust well in the Home for the first six weeks. She was quick to become angry and was irascible with the other girls and stayed in her room alone rather than with the group. She resented sewing, and when relieved of the necessity, asked for it. She said she felt she was from a different and superior kind of family to the other girls. She gradually seemed to become happier and the girls liked her better but she never seemed to accept the situation in which she found herself.

Vivian was fearful of the routine intelligence test and avoided the psychologist twice. She evidenced considerable nervousness but an I Q of 117 was obtained on a Weschler Bellevue Intelligence test. This finding was in keeping with her high school record and general functioning.

Vivian appeared to be devoid of a sense of humor. She said she had no church affiliation or religious inclination but she felt that she might become a Catholic. Her father had been one but had later left the church and become a
In the twelve interviews with the social worker after her referral, and before the baby was born, Vivian found fault constantly. She resented having to stay in the Home two months after delivery and was indignant that one of the requirements was that she nurse the baby. She would not accept placement in a boarding home so that she need not nurse the baby. She rejected explanations of the reasons for the Home routine. She was resentful toward her mother but when the worker indicated understanding of how she felt, she was immediately hostile and protective of her mother. There were several conferences between Vivian, her mother and the worker. The mother and daughter were in constant friction but were united in their complaints against the Home and the worker. They insisted that the man worker was responsible for the fact that the alleged father refused to marry Vivian saying that if he had conducted the social work properly, he would have.

After the birth of her baby Boy, Vivian appeared less disturbed and unhappy. She gave the baby good physical care but occasionally she handled him roughly. She resented nursing him, and was critical of the Home for insisting on this saying "It hurts but nobody cares how I feel." She claimed that the stretch marks on her breasts and abdomen
would prohibit her dancing again and indicated that the Home was responsible for this.

The alleged father offered marriage but did not keep his appointment and later made another one which he also failed to keep.

Vivian's mother insisted that she file a court complaint if she wished to return to the home of her mother and step father. The step father had relented since he came to believe that Vivian was the victim of an attack. The mother said she was sure that the father of the baby would fail to take care of Vivian's expenses and the payment of the baby's board unless ordered to do so by the court, since he had not kept his agreement to marry her. Vivian was openly hostile about her mother's insistence upon the court complaint and after the court hearing they quarreled vigorously. The mother cried out "It is awful to be a woman. They always get the worst of it. I have always hated being a woman and wanted to be a man." Vivian said she felt guilty about the way she talked to her mother stating "I never stood up to anyone in my life but my mother." She seemed to have no consciousness that her attitude toward the worker was a counterpart of that which she displayed toward the mother.

She decided that her only recourse was to board the
baby and if the father continued to refuse marriage, to place the child for adoption for she felt her mother, she, and the baby could not "face the disgrace". She showed grief at the placement of the baby and said "I guess that home is all right" but stated "I am going to ask that worker to replace him in another kind of home". She resented the foster mother's knowledge that she was unmarried and felt the children's worker was responsible for this. She did not accept the explanation that the state requirement of a record of the placement of each baby from the foster parents would reveal this, for they had to fill out a blank giving the name of the child and its parents.

Vivian gave the only evidence of acceptance of the worker as she told her good-bye. Her eyes filled with tears and she shook the worker's hand warmly saying "I do really thank you for everything. You were kind."
CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY
Unmarried motherhood is a violation of our culture, and as a result, while there may be emotional factors comparable to those of married motherhood, the realities of the estate of the two motherhoods are diametrically opposed. Ruth F. Brenner described this graphically in her discussion of a 1939 national conference program. Of a married mother she says "It is a picture of a woman who gains enormous reassurance from the fact of her pregnancy—under conditions approved by our society." Of an unmarried mother she says "In place of the acceptance and the love which may surround the married woman, we find her more often than not cutting herself off from every source of love and friendliness she has ever known. It is this contrast between the married and unmarried pregnant woman that may be helpful to us in seeing the stark realities of the unmarried mother's plight."

In a seminar report, Mrs. Brenner relates that the cases studied presented emotional needs probably resulting from affectional deprivation, in addition to the practical needs of pregnancy, and those attending the violation of the accepted cultural pattern of married motherhood.

The nineteen unmarried mothers studied in this thesis, like those of the seminar report, came to a social agency because the meeting of their needs was beyond the realm of their own capacity. In the effort to understand and meet their needs through the case work relationship, it seemed necessary to have a measure with which to control interpretation. This measure was sought in the writings of the dynamic psychiatrists concerning the formation and structure of personality and character. It is recognized that deviations from the accepted social behavior are symptoms of conflict resulting from unmet emotional needs.

English and Pearson have summarized the theories of the psychoanalytic schools of thought regarding the organization and functioning of personality and character in their book The Common Neuroses of Children and Adults.

They state that at birth, the personality is undeveloped and is composed largely of instincts which demand indulgence. These instincts tend to seek satisfaction and strive to avoid interference with this satisfaction. They are not influenced by external forces or persons and seek satisfaction through objects in persons or things. In infancy, the instincts have "no organization, discipline, control, or fear of consequences."

In normal growth processes, it is essential to have an understanding of these instincts and the part they play in order to further their organization and control so that the individual may be able to meet the demands of his social situation. The meeting of these instinctual needs is contingent upon the child's relationship with his environment which in infancy is his mother. His need for her love and protection is of sufficient intensity that an instinctual consciousness develops which serves to cooperate between the inner demands and outer realities. In this way, he learns to forego immediate pleasure to avoid pain and insure future satisfaction in socially acceptable ways.

The child soon absorbs from his environment prohibi-

tions which forbid the gratification in unacceptable cultural norms and he is governed by them. When instinctual needs are too strong and defy these prohibitions, the child suffers "fear, shame, disgust, or embarrassment."

The development of the personality is accomplished largely through the relationship with the parents in the home and influence "the personality, character and behavior patterns for all future life situations." English and Pearson contend that through this normal process of development comes the personality that can attain success and happiness in life in accordance with the culture in which he lives. Interference "with the course of growing-up emotionally" produces deviations from the normal.

Mrs. Brenner says that the "Father and mother are the most significant persons in the life of any child. If they are mature and responsible parents, a child is started in his own growth and development as a future parent." Through their love and tenderness, the child learns to make a satisfactory heterosexual adjustment and to delay instinctual pleasures until they can be obtained in cooperation with

4 Ibid., P.15.
5 Ibid., P.52.
6 Loc. Sit.
reality. The break-up of family homes handicaps normal development. Even if the incompetent parents remain together, presumably for the welfare of the child, their attitudes toward the child may seriously alter the course of his emotional life through "rejection, overprotection, or indulgence." Deviations from normal development may result from these attitudes to such an extent that he is unable to adjust to the actual circumstances of his life.

These maladjustments may lead girls to seek satisfaction of their emotional needs in relationships with boys which may lead to unmarried motherhood.

Accepting these concepts of the development and formation of personality in childhood, and the importance of familial relationships, a view of the homes from which these nineteen mothers came is enlightening as to the possible causes of their unmarried motherhood.

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TABLE III

AGE OF ELEVEN CLIENTS AT THE BREAK-UP OF PARENTAL HOMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE OF BREAK</th>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
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BROKEN HOMES:

The homes of six of the unmarried mothers were broken by death, two by chronic illnesses and three by the separation of the parents.

One girl came from a home in which a dominating mother kept the submissive father and the brothers and sisters in subjection.

UNBROKEN HOMES:

Another girl was dependent on her mother to an exaggerated degree and with her and the brothers and sisters,
were arrayed against the father who was an excessive drinker. She could accept no plan for her baby unless her mother approved and through her demands was able to force her mother's acceptance of a solution satisfactory to the client.

One of the unmarried mothers left the home of her strict Syrian parents who lived in Cuba and came to the United States when she was sixteen. She lived, with but rebelled against, the overprotection of the married sister, with whom she lived and who carried out the Syrian cultural pattern in their home.

Two girls from unbroken homes were strongly identified with their dominating fathers. Both mothers were considered inadequate and appeared mentally retarded. One girl assumed the place of the mother in the home. The other, a fourteen year old, accepted an older sister as a mother substitute.

The father of the thirteen year old girl was extremely nervous and inclined to be violent in speech and manner.

Another girl had apparently been subjected to erratic and often violent discipline from her father and she felt sufficiently rejected by her mother who worked out of the home to seek a mother substitute in the person of a relative.

The last of the nineteen girls came from an apparently happy home where she appeared to be well accepted. She was an only daughter and an only child until she was eight.
From this discussion of broken homes and unbroken homes it is evident that there were major disturbances in the family relationships of eighteen of the nineteen girls. These conditions existed during the earlier years in which normal family relationships are essential. In two cases where the break-up of the home came during adolescence, there were major emotional disturbances earlier. The home of one mother was broken, when the client was twelve, and was the result of conflict culminating in the legal removal of the children from the custody of the sexually promiscuous parents following an attempted sexual assault on the client by the father. The father of one client, who was seventeen at the time of the break-up of the home which resulted from the death of the mother, was extremely violent of temper. As the children reached their majority, they left the home because of his harsh domination.

In considering the worker-client relationship, an arbitrary classification which fits this particular group of cases was chosen to show the acceptance of the worker by the clients.
TABLE IV

RELATIONSHIP OF CLIENTS TO WORKER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEGREE OF ACCEPTANCE</th>
<th>REFERRED: BEFORE DELIVERY</th>
<th>AFTER DELIVERY</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Superficial acceptance</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rejection</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditional acceptance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive acceptance</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SUPERFICIAL ACCEPTANCE: REFERRED AFTER DELIVERY

One of these girls, who came from an apparently stable home, had previously determined the adoption of her child and accepted help in the details of placement.

Two of these girls were sisters whose home had been broken by death. They had an adequate father substitute in the person of a paternal uncle whom the mother married. The baby of one girl died and the baby of the other was placed for adoption. Determination of this had been made before the referral to social service. The mother accepted help in working out the details and both sisters accepted help in work placement.

The fourth girl was married after the determination of
pregnancy and she accepted help in a few details regarding her leaving.

**REJECTION: REFERRED BEFORE DELIVERY**

Four of the girls who were referred before delivery rejected a relationship with the social worker.

One of this group was the oldest of the nineteen clients and came from a home broken by death of her father in her infancy. She had felt and resented a lifetime of rejection by her mother and brother. She alternately sought and rejected help from a children's agency worker and the writer and she seemed unable to work out a plan with either for her baby, that was satisfactory to her.

A second of these who was thirteen rejected the relationship immediately seeming to feel that the worker was responsible for her coming to and staying at the Home. She had been threatened with placement in a correctional institution and accepted the Home as that at first and later feared such placement after delivery. Her aggressiveness toward the worker ceased gradually but in the meantime she had established a therapeutic relationship with the Domestic Science teacher in the Home. To her she articulated her doubts and fears and was able to become more expressive. She came to accept the work in the function of placing the
baby for adoption.

A third girl whose father died when she was three, showed strongly ambivalent feelings toward her mother, reflecting her mother's strong rejection of her femininity. She gave evidence of the same type of behavior towards the worker as towards her mother and seemed to project the responsibility for her unhappiness on to the worker.

The fourth girl of this group, whose home had been greatly disturbed because of marital conflict, was engaged in a struggle to maintain her dependency on her mother. She was engaged with this conflict and made demands upon the worker-client relationship which could not be granted and she could accept nothing less.

REJECTION: REFERRED AFTER DELIVERY

Two girls referred after delivery rejected the worker-client relationship. To one, who had apparently had unhappy disciplinary and emotional relationships with her parents, the worker was a threat to her retaining custody of her baby and she assumed an aggressive attitude which could not be modified in the six weeks of her stay at the Home. She refused further contact with the worker after she left the Home.

The other girl who rejected the relationship, accepted it after she left the Home. The worker had not properly
evaluated the first interview as transcribed in the record and was too aggressive in offering social service facilities to her.

CONDITION ACCEPTANCE: REFERRED BEFORE DELIVERY

The girl who gave conditional acceptance to the worker-client relationship, was according to the consulting psychoanalyst, living in a world of phantasy. When the relationship became a threat to her phantasy life and personal plans, she immediately rejected it.

POSITIVE ACCEPTANCE: SEVEN REFERRED BEFORE DELIVERY: ONE REFERRED AFTER DELIVERY

The eight girls who were able to form a positive relationship were referred, with one exception, before delivery, and the supervision was maintained over an extended period of time. Without exception, these girls gave evidence as Mrs. Brenner indicated in the seminar report, that the "birth of an illegitimate child, with all the misery of the surrounding circumstances, acts as a major emotional shock to the mother." She felt that there seems to be a loss of the ability to have friendly relationships with people and a need to hide away

---

"sometimes from the family, almost always from friends", and that as "a counteraction to this trend, the establishment of a relationship with the case worker can be the first step back to emotional health." These girls used the case work relationship as a release of their emotions through articulation and understanding and for help in working out their practical problems.

Mrs. Brenner discussed the relationship of unmarried mothers with the fathers of their children as being superficial and casual in reality although the girls projected their wishful thinking upon the relationship and had endowed it with unreal characteristics. This appeared to be true with the girls of this study.

TABLE V

RELATIONSHIP OF THE MOTHERS TO THE FATHERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP</th>
<th>NO. OF MOTHERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Promiscuous</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attack</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual with Older Men</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warm</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incest</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **TOTAL**                    | **19**         

PROMISCUITY AND ALLEGED ATTACKS

Three fathers were unidentified because of the promiscuity of one girl, and the alleged attacks in two other cases.

CASUAL RELATIONSHIPS

Four of the nine girls whose relationship was casual, admitted caring nothing for the fathers, during or after the relationship. The other five had projected to their relationship with the father, wish fulfilling phantasies during the acquaintance. They came to see that it had no real meaning and that it could not supply their emotional needs but had complicated their lives beyond their responsibilities for the babies because of their additional feeling of having
been maltreated and rejected by the men. These unmarried mothers found it difficult to release this false security even though they articulated that it was not real.

WARM

Four of the girls loved the fathers at the time of their sexual relationships and were justified in this because of the fathers' participation in their responsibilities and interest in their welfare.

CASUAL WITH OLDER MEN

The two child mothers expressed active dislike for the legally adjudicated fathers of their babies who in both instances were men old enough to have been fathers of the girls, and who had exploited the girls through their ignorance.

INCEST

The one girl of this group, claimed incestual attack by a brother, who was a complete stranger to her, when both were drinking. She claimed no pleasure from the relationship.

Fourteen of the sixteen identified fathers of the nineteen cases were determined either by voluntary acknowledgement or legal adjudication.
In fifteen of the nineteen cases, the sexual relationship with the fathers of the babies was claimed as first instances. In one case the girl appeared to have been promiscuous. In the other three, one other experience was admitted.

TABLE VI

DETERMINATION OF PATERNITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOW DETERMINED</th>
<th>NO. OF FATHERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voluntarily acknowledged</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legally determined</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleged by mothers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VOLUNTARILY ACKNOWLEDGED PATERNITY

Eleven of the fathers voluntarily acknowledged paternity. All of these were carried on a case work basis by the man worker. One client asked that the father of her baby not be seen because he was cooperating as fully as possible directly with her. One other was not seen except in court where he voluntarily acknowledged paternity, having been arrested on a charge of statutory rape which was filed.
before the young mother became known to the agency. Two of
the fathers who acknowledged paternity were in court at the
request of the girls for financial assistance. The other
father was in court as a result of the insistence of the
girl's mother and when he again offered marriage, she accept-
ed, and the complaint was withdrawn.

LEGALLY DETERMINED

One of the two fathers whose paternity was legally
determined had been arrested before the entrance of the girl
to the Home and in court he received a penitentiary sentence.
The other of the two had been carried on a case work basis
by the man worker and the father refused to deny or confirm
paternity and the case came into court at the instigation of
the mother.

ALLEGED BY MOTHERS

The three alleged fathers were not reached by the
man worker. One girl had received a settlement before she
came into the Home. Another, her sister, alleged the same
man as the father of her baby and she asked that he not be seen. The father of the baby of the third girl was said to be her brother and he could not be located.
One father could not be determined because of the promiscuity of the unmarried mother and the other two were the result of alleged attacks.

**FINANCIAL PARTICIPATION OF THE FATHER**

Thirteen of the alleged fathers contributed to the expenses of the girls. Their participation in the care of the babies could not be determined because permanent plans for all the babies had not been realized and plans for financial participation were not completed at the time of the writing of the thesis. Six of the fathers gave no financial assistance. Ten of them cared for the expenses of the mothers in the Home or gave sufficient evidence of their good intentions that it was felt they would carry through with the responsibilities they had assumed. Three gave very limited financial assistance but further seemed unlikely because of their lack of interest and cooperation.

A table illustrating the relation between the type of the relationship between the unmarried mothers and the fathers and the financial participation of the fathers is interesting although because of the limited number of cases, no conclusions could be drawn.
TABLE VII

RELATION BETWEEN RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN UNMARRIED MOTHERS AND FATHERS AND FINANCIAL PARTICIPATION OF FATHERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP</th>
<th>FINANCIAL PARTICIPATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FULL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promiscuous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attack</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual with older men</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warm</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Required by court action.

ATTITUDES OF PARENTS OF UNMARRIED MOTHERS

Seven of the clients who had reached their majority refused to allow their parents to know of their pregnancies. Three said they wanted to save them unhappiness, one could not face the disgrace, two had separated from their parents for so long that they felt there would be no interest in their problems, and one feared her father's wrath.

The parents of one girl were unsympathetic but saw no resource except that she return home with her child.
The parents of nine of the girls were sympathetic and accepting of them and their behavior although one mother evidenced a severe need to punish her daughter.

One father showed no interest in his daughter and the father of another acted in the traditional "out in the snow" manner.

**DISPOSITION OF THE BABIES**

Permanent plans regarding the disposition of six of the babies had not been determined when the girls left the Home which ended the period of time covered in this thesis. The plans for twelve babies seemed relatively certain. One baby died.

**TABLE VIII**

**DISPOSITION OF THE EIGHTEEN BABIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISPOSITION OF BABIES</th>
<th>NO. OF BABIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adoption</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding placement with permanent custody not decided</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding placement with mother's decision made to retain custody</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative placement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Mother</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the following tables, efforts have been made to show the relationship between certain subjective factors which defy description because no conclusions can be drawn from the few cases considered. The tables speak for themselves.

**TABLE IX**

**TO SHOW THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDES OF MOTHERS TOWARD BABIES AND PARENTAL HOME STATUS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MARITAL STATUS</th>
<th>ATTITUDE OF MOTHERS</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acceptance</td>
<td>Rejection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broken Homes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal Homes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unusual circumstances</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>13</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## TABLE X

**ATTITUDES TO THE EIGHTEEN BABIES IN RELATION TO DISPOSITION OF BABIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISPOSITION OF BABIES</th>
<th>Acceptance</th>
<th>Rejection</th>
<th>Used as tool</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adoption</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding Home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No permanent decision</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding Home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mothers' retain custody</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative Placement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Mother</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## TABLE XI

**RELATION OF HOME STATUS TO DISPOSITION OF BABIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISPOSITION OF BABIES</th>
<th>Broken</th>
<th>Conflict</th>
<th>Normal Good</th>
<th>Unusual circumstances</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adoption</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding Home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No decision re. custody</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding Home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother retaining custody</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative Placement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Mother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To relative</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XII

RELATION OF RELATIONSHIP TO FATHERS IN REFERENCE TO DISPOSITION OF BABIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISPOSITION OF BABIES</th>
<th>RELATIONSHIP OF PARENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fromiscuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adoption</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding Home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No decision re;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>custody</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boarding Home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother retaining</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>custody</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative placement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 2 married
  1 planned marriage.
CONCLUSIONS

It is reasonable to conclude that unmarried motherhood is not in keeping with the social standards of our cultural pattern. This fact is brought out in the study of the nineteen unmarried mothers of this thesis as shown in their sense of guilt and "shame" which was not necessarily related to the fact of their pregnancies but that through their pregnancies, their behavior was known. Their eagerness to marry for "a name for the baby" and so "I can bring him out in the open", was present even when they did not love the fathers and when they felt they could not find happiness with them.

In consideration of accepted theory, it may be assumed that children need the love and protection of normal familial relationships in order to develop a personality that will enable them to meet the exigencies of life. The unmarried mothers of this study came from homes where the normal familial relationships were definitely, not normal.

The general concept of behavior is that it is purposeful to the individual, however bizarre it is to other people. When it is not in keeping with the mores of the individual, it represents an attempt to find satisfaction of the individual personality needs in anti-social modes which is usually in conflict with social environment. Unmarried motherhood seems to be such a conflict and the individual appears to be seeking a satisfaction of her emotional needs in the relation-
ship with the father.

This study of unmarried mothers indicates that their early emotional needs had not only not been met, but had been intensified. The majority of them evidenced an excessive need for affection, acceptance, and security. Some of them made unreasonable demands for attention. There was outstanding evidence of frustration and hostility which showed itself in one girl to the extent of attempted suicide. Others showed pronounced feelings of guilt and anxiety.

The practical need for medical care and sustenance were met through the agency facilities but this was not sufficient to satisfy the emotional needs of the individuals. The staff of the Talitha Cumi Home sought to meet the needs of the girls for affection and acceptance and to relieve their sense of guilt and anxiety. Understanding and acceptance of the unmarried mother helped them to regain their self-respect to some extent. The worker-client relationship offered supportive treatment in the early contacts and a means to an end of enabling the girls to take the steps needed in working through plans for their future and that of their babies.

The worker-client relationship between the man worker and the alleged fathers offered an added measure of security when the fathers were able to cooperate emotionally, financially, vocationally, or all of these. The girls were better
able to understand their relationship with the fathers in the true meaning and to evaluate it so that it appeared less devastating.

The worker-client relationship which began previous to delivery and was carried through to the end of the two months period in the Home after delivery, gave the girls a more satisfactory opportunity to relate themselves to the social worker and to use the relationship to learn what meaning the experience had for them. The need of the mothers for this relationship was evident in the increase in the emotional disturbances and difficulties of adjustment in the Home during the periods when they were discussing their needs and problems. This was observed by the Home and Hospital staff.

It seems evident that those who formed the positive relationship were those who demanded the most in time and attention from the staff and who seemed the most unhappy until they were able to relate themselves to their problems which they must face in leaving the Home and planning for their future. The four girls who rejected the worker-client relationship needed a much longer period of opportunity but this was impossible in view of the pregnancy and time limit. That they rejected the relationship was not evidence that they had the ability to meet their problems. Several remained unhappy and there was no change in attitudes to indicate a growth in their
ability to satisfy their emotional needs in a socially acceptable way.

Six of the babies were placed for adoption. Five of the babies were kept in the custody of the mothers, two were placed with relatives, and five were placed in boarding homes. The mothers of two of these placed the babies while trying to decide whether or not to place their babies for adoption. It was not possible to draw conclusions from these figures because of the few cases on which to base them.

Social workers and unmarried mothers are seeking knowledge and understanding for guidance through the bewilderment precipitated by the social and emotional problems of unmarried motherhood. Serious consideration of the causation is in its incipiency but the findings are too inadequate to be authoritative. Certainly, they do indicate, that through the worker-client relationship, understanding can be gained into this serious problem. Further study is essential to determine why some mothers cannot accept the relationship and how to help them in that way they need and can accept.

The unmarried mothers evidenced a high percentage of acceptance of the worker-client relationship. The acceptance might not have been sustained over a longer case work period and inversely, the rejection might have been lessened with a longer time. The high degree of acceptancy of the re-
relationship might have been influenced by the protection the agency Home offered the mothers. A comparative study of a larger number of unmarried mothers in the worker-client relationship in their own, foster, or maternity homes should answer this question.
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