

1946

The use of institutions by the Church Home Society for the placement of children: 1913 to 1945 inclusive

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THE USE OF INSTITUTIONS BY THE CHURCH HOME SOCIETY
FOR THE PLACEMENT OF CHILDREN
1913 TO 1945 INCLUSIVE

A Thesis

Submitted by

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(A.B., Winthrop College, 1939)

In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Science in Social Service

1946

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CHAPTER I

EXPOSITION OF STUDY

PRESENTATION OF PROBLEM

The Church Home Society was, until 1913, an orphanage. At that time it was decided that the "placing-out system" would be given a trial for two years and if successful would be adopted.¹ This step was taken because the Board of Trustees had come to believe, as had many persons at that time, that foster homes were better able to meet the needs of children than institutions. The trial period was considered successful and foster homes have been used from that time to the present for a majority of Church Home Society placements.

Institutions have, however, continued to be used for one reason of another. Schools, in particular, have been used with increasing frequency in the past ten years according to the observations of Church Home employees who have been with the agency that length of time.²

This paper proposes to gather data on the use of institutions, since The Church Home Society became a child-placing agency, with particular emphasis on the use of schools.

General questions which the writer hopes to answer or throw light upon are:

1. What use has The Church Home Society made of all types of institutions in the placement of children?

¹ Annual Report of the Church Home for Orphan and Destitute Children, The Church Militant, Boston, 1913, p. 6.

² Mr. Ralph Barrow, Executive Director, Miss Alberta Smith, Office Manager, and Miss Ruth Butters, Bookkeeper.

2. What types of schools are in current use?
3. How are schools used in the treatment of children's problems?
4. What new schools are needed or what changes in existing schools would make them more useful to The Church Home Society?
5. Could foster homes have been used instead of institutions?

SCOPE

This paper will be divided into three parts. These parts, as indicated by the first three questions above, are studies of (1) all types of institutions used for the placement of children from 1913 to 1945 inclusive, (2) all schools in current use, 1943-1945, and (3) twenty-four case studies of school placements from 1913 to 1945 inclusive.

SOURCES, METHOD AND QUESTIONS ON ALL INSTITUTIONS

The data for the first section was taken from the cards made out for every child placed by The Church Home. All the institutional placements in one-half of these cards were used for this study. Case name, number, birthdate, age at time of placement, length of stay, name of institution and number of previous foster home placements were noted. Included in institutions were schools, job or job training in a controlled situation, group living arrangements, temporary homes, study homes, public disciplinary and truancy institutions, mental hospitals, institutions for the feeble-minded, convalescent or preventive institutions, tuberculosis sanatoria, institutions for chronic physical disabilities, maternity homes and institutional placements for the treatment of venereal disease. Excluded were: summer camps, short term hospitalizations for solely medical reasons, and temporary foster homes. Also if the placement was made without the knowledge of the agency, it was not counted.

Questions which bear upon this material are:

1. What types of institutions has The Church Home used most frequently? Least frequently? During what years were various types used? What explanations might there be for this?
2. Has the use of schools increased? If so, what are some of the reasons?
3. Does the use of institutions appear to have been valid? Could foster homes have been used instead?
4. Is there any trend evident in the number of foster home placements made previous to school placements? If so, what might some of the reasons be?

SOURCES, METHOD OF PROCEDURE AND QUESTIONS ON SCHOOLS IN CURRENT USE

Material for the studies on the schools in current use was obtained from case records, catalogues of the schools, Church Home and Children's Aid Association visitors, the Church Home Supervisor, and, in a few cases, the writer's visits or telephone calls to the school. Each agency visitor and the supervisor also wrote opinions of the usefulness of the various schools to The Church Home Society.

Data for frequency of use of schools is from material gathered for section one.

Questions pertinent to the material on schools are:

1. What types of programs do the schools used currently have?
2. How many have psychiatric and psychological facilities? What types of academic programs are offered?
3. Which schools have been used most frequently? Why?
4. What types of schools are needed which do not now exist or are insufficient in number?
5. Are there changes in existing schools which would make them more useful to the Church Home?

SOURCES AND QUESTIONS ON CASE STUDIES OF SCHOOL PLACEMENTS

The material for this section was taken from twenty-four case records containing school placements. The cases are all those from 1913 to 1945 inclusive whose subject's surname began with A, B, or C.

Questions on this section are:

1. How were the schools used in the treatment of the child's problems?
2. Could foster homes have handled these problems?

VALUE

It is hoped that the close scrutiny of the use of all types of institutions will give information on the validity of their use, especially in relation to whether or not foster homes might have been used. Because all the institutional placements in one-half of the placements were noted, the writer feels that the sample is sufficiently large to have validity as far as The Church Home Society is concerned.

Some picture of the current usefulness of schools in Church Home Society placements and an estimate of unmet needs in this area should be gained.

The writer hopes that some light will be thrown upon the way in which institutions are used in the treatment of children's problems.

LIMITATIONS

As The Church Home Society does only a small part of the child-placing in Boston, findings in this paper can not be considered representative of the entire field. It may be even less representative because of the denominational character of the work. For example, a number of the schools used are Episcopalian. Probably the Society would use

them much more often than a non-sectarian agency. Also schools of a different denomination would seldom be used.

The case studies are only a small sample of the institutional placements done by the agency. Also much of the recording in the case records was not sufficiently full to make careful studies of the effect of school placement possible.

DESCRIPTION OF THE AGENCY

The Church Home Society, located at 41 Mount Vernon Street in Boston, is a child-placing agency serving the Episcopal children in the Diocese of Massachusetts (roughly east of Worcester). It is a member of the Child Welfare League of America, the Greater Boston Community Council, and the Greater Boston Community Fund.

As a community agency, The Church Home Society works in concert with some ten child placing agencies, public and private, all members of the Children's Division of the Community Council. The Guide for Referring Children to Boston Child Placing Agencies, a manual which these agencies as a group have worked out, is the basis of the agency's intake policy. Under this agreement, the Society undertakes to provide to the community's Episcopal children the same service which is provided, through the agency members of the Children's Division, to other children.

Children accepted for care may be supervised in their own homes, placed in foster homes or institutions. The agency also does adoptions. Children for whom public care seems adequate are generally referred to the proper public agency. For example, children who need long term care and have no particular problems are generally referred to public care.

Children for whom institutionalization seemed indicated at intake, such as the feeble-minded or psychotic, would not be accepted. Ages accepted are from birth to twenty-one years for boys, to twenty-six for girls, and unmarried mothers of any age are accepted.

The staff consists of the executive director, a supervisor, eight social workers, one nurse, and a clerical staff of five.

The Church Home, together with the Children's Aid Association, has a medical service, the Preventive Clinic. Also with the Children's Aid, the Society has a full-time clothing worker. The Judge Baker Guidance Center, Habit Clinic and other local facilities are used for psychiatric and psychological services.

The writer has been with The Church Home Society on a work-study basis for the past sixteen months. Her job has been that of homefinder.

CHAPTER II

CHURCH HOME SOCIETY USE OF INSTITUTIONS OF ALL TYPES

This chapter will present data on all types of institutions used by The Church Home Society. The data will be found in Table I.

The institutions fell fairly logically into the classifications given, however, some definition of the types should be given.

DEFINITION OF CLASSIFICATIONS

Schools

The widest variety of institutions falls within this group. Capacity of the schools varies from fifteen in the cases of small private schools, to several hundred in colleges and universities. Programs cover a wide range. Some schools, such as Welcome House, have a few domestic science subjects only. Many boys schools emphasize agriculture. In a few cases, children attend local public schools. Several schools have a wide variety of trade training. Ages accepted vary from six years up - colleges accepting any age. A few have psychiatric and psychological services.

Job or Job Training in a Controlled Situation

These are the positions which The Church Home Society helped the child to secure, or at any rate approved. Nurses' training accounts for a large number of these placements. Positions as attendants in institutions such as Prendergast Preventorium, Blind Babies' Hospital, and Wrentham, have been held by the Society's youths. A number of boys have taken nautical training. A few boys were members of the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Group Living Arrangements

The Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations and Good-Will Inn fall in this category. Young people went out to work, but lived in these places where there was some supervision.

Temporary Home

These are institutions set up to give temporary shelter. Foster homes used as temporary homes are excluded. The majority of placements were in institutions set up by other agencies chiefly for their own use such as the S.P.C.C. Temporary Home and the Children's Aid Home on South Russell Street in Boston.

Study Home

All of these placements were at the New England Home for Little Wanderers. Coit House in Concord, New Hampshire, and Longview Farm were both study homes, but they kept the children for as long as two years in some cases and children attended school, etc. so that writer felt that they more nearly belong in the classification of schools.

Public Disciplinary or Truancy

This group includes Shirley, Lancaster and county truancy schools, such as Middlesex and Essex. In most of these cases the children's going to these institutions was not a part of a Church Home Society plan for them. Either the Church Home Society felt that its available resources were exhausted or the court insisted upon commitment because of further offenses. Cases were closed when children were committed.

Mental Hospitals

Boston Psychopathic Hospital and State Hospitals make up this

group. Most of the placements fall into one of two categories. The first category encompasses the cases of children who were studied at the Psychopathic Hospital for a short period, generally nine days. The second category includes those cases which were closed when child was committed.

Institutions for the Feeble-minded

Public and Private institutions are included. The majority of these cases also were closed when child was placed in institution.

Convalescent and Preventive Institutions

A number of institutions fall in this category; St. Luke's Convalescent, St. Monica's Sunshine Repair Shop, Chickering House, Prendergast Preventorium and others. Undernourished children, convalescents from various illnesses or operations, children in danger of becoming tubercular and others were accepted. Generally the Church Home Society continued supervision.

T. B. Sanitarium

All placements were in State Sanatoria save one. Only one case was dismissed to the sanitarium.

Institution for Chronic Physical Disabilities

This category also encompasses a number of institutions. Among them are House of the Good Samaritan for rheumatic heart, Monson State Hospital for epileptics, Blind Babies Hospital and several institutions for crippled children.

Maternity Homes

These institutions take girls early in pregnancy and require that they stay from a month to several months after delivery. They have their

TABLE I

CHURCH HOME SOCIETY INSTITUTIONAL OR GROUP PLACEMENTS
BY YEAR AND TYPE, 1913 TO 1945 INCLUSIVE

Year	Type of Placement													Totals
	Schools	Job or Job Training in Controlled Situation	Group Living Arrangements	Temporary Home	Study Home	Public Disciplinary or Truancy	Mental Hospital	Institution for the Feeble-minded	Convalescent and Preventive Institution	Tuberculosis Sanitorium	Institution for Chronic Physical Disabilities	Maternity Home	Institutionalization for V. D. Treatment	
1913								1		1				2
1914	1							1	1					3
1915				1		2	3	1	1					8
1916			2	3		1		1	1					7
1917			1			1			2					4
1918		1		4			2		2		1			10
1919		1		1				1	2					5
1920							2							2
1921	2			2							1			5
1922	1			1										2
1923		1	1	1					1					4
1924	1		2	1		1								5
1925			1	5				1	1					8
1926	1			3			3					6		13
1927	1	6	2	1										10
1928	4	1	1	1			1		1		3	3		15
1929	1	3		3			2							9
1930		2	2											4
1931		2	1	1			1		1					6
1932	2		1	4			1		1		1			10
1933	2	1	1			1				1				6
1934	5	1	2		3		1							12
1935	7		3						1	1				12
1936	3	1	7		3						3			17
1937	13	1	1	3	1	1						1	1	22
1938	7	1	2	1	1		1					1	1	15
1939	4	1	3	1		1					2			12

TABLE I (continued)

Type of Placement														
Year	Schools	Job or Job Training in Controlled Situation	Group Living Arrangements	Temporary Home	Study Home	Public Disciplinary or Truancy	Mental Hospital	Institution for the Feebleminded	Convalescent and Preventive Institution	Tuberculosis Sanitorium	Institution for Chronic Physical Disabilities	Maternity Home	Institutionalization for V. D. Treatment	Totals
1940	4	2	4	3	1		1		1				1	14
1941	4	1												8
1942	4			5		1			2	1				10
1943	12			1	2	1						1		20
1944	2		4	2				1		2				14
1945	13	2	2	1					1					19
Totals 94	28	43	49	14	10	18	6	19	6	11	12	3		313

own staff of doctors and nurses. Institutions used in this study are the House of Mercy, Talitha Cumi Home, Florence Crittenton and the Evangeline Booth Hospital.

Institutionalization for V.D. Treatment

These placements were not excluded as being short hospitalizations for solely medical reasons for two reasons. Placements in some cases lasted as long as six months and girls were physically able to lead normal lives, the treatment taking up only a short time during the day. The two institutions used were the State Infirmity at Tewksbury and the House of the Good Shepherd, neither of which could be termed an ordinary hospital.

DISCUSSION OF USE OF INSTITUTIONS

General Comments

The following three questions will be discussed in relation to The Church Home Society's use of these institutions:

1. When was type of institution used most frequently; that is, has its use been steady, increasing, decreasing, centered at particular times or is no trend visible?
2. What explanation might there be for trends?
3. Could foster homes have been used instead of the institutions?

It should be kept in mind that with relatively few cases in each category, even one case can make a large change. For example, three of the four cases of school placement before 1924 were of the same girl.

TABLE II

APPROXIMATE¹ ELEVEN-YEAR AVERAGES OF THE TOTAL YEARLY CASE LOAD
IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PLACEMENT AND SUPERVISION²
1913 TO 1945 INCLUSIVE

Years	Average Case Load
1913-23	233.7
1924-34	234
1935-45	228.5

Table II shows the average case load for the three successive eleven-year periods from 1913 - 1945 inclusive. It is readily apparent that the case load has varied very little. Excluding the first year when the "placing out" system was just getting started, the range has been only from 188 to 271. Figures in Table I are therefore comparable without adjustment for a varying caseload.

Schools

The use of schools has increased steadily in the thirty-three years covered. Totals for the three eleven-year periods are 1913-1923, four school placements; 1924-1934, seventeen, and 1935-1945, seventy-three.

¹ From 1913 to October 1920, yearly figures ran from October to October. Figures of 1912-13 are not included as the placing-out system did not get under way until the spring so a full annual figure was not obtainable. October 1920 to December 1921 was also omitted because it was not an annual figure. In the second period, figures for 1924 and 1925 were not found so were omitted. Averages were made from available figures; i.e. if nine years' totals were available, they were totaled and divided by nine.

² The Department of Placement and Supervision includes all children placed in foster homes or institutions and those children who have been so placed but are returned to their own homes where supervision is continued.

Probably two reasons account for most of this increase. One is that there are better schools available for placements - and the second is that there seems to be a growing belief that some adolescents do better in group placements than in foster homes.

There is some speculation as to whether or not there are fewer foster homes willing to take difficult children, and whether or not there are more difficult children to be placed. During the war, mothers going to work and influx of defense workers made fewer foster homes available. Mothers working and fathers leaving the home to join the service no doubt increased the number of children needing help. However, though conditions may have been more difficult in recent years, there has certainly never been a time when there were a sufficient number of foster homes able to deal successfully with difficult children,³ and the increase in the use of schools began long before the war.

Jobs or Job Training and Group Living

The frequency with which these two categories were used presents a somewhat similar picture. Jobs and job training placements were used most frequently from 1927 - 1941 inclusive - group living arrangements were most common from 1923 to 1940. Both groups are made up of the older children, average age being over 18. Perhaps the reason for the decrease in the number of these placements is that The Church Home has of recent years referred to the State, or made other plans for, the child without special problems simply needing long-term care. It seems reasonable to suppose

³ See Table IV p. 19.

that it would be this type of child who would be having a job or job training, or be living at a Y.W.C.A., Y.M.C.A., Franklin Square House, or similar place. Also during the war, many older boys have joined the Armed Services.

In most of the jobs or job training placements, foster homes could not have been substituted as living with the group would be customary if not required.

Foster homes could have been used successfully for a number of the group living arrangements. However, Y.W.C.A., Y.M.C.A. and other group accommodations were doubtless more accessible to places of work. Also, youths of this age would prefer the greater freedom which such an arrangement usually allows.

Study Homes

The reason New England Home for Little Wanderers was not used as a study home in the early years is that it did not have the type of facilities it now offers. The Church Home Society requests that studies be made in the cases of difficult children for whom the best plan is not known. No foster home could make the psychiatric, psychological, medical and other studies which the Little Wanderers Home does in residence.

Temporary Homes

The use of temporary homes presents a more even picture from year to year than that of any other type of institution. It is likely that The Church Home Society would have made even more frequent use of them had they always been available. The Society is too small an agency to warrant the maintenance of an institution for its own use, and those of other

agencies have frequently, because of overcrowding, been unavailable except for their own children.

Foster homes have been frequently used successfully for temporary homes.

Public Disciplinary and Truancy

Only ten of the children in the sample went to public disciplinary or truancy schools in the thirty-three years covered. The distribution of these ten over the time is fairly even. Probably fewer than ten would have gone had schools like Children's Village been available. Few of these children could have adjusted in foster homes.

Mental Hospitals

The number of children committed to mental hospitals shows a slight decrease. This may be due to the fact that with more skilled diagnosis now available, children needing this form of institutionalization would be weeded out more rapidly at intake.

Foster homes could rarely, if ever, be used in this capacity.

Institutions for the Feeble-minded

Only six children have been sent to institutions for feeble-minded. Only one of these placements has been made since 1925. This child was born in the agency's care so, of course, could not be eliminated at intake.

The writer presumes that the genuinely feeble-minded child should be institutionalized for training if not permanently.

Convalescent and Preventive Institutions

Nine of the nineteen placements of this sort were made before 1920.

The remaining ten are distributed fairly evenly. This decline may be due to better health among the children or a greater use of foster homes for this type of placement. Also if no need for case work service was evident, The Church Home Society would probably not accept the case.

T.B. Sanitarium

Three of the six placements were made in 1943 and 1944. The writer has no explanation for this and would dismiss it as not significant because of the small number of cases. Few, if any, foster homes would accept an active case of tuberculosis.

Institutions for Chronic Physical Disabilities

Distribution is fairly even. The writer would think that suitable foster homes could be found for crippled children and those with rheumatic heart if it seemed desirable. The degree of seriousness of the epilepsy should decide whether the child should be institutionalized or not.

Maternity Homes

The number of placements listed is not a true measure of the number of girls The Church Home Society has worked with in those institutions. Usually the girl is referred to the agency after she is in the institution so the placement is not counted as a Church Home one. The agency feels that a maternity home is not as good a placement for most very young unmarried mothers as a foster home.

Maternity homes will, no doubt, continue to be used for many cases because of the great convenience of the arrangement.

Institutionalization for Treatment of Venereal Disease

Figures are too small to be of significance. It is unlikely that

many foster homes willing to take a venereal disease could be found.

CONCLUSIONS

School placements show the only marked trend (steady increase) of any type of placement. They account for nearly a third of all the institutional placements (94 of 313) for the entire thirty-three years. Temporary homes and group living placements are second and third greatest with 49 and 43 respectively.

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF NUMBER OF SCHOOL PLACEMENTS
WITH ALL OTHER TYPES OF INSTITUTIONAL PLACEMENTS
1913 TO 1945 INCLUSIVE, BY ELEVEN-YEAR PERIODS

Years	School	Other	Total
1913-23	4	48	52
1924-34	17	81	98
1935-45	<u>73</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>163</u>
Totals	94	219	313

Excluding schools from total placements, one sees a marked increase in number from the first eleven-year period to the second. Increase in jobs and job training placements and group living account for a large part of this. However, the second eleven-year period and third are substantially the same.

From the observation singly of the types of placement, it appears that their use is valid and that, in the main, foster homes could not have been used.

PREVIOUS FOSTER HOME PLACEMENTS

TABLE IV

AVERAGE NUMBER OF FOSTER HOME PLACEMENTS MADE BY C.H.S.
PREVIOUS TO SCHOOL PLACEMENTS, BY TWO YEAR PERIODS,
1934 TO 1945 INCLUSIVE

Year	Average number of foster homes
1934-35	3.5
1936-37	4.7
1938-39	3.7
1940-41	2.5
1942-43	2.4
1944-45	1.1

No year before 1934 contained more than two placements, so they were not used in this Table. From 1934 to 1945 inclusive, there was only one year which contained less than three placements. This was 1942 with two.

With the exception of 1934-35, each succeeding two-year period shows a decline in the number of foster home placements made before a school placement was made. In 1945 nine of the thirteen placements were not preceded by any foster home placements. The writer believes that several elements enter into this decrease. One is that it is now recognized that some children are better suited to group than foster home placement and so they are placed there first. It seems that in the past a child was not placed in a school until several foster home placements had been tried and had failed. This would indicate also that better ini-

tial diagnoses were being done.

CHAPTER III

SCHOOLS IN CURRENT USE

There are about ten boys' and four girls' schools which are considered to be in current use.¹ Only the George Junior Republic accepts girls and boys, and The Church Home Society has not used it for a girl. Boys and girls schools will be discussed separately.

DISCUSSION OF BOYS' SCHOOLS

The physical set-up of the school, the program, and the value to The Church Home Society will be discussed for each school.

There are roughly three groups into which the schools fall. The first is those schools which will consider almost any problem and are not used by the agency except for their most difficult boys. Children's Village, the Connecticut Junior Republic and the George Junior Republic fall into this group.

The second group of schools accepts minor problems. In this category go St. Andrew's, Hillside, Frank S. Stevens, the Crouch School and Camp Collyer.

Longview Farm falls in between group one and two. It by no means has the equipment of Children's Village or the Republics, but because of its access to facilities of the New England Home for Little Wanderers, it can take somewhat more difficult boys than the second group.

The third group takes only boys with no problems and they are con-

¹ The supervisor of the past eight years, who left the agency June 1, 1946, and the homefinder made up the list. Also see Tables V and VI for frequency of use.

sequently used very infrequently. The Farm and Trade School at Thompson's Island and the Wayside Inn School belong in this group.

The Windsor Mountain School is used only for exceptionally bright children.

Children's Village, Dobbs Ferry, New York

Description: This school has a capacity of four hundred boys. Physical equipment is extensive. There are over fifty buildings, two hundred and fifty acres of land and a summer camp. The staff includes a psychiatrist, two psychologists, six social workers and a chief of social service, a doctor, part-time dentist, trade and academic teaching staffs, a physical education director, cottage parents and others.

Boys from ten to eighteen years, not feeble-minded or psychotic, are admitted. Intake is selective in that Mr. Strong believes in a "balanced group" in order to maintain a "positive atmosphere" both in the school as a whole and in the cottage groups. He feels that no particular type of problem need be excluded so long as no one type is preponderant. For example, if two or three boys in a group of twenty had stolen cars, but the rest had not, the general attitude toward stealing cars would be that it was not the thing to do. If, however, a majority of boys had committed this offense, it would be considered "O.K."

Program: The educational program is a progressive one. Groups are established on the basis of similar mental endowment, size and maturity. This is done in order to avoid unfortunate comparisons. Academic work occupies only three hours in the morning and homework is seldom required. Fundamental subjects are taught, but not all subjects usually presented in pub-

lic schools are given. One of the reasons for the short time devoted to academic work is the difficulty that most of these boys have in adjusting to school. In the afternoon the boys work at various trades such as woodwork, leather work (shoe shop), printing, etc. Sports are pursued from 4:30 to 6 o'clock.

The "Youth Government", which is modeled after a New York State village, handles much of the law enforcement, trying cases and meting out punishment. Fines are a favorite type of punishment.

The money management plan is, indeed, an integral part of the Children's Village system. Boys are paid from fifteen to twenty cents per hour for jobs they do. They in turn pay for board, laundry, clothes and recreation from the money they earn. One of the Village workers told the writer that money was one of the few values some of the boys understood when they first came to the school.

Present Limitations: Dr. Williams, the psychiatrist, sees boys when they enter Children's Village and usually after a runaway. He also tries to see all boys about three times a year. It is well-nigh impossible for him to undertake intensive treatment with a caseload of four hundred.

During the war the social work staff has been seriously undermanned. Even with a full staff of six, the case load is approximately sixty-seven boys. Considering the seriousness of the boys' problems, this is far too heavy.

The ideals of the social worker and psychiatrist certainly affect the life of every boy, however, even if he has little personal contact with the social worker or psychiatrist, for it is on their beliefs that the

Village is based and run.

The physical plant is in need of many repairs. The summer camp was not used at all last year because its condition was so poor. A million-dollar drive is on now to put the school in good condition.

Children's Village does not have an endowment and finances are still on a "hand to mouth" basis, although a year's budget can now be made and met.

As a Church Home Society Resource: The Church Home Society uses Children's Village only for its most difficult boys for whom no other resource is available. Even so, it has been used more often than any other institution in recent years. Probation officers and guidance clinics frequently request its use when referring cases.

Sending a boy to the Village is somewhat like referring him to another agency. From the Society's standpoint, the distance and pressure of other cases makes it improbable that even monthly visits will be made. (One man worker usually handles all cases at Children's Village.)

On the other hand, Children's Village does not seem to desire much assistance from the agency. Probably this is because they have their own social work staff whose members are more accessible. Usually no information is sent the agency unless a letter is written asking specifically for it. That the Church Home workers have little contact with a boy at Children's Village is well illustrated by the fact that for more than a year after Mr. Sayles left the agency (February, 1945,) the agency had no man worker and the majority of his cases at the Village were unassigned until the new man worker came (March, 1946).

There are two things that Children's Village does wish the agency to do, however. One is to return a boy immediately if he should run away, and the other is to prepare the family for the boy's return upon graduation. Any work that is done with the boys' families when the boys are in school is done by the agency. The agency also supervises the boy after his return.

The boy sent to Children's Village is the one for whom there seems little hope that he can adjust in his own home, a foster home, or in a school that takes minor problems. He may be a sex problem, chronic runaway, a very aggressive boy or a neurotic child needing psychiatric treatment.

The Church Home Society considers that the Village has a remarkably high percentage of success with the boys whom it sends there.

George Junior Republic

Because of the distance from Boston, the Society has not used this school often and has had no child there recently. All current information was obtained from a Children's Aid Association worker who was there in the spring.

Description: This school is located in Freeville, New York. There is a large campus covering about 550 acres. Buildings are widely separated and there are no fences or walls. Girls' quarters are somewhat apart from boys'.

The number of students has been considerably reduced. They have had great difficulty in obtaining staff members and have admitted children in proportion to number of staff members. There are approximately forty-five boys and thirteen girls at present. Students are, generally, of high school

age.

Program: There is no routine psychiatric work. There are staff members trained in social work and psychology, however.

The student government is quite active. Laws are made, officers elected, taxes collected and offenders tried and punished. They also have their own money system.

Academic work and trade training are offered. Girls' trade training is chiefly in domestic skills. Among boys' subjects are farming, carpentry and machine-shop work.

Use to The Church Home Society: As stated above, the distance is such a difficulty that the school is not used frequently. It would probably not be used for a boy unless Children's Village or the Connecticut Junior Republic would not accept him. The uncertain state of the staff is another reason the agency has not used the school recently.

The Society has never used the school for a girl and it appears that the program in this area might be looked into as there is no similar set-up available.

The agency has felt that the Republic has done a good job with the difficult boys sent there in the past.

Connecticut Junior Republic

Description: The Republic is located in Litchfield, Connecticut. There are approximately eight main buildings and other smaller ones. The campus covers 160 acres.

This school was directed for a number of years by Mr. Harold Strong, now Director of Children's Village. Much of the system Mr. Strong set up

is still there, and is similar to program he later put into practice at the Village.

The present director has his doctorate in psychology and there are others trained in psychology and social work on the staff. A visiting psychiatrist assists with boys who need psychiatric help.

There are approximately twenty staff members, one for every five boys.

The capacity of the Republic is about 105. Boys from twelve to fourteen years inclusive are accepted. The length of time they may stay is not defined. Some stay on and work at the Republic after graduation.

Program: The Republic has a student government. Laws are made at the monthly town meetings. Officers to enforce the laws are elected every six months. The student court tries offenders and metes out punishment.

Boys are paid for school, shop, recreation and extra work time. From his weekly salary check, the boy must pay board, room, laundry, and sometimes taxes to the government. From the remainder of the money come clothing and recreation.

Boys receive psychometric tests upon admission and are seen at least once by the psychiatrist.

Academic and vocational subjects are taught. All school work is on an individual basis and students are allowed to progress as rapidly as they can. There is no "head of the class" or "foot of the class" as the class as such does not exist.

There is considerable emphasis on training for a job. Courses take two to four years, depending upon amount to be learned. Printing, con-

struction, carpentry, agriculture, cooking and baking, laundry management a commercial course, plant maintenance and auto mechanics are taught.

The Republic has assisted boys in finding suitable jobs after graduation and kept in touch with them through the period of adjustment.

A variety of sports and hobbies are pursued on the campus. The School has a swimming pool, an athletic field and tennis courts.

Use to the Society: This School can be used for very delinquent boys. The visitor who used the Republic most often in recent years² wrote in his summary of the Republic that the School should be used for boys who could profit from supervision of persons understanding psychology, but should not be used for boys needing psychotherapy. Probably this is because of small amount of psychiatric help available to the School.

It has been most helpful to many quite difficult boys. However, it has asked that some be removed, feeling that the boys were not profiting from their stay at the Republic.

Longview Farm

Description: Longview Farm is located near Walpole, Massachusetts. It is housed in an old, rambling, but attractive farm house. There are several other buildings which are used in the farm program. It has cows, pigs and chickens.

The capacity is twenty boys. Ages accepted are nine through high school.

Longview has seven staff members including the director and his wife, a farmer, a cook, and others.

² He was not available for discussion as he has left the agency.

Program: Longview is operated under the auspices of the New England Home for Little Wanderers, and has access to its facilities. Some boys come to Longview after having been studied at the Home. Others are given intelligence or vocational testing. Boys who need psychotherapy, however, go to the Judge Baker Guidance Center.

Longview has a garden and produces milk and eggs for its own use. Boys are assigned to various household or outside jobs for periods of time. They may also work at neighboring homes for extra money.

The boys attend the Walpole public schools. The director and his wife assist boys who need help with their studying.

Use to The Church Home Society: Longview is able to take somewhat more difficult boys than the schools which take minor problems because of its connection with the Little Wanderers Home. However, because boys attend local schools, it does not want truants or boys who are behavior problems in school.

Both of the visitors who have boys there now consider the director and his wife patient and able in the handling of difficult boys. They seem willing to go slowly and build up a relationship with a boy before attempting to discuss deeper problems with him. They are both warm persons, yet allow boys emotional freedom. They seem to have considerable understanding of the psychiatric implications of a boy's problems.

The Little Wanderers' Home and Longview like to have the agency keep in touch with the boy and the School.

St. Andrew's

Description: This Episcopal boys' school is in West Barrington, Rhode

Island, eight miles from Providence. The campus is on a hill overlooking surrounding country and there are in the neighborhood of fifteen buildings.

In 1945, there was a staff of twenty-five and an enrollment of a hundred boys. Grades are from the third to the twelfth inclusive. Boys must be in the third grade at least before they are accepted. The School wants boys of normal intelligence.

Program: The School offers the usual public school studies plus courses in religious education and a variety of kinds of trade training. The 1945 catalogue lists dairy practice, poultry and sheep raising, general farming, carpentry and construction, printing and mimeographing, simple mechanics, and laundry practice. Boys also work in the dormitories and the kitchen.

In the summer, St. Andrew's runs a camp program so boys can stay the year around.

During the war St. Andrew's has had considerable difficulty because of rapid turnover of staff. This was disrupting to the academic program as well as other phases of the school life.

Use to The Church Home Society: The Society considers this School most useful for boys of a mildly delinquent type who profit from group placements and the school program. St. Andrew's does not want boys who do not fit into the school program. The director has allowed boys to be returned after runaways.

The winter program is better liked by the boys than the summer program.

The academic program seems best suited to boys of average intelligence rather than either extreme.

Hillside School

Description: This school is located near Marlborough, Massachusetts. The country is rolling farm land and boys have access to a river for swimming. There are approximately eight buildings. The main building houses offices, dining room and the younger boys' dormitory (which is one large room). Older boys sleep in another building, also in one large room. Boys who work on the farm live in a farm house and sleep several to a room. Among the other buildings are a school house, barn, and large chicken house.

Hillside has considerable farm land and has cows, horses, chickens, and pigs.

The school has between eighty and a hundred boys. Ages seven to fourteen are accepted.

Program: The new director was formerly a superintendent of schools. In the past Hillside has not laid much stress on the academic program and did take dull normal boys. However, the new director told a Church Home Society worker that he did not want boys who were not high school material. It seems likely that the academic program will occupy a larger part of the curriculum than formerly.

Farming is rather extensive. The farmer was a teacher of agriculture so boys should receive good instruction.

Each boy is assigned a certain job, inside or out, which he may perform for a period of months.

Use to The Church Home Society: In the past the Society used Hillside often and with considerable success for dull normal boys with not too-serious behavior problems. The former director was willing to put less em-

phasis on academic work and more on agricultural training for these boys.

The agency has not had a boy in the school since the new director took over. Several applications have been made, but because of overcrowding or the child's problems, they were not accepted. It is therefore hard to estimate of what use school will be.

Frank S. Stevens Home for Boys

Description: This School is located in Swansea, Massachusetts. It has seven buildings and a campus of twenty-five acres. There is a pond and an athletic field.

The school has a full-time staff of twelve. During the war, Stevens like other schools, had difficulty in securing personnel.

The capacity of the school is forty-five. Ages eight through sixteen are accepted although generally the school prefers not to take a boy over fourteen. The age at which a boy must leave is not fixed. At present one boy is nineteen.

Program: Grades three through eight are held on the campus. The program is the same as offered in the public schools of Swansea. Stevens works quite closely with the Swansea Superintendent of Schools.

Older students attend Swansea High School.

The boys have duties to perform in the kitchen, dormitory and on the grounds. They also have instruction in gardening, poultry raising and carpentry.

During the summer the school has a recreational leader. In the winter, recreation is supervised by the director. Sports are baseball, basketball, football and swimming. Scout work is active.

Use to the Society: The agency feels that on the whole Stevens has done quite well with mild behavior and personality difficulties. However, a lot depends on the cottage mother.

The school seems to do best with pre-adolescents. They have adapted well to varying intelligence. The School seems generally to have a warm attitude toward the boys.

Crouch School

Description: This school is located at Mont Vernon, New Hampshire, and is housed in a large New England home. Classes are held in a smaller building nearby. The grounds are spacious.

The capacity of the school is fifteen boys. Ages from eight to fifteen are preferred.

The director and his wife are both college graduates and have had work in psychology.

Program: The chief emphasis at this school is on academic work. Placement tests can be given in all subjects to determine grade level. The director is equipped to give special help with reading disabilities.

There is a summer program so boys can stay the year around.

Use to The Church Home Society: This School has done well with several quite difficult boys. All visitors seem to agree that it is best suited to boys with inner conflicts and should not be used for the aggressive delinquent. Boys who make difficulty in the community are not wanted. It seems that boys with neurotic mothers do well at this school.

The teachers (the director and his wife) have done good work in bringing boys up to grade when their achievement in various subjects was

uneven.

Camp Collyer

Description: This School is located near Amherst, New Hampshire, in pretty, rolling country. The building which houses Camp Collyer is large, very old farm house. The boys sleep in two rooms equipped with double-decker beds.

There is a shallow pond near the house and in the summer, boys are transported to a nearby lake. The present director hopes to fix up a recreation room in the house and carpentry shop in the barn.

During the winter there are about fifteen boys. Ages are about six to twelve.

Number of the staff varies from about two to six. Like other schools, they have had difficulty in getting staff members.

The new director and his wife have lived at Camp Collyer for the past two years and purchased it from the former director early this year. After graduation from high school, the present director was with the regular army for four years. He did work with summer R.O.T.C. camps with boys twelve years and older. After leaving the Army he worked as a cabinet maker and carpenter.

Program: Boys are sent to the local public school. In the past, recreation has been chiefly unplanned, but the new director hopes to develop a program.

Boys assist with household chores and have a garden in the summer.

During the summer months a summer camp is held at Camp Collyer. They expect to have about fifty boys between the ages of four and ten this

summer.

Use to The Church Home Society: Boys with difficult behavior in school or with court records were not desired in the past because of relations with the townspeople. However, boys with many other types of problems were accepted and treated successfully. They have accepted enuretics, boys of limited intelligence, and somewhat younger boys than many other schools wanted. Former director was quite willing to discuss boys' problems at length, frequently agreed to take boys at short notice and has in general been cooperative with the agency. The visitor best acquainted with the new director and his wife thinks they will continue the good work of the former director.

Thompson's Island, Wayside Inn and Windsor Mountain School

The Farm and Trade School on Thompson's Island has a capacity of about one hundred boys. Ages ten to fourteen are accepted. Physical equipment is good. Vocational training encompasses a wide variety of trades. A large variety of sports and hobbies are pursued also. The Society has been able to use this school for only a few boys, however, as, to quote their letterhead, it is for "boys of excellent character". The director wrote the agency in 1945 that the School did not want boys with even "an adjustment problem".³

Wayside Inn, sponsored by Ford, is near Sudbury, Massachusetts. Boys must have reached the eighth grade to be accepted. Course lasts four years. Boys work in the Wayside Inn, the dormitory, or at various farming

³ Letter is to be found in the agency files on schools.

activities. Out of the money they earn, they pay their own board, buy clothing and provide for their own recreation. The School has had several different persons as headmaster in the last year or two. This School, too, will not accept boys with any problems.

The Church Home Society considers the Windsor Mountain School in Lenox, Massachusetts, quite expensive and uses it only in exceptional instances for very bright children. It is very progressive. This School was used for the placement of some of the English Guest Children which the agency supervised.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the schools which take the most difficult boys, there is psychiatric, psychological and social work help available. Although it is probably inadequate in amount, the schools are set up in general in accordance with ideals of the professions.

In the schools which take minor problems or none, there is, in the main, no psychiatric, psychological or social work help available. School programs seem largely controlled by current directors whose backgrounds do not include training in any of the three fields mentioned above.

The writer does not suggest that it would be possible or necessary for staff members to have such training in order to run satisfactory schools. However, several different plans are suggested that might improve the caliber of service.

A school might have an active connection with an agency such as the Judge Baker Guidance Center, Habit Clinic, or New England Home for Little Wanderers. Psychiatric, psychological or social work facilities could be used for schools' students and the agencies might in turn be happy to have

schools in which they could place and supervise their own cases. Even if time of the agency did not permit a close connection, help in establishing sound regulations and programs might be obtained. Agency members, serving as board members of the school, might assist in choosing good staff personnel.

The Church Home supervisor of the past eight years felt that the Schools of Social Work would do well to offer courses in institutional management.

The State agency for the licensing of institutions is in a position to affect standards and the Greater Boston Community Fund has influence over the institutions which receive money from them.

From the studies of the schools, it appears that physical set-ups⁴ are reasonably adequate. Academic programs seem adequate for the normal and bright children, but few schools want to deal with dull children, of which, the Society seems to have a good many.⁵

The greatest lack as far as a single school goes is probably a school near Boston of the type of Children's Village and the Connecticut Junior Republic.

DISCUSSION OF GIRLS' SCHOOLS

As mentioned above, there are four girls' schools in current use. The Orchard Home School, similar in program, size and accessibility to Welcome House, has not been used in recent years.

Unlike the boys' schools, all of the girls' schools save one are in

⁴ With the exception that no schools like to, and most will not, take fire-setters, because buildings are not fireproof.

⁵ See case studies in Chapter IV.

or near Boston.

Everett House

Description: Everett House is located on Centre Street in Dorchester.

The "House" consists of one large building.

The capacity is twenty-two girls. Ages accepted are ten to fifteen, but terminal age is not defined.

There are four staff members: the Director (formerly a schoolteacher), assistant director, dietitian, and clothing worker.

Program: Girls live at Everett House and go out to school.

There are not many rules and the girls are allowed a great deal of freedom. The director feels that a lot of regulations put children on the defensive and they are apt to break them. Punishment is usually a reduction of allowance or denial of some privilege.

The girls have fixed up a recreation room in the basement. They have a soft ball team and a home library. Trips are made to art museums and concerts are attended. Girls are active in public school sports, glee club and orchestra.

During the summer, some girls have job placements and some go to camp.

Use to The Church Home Society: The agency has not placed as many girls at Everett House as it would like to because of the many applicants for its vacancies. They have done excellent work with the girls who have been placed there.

One of the great values is that girls are helped to fit themselves into the community as, of course, is not done in most of the other more

isolated schools.

There seems to be emphasis on developing responsibility and maturity in the girls rather than conformity to a set of regulations.

St. Anne's

This Episcopal school has both boarding and day school students. The campus is located in Arlington Heights and covers twelve acres. There are approximately four buildings used by the children. (Parts of some buildings are used only by the Sisters who have no connection with the School).

Capacity is eighty-six boarders. The School has a few day students, but prefers not to accept them. Girls are accepted for grades three thru high school.

The school is run by the Sisters of St. Anne. There are five full-time Sisters with the School and others part-time. There are four full-time teachers who are not Sisters.

Program: The basic courses required in public school are taught. The program is academic in the main although a few girls may take a domestic course and there is one course in typing offered.

Girls have duties in the dormitories, the school rooms and in the dining room.

There are playgrounds for the little girls, but no organized sports. There is swimming in the summer.

Use to the Society: The agency feels that this School does well with non-problem, pre-adolescent girls. They have also done well with some mildly maladjusted girls. Academic program is best suited to girls of normal in-

telligence.

St. Mary's in-the-Field

Description: This Episcopal school is located in Valhalla, New York. It has an attractive campus which includes sixty-six acres. The main building is used as a dormitory and classes are held in a small, well-lighted school house.

In December of 1945 the staff consisted of eight Episcopal Sisters and some special leaders.

Girls from twelve years to twenty-one are accepted. Grades begin with the eighth and go through three years of high school. Capacity is sixty-five girls.

St. Mary's receives girls on commitment by courts or magistrates in the state of New York. Most girls from out of state come through social work agencies. The School literature states that it is one for problem girls.

Program: Regular requirements for public schools are offered at St. Mary's. Additional subjects include typing, shorthand and bookkeeping. Special work in piano instruction and library work may be taken up. There is considerable emphasis on handwork such as weaving, basketry, etc.

Sports include basketball, tennis, soccer, volley ball, baseball and swimming.

In the summer, the school has a large garden in which the girls work. Girls do all their laundry and the cleaning of their rooms; they assist in the kitchen.

The school is high church. Religious instruction is given to all.

Breakfast is a silent meal. A morning service is held daily.

Use to The Church Home Society: This School has been used chiefly by one visitor. She feels that it has been quite successful with some very difficult girls. Probably this School is willing to take more difficult girls than any other available to the Society.

They are able to work with girls with negative attitudes, the mildly delinquent and mildly neurotic. They have had, in the past, considerable patience with difficult girls.

Academic work seems best suited to girls with normal intelligence.

Welcome House

Description: New quarters on Greenough Street in Jamaica Plain were occupied last year. The new decorations inside the house are very attractive.

Although the quarters will accommodate more, Welcome House does not want more than twelve girls at a time because of limited funds. Ages accepted are fourteen to seventeen inclusive.

A new director came to Welcome House in January. Her former experience was in hospital administration. Present staff is made up of three persons.

Program: Sewing, cooking, and other household skills are taught. The director has recently started a class in leather work. There is no plan for recreation.

On rare occasions a girl has attended public schools. None is attending now, but the director would consider it if she felt it was advisable.

Girls do not go home for vacations. They do not leave Welcome

House unless accompanied by a staff member, save on rare occasions. The director has recently decided, however, that runaways will be accepted back.

Smoking is not permitted. Girls are not allowed to have money. Incoming mail is read by the director. Girls may write a letter a week to their family, or if that is not possible to some substitute such as an aunt. Once a month girls may write a letter not to a member of the family or substitute.

Girls may not receive telephone calls, although director sometimes lets them say "hello" when parents telephone.

Church attendance is compulsory.⁶

Use to The Church Home Society: Welcome House might be used for girls who could not fit into an academic school program because of behavior difficulties or because they were below average in intelligence. The Society would also want to feel that the girl was able to conform to Welcome House regulations.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There is no accessible school for girls with facilities comparable to Children's Village or the Connecticut Junior Republic.

Background of staff of the girls' schools is varied also and writer feels that they too might profit from an active connection with the Judge Baker Guidance Center or similar agency.

Welcome House and the Orchard Home School would have greater use-

⁶ All regulations were checked with the director on July 8, 1946.

TABLE VI

SCHOOL PLACEMENTS OF GIRLS, GIVING NAME OF INSTITUTION AND NUMBER OF PLACEMENTS, IN THREE YEAR PERIODS FROM 1913 TO 1945 INCLUSIVE

Schools														
Years	Welcome House	St. Anne's	St. Michael's	St. Mary's	St. Margaret's	Northfield Seminary	Boston University	Y.W. Sch. Domestic Sc.	St. Christina	Univ. of N.H.	Orchard Home School	N. Yarmouth Academy	Coit House	Everett House
1913-15														
1916-18														
1919-21	2													
1922-24	1					1								
1925-27					1									
1928-30			1		1		1							
1931-33			1											
1934-36		1		1				1						
1937-39			2						1	1	1			
1940-42	2	1										1	1	
1943-45	2	2		2										1
Totals	7	4	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

It can be readily seen from Tables V and VI that many more boys have been placed in schools in recent years than girls. The writer does not know the reason for this, but believes that generally speaking adoles-

cent girls fit into foster homes more easily than adolescent boys. As homefinder, writer can state that there are more persons applying to board older girls than older boys.

The boys' school which has been used most frequently is Longview. The great number was sent there when Mr. Leslie Blades, a blind psychologist, was director of the School. Many very difficult boys went there,⁷ Children's Village did not then have the type of program which it now has.

From 1943 to 1945 inclusive, Children's Village and St. Andrew's have been used most often. Excluding Longview (which as is stated above, writer considers falls between schools taking difficult problems and those taking minor problems) placements are divided as follows: in schools taking difficult problems, nine; minor problems, eight; in schools taking no problems, none; in school for exceptionally bright children, one.

It should be added that the writer has knowledge that both the Frank S. Stevens School and Camp Collyer have been used more in 1943-1945 than sample indicates.⁸

Frequency of use of Welcome House, St. Anne's and St. Mary's is the same. As stated above, Everett House would have been used more if admissions were not so limited.

⁷ See case studies in Chapter IV.

⁸ From records in bookkeeper's office.

CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDIES OF SCHOOL PLACEMENTS

These cases, as is stated in Chapter I, are all the school placements from 1913 to 1945 inclusive, whose surnames begin with the letters A, B, or C. The twenty-four cases contain twenty-nine school placements as five boys had two placements. The first placement was made in September of 1929 and the last in November of 1945. The purpose of these studies is to find how the placement affected the problems because of which the child was placed.

Four points will be discussed for each case: (1) situation before placement, (2) reasons for placement, (3) effect of school¹ on the child's problems, and (4) whether or not a foster home could have been used.

Cases will be taken up in chronological order according to date of first school placement.

CASE MATERIAL AND COMMENTS

Case 1

In January of 1928, mother applied for temporary assistance in finding home for son H. who was fourteen years of age. Father had committed suicide or was killed shortly before birth of H. Mother's story was that father had told her he was divorced. Mother and father had been married before someone mother supposed to be a justice of the peace. When real wife discovered situation, she shot her husband. Newspaper account said it was suicide.

Mother had had various housekeeping or institutional jobs and kept H. with her or boarded him.

Mother had been married twice since birth of H. Agency had various reports that she was not entirely continent. She was apparently not always truthful. She believed that both H. and she had many physical ailments which examinations did not confirm. Both H. and she were sensitive to fancied slights.

¹ Information on particular school in Chapter III should be kept in mind.

Mother was very attached to H. Record states that she slept with him until he was quite a big boy. It was reported in the latter part of 1928 that she took off her dress in his room and he told her not to. When H. was in foster homes, mother wrote, telephoned and visited continually. She nagged H. constantly when with him. Psychiatrist said after seeing H. and mother in February of 1928 that mother was introverting son and creating a mother complex. She also said mother's control over boy was a "pernicious psychic influence" which should be broken up at once.

Psychiatrist reported H. to be a most attractive boy, self-controlled, well-poised and to have an excellent command of language. She said, however, that he was introverted, too shut-in, and silent.

Psychometric tests in February of 1928 and later showed H. to have an I.Q. of 90. Psychiatrist at the time said there was not a very good chance of his getting through high school though he might pass a commercial or arts course if he were very industrious and ambitious. She said, however, that trade or vocational school would offer much more.

For the balance of the year H. was placed in a foster home. He adjusted pretty well though psychiatrist thought it was a poor placement because there were no other children in the home, and H. did not enter into any young people's activities. H. did not pass his grade in school.

Application was made during the summer for H. to go to Mt. Herman. Idea evidently was initiated by mother. She had good intellectual endowment but had gone only as far as grammar school. She said her lack of education had always been a handicap to her and that H. was going to get an education. Also mother had resented agency attempts to limit her visits to foster homes but said she would not mind visiting only when school allowed as H's going to boarding school was her idea. H. was admitted to the school and remained there for the year. The reasons why the visitor chose or acceded to the choice of Mt. Herman are not stated, but several times she recorded her conversations with H. during the school year, in which she told him that he could get the work if he buckled down to his work and tried hard.

During the fall reports concerning H. were satisfactory except that he was not doing well in his studies. He was well-liked by the family of a faculty member in whose house he worked. By March, however, he was reported to be lazy, not interested in his work and not cooperative. Grades were five "D's" and ten "E's".

The Society withdrew its financial assistance after the close of the school year because, visitor wrote, H. had had a splendid chance and had wasted it.

H's guardian, Father I, said, however, that the mother complex had been broken up; that H. could now stand on his own two feet and speak for himself.

H's problems seemed to be clearly a need to get away from his mother and secondly trade or vocational training. Apparently the placement met

the first requirement but was remarkably ill-suited to the second. The visitor, however, evidently believed sincerely that H. could pass the work if he put forth enough effort. Perhaps this might have been possible, but with the psychiatrist's clear statements concerning his abilities, it seems that it was far too small a possibility to follow up.

It seems that a school placement was better than a foster home because of H's attachment to his mother. Mother probably felt less threatened by the school than by a foster mother and she was more amenable to keeping visits infrequent.

Case 2

C family was referred to The Church Home Society in 1932. K., a boy of twelve, was the oldest of five children. The father had died three years ago. The mother who had an I.Q. of 84 was fond of the children, but ineffectual. The children, their clothes and the house were always dirty. The children did not mind the mother very well.

K. was particularly hard for the mother to manage. He was not a "bad" boy, but was beginning to go with a bad crowd of older boys. The teacher said he was no special problem in school. The Psychopathic Hospital reported that his I.Q. was 79. The placement of K. was made chiefly because the five children were more than the mother could manage and K. was the most difficult for her.

K. was admitted to the Farm and Trade School on Thompson's Island in July of 1932 and stayed until September of 1934. He was too slow mentally to keep up with the academic work but did well otherwise. Mr. Meacham, the Director, said he was inclined to make up for his inability to compete intellectually with the other boys by "inferior conduct".² Mr. Meacham felt, however, that he was "a very good boy".³ but that he had, by the summer of 1934, gotten all from the school that his intellectual endowment would permit and his removal was requested.

K. was returned to his own home but began running around with a bad crowd again and in March of 1935 he was apprehended, with a gang of boys, while breaking into a summer cottage. The Society placed him in a foster home where he did very well. However, the foster parents had not been enthusiastic about taking him from the first and

² Letter to visitor June 5, 1934.

³ Ibid.

later asked that he be removed because he was lazy.

K. went to Hillside in July of 1935. It was planned that he would have very little academic work, concentrating chiefly on farm work. The director reported at first that K. was lazy, but kept him until October when he went to work on a farm. This proved to be an excellent placement. Foster parents liked him and K. them. He worked well and enjoyed being there.

Thompson's Island seemed to be a satisfactory placement for K. His companions were good and he evidently did as well as his mental equipment enabled him to do. His getting into difficulty by going around with an undesirable crowd of boys when at home indicates that he needed to be in an environment where such a temptation did not exist. However, it seems that any good environment, foster home or institution, which did not make excessive demands on his intelligence would have been satisfactory. He apparently needed a good bit of stimulation in order to keep him working steadily.

Case 3

In March of 1933, The Church Home Society was contacted by the probation officer concerning C., a boy of 16, who was being held in the Cambridge House of Correction pending trial for his second offense in car stealing. C. had been with another boy and two girls.

C. lived with his mother and maternal grandmother. His father had deserted eight years before. Mother and grandmother had nagged C., threatened and warned, but had also spoiled him. C's school advisor told visitor he was greatly in need of discipline. C. stayed out almost every night.

C. was very good-looking and all reports were that he was quite conceited. He was unable to stand criticism. As a child, he was cowardly; he was afraid of being hurt and timid of strange places and people and afraid of the dark.

His mother said he was "girl crazy" and "sex conscious" and later experiences indicated that this was true. He was decidedly gregarious. C. tried to appear sophisticated and enjoyed talking about sex. He was well-mannered.

Although psychometric tests placed C. in a superior group, he was failing in most of his work. He was reported to be impudent and impertinent in class.

The Judge Baker Guidance Center thought part of C's disturbing behavior was definitely an attempt at compensation for his earlier lack of courage about which he was very sensitive.

C. was placed in August of 1933 at the Burrough's Farm (later Longview) while his regular visitor was on vacation. There is no discussion in the record as to the reason. His mother was much opposed to a foster home, feeling there was not sufficient supervision, and this may have been an element. His age may have made it difficult to find a home or his personality difficulties may have been considered sufficiently serious to necessitate placement with Mr. Blades.

C's first year and a half at Longview was not particularly successful. He continued to be very conceited, was considered a nuisance because of his infatuation for a girl stenographer, argued, pouted and pitied himself whenever criticized and never did anything unless asked to. Mr. Blades reported that he always tried to get better treatment for himself than the other boys got. He never studied in school and complained that he knew some of the work, but the teacher never asked him what he knew. He remained genial, easy-going and well-mannered.

In February of 1935 he started to change for the better and from then on did splendidly. There is no explanation of what caused the change. He made excellent marks in school and worked so well that Mr. Blades hired him for the summer after graduation from high school and the Society closed the case.

In October, 1936, C. came by the office and said he had been with Mr. Blades up to that time. Mr. Blades had gone to California taking C. with him. Mr. Blades had decided to stay and C. returned to Boston. The visitor heard from C. from time to time, the last report recorded being in 1940. He had a good job, was married and had a new baby. All reports of him were good.

This case is difficult to evaluate in the light of what C's needs were and how they were met because neither is clear from the recording. It is clear that he needed an adult who could discipline him, and also one who could tolerate his difficult behavior for a long time. His mother would probably never have agreed to a foster home placement. The greater restriction of a school in the country (than a foster home in a community) may have been advisable in view of C's car stealing, staying out late and fondness for girls.

Certainly the placement was a success but the writer cannot say why.

It is also not definite that a foster home or another school would not have been equally successful, provided a foster parent or staff member with sufficient patience could have been found.

Case 4

This case was known to the Society a few months in 1928. At that time M's maternal grandmother with whom he had been living died. Grandmother left an estate of about \$3,000 to M. making the rector executor. The income was to be used for his support until majority when the principal would go to him.

M. was ten and was said to be a timid child and rather repressed. His grandmother had been a domineering woman who was, however, devoted to M. and kept him with her all the time. For several months M. lived on in the home being cared for by an elderly man who had boarded with the grandmother for twenty-four years. He was fond of M. and was spoiling him as rapidly as possible, according to the agency's psychiatrist. Paternal grandparents in New York petitioned for guardianship and it was granted. The Church Home Society closed its case.

In June of 1934, the rector was notified that M., now sixteen, was in a jail in Tennessee for breaking and entering. The rector could be granted custody; otherwise M. would have to go to the Tennessee Reform School. The Society agreed to be responsible.

M. was studied at Longview for a month. Mr. Blades said he was a nice boy and that they had no fault to find with his attitude or behavior on the farm. However, he was shiftless and careless in his attitude toward duty, truth, etc. Mr. Blades felt that M. had no criminal tendencies, but also showed no great promise. He recommended that M. be placed in a military school feeling that he would never amount to much until he learned to take that type of discipline. Mr. Blades reported that M. was "girl crazy", mixed up in sex problems with both white and black, and that he was vulgarly mature in knowledge of sex and likely to do as he chose in this area.

While a school was being sought, M. was placed in a foster home where he did well and where he wished to stay. It was decided, however, that he would go to the Suffield School, Suffield, Connecticut.

This was a rather small, private school with usual academic and athletic programs. The director, a man of fifty-five or sixty, was most understanding of M.

M. spent the academic year of 1934-1935 at Suffield with considerable success. He ran away once but return was effected without difficulty. The director's only complaint was that M. seemed to have very little respect for others' property. The director felt he did not appreciate the fact that this was stealing as he had never had proper moral training. M. did well in school and took an active part in sports. There were no complaints of his being lazy.

He began the summer in the foster home in which he had been the previous August and in which he had spent school vacations. Things went well at first. Later a nephew of the family was drowned and his clothes brought to the house while the foster mother went to break the news to his mother. While she was gone M. went through the clothes taking cigarettes and a dollar. He also took a dollar from his girl friend about this time. Foster parents requested his removal.

M. was placed at Longview for the balance of the summer and did exceedingly well. He worked well and record says Mr. and Mrs. Blades "gave a marvelous report of his ability".

In September he returned, rather reluctantly, to Suffield. He apparently started off well, but in less than a month got into difficulty. He got hold of a revolver and was threatening girls in the village. At the director's request he was removed temporarily, with permission to return if he wrote asking to. He did this and returned but after two weeks he ran away.

The director wrote that the restrictions had irked M. even though they were lighter than during the previous year. He was "campused" for the gun episode and said he was treated like a "jailbird". The third item was that he had worked very hard on decorations and though he was thanked heartily by the director for it, he considered that his work was not appreciated.

It was then decided that M., now seventeen, should go to the Connecticut Junior Republic.⁴ He went just before Christmas in 1935 and stayed until July of 1937 when he ran away.

M. did exceedingly well at the Republic. He became a first class citizen (highest rank), was active in many phases of school life and was highly praised by the director. He requested a visit to Boston at Easter, 1936, and was refused by the visitor. The same request was made by M. and the director during the summer and again the visitor refused saying it was difficult to find a place for him to stay and that if his good behavior continued until Christmas he could come to Boston then. M. made many other requests for clothing, etc., which were occasionally granted, but usually not. Visitor's recording indicates that she was frequently very punishing.

At Christmas of 1936, M. did come to Boston and visited former foster parents. He stole a dollar from a boarder. He also was given money by the visitor for a trip to Longview, at his request, and he did not go, spending the money otherwise. When he attempted to explain situation, the visitor records that she told him "she could not stand anyone who lied", and that she did not listen further as she was too upset.

M. continued to do well at the Republic, however. He wished very much to visit his father and step-mother and their family for the summer and record states that they seemed to be very decent people. Nevertheless he was refused. M. ran away in July and did not return

⁴ Mr. Strong was director at the time.

to Boston until April of 1938. Attempts were made to plan for him until September. Connecticut Junior Republic did agree to take him back and M. started, but never got there. He was at the Good Will Inn for a while. He continued to tell various tall tales. In October he reported to the director of the Good Will Inn that he was married to a Negro girl. Later he proved to be married, but the girl was white. In 1943 he came to the office. He remarked that he knew he was about the worst boy the Society ever had and they were glad to get rid of him.

M's family life from the age of ten to sixteen was evidently very poor. He must have had little training and few restrictions. Sex instruction was evidently at a low level. He was apparently passed from one relative to another and found no security.

M. came to The Church Home Society at sixteen needing training in all respects, but also needing acceptance and security. No placement in itself seemed too bad. He did well at Longview, Suffield and the Connecticut Junior Republic. However, there were too many moves, each increasing his insecurity. It appears that with careful handling he might have stayed indefinitely at any one of the three.

He does not seem to have formed a lasting relationship with any adult.

It seems doubtful that a foster home could have stood his occasional bad behavior such as stealing the dead nephew's money. However, had he remained in a good foster home for several years, many of the difficulties might not have arisen.

His tall tales seem to arise from a feeling of insecurity and inferiority as he always pictured himself in some successful or daring situation.

This was not a successful case although the institutional placements

themselves seemed to go well and the writer does not think the fault lay with them.

Case 5

Boys in cases 5 and 7 were brothers. They were living with their paternal grandmother at the time of referral (November 1933) and she was not able to control them. They were stealing, lying and going with a bad crowd of boys.

Both parents were dead. Mother had died first and father had remarried. The boys lived with the father and stepmother and their children for a while. The stepmother was reported to be very cruel and gave boys no affection. The father died and boys returned to the grandmother. They reported that when they left, the stepmother took their toys and gave them to her own children. The grandmother reported that S. was very sensitive.

The local Child Guidance saw the boys several times. S., then fourteen, seemed upset and worried about his stealing. His I.Q. was reported to be slightly above average. It was recommended that the boys be placed separately.

S. was placed in two foster homes. In the first home he took some money and foster brother's bicycle to return to grandmother's after a fight with the foster brother. This was straightened out. However, soon after S. wrote a letter to his brother that they had better run away, which upset foster parents. S. was seclusive and given to fabrication. He took many rather worthless objects and hid them. There was a report of sexual activities with five-year-old foster sister. He was not a behavior problem in school but did poor work. The principal reported that he did not make friends easily.

In the second foster home, his stealing, lying and lack of cooperation caused foster parents to request his removal. He had homosexual relations with an older boy in the community. He continued seclusive and did not join in the play of the other children in the household.

The psychiatrist found him a quiet, retiring boy who was extremely inaccessible. He was not altogether frank and did not admit responsibility for any of his difficulties. She reported that he was outstandingly insecure and eager for friendship and moral support, but at a loss to know how to go about getting them. She felt that the first foster mother was prejudiced against S.

S. was placed at Longview in November of 1934. He stayed until June of 1936, when Mr. Blades went to California. He wished to take S. with him but the Society thought it inadvisable.

In September of 1935 Mr. Blades said that S's "inner life was still charged with fear and suspicion and inability to trust anyone. He looked on the whole world as enemies." On the whole, Mr. Blades doubted that S. would ever become a really well-adjusted

person though if he could remain at Longview a while longer, Mr. Blades thought he would be at least superficially adjusted. Mr. Blades thought S. had not masturbated for some time. S. did not work up to his ability in school, but did do good work at the farm and worked well with other boys. He had improved a great deal in all respects.

When S. left Longview, Mr. Blades said he was an entirely changed boy and that he would trust him in almost any situation. The psychiatrist's report was most complimentary too. She found him frank, possessing considerable insight into past difficulties, and greatly improved in every way.

It was decided that the Connecticut Junior Republic would be the best place for S. so he was placed there in the summer of 1936.

S. got into a good many difficulties the first year due to his over-sensitiveness. When criticized, he would become defiant and at such times committed a number of delinquent acts. However, he stayed at the Republic until the summer of 1940. His attitude underwent a marked change and he was able to establish good relations with both faculty and boys. He did remain a very sensitive person, however.

S. worked at a hotel job, which was secured for him by the Republic, for seven months. At that time he quit because he said he was sure he was going to be fired. This proved to be untrue. It was just another example of S's over-sensitiveness.

He drifted around a few months and then joined the Armed Services. He has been missing since 1942 and has now been declared dead.

It appears that the seriousness of S's difficulties were underestimated in the beginning. Had they been appreciated, he would probably have been considered too difficult for a foster home and have been saved those two unsuccessful experiences.

He seems to have felt very much unloved. This probably had its roots in the treatment given him by his stepmother. His stealing of small "worthless" things belonging to others in the household and his sexual experiences are probably a part of this picture.

Mr. Blades' warmth and affection for the boy, despite his behavior, seems to have been the turning point in his adjustment. The acceptance which he received over a period of years at the Republic continued the

process and probably brought him to as good an adjustment as could have been hoped for. The school, trade and student government systems at the Republic offered S. means to prove to himself his own worth and ability to succeed.

Case 6

This boy came into the care of The Church Home Society in May of 1934 at the age of eight. Mother was not married and had boarded B. in three different homes while she worked to support him. In the first home foster family, according to Boston Psychopathic Hospital report, had bounced a rubber ball on child's head until it was black and blue and misshapen. From age of two until seven child was in another foster home. He was in the third foster home until coming to the Society. In the second and third foster homes, his list of misdemeanors was imposing. He lied continually, stole everything he could get his hands on at home and at school, was exceedingly cruel to animals, misbehaved in school, had temper tantrums, wet, set fires and masturbated excessively. He was studied at the New England Home for Little Wanderers in June of 1934. He was always the center of all the troubles and did not get along with other children. Dr. Clothier reported that he had twitchings which looked like the beginning of tic-like movements. She said he told the most preposterous, fantastic tales she had ever heard. She thought the possibility of his developing into a psychopathic personality should be considered. Psychometric tests reported an I.Q. from 86 to 93.

He was placed in a foster home in July of 1934 and remained there until the death of the foster mother in September of 1936. Foster parents liked him and he did well. He stopped lying, masturbating, swearing and fire-setting and almost stopped stealing. He continued occasional cruelty to animals and had difficulty from time to time in school.

Despite improvement in foster home, when B. was again placed in the Little Wanderer's Home, they could not see any improvement in his conduct there. He was still the center of difficulties, did not get along with other children and still loved fantastic stories. He denied having been in these difficulties, not getting along with children, etc. Dr. Clothier said "His charming and plausible air of innocence will probably be his greatest asset in a career of petty crime". Dr. Clothier believed he was developing into a psychopathic personality. She felt his only chance, and that was a slim one, was to succeed in establishing a deep emotional relationship with a mature adult who could serve him as a model.

B. stayed at Longview from November, 1936, to September, 1937. In the first four months he was most difficult. He ran away, stole, lied, swaggered, and bullied smaller children. At the end of that

time he decided, according to the director, that cooperation was more fun and started doing well in all respects. He made it evident that he considered it a matter of choice, however, and that he could return to his old ways whenever he wished. His good behavior continued, however. He did well in school work, and was cooperative in every way. He was considered sufficiently well-adjusted by September of 1937 to be placed in a foster home.

In a report written to The Church Home shortly after B. left, Mr. Blades, the director, said B. desired "more poignantly than can be expressed to have and to deserve sincere affection and solid acceptance of personal worth from adult associates". Again "the essential need of the boy is sincere, unsentimental affection based on a real appreciation by adults of his essentially sterling character"; and B. "was unbelievably oppressed by inferiority feelings".

The foster home into which B. went did not prove entirely successful. B. got along fairly well, but foster mother grew to dislike him. B. and foster mother visited Longview occasionally and it was Mr. Blades' opinion that B. should not stay in the home longer than the school year. He felt that another boys' school was preferable to another foster home, especially as B. was reaching adolescence when boys often resent home restraints.

B. was placed at Hillside in May of 1938. He did very well, though school work was not up to grade. He was said to be quite popular with the boys and there were no complaints. Case was closed in December of 1938 because things were going so well.

Two years later, visitor saw mother. B. was still at Hillside and doing well.

The key to B's problems seems to have been that he was, as Mr. Blades stated, "unbelievably oppressed by inferiority feelings". He was able to survive only by very strong defense mechanisms. One would conclude that he must have received very bad treatment in the second foster home as well as in the first, because of his desire to punish and hurt back expressed in his cruelty to animals. His fantastic stories probably indicated an inability to face reality.

B. evidently was able, as Dr. Clothier said was required, to establish a deep emotional relationship with a mature adult who could serve him as a model. The writer believes this process was begun, albeit not crystallized, in the first Church Home Society home. The foster parents were

fond of him and he was more able to get more satisfaction from conventional behavior. The process was consummated, however, at Longview. It seems clear from Mr. Blades' letter quoted above that he really had great faith in B's worth, ("his essentially sterling character"). Because Mr. Blades, an adult whom B. looked up to, believed in B., B. was able to have confidence in his own worth. After this, his defenses were not necessary. His progress was sufficiently crystallized to last through a poor foster home placement and an unspecialized group placement.

Hillside was well-suited to B's academic needs as they were accustomed to dull-normal boys who needed particular help. He evidently had no other especial needs.

If the first Church Home Society mother had not died, B. might have remained in the home and turned out well. It seems unlikely, however, that another foster home of that caliber could have been found, and barring that, Longview seems to have been the best choice. Probably no foster parents could have accomplished what Mr. Blades did in as short a time.

Had the second foster home been a good one, Hillside might not have been necessary. Since it turned out poorly, however, a group placement seemed preferable to a second trial with a foster home which might also have been a failure.

Case 7

The material up to the time of placement is the same for Case 7 as for Case 5, as boys are brothers. A., three and one-half years younger than S., was said by the Guidance Clinic to be brighter (I.Q. 129) and not sensitive like his brother. Following the recommendations of the Clinic, the boys were placed separately.

A's first placement was in a foster home. He remained there two years with only minor difficulties. At the end of the second school year, the foster mother decided she did not want to keep him longer but as far as is recorded, there was no difficulty on A's part to

cause her to make this decision.

He spent the next two years at Hillside where he did very well indeed. There were no complaints and he was graduated first in his class. (Hillside goes only through the eighth grade).

He was again placed in a foster home where he did well though not so outstandingly so. The visitor decided to move him after the school year because foster father's health was failing and she felt A. needed a strong foster father.

In the next foster home (A. was now fifteen), A. proved less reliable and was not doing well in school. In December a note was found written by A. to S. who was then at the Connecticut Junior Republic, saying that he (A) was trying to follow S's instructions on how to be bad enough to be sent to the Republic. Foster mother had found clippings from magazines concerning contraceptive devices and A. was insolent and looked bored when foster father tried to talk to him about sex. A. admitted to foster father that he masturbated regularly once a week.

Foster parents requested A's removal at the end of school. However, A. was then studied at the Judge Baker Guidance Center which asked foster parents to keep him. They agreed reluctantly. Both A. and foster father tried hard and for six months he did much better, but then reverted to his old behavior. He failed in school, was suspected of breaking and entering and was not truthful.

Judge Baker had reported that A. "showed a definite inadequacy, lack of stamina and immaturity in general attitudes". They believed that his step-mother had taught him to lie and steal. He realized this but used it as an explanation and did not try to do anything about it. Underneath his self-excusing rationalizing attitudes, the Center stated, one found a fairly decent fellow. Like his brother, he felt the lack of libidinal attachments but did not know how to go about establishing any. They did not recommend A's going to the Connecticut Junior Republic as long as his brother was there, although the boys and the Republic thought it advisable.

A. stayed the remainder of the year in the foster home and then, as S. had left and A's conduct seemed to warrant it, he was placed at the Republic.

He got along pretty well, but had a series of interruptions. His illness and the death of his grandmother consumed many days. Also S's leaving his job (see Case 5) was discouraging to A. After a second prolonged attack of impetigo, for which he was treated in Boston, he decided to enlist in the Service and the plan was approved by the Society and the Republic.

Mr. Strong felt A's greatest difficulties were a tendency to dishonesty and an inability to face situations and acknowledge fault on his side.

A. joined the service and has written his visitor for money several times. He got into some difficulty over a forged check. He borrowed money which he promised to pay back, but did not.

A's history is diametrically opposed to his brother's. He did well

for the first years in the Society's care and then seemed to go down-hill fairly steadily; (his brother doing poorly at first and then steadily improving).

Comparing the three placements in which he did well, A. seems to have done better in the school than the foster homes. He seems to have been stimulated to do his best academic work in the school. One wonders if he would have avoided his turn for the worse if he could have been sent to a school rather than the third foster home. He might, at any rate, have avoided some of the conflicts in the home because of which many normal adolescents are sent off to school.

A's stay at the Republic was not a fair trial for either A. or the School because of the interruptions and early termination. If he had been sent earlier when he first wished to go, he might have been there a couple of years. One wonders how wise the enforced separation of the boys was; however, Judge Baker recommended its continuance on the basis of a study of A. The boys might have felt less deprived of affection, if they could have been together.

Case 8

L., a boy of thirteen, was referred to the Society in November of 1935 by the Habit Clinic. He had superior intellectual endowment. At the time he was on probation after having been arrested for breaking and entering.

L. was at the time living with his mother and younger brother. His father had deserted years before. The father had, for a time, been in a mental hospital, the diagnosis being a psychopathic personality. He had been picked up by the police for drunkenness many times.

The mother was an exceedingly poor housekeeper. At all visits the house was dirty, dishes dirty and clothes piled everywhere. Mother was interested in talking about what she had read on handling children, but was unable to control L. She seemed partial to the younger brother, H.

L. was beginning to truant but all teachers had good reports of him as a boy.

The worker in her first visit to the home told mother and L. that the Society sometimes offered special opportunities to children for training, etc. L. wept silently and admitted that it was because he did not want to leave home. Mother also did not wish it then either so the plan was dropped for the time.

The Society offered to send both boys to camp; H. went willingly but L. reacted violently. He ran away the day he was supposed to go. When he was found it was again discussed with him and he became quite uncontrolled, shouting and getting angry,; also remarking that he was not crazy. L. continued to be extremely difficult in the home, seeming to hate mother but was unwilling to leave her. However he wanted nothing to do with the Society workers and it seemed unwise to try to move him from the home at the time so the case was closed.

In two months reapplication was made. The visitor to whom application was made considered it clear that mother and L. hated each other. Mother said when L. disobeyed she broke some of his radio equipment (radios had been his chief interest for years) as that was the only thing that affected him. L. often threatened mother and threw rocks at her once. He was out until all hours of the night, no one knew where, and would crawl in the window when he came home. He was not attending school and would lock himself in his room for long periods at a time. Mother told the worker that she had not wanted him when he was born and could never remember missing him. She had taken out a stubborn child complaint.

It was decided that L. would be placed at Longview. As he wanted nothing to do with women and was opposed to leaving, it was arranged that Mr. Blades would go get him and take him to Longview without previous notice. L. locked himself in his room when Mr. Blades came but when Mr. Blades threatened to call the police he went.

L. stayed at Longview from January of 1937 until June. He was polite and not troublesome around the house or the school. However, he truanted frequently and increasingly. He did not make any effort to learn in class and never did home work. He considered himself a genius and thought he did not need to study for school. He ran away several times. Visits home were allowed every other week and this worked pretty well.

All his life L's mother had threatened to send him to reform school, truancy school or call the police, and none of these threats had ever been carried out. L. was convinced that he could always get away with things. He continued to truant and it was decided by Mr. Blades, the school principal and the Society visitor, with the concurrence of all others, that it would be well to commit him to truancy school if he continued to truant. When he did, the plan was carried out, and the case closed.

Our next contact was from a state hospital where he had been with schizophrenia. He had stayed at the truancy school until his sixteenth birthday when he had returned home. He was committed to the state hospital from his home. At the hospital's request, the Society

placed L. in a foster home for six months. The state hospital said that he was under no circumstance to return to his mother. He adjusted satisfactorily and was moved to Good Will Inn. He stayed there a short while and was last heard of in Chicago.

It is evident that L. was a very disturbed boy. He was tremendously afraid of being separated from his mother. It may be that this to him would have completed her rejection. He also felt a need to punish her for having hurt him.

The writer wonders if L. and his mother could have had psychotherapy (L. with a man) before separation, if the placement at Longview might not have been entered into more constructively.

Mr. Blades' long tolerance of difficult behavior seems to have been well-suited to L's needs. Writer believes that if he could have stayed another year, he might have resolved many of his inner conflicts. If he could have had some real achievements, he might not have needed to tell everyone he was a genius. Also, his relationship with his mother was improving.

An institution which had its own school might have been better able to adjust its academic program to L's needs than Longview whose boys went to public school.

While the truancy school may not have been an unwise placement, it could not be expected that it would do much to straighten out L's emotional conflicts. He was evidently returned to his mother not sufficiently well to withstand the difficulties of being with her again, since he went from her to a mental hospital.

Case 9

D., a boy almost sixteen, was referred to the agency in October of

1936 by the Traveler's Aid who picked him up on a runaway. The home situation was apparently all right, but this was the fourth runaway after school difficulties. D. also went with a "bad" crowd of boys though he managed to keep away from entanglements with the police.

It also came to light during the investigation that D. had had homosexual experiences with a man who was greatly respected in the community. D's parents believed that the man had forced D. into the relationship and that it had occurred only once. However, Dr. Healy of the Judge Baker Guidance Center said the relations had occurred more than once and Mr. Blades, after D. had been placed at Longview, said that the boy had had frequent heterosexual as well as homosexual experiences since he was thirteen. Dr. Healy believed D's anti-social conduct had its basis in the experiences with the hitherto much respected adult. Mr. Blades said that D. had lived such a free and full sex life that he did not have the repressions and urges that spur the adolescent on to an emotional goal, or any attainment goal.

D. was placed in February of 1937 because Dr. Healy said that if D. were not removed from his environment that he (Dr. Healy) would not vouch for what D. would do. Longview was used, it appeared, chiefly because it had an available vacancy.

D. stayed at Longview from February of 1937 until May of that year. Mr. Blades considered his delinquency a normal reaction to an unhealthy environment rather than anti-social behavior because of internal maladjustment. This appeared to be correct as D. adjusted very quickly, and when his family moved to a better neighborhood D. joined them and did not return to his old crowd.

The Church Home Society assisted in meeting the cost of a year's training in a field in which D. had shown much ability. When this was over D. was not able to find work so joined the Civilian Conservation Corps. He did well but when his time was up he was again unable to find work in his field. Both he and his family had a number of illnesses and finances were always strained. D. after many vicissitudes did find work for a time in his chosen field, but at extraordinarily small wages. He married and the Society was contacted several times because of D's family's being in need financially. There was no indication that D. was not diligent in his attempts to find work nor that he was a poor worker. The difficulty seemed to lie in the fact that there was not much demand for his type of work and that the country was still in the depression.

D. made a quick recovery with apparently little special attention from Mr. Blades. It seems remarkable that his gains were sufficiently well-established to withstand the difficulties of the years' succeeding the placement. It is unfortunate that the agency was not able to help D. find a job where his training could have enabled him to have steady work

with reasonable pay.

D's easy adjustment at Longview leads one to believe that he might also have done well in a foster home. However, with the information which the Society had up to the time of placement at Longview, it seems unlikely that a foster home would have been chosen.

Case 10

K. was referred to the agency for placement when he was eleven. He was living with his maternal grandmother who had adopted him. K's mother was dead and his father had deserted. There was no contact with his only sibling.

The grandmother with whom K. lived was an invalid and the school principal reported that she worked K. "to death". She felt that it was necessary to be severe in handling K. and the rector reported that she was very hard and lacked understanding. K. was beginning to stay out late at night, run away and to go with an undesirable group of boys.

K. had always been a delicate child and continued to be throughout the Society's care. He had asthma, sinusitis, bronchiectasis, nosebleeds, a cystic lung disease and numerous other ailments. The Judge Baker Guidance Center, where K. was studied, reported that he felt definitely inferior physically.

K. was placed four times in foster homes. (There were only three foster homes as the second and fourth were the same home). His stealing, lying, running away, misbehavior in school, masturbation and sex activities in the neighborhood cause foster parents to ask for his removal.

At the recommendation of the Judge Baker Guidance Center, K. was placed at the Connecticut Junior Republic in June of 1937 and stayed until November of 1940. His progress was steady in all respects, although he was never outstanding. His relationships with adults and with other boys improved greatly. None of the complaints made in foster homes were made by the Republic. K. did satisfactorily in academic work and did well in his trade training. The trade, a sedentary one, was well-suited to his physical condition.

After completing his course at the Republic, K. was placed in a foster home by the Society. He did exceedingly well and was well-liked by the foster mother. The agency has kept in touch with K. until the present and all reports are good.

The Connecticut Junior Republic offered K. an accepting environment while he took the necessary time to work out his difficulties. No foster home was able to do this; i.e., they asked for his removal because of his

behavior, thus increasing his feelings of insecurity which caused much of his difficult behavior.

Case 11

In November of 1937, the Judge Baker Guidance Center referred D. a boy of thirteen, to The Church Home Society. He and his sister were living with a maternal aunt. This aunt complained that he was defiant, stayed out late at night and had taken money from her. D's father had deserted years before. His mother was alcoholic and had lived for years with a man to whom she was not married. She had been in jail many times. From time to time the mother would take the children to live with her. D. was ashamed of his mother but nevertheless very much attached to her.

The Guidance Center thought the aunt was sincerely devoted to D. but also punishing. They felt that she would not have been able to accept a foster home placement for D.

D. was placed at Longview in December of 1937, at the recommendation of the Guidance Center. Mr. Blades said D. had a profound conflict because of his affection for his mother and also for his aunt who had no respect for his mother. His identification with his mother, while being fond of and obedient to his aunt, produced feelings of inferiority and guilt.

D. stayed at Longview until the latter part of June. He ran away once, stole some money from a staff member and was expelled from school. His wish to return to his aunt was constant. However, all of these difficulties were straightened out and Mr. Blades and the other staff members felt D. did well. Mr. Blades thought D. should go to a boarding school in the fall.

D. was placed at the George Junior Republic in September. Things went satisfactorily and he was allowed to go to his aunt's for a Christmas vacation. He refused to go back to the Republic and, though extraordinary efforts were made to effect his return, D. remained at home.

D. saw less and less of his mother so was probably able to identify more with his aunt. The aunt and the two children went to live with the family of another maternal aunt. The case was followed for a year and D's adjustment was apparently satisfactory.

D's paramount need was to get away from both his aunt and his mother. It appears that another year away would have been beneficial.

D's behavior at Longview plus his aunt's probable inability to accept a foster home seem to indicate that a group placement was preferable to a foster home.

Case 12

G. a boy of fifteen, came to the attention of the agency in July of 1938. His father requested placement because G. and his step-mother did not get along. At the time of application, the step-mother had left the home refusing to return until G. was placed. The father's sympathies were entirely with the step-mother.

The Judge Baker Guidance Center said it appeared that the father rejected G. completely. The Church Home Society's contact with the case from 1938 to 1942 confirmed this. Although G. did exceedingly well, the father always found fault with G., had to be urged to write him, and frequently broke appointments with agency visitors without notice.

G. was placed in a foster home. At first they did not wish to keep him for financial reasons, so application was made to Thompson's Island. In the weeks before he went to the school, he did quite well and the foster parents wished to keep him. However, since his application to the school was accepted, it was decided that he should go.

G. stayed at Thompson's Island until graduation (three years). He did very well indeed. Vacations were always spent with the foster parents mentioned above and after graduation from school, he secured a job nearby and lived with them.

G. was followed several years and all reports indicated that he was doing well.

G. was evidently not a seriously maladjusted youngster needing only to be removed from his home. There is no reason to believe that he would not have done well in a foster home.

Case 13

D. was in C.H.S. care from 1929 when he was a year old until 1941. He was illegitimate and several attempts to have him return to his mother were unsuccessful. D. spent most of his life before the school placement in an excellent foster home. D. considered this place his home and was devoted to the foster family as they were to him. This family consisted of a mother and her maiden daughter. Because it was felt that D. needed to be in a home with a father person, he was placed in two different foster homes, but neither placement was successful.

D. was placed in St. Andrew's in 1939. Dr. Clothier, New England Home for Little Wanderers, D's visitor and his mother felt that D. had received too much devoted attention from the foster mother and her daughter. D's mother in particular felt that he was spoiled and needed more discipline. All believed that he would adjust better in a school than in another foster home.

At first D. did not like St. Andrew's, but got over this after

a time. He did well in all respects save that he never did as well in school as his intelligence tests indicated that he could. After two years, during which time D's mother had met all his expenses, D. was dismissed to his mother and the case closed.

Probably almost any school would have been satisfactory for D.

Because of the fondness which the foster mother and daughter had for D. and his devotion to them, it seems likely that he would not have wanted to relate to new foster parents. The two trials in other homes were not successful.

Case 14

K. was referred by the Judge Baker Guidance Center for placement. He was fourteen at the time (1941). K. had been arrested twice for breaking and entering. He had also been stealing. Both Dr. Gardner of the Center and The Church Home Society visitor felt that the home situation was all right. The difficulty was that K. had an I.Q. of 84 and was very easily led. Dr. Gardner also stated that K. was one of the most naive and emotionally immature boys he had known. K., however, got along better than one might have expected from one of his endowments, for he had a pleasant personality and was well-liked by all who knew him.

K. was placed in a foster home where he stayed only a few hours despite his having been very anxious to go. He took offense at several inconsequential incidents and would not consider staying.

Several months later K. was placed at Hillside. All the staff and students were fond of him. The director said he was one of the best-natured boys he had ever had at Hillside. K. was much interested in the farm work and did well in it. He not only did not steal but was honest in several instances in which dishonesty would not have been detected. K. was graduated from the eighth grade and has been employed there from time to time up to the present.

Hillside appears to have been a very happy choice for K. The school program could adjust to dull boys and companions who might lead K. into delinquencies were not available. He did well in farm work, an activity from which his low intelligence did not bar him.

If a suitable school nearby could have been found, a farm foster home might have proved a satisfactory placement.

Case 15

The rector of the parish in which T. lived requested that the agency place T. because he was getting into bad company. He had not gotten into any difficulty other than running away and truancy, but he was very dull (I.Q. 68) and was easily led. The family situation was apparently satisfactory.

T. was placed at Hillside in August of 1942, a month after referral. He was unable to keep up with the academic program even though the school was accustomed to dull boys. He ran away from Hillside twice while he was attending classes. As he did not seem to be profiting from the lessons, he was taken out of the classes and allowed to devote his entire time to farm work. After this move, he did not run away. T. was considered unresponsive and was not popular with the staff or other boys.

He left shortly before his sixteenth birthday to take a job secured for him by his Church Home Society Visitor. He did not make good in this and had several other jobs in the course of a year. At seventeen he enlisted and as far as the agency has heard he has not gotten into any difficulty.

This case is remarkably like Case 14, but T. lacked the pleasant personality which K. had and was less intelligent. Perhaps these two factors in K's favor account for his greater success.

If permission could have been secured for T. to stay out of school, a farm foster home would probably have been satisfactory.

Case 16

O. first came to the attention of the agency in 1939, although he was not placed until 1943. O. and his family were ambivalent about placement and the Judge Baker Guidance Center and The Church Home were against placement during the early part of the contact.

O's family relationships were most difficult. He was frequently compared, to his disadvantage, with an older sister who was a model child. His younger brother presented no problems. O's mother, to whom he was very much attached, rejected him. The Judge Baker Guidance Center worked with O. and the family two years, but felt that the mother did not profit from it. She continued to feel that punishment rather than affection was needed. O's father too felt that punishment was the only means of disciplining a child. He was said to be an irritable, disagreeable person. He worked regularly in spite of severe arthritis.

O. had stolen for a number of years and was not always truthful. He was very nervous and stuttered. He smoked a great deal. O. did not get on well in school and was given one more chance before being

expelled in the spring of 1943 (just before placement). He was also troublesome in the church choir in which he sang and got into difficulties with various other persons.

O. went to Children's Village in May of 1943 when he was fifteen. The recording concerning his adjustment is limited, but it is clear that the placement was successful. He operated the telephone switchboard at the Village, a job of considerable responsibility. No complaints were received and he was graduated in a little over a year, the usual time being two years.

He returned to his family and his adjustment with them has apparently been entirely satisfactory.

The central problem in this case is O's relationship to his family. His readjustment to the family was probably easier after a school placement than it would have been had he become attached to foster parents and siblings.

His lack of difficulty in adjusting to Children's Village leads one to think that a school taking minor problems might have been adequate. However, many of these schools would not have accepted a boy of his age or one whose stealing was so persistent.

Case 17

W., fourteen years old, was placed temporarily at Children's Village two days after the case was brought to the attention of the agency. He had run into two women on the Common running his hands over them in a sexual manner and had been put in jail. The court, at the agency's request, postponed the hearing for a month until a study could be made.

W. lived with his mother, a younger brother, a maternal aunt and his maternal grandmother. His father had died when he was a year old. There was much quarreling among the adults as to the discipline of the children. W. was said always to be able to get what he wanted by playing one against another. W's mother was considered aggressive rigid, and domineering toward W.

The Judge Baker Guidance Center agreed to study W. and he was brought back to Boston for this purpose. Their record also included summaries of early records from other agencies. At four, according to the Habit Clinic, W. had both nocturnal and diurnal enuresis. Later he was said to walk and talk in his sleep. His mother reported masturbation. The Guidance Center did not consider him vicious or violent, but said there was obviously latent homosexuality. His return to Children's Village was recommended as was prolonged psy-

chiatric treatment.

W. did return to the Village in September of 1943, but intensive treatment was not possible as the psychiatrist's caseload was so large. W. reached graduate status and was discharged in December of 1945. However, the Village did not consider him a well-adjusted boy. He was dishonest, smoked illegally, and did not do more than passable work in any phase of Village life. He indulged in peeping in early months at the School and there were sex deviations with boys.

A Student Guidance Committee report in April of 1945 said W. was immature, insecure, and deeply conflicted in his emotions. The Committee felt that W's mother's insecurity and inability to resolve her own conflicts had had significant bearing on W's development. He had also lacked healthy, masculine relationships.

The report went on to say that W. had early indulged in excessive masturbation which had aroused strong sex impulses tabooed by his personality and training. The committee thought that the incident which brought him to Children's Village was the climax of this conflict.

W. returned to his home when he left the school and contacts to date indicate that he is getting along satisfactorily.

While Children's Village may have been one of a very few places which would have accepted W. in the beginning and tolerated him for so long (surely no foster home would have), still it seems clear that the roots of his difficulties were never reached.

The placement did, however, permit him to be away from his mother during years which were doubtless important ones in his development.

Case 18

F., thirteen years of age, was one of six children referred to The Church Home Society by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in June of 1943. The mother had run away with a soldier and the father was in the Service. Placement was decided upon as the search for a housekeeper was unavailing.

The chief reason F. was sent to a boarding school appears to be that she said she preferred it to a foster home.

She did not get along too well with her siblings as she sided with the mother and all the others sided with the father. This had evidently been true before the separation. No attempt was made, because of their not getting along well, to place F. with one or more of the other children.

F's difficulties were minor. She did not like school very well and did not put forth enough effort to do good work. She had been going around with a feeble-minded maternal aunt of seventeen who did

not have too good a reputation.

F. was placed in September at St. Anne's, an Episcopal boarding school, run by Sisters and rather restrictive. She remained until the spring of 1946.

F. loved the school life and did extremely well. She made excellent marks in academic work and in conduct. She was well-liked by the Sisters and the children.

After spending the summer of 1945 with her mother (who had married the man with whom she ran away), F. was bored with St. Anne's and wished to stay with her mother and step-father. The agency had been in contact with the mother and step-father for more than a year and considered it an acceptable plan. F., therefore, left St. Anne's in March of 1946 to live with her mother and step-father.

F. seems to have been a normal girl and she would probably have gotten along satisfactorily in an average foster home. However, because she wished to go to a boarding school, she might not have done as well in a foster home as she did at St. Anne's.

Case 19

E. was referred by a probation officer for placement in March of 1943. She did not get along with her mother or sisters and had threatened them with a knife the day before referral. E's father died in a mental hospital. The probation officer, however, arranged for E. to leave school and take a job as mother's helper so the case was closed at that time.

In September, E's mother took out a stubborn child complaint, and the agency was again called in. The case was continued until the tenth of October, at which time E. was put on suspended sentence to Lancaster and custody was given to The Church Home Society, with the agreement that E. was to go to St. Mary's-in-the-Field. During the hearings, E. was defiant and sullen to the agency visitor, the probation officer and the judge. She refused to answer questions asked her. During the interval between hearings, the agency tried to have E. studied at the Judge Baker Guidance Center, but the psychiatrist felt that she could not give a report on E. as she was not able to establish any rapport. The Center did think there was very real abuse at home. E. felt that her mother did not love her.

E. stayed at St. Mary's from October of 1943 until December of 1945. She had a difficult disposition during the entire stay. However, improvement was steady. Her disposition by the time she left was quite acceptable and she had many achievements in various phases of school life. She got along well with her mother and sister when she made home visits. (These did not begin until after a year at St. Mary's).

E. returned to her own home when she left St. Mary's and at the time of the last contact was taking a secretarial course and doing well. The mother reported that she had adjusted well in the home and E. to all appearances was happy.

This was certainly a most successful case. E. needed to get away from the continuous friction with her mother and sisters. A foster home would have enabled her to do this. However, few, if any, foster homes would have put up with her disposition. The director of St. Mary's said E. would not have lasted any time in a foster home.

Continued acceptance despite her difficult behavior was probably the most healing factor in the school environment for E. Probably only St. Mary's or Everett House would have kept E. sufficiently long for her to become adjusted.

Case 20

J., a boy of thirteen, was referred to the agency in the summer of 1944 by both the probation officer and the rector. J. had been placed on probation for stealing with a group of boys. He was sent home from camp for sex practices with other boys. The rector thought he probably masturbated. J. liked to play with knives. He truanted from school occasionally and his grades had gone down markedly in the past year.

J.'s father was in a mental hospital after having had a series of strokes. His only sibling, an older brother, was in the Service. J.'s mother worked from 6:30 in the morning to 6 at night, so J. received no supervision during the hours when he was not at school. J. was reported to be too much attached to his mother.

Dr. Young of the Judge Baker Guidance Center thought J.'s delinquency was definitely on a neurotic basis. He believed it was closely connected with boy's over-attachment to his mother and lack of a man with whom he could identify. J. was reported to have had a prolonged neurotic disturbance at the age of three because of the threat of separation from his mother when she wished to send him to nursery school. H had a facial tic two years before referral.

Dr. Young believed J. would run away from a foster home and recommended an institution where he would get psychiatric treatment.

J. was placed at Children's Village in January of 1945.

The only summary sent from the Village (July 1945), said J. did not cause any great difficulty, but had not integrated himself with Village life. He was just tolerating it until he could leave. He

frankly mistrusted all adults save the woman dental hygienist for whom he worked. She was the only adult to whom he had talked about his affairs. He also was enthusiastic about this work and did well. J. put forth no effort in sports or school work. He ran away once and was said to be a member of a subversive group in his cottage. He went with a group of younger, immature boys and was something of a leader among them, though not always in constructive ways. No sex play or interest in knives has been noted. There are no reports of stealing. The report said J's personality was as yet unknown. J's visitor was at the Village in March of 1946 and picture was about the same. His enthusiasm for the dental work continued. They expected that J. would be graduated in June.

Dr. Williams, the Village psychiatrist, did not think J. was neurotic or disturbed. He believed J. had accepted the school program and made progress therein. Dr. Williams felt J. was not in need of psychiatric treatment.

The placement seems to have been successful as far as the overt difficulties of stealing, sex play and truanting are concerned. He also was, physically at least, away from his mother. From his general account, however, it appears that the Village failed to "make contact" with J. He evidently did not form any strong attachment to a man and did not "take hold" in schoolwork or in other phases of Village life save the work with the woman hygienist. Although Children's Village seemed the best placement in view of the recommendations of an institution affording psychiatric treatment, writer wonders if a small school with a warm atmosphere might not have been able to get better results from J.

A foster home in a community without gangs of delinquent boys might have been successful with J.

Case 21

The Y. family had been known to the agency since 1937. The father had deserted in 1935 and mother and two boys had been supported by agencies. The boys were placed in foster homes twice because of mother's illness and were placed once for a period of five months because both boys had rheumatic fever. All three foster home placements went well. The boys enjoyed their stays in the homes, and the

foster parents reported that the boys were no trouble.

The mother was genuinely ill a good bit of the time, but she also had many neurotic complaints. She continually asked agencies and people for financial or other kinds of assistance. She was not able to discipline the boys and when R., the older boy, reached adolescence, he got completely out of her control. She said he was not truthful, was staying out late at night, and unkind to his younger brother and rude to her.

R. truanted a great deal and was doing poor work in school. R., then fourteen, was in the eighth grade. The school reported that his I.Q. was eighty-two.

R. was placed at St. Andrew's in February of 1945. He was not pleased as he had wanted to go to a foster home and get a job. He ran away three times. Marks were very low in all subjects, including conduct and honesty. The headmaster considered him one of the most superficial boys ever to attend the school. There were occasional spurts of effort which brought improvements, but they did not last long.

He frequently said he did not intend to stay after his sixteenth birthday. When he was out of school for several weeks because of influenza shortly before his sixteenth birthday, it was decided that he should not return to the school.

R. had been at home several months and at last contact he was expecting to enter a trade school.

St. Andrew's is too hard academically for a boy whose I.Q. is eighty-two. Doubtless continued failure in school competition had ill effects on his adjustment in other phases of school life. The agency does not have a private school for boys as dull as R.

Since R. wished to go to a foster home and he had adjusted well in several when younger, it seems that it might have been worth while to try one.

Case 22

In April of 1945, school placement was requested for P., a boy of fourteen, by a Child Guidance Clinic. The public school asked that P. be studied at the Clinic because he was failing in school and acting peculiarly.

At the time, P. was living with his mother. His father and mother had been divorced when P. was six. P's only sibling, an older brother, was in the Armed Services. The Child Guidance Clinic psychiatrist considered P's mother pleasant and well-poised and Church Home Society visitors have had no adverse comments. It did appear that she

did not or could not discipline P. The boy's maternal grandmother died in an institution following an attack of religious mania.

The Child Guidance Clinic reported that P. had been considered crazy since early childhood. He play-acted much of the time and was quite affected. His only ambition was to be a minister and he often delivered imaginary sermons from the top of the stairs at home. The rector said he believed P's interest in religion was based on exhibitionism and that there was not much feeling behind it. P. did attend church and was an acolyte. P. liked to sneak up on people on the street and scare them. He did not like to play with other children and other children did not care for him. In school he asked foolish, immature questions.

P. came into Boston twice to go to the agency clinic and the visitor found him most difficult. He lagged behind, pouted, talked in a loud voice, leaned on her and wanted to do all sorts of impossible things.

The clinic psychologist found P's I.Q. to be eighty-two. Although he was in the fifth grade in school, his tests showed that his work was on a fourth grade level. Although P. was said to have tried, he was reported to be extremely distractible, impulsive, nervous, and erratic. His reasoning power and judgment were poor. The psychiatrist recommended school placement. She did not consider him psychotic.

P. was placed at St. Andrew's in July of 1945. He was considered very queer but the director was willing to have him stay a year. P. was not able to keep up with the school work. He was not liked by other boys. There were complaints from the students that he bathed so seldom he was offensive. In November P. wrote a letter to his mother saying he had been asked to leave and she sent his father for him with no explanation to anyone. P. had apparently made up the story because he was unhappy.

P's visitor (not the one who had done the placement) felt that St. Andrew's was too hard for P. academically and had been trying to get him into Hillside in the hope that it would be easier.

As is stated in Case 21, the agency does not have a private school in which children as dull as P. could be expected to adjust academically.

No clear idea of the reasons for P's "peculiarity" is given in the record. A thorough-going psychiatric study was obviously needed.

It seems unlikely that most foster homes would have "put up" with P's odd behavior.

Case 23

V., a girl of sixteen, was referred to the agency by the rector

in August of 1945. She was at the time in California where she had gone as a runaway. She had been apprehended by the Traveler's Aid who was arranging to send her back. V. told Traveler's Aid that she had gone to meet a boy friend, but that he did not meet her. She had run away a good many times and during one episode she faked amnesia. V. had been away to several boarding schools.

V's mother and father were separated and each had remarried. V. spent the time she was not at school with her mother and step-father. Her mother worked. The step-father, who was eighty, was retired. V's father was an Army Officer and had been overseas several years though he had recently had a tour of duty in this country. He did assist with V's support.

V. had been receiving psychiatric treatment. The psychiatrist thought she was insecure because of the family situation. He also reported that she was very irresponsible and self-centered. He thought she might be an early psychopath.

St. Mary's-in-the-Field was discussed with V. and her mother and with the psychiatrist. All agreed that it seemed like a wise plan.

V. was placed at this School on August twenty-second and on September first she was stopped in a runaway, had a severe tantrum and was placed in a psychiatric hospital. The Sisters' written account said that V. "went through various reactions in her tantrum being very sorry to be so awful, hating the place, being most impertinent in refusing to answer simple questions, etc." The Sister said in her letter, "Of course you will realize we cannot have her back at School."

V's mother got her from the hospital and took her to Florida. The case was closed.

Probably St. Mary's is the only school available to the Society that would have taken a girl with so many runaways. One feels that unless V. had greatly liked and wished the approval of the school or someone there that her runaways would have continued. It is hard to imagine her being very fond of anything or anyone. It was probably just as well that she returned to her mother and step-father as she doubtless felt more security with them than she would have anywhere else.

One has the feeling that V. might have cared even less for a foster family. Also her mother might have felt too much threatened by a mother-substitute.

Case 24

W., a girl of fourteen, was apparently the only normal member of a feeble-minded family. She had five siblings and both parents were living. The family had kept going only on the lowest level. The children were always dirty and poorly clothed. They truanted almost as often as they attended school and the parents had been brought to court on charges of neglect several times. The family was known to the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children and the local church had helped them in a number of ways for years. The Church Home Society had placed a younger sister of W's during the previous summer. The only visible strength in the situation was fondness for each other.

In November of 1945, it was discovered that W. had truanted the entire semester. The court offered to let the Society place her; otherwise she would be sent to a county training school within a week.

W's problems were minor. She was said to be out a good bit at night. She disliked school very much and was desperately in need of some training in the care of her clothes and herself. She also needed to learn all domestic arts.

Welcome House had several advantages to offer. It had household training of various sorts, girls did not have to attend school and, what was more important as far as the court was concerned, they could take her immediately. W. was placed there on November twenty-fourth.

While there, her appearance improved greatly. Her manner which had been rather sullen and "slick" changed to a happy, open one. She also learned a good bit about housekeeping. However, she was continually in "hot water" with various staff members. She ran away twice, smoked a good deal, and was impertinent. They were constantly on the verge of expelling her. She was quite homesick as the school allowed no home visits (including Thanksgiving and Christmas).

W. began asking, the second week after she arrived, to be allowed to go home and attend public school. She volunteered to go under the agreement that she could be sent to the training school if she missed a day of school. W's visitor believed she would go and the permission of the school and court was obtained for the trial. She returned home in January. She truanted eleven days out of thirteen and was sent to the training school.

The writer (also W's visitor) felt that if W. could have seen her family occasionally and if she could have had a good relationship with a member of the staff, that she might have stayed on a year or two and have crystallized the gains that she made so rapidly.

A foster home might have worked out. She could have made visits to her home, but she would also have had more opportunities for being out at

night and might have truanted from public school.

CONCLUSIONS

The factors in the school environments which proved helpful in the treatment of the children's difficulties were varied.

One element which might not have been present in available foster homes, seemed to be a freedom to work out their difficulties. Such deviations in sexual behavior as found in Case 9 or 17, or the persistent lying found in many cases, would have been hard for foster parents to accept, but boys had necessary time to work their difficulties out in the schools.

Less friction probably arose out of adolescents' attempts to emancipate themselves in schools than would have arisen in foster homes. Longview, the Connecticut Junior Republic and Children's Village, were not disturbed by boys running away, for example. Schools also seldom reported being bothered, as were foster homes, by such fairly normal annoyances as careless dress, poor table manners, or lack of appreciation.

Schools offered, writer thinks, another kind of freedom, too, which is somewhat harder to describe. It is an emotional freedom from the intensity of family relationships. This was needed by boys like L. in Case 8 who was going through severe inner conflicts over rejection by his mother, or like D. in Case 11 who had many guilt feelings in connection with his loyalty to both mother and aunt.

Schools on the other hand offered some needed restrictions which would have been hard to duplicate in foster homes. In Cases 2, 3, 14, and others, boys were going around with "bad" crowds and committing delinquent acts. In the isolated school environment, there were no such groups avail-

able. Truancy also could be handled more easily in the schools where classes were held on the grounds. Longview, where boys went to local schools, had great difficulty with truants.

Schools on the campus were, indeed, able to adjust to the children's needs in many ways. Hillside, for example, was most helpful in the cases of dull boys such as those in Cases 2, 14, and 15. For boys who had been behavior problems in school, the shortened academic programs with greater emphasis on trade training such as was found at Children's Village were no doubt helpful. Job training, such as was given at the Connecticut Junior Republic, with its placement service helped boys to get on their feet in a community.

Another element which very difficult boys such as were sent to the Connecticut Junior Republic, Longview or Children's Village, found at those institutions was acceptance. In several cases there had previously been unfavorable comparisons with foster siblings. Mr. Blades remarked in one of the cases that the boy in question was thought queer at school, but at Longview no one seemed to notice it as all the boys were queer. Also, despite delinquencies committed before (and frequently after) admission to the three institutions mentioned above, the child's personal dignity and worth were accepted. Mr. Blades, in particular, continued to believe in the good in a boy through months when his outward conduct gave no justification for it.

Concerning Longview, it should be said that its value did not, apparently, lie in the institutional set-up, but in the personality of the director, Mr. Blades. However, he probably could not have done his best

work without the institutional facilities.

Longview, the Connecticut Junior Republic and Children's Village, had, in most of their cases, an understanding of the basic personality difficulties which were causing children to act as they did. Few foster parents would be equipped to do likewise.

The permanency of results seemed to depend not only on the degree of adjustment which a child reached at the school, but on how long he was able to stay there in the school (to make gains permanent in his personality) and on the environment after the placement. C. in Case 3 was able to stay on with Mr. Blades for a year and a half after his decided turn for the better and reports for several years after the case was closed have been good. The boy in Case 4, on the other hand, was not graduated from the Connecticut Junior Republic, and although he did well there the trying situations which he got into afterwards proved too much for him.

In conclusion, the majority of the school placements seem to have been successful and the writer feels that most of them could not have been handled by the foster homes which one could reasonably expect to have been found.⁵

⁵ See statement of supervisor in footnote 2 on p. 86.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion for Chapters II, III and IV will be presented separately and recommendations for the three will be discussed jointly at the end of the chapter discussions.

Conclusions on all Types of Institutional Placements

The data in this chapter was gathered from all the institutional placements in one-half of all Church Home Society placements from 1913 to 1945 inclusive. The figures in the sample indicate that the agency use of institutions has increased steadily. For the period from 1913 to 1923 inclusive, the total number of institutions was 52; from 1924 to 1934, it was 98; and from 1935 to 1945, 163. These figures are roughly comparable as the average annual case load in the agency Department of Placement and Supervision¹ for the same periods were nearly the same, being 233.7 for 1913-1923, 234 for 1924-1934 and 228.5 for 1935 to 1945.

School placements account for approximately one-third of all institutional placements. They also account for most of the increase. The totals for the three succeeding eleven-year periods are 4, 17 and 73. Excluding school placements from total institutional placements, eleven year totals are 48, 81 and 90.

Other than the increase in the use of schools, no marked trend is visible. The number of cases is too small in the other categories to warrant any conclusions.

The types of institutional or group placements used by The Church

¹ See footnotes 1 and 2, page 13.

Home Society in addition to schools were: job or job training in controlled situations, group living arrangements, temporary homes, study homes, public disciplinary or truancy institutions, mental hospitals, institutions for the feeble-minded, convalescent and preventive institutions, tuberculosis sanatoria, institutions for chronic physical disabilities, maternity homes and institutionalizations for the treatment of venereal disease.

When one discovers the types of institutions which were used, it becomes evident that the majority of them could not have been replaced by foster homes. The kinds of training offered in job or job training (nurses training, nautical training, C.C.C.) usually require that the person being trained live with the group. Temporary homes are generally used because of an immediate need for placement which does not give sufficient time to find a foster home. Foster homes themselves, however, have often been used as temporary homes. The facilities of a study home such as the Little Wanderers' Home would not be available in a foster home. It seems unlikely that children whose delinquencies or trancies are sufficiently serious to be committed to a public disciplinary or truancy school would ordinarily fit into a foster home. The feeble-minded or those committable to mental hospitals also would rarely, if ever, fit into a foster home. Tuberculosis or venereal diseases in contagious stages would be unwelcome in most homes.

Some of the children who were sent to schools or placed in group living arrangements (Y.M.C.A., Good Will Inn, etc.) convalescing from illness or with chronic physical disabilities, probably would have fitted into available foster homes.

Upon looking at the various types of institutions used by The Church

Home Society, it seems evident that the majority of them could not have been replaced by foster homes.

Also from the above material, information was gathered on the number of foster home placements made previous to school placements. The years up to 1934 were not used due to the small number of placements per year. Figures for 1934 through 1945 showed a marked decrease in the number of placements made before school placements. Many school placements in the last years were made without previous foster home placements.

Conclusions on Schools in Current Use

There are about ten boys' schools and four girls' schools in current use. Of the three boys' schools which take very difficult children, Children's Village is used most often by The Church Home Society, and the Connecticut Junior Republic is second. The George Junior Republic has never been used a great deal because of its distance from Boston. Recently the agency has not used it because of its difficulty in getting the services of adequate staff personnel, especially in the field of psychiatry. Children's Village and the Connecticut Junior Republic have generally had psychiatric, psychological and social work services. Although these services are not as adequate as the schools would like, their programs are based on the ideals of the staff persons trained in these fields.

The largest group of boys' schools in current use consists of those which take minor problems. In general, they have no psychiatric, psychological or social work facilities and their programs are largely set up on the ideas of the current directors. The background of the directors varies greatly. The schools in this group are Camp Collyer, Hillside, Frank

S. Stevens, St. Andrew's, and the Crouch School.

Longview seems to fall between the group of schools taking the very difficult children and the group taking minor problems. It by no means has the equipment of Children's Village or the Connecticut Junior Republic, but has access to New England Home for Little Wanderers' facilities which enables it to take more difficult children than the second group.

The Farm and Trade School at Thompson's Island, though well-equipped in many aspects, has not been of great value to the agency because it wants only boys with no problems. The Wayside Inn School has been used infrequently for the same reason. Windsor Mountain is a progressive school used by the agency only for exceptionally bright children.

Of the four girls' schools in use, two are convent schools (St. Anne's and St. Mary's in-the-Field), one a small private school with only domestic science courses (Welcome House), and the fourth is a private school where girls live but attend public schools (Everett House). All save St. Anne's take girls with some problems. There is no girls' school with facilities comparable to the Connecticut Junior Republic or Children's Village.

Physical equipment in both boys and girls schools seems to be reasonably adequate. Academic programs are generally geared to the needs of normal children, find no difficulty with bright children, but are not equipped to handle dull children.

Conclusions on Cases of School Placements

There were a number of elements in the school environment which proved helpful in the treatment of children's problems.

Children whose difficulties were serious or prolonged seemed to be allowed to take the necessary time to work out their problems. The problems or delinquencies were too serious in many cases to be long tolerated in the foster home or foster home community.

Some boys with inner conflicts seemed to need the emotional freedom offered in a group placement and the freedom from the intensity of family relationships.

Schools seem to mind less than foster homes small annoyances such as carelessness in dress, poor table manners, and lack of appreciation.

Difficulties such as going with "bad" crowds of boys, car stealing, breaking and entering, and truanting were more easily controlled in the isolated school communities.

There were many ways in which institutions with school work on the campus could adjust to the needs of the children. Modifications to a certain extent were made for varying intellectual endowment. Increase in the time allotted to trade training and decrease in the time devoted to academic work was helpful to children who were behavior problems in school, and the job training was helpful to boys in getting on their feet when returned to the community.

Boys who were very difficult or had police records at home, found acceptance which they might not have found in a foster home or foster home community. They appeared to be accepted as equals by their companions and staff members believed in their personal worth despite their "bad" behavior.

In many instances, the staff of the school had an understanding of

the basic causation of difficult behavior which one could have expected to have found in few foster homes.

The "cures" wrought in the schools seemed not to be permanent in some cases because the environments into which the children went immediately after leaving the school were too unfavorable.

The majority of the placements seem to have been a success in themselves however, and the writer feels that the majority of the cases could not have been handled in the foster homes which one could reasonably expect to have been available.²

The writer does not imply that there have not been foster homes which could have handled most of these problems. However, she does not believe that the agency can hope to find a sufficient number unless there are means to train "professional" foster parents.

At the present time the writer feels that the unknown elements in foster homes are so great that it is almost impossible to predict how a placement will turn out. The usual procedure in the investigation of a home is for the homefinder to see the foster mother applicant in the office, the foster family in the home, and to discuss the family situation with three references, the rector and the doctor. Usually the visitor of the child does not make more than one visit to the home before the placement is made. The findings are submitted to the supervisor for her appraisal.

² Miss Dorothy Howerton, who was the Supervisor of The Church Home Society from December 1938, to June 1946, says there has rarely been a time when there was a sufficient number of foster homes equipped to undertake treatment of the problems of the very difficult adolescents.

In a majority of the placements of children with few or no problems, this procedure seems adequate. However, in the placement of very difficult children, the writer believes that a study by a psychiatrist of the foster home, as well as of the child, should be made, and that visits to the psychiatrist from time to time are necessary in order to use foster homes successfully for the children now going to schools.

Recommendations

1. There is a need for a school for girls similar to Children's Village. A school for boys similar to Children's Village in the vicinity of Boston is also needed.³
2. If the Orchard Home School and Welcome House had programs similar to Everett House, they would be more useful to The Church Home Society.
3. There are not adequate provisions in schools used by The Church Home Society for academic training for dull children.
4. A protected environment where youths from the time of graduation from high school to majority could earn a living might crystallize gains made by treatment in schools (or foster homes) which would otherwise be lost in environments which presented obstacles too great for their powers.
5. It appears that a more active connection between the schools taking minor problems and agencies like the Judge Baker Guidance Center or the New England Home for Little Wanderers might be mutually advantageous.

Conclusions

1. The use of most of the various types of institutions appears valid and, excluding schools, the rate of use seems to have been fairly constant in recent years.
2. The indications are that existing schools will continue to be used at the present rate. The writer believes the number of

³ A group of trained persons from various fields has recently banded together in the effort to start such schools of this type as are necessary in Massachusetts. The name of the organization is the Bay State Schools, Incorporated.

school placements would increase if new schools for problem children were established, or the capacity of existing schools increased.

3. The writer cannot foresee a swing back to the use of foster homes for very difficult children unless "professional" foster homes are developed.

Approved,


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