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MARTHA AND MARY CHILDREN'S HOME:

An Analytical Study of a Lutheran
Children's Home in Poulsbo, Washington,
and Its Possibilities of Change in Function.

by

FRANK WELLINGTON ERICKSON

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Abstract

This is an evaluation study of a small children's institution in Poulsbo, Washington, during a period in which changes in its functions were being considered. The Home is part of a Lutheran fellowship of congregations, and is of particular importance to this Church, since it is the only remaining children's home on the North American continent being supported by the Church. The study was made at a point at which the institutional population had greatly declined. The Board of Directors were concerned with this situation, and several Board meetings were called to discuss the problem. The writer attended these meetings. Also a member of the staff of the School of Social Work of the University of British Columbia conferred with members of the Board.

The development of children's institutions is examined analytically, followed by a review of some of the guiding principles of these institutions today. A classification of children for whom institutional care is suitable is set out, as a background for a population study of admissions to the Home for the past three years. After a brief discussion of the origins and development of Martha and Mary Children's Home, its present program is evaluated in terms of standards which have been laid down in the State of Washington, i.e., plant, grounds and equipment, program, governing body and administration, financing, and personnel.

The fact that the institution's population has been declining seems to point up the need for a revised function and organization. It is clear from the population study that, on the whole, the Home gets children who are not suitable for foster home placement. Accordingly, an observation and treatment institution for emotionally disturbed children is suggested as its possible future function. A more realistic goal for the present time, however, seems to be a residential home for adolescents. Recommendations are also made with regard to staff, program, and Board of Directors.

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Chapter I

The Development of Children's Institutions

Social workers have long been troubled about meeting the needs of children away from their own homes. Early leaders in the field of child welfare felt that indenture and the almshouse had failed their purposes as far as children were concerned, and looked towards the building of separate institutions for children as a solution. The early orphanages, however, were cold, dreary places where children learned to labor and to pray, but where little love and affection were given. Dissatisfaction with the orphanages and the development of the foster home movement eventually led to general condemnation of the institution in child care programs by many leaders in the field of child welfare. The pendulum swung so far away from children's institutions in North America that many institutions closed their doors permanently.

The history of the development of institutional care is a long one. Even the earliest colonists had to provide some kind of provision for dependent children. Sickness, death, Indian massacres, and other misfortunes left orphans and dependent families to be cared for out of the meager resources of the tiny settlements. In such pioneer communities, help was usually generously extended to neighbors whose needs and resources were well known, but it is suspected that there was also quick condemnation of those who did not bear their share of the burdens. The colonists tried to apply the principles of the English Poor Law to New World conditions, and they doubtless accepted the English

view that poverty was usually the fault of the poor.¹

In the American colonies a system of indenture, or apprenticeship, developed. Apparently, this was a carry-over from the practice of indenture in England. In fact, young apprentices were among the earliest settlers in the United States. Large numbers of these children were recruited from the almshouses and the poor of London, and were sent to Virginia in the seventeenth century under apprenticeship agreements. While the purpose of this child exportation was cloaked in words of Christian charity, the real reason for the professed interest of the Virginia Company of London in the children's welfare is fairly obvious. Workmen were greatly needed in the new country, and young children who worked during their minority without pay were cheap and useful.

If these child immigrants were able to survive the hardships of the voyage, fall into the hands of good masters, and play the part expected of them in the work of clearing the wilderness and building homes, their opportunities for securing land and economic independence were greater than in England. But it was a severe test for these children. Some of the children died, but many more must have suffered from homesickness, ill treatment, and overwork.

But it was not only these London children who were apprenticed in the colonies. Apprenticeship was the usual method of learning a skilled trade in the colonies as in England, and it soon became the accepted method of enabling poor children to earn their way

¹Grace Abbott, The Child and the State, Volume II, University of Chicago Press, 1938, Chicago, Illinois, p. 3.

and so not to become a "burden to the community".² There are two facts which stand out clearly with respect to indenture. The first is that unattached children and children whose parents neglected them or could not support them were attached to some person or family who agreed to be responsible for them. Second, the person assuming such responsibility and expense collected the whole bill from the child's work before the expiration of the term of indenture. The following quotation points up the kind of agreement usually entered into in the process of indenture:

The first child placed out by public authority in Massachusetts was Benjamin Eaton. He was indentured in 1636 by the Governor and assistants of Plymouth Colony "to Bridget Fuller, widow for 14 years, she being to keep him at school two years and to employ him after in such service as she saw good and he should be fit for; but not to turn him over to any other, without ye Gov'n consente".³

It was not that the colonists wished to be unkind to unfortunate children in their midst, but their theory of what constituted proper care led them to want these children to learn to work. Since idleness has always been regarded as a sin in the poor, it was especially so in a new country where there was little wealth or money, and a shortage of labor. Moreover, the Puritans and the Quakers regarded work as a necessary part of the training of all children. It is, therefore, not surprising that the colonists regarded it as especially suitable for poor children, who above all others, it was thought, needed to be taught "thrift and industry". However, the chief value of indenture

²Grace Abbott, The Child and the State, Volume 1, University of Chicago Press, 1938, Chicago, Illinois, p. 189.

³Henry W. Thurston, The Dependent Child, Columbia University Press, New York, 1930, p. 13.

to the colonists, regardless of their pious rationalizations about it, was the fact that it saved the town or county money.⁴

It is morally certain that the experiences of indentured children varied all the way from that of being virtual slaves to that of being real foster sons or daughters. However, the tendency in the system was for the employer to exact the pound of flesh from the indentured child, with no one around to protect the child and to see that no more than a pound would be taken. Nevertheless, the process of indenture did offer to homeless and destitute children an opportunity to have at least the daily minimum of food, shelter, and clothing. In modern terms, it might be said that the process of indenture was in general better for the dependent child of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries than homelessness and vagrancy, in that it gave the child a certain degree of security and a "sense of belonging", if only to a hard and poverty-stricken master.⁵

The apprenticeship system as a method of providing for dependent children drew little or no criticism until the end of the nineteenth century. Not all children, however, were apprenticed to earn the care they received. There was some home relief in small settlements, and dependent families were frequently auctioned off to the lowest bidders, sometimes with a provision in the contract that the children were to have the privilege of

⁴Abbott, op. cit., Volume I, p. 190

⁵Thurston, op. cit., pp. 17-18

going to school in the winter.⁶

The next development in the care of neglected, dependent, and delinquent children was institutional care. This development was interwoven with social, economic, and political forces, and the prevailing understanding of children and their needs. There have been various stages in the growth of children's institutions, and we need to consider them in order to understand them and their relation to the child care field of today. Historians have indicated the following stages in the development of children's institutions: 1. institutions as almshouses or poor houses; 2. institutions as orphan asylums; 3. institutions as schools; 4. institutions as children's homes; and finally, 5. institutions as social agencies. The following discussion will point up the characteristics of each of these five stages, although it must be realized that a vestige of all these stages is still intermingled in our institutions of today.

Institutions as almshouses

One of the chief advocates for the establishment of almshouses for the use of both adults and children, was J. V. N. Yates, Secretary of State of New York from 1823 to 1824. Mr. Yates' argument was based on his observation of the situation in New York State at that time with respect to the poor of the state:

The poor of this state consist of two classes -- the permanent poor, or those who are regularly supported during the whole year at the public expense; and the occasional, or temporary poor, or those who receive occasional relief, during a part of the year, chiefly in the autumn or winter.

⁶Abbott, op. cit., Volume II, pp. 3-4

Of the first class, according to the official report and estimates received, there are in this state, 6896; and of the last 15215, making a grand total of 22111 paupers. Among the permanent paupers there are 446 idiots and lunatics; 287 persons who are blind; 928 who are extremely aged and infirm; 797 who are lame, or in such a confirmed state of ill health as to be totally incapable of labor . . .

There are 8753 children of both classes under 14 years of age, the greater number of whom is entirely destitute of education, and equally in want of that care and attention, which are so necessary to inculcate correct moral habits. It is feared that this mass of pauperism, will at not distant day form a fruitful nursery for crime, unless prevented by the watchful superintendence of the legislature.

As a summary of methods Mr. Yates further states:

In most, or all of the towns and villages in the state, where there are no almshouse, the poor are disposed of by the overseers in one of three ways: First, the overseers farm them out at stipulated prices to contractors, who are willing to receive and keep them, on condition of getting what labor they can out of the paupers; or secondly, the poor are sold by auction -- the meaning of which is, that he who will support them for the lowest prices, becomes their keeper; and it often happens, of course, that the keeper is almost himself a pauper before he purchases, and he adopts this mode in order not to fall a burden upon the town. Thus, he, and another miserable human being barely subsist on what would hardly comfortably maintain himself alone -- a species of economy must be boasted of by some of our town officers and purchasers of paupers; or thirdly, relief is afforded to the poor in their own habitation.

Mr. Yates also pointed out that there was the problem of residence with regards to local public responsibility for the care of the poor. Local communities attempted to avoid care of non-resident poor, and many of the latter were moved, at great cost, to different parts of the state under orders or warrants of justices.

In addition Mr. Yates indicated in his argument in favor of the almshouse that in states where the poorhouse system had prevailed for the greatest length of time, the ratio of pauperism, and the expense of caring for paupers was less than in other states. He recommended, therefore, that one or more "houses of employment", in each of the counties of New York be established. In connection with each of these institutions he suggested that there be a farm, the pauper to be maintained and employed at the expense of the respective counties, "in some healthful labor, chiefly agricultural; their children to be carefully instructed, and at suitable ages, to be put out to some useful business or trade".

Regarding pauper children who were not in almshouses, Mr. Yates had already said:

The education and morals of the children of paupers are almost wholly neglected. They grow up in filth, idleness, ignorance and disease, and many become early candidates for the prison or the grave. The evidence on this head is too voluminous for reference.

Mr. Yates, therefore, recommended almshouse care of dependent and neglected children as a means to their education and moral training. Moreover, he suggested indenture as the process by which children should be later removed from the almshouse and attached to individual families where they could pay their own way. He thought that in the almshouse, children could be educated and set on the road to a life that would free them from ignorance, pauperism, and vice. Mr. Yates, and people in general of that day, saw, of course, only the debasing influence upon children of incompetent, neglectful and depraved parents. What they

apparently did not appreciate was the sodden, coarsening and debasing atmosphere of the mixed almshouse.⁷ For in these mixed almshouses which were built as towns grew larger, orphaned children were consigned to live with the aged, the insane, the feeble-minded, and the diseased. They were usually cared for by the older inmates and taught, if at all, by ignorant employees. Physical needs were neglected, and their mortality was very high. Those who survived knew only the life and routine of a pauper institution.⁸

William Pryor Letchworth of Buffalo, a man of wealth who had given up his business, and thenceforth until his death devoted himself with distinguished ability to social service, described one almshouse in 1874 as follows:

At the date of October 28, 1874, there were in this poorhouse fifteen children. Ten of them were boys and five were girls -- six of the number were under two years of age...Five of the children were born in the poorhouse. The longest time any one had been there was five years...Six were under two years of age; seven between two and ten, and two were ten and less than sixteen. Four were defective....

These children were found in different parts of the poorhouse establishment as is usually the case. Four of them were in a ward with women paupers. Among these was a girl of eight or nine years old. One of these women had a child of her own in the same room, and among the children. She had been an inmate twenty months; had a very irritable temper -- so violent that she could not retain for any length of time a home outside of the poorhouse. She was strong and healthy, and a woman of very debased character. Such was one of the hourly companions of these young girls.

⁷Thurston, op. cit., pp. 19-26.

⁸Abbott, op. cit., p. 4.

A second group of children -- boys -- were found in the workhouse. They were intermingled with the inmates of the workhouse, around the cauldrons where the dirty clothes were being boiled. Here was an insane woman raving and uttering gibberings, a half crazy man was sardonically grinning, and an overgrown idiotic boy of malicious disposition was teasing, I might say torturing, one of the little boys. There were several other adults of low types of humanity. The apartment of this dilapidated building overhead was used for a sleepingroom, and the floor was being scrubbed at the time by one of the not over-careful inmates; it was worn, and the dirty water came through the cracks in continuous droppings upon the heads of the little ones, who did not seem to regard it as a serious annoyance. The discomfort was immediately checked when observed by the keeper.

The third group were in a back building called the insane department. They were the most promising children of all, and yet the place was made intolerable by the groanings and sighings of one of the poor insane creatures, who was swaying backward and forward. She was a hideous looking object, and a great portion of her time was passed in this excited condition. The children are not sent to school, neither is a school sustained upon the premises, the number being too small to warrant the hiring of a teacher....

Charles A. Hoyt, first secretary of the State Board of Charities of New York, stated in the Annual Report of the organization in 1868 that during the year 304 children were born in almshouses in New York. A large proportion of these children were illegitimate. Mr. Hoyt urged county authorities to move children from the poor-houses to orphan asylums.

As early as 1856 a select committee of the Senate of the State of New York had pointed out the value of the orphanage for pauper children. Referring to the education of paupers in mixed almshouses, they stated:

The education which the statutes provide for them is not suited to their particular case. Indoor instruction is often confided to unfit and vicious teachers;

and the attendance of pauper children at schools in the vicinity of the almshouse is accompanied by a sort of disgrace attaching to their position which has a most unfavorable influence. Orphanage is not subject to the like stigma; and therefore to go from an orphan asylum to a public school does not expose the orphan to the same taunts and inconsiderateness that follow the pauper child who is the inmate of a poorhouse; which is generally reputed in its vicinity, as a habitation of vice and degradation, so low has it fallen from its original purpose.

The reaction against mixed almshouses for children was strong. From the first decade of the nineteenth century, it stimulated local groups of persons in different places to found institutions for dependent children, in order to keep them from the mixed almshouse.⁹

Institutions as orphan asylums

The earliest institutions for children were created to meet the emergent needs of children. Pioneers saw the plight of waifs orphaned by Indian massacres, by yellow fever, by the ruthlessness of war and set themselves to plan for their care.¹⁰ It was the nuns of the Ursuline Convent in New Orleans who were the first to undertake the care of children separate from needy adults. An Indian massacre in 1729 brought newly orphaned children to be cared for by the Sisters, thus emphasizing the fact that the emergency needs of children in time of war and disaster have al-

⁹Thurston, op. cit., pp. 27-38.

¹⁰Sybil Foster, "Co-ordination of Institutional Care of Children with other Services in the Community", Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1936, p. 548

ways stimulated the founding of institutions for their care.¹¹

The second orphanage established in the United States was the Bethesda Orphanage, established in Georgia in 1738. Benjamin Franklin wrote the following concerning the efforts of the founder, George Whitefield (1714-1770), a celebrated English clergyman and pulpit orator:

Mr. Whitefield, in leaving us, went preaching all the way thro' the colonies to Georgia. The settlement of that province had lately been begun, but, instead of being made with hardy, industrious husbandmen, accustomed to labor, the only people fit for such an enterprise, it was with families of broken shop-keepers and other insolvent debtors, many of indolent and idle habits, taken out of the jails, who, being set down in the woods, unqualified for clearing land, and unable to endure the hardships of a new settlement, perished in numbers, leaving many helpless children unprovided for. The sight of their miserable situation inspir'd the benevolent heart of Mr. Whitefield with the idea of building an Orphan House there, in which they might be supported and educated. Returning northward, he preach'd up this charity, and made large collections, for his eloquence had a wonderful power over the hearts and purses of his hearers, of which I myself was an instance.

I did not disapprove of the design, but, as Georgia was then destitute of materials and workmen, and it was proposed to send them from Philadelphia at a great expense, I thought it would have been better to have built the house here, and brought the children to it. This I advis'd; but he was resolute in his first project, rejected my counsel, and I therefore refus'd to contribute. I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the coppers. Another stroke of his oratory made me asham'd of that, and determin'd me to give the silver; and he finish'd so admirably, that I empty'd my pocket wholly into

¹¹Howard W. Hopkirk, Institutions Serving Children, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1944, p. 3.

the collector's dish, gold and all.¹²

Early investments in institutions for children were made by Roman Catholics and Protestants alike in the first half of the nineteenth century, but it was not until the war between the states that great activity was to be noted in the building of such establishments.

The fraternal orders, on the whole, began somewhat later than the churches and lay groups to undertake the care of children. The first institution founded by a fraternal order was established by the Masons in California in 1850, but it had been preceded by several church organizations in that state. The Jewish Orphan Asylum of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith was founded in New Orleans in 1855; the Masons established an institution -- not the first -- in Kentucky in 1867. Two or three child-caring institutions were established elsewhere in the 1870's "from which time the fraternal orders seem to have gone with the tide of orphanage building that characterized most parts of the country in the 1880's and the 1890's, without embodying any distinctive points in their programs".¹³

Excerpts from a statement by a Lutheran minister in Pennsylvania who once lived in an orphan asylum provided a glimpse of what it was like to be a small boy admitted to an orphan asylum:

Henry Adams in his autobiography says: "Boys are wild animals rich in the treasures of sense". Perhaps it was the sense of sight which was strongest in a delicate, timid, young lad as he stood one cold February morning between two gentlemen of the church, looking up at a huge, dismal brick building, pitted against a dark, grey sky, surrounded by black, dead, leafless trees. It was an orphan asylum (orphan

¹²Abbott, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

¹³Hopkirk, op. cit., p. 3.

home -- being a term used to hide reality). It was to be this boy's future home -- for how long -- no one had even a dim notion, nor did it matter much. Perhaps "walls do not a prison make", but to a homeless lad of nine this scene was not cheerful nor to his liking....

Sad, disappointed, afraid, yet eager was he to see more of this huge thing, so he followed the two men through the narrow doorway. There along a long narrow hall stood a line of boys, lined up according to height, all standing erect without a smile. Watching them was a tall, military-looking German (not forgetting the mustache and glasses). He was the superintendent -- my future master. Although he greeted me kindly, my interest was in that long line of boys, who had somehow sensed a new arrival, and were craning their necks for a sight of him. I have often wondered since if that was the first time I became conscious of myself. There I stood -- a thing apart -- something to be looked at, out of curiosity and even hostility -- for boys in an orphan home are strangely self-centered. But whether I had thoughts at that time, I know not. If I did they would be rudely halted by the clanging of a loud bell, which I discovered meant dinner.

I soon found myself in the largest room I had ever seen, where there were dozens of long tables, around which crowded hungry boys and girls. It was in the jangling of knives and dishes that I found a sense of relief, of forgetfulness, and even managed to eat. The meal ended with some sort of unintelligible German prayer.

My two guardians were soon closeted behind a door on which was nailed the imposing word "office", while I was left to wander as I saw fit. To escape curious glances and open mouths, I wandered into all the empty rooms, and to my delight soon discovered a library. If I had any thought that this room might prove a refuge for me, I was doomed to disappointment; for I afterward learned that it was only on special occasions and with special permission that a book could be used. Even in 1913 all the homelike things and kindnesses of such an institution were but a show and a sham to allay the suspicious and idle curiosity of visitors and social workers (that radical and hated class)....

Other excerpts of life in the institution are given by the same Lutheran minister:

In an institution the individual counts for nothing! Nor is the welfare, temperament, or disposition of any

one child taken into consideration. What might be good or healthy for one is taken to be good or healthy for all. Life must be uniform, logical, and conventional. Thus life becomes stereotyped. The duties, tasks, and experiences of one day become the duties, tasks, and experiences of all the other three hundred and sixty-four days of the year. The activities of every hour are planned.

At six o'clock in the morning our day began. For what reason I have never been able to find out except the old proverb "Early to bed and early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise". Ten minutes was allowed for dressing, after which we were all marched down to that same narrow hall for our morning calisthenics. Here it was that I tasted the first bit of cruel and torturous punishment I had ever known. If any thing (such as a cut while shaving) had aroused our master's German ire, he would make us stand in a long line and hold out our arms horizontally until our faces assumed all sorts of agonizing twists. Anyone who has ever tried holding out his arms any length of time knows the meaning of such an experience.

Promptly at seven o'clock we were marched to our morning bowl of oatmeal, dry bread and coffee, which was served between German prayers and devotions. For religion held an important place in the daily routine. Then we were brought back to our dormitories and each had to make his own bed. Perhaps you are interested to know how the work was done. Who was to wash all the dishes? Who was to clean all the rooms? Obviously outside help could not be brought in and paid to do such work. So the girls were given the work of the dining room and kitchen; while the boys with pails and brooms proceeded to sweep and scrub the floors, dust, and clean the windows. The smaller boys and girls, not able to do either, were fitted out with needles and thread to learn the art of sewing. "Useful training" was the argument. And it was that; for it assured me a place in the kingdom of bachelordom.

School was not neglected. That they held the idea that education was the panacea for all evil, I doubt. At least they knew that illiteracy was not necessary....

From 4:30 to 5:30 in the afternoon we were free; at liberty to do as we wished, provided we wished not the impossible and stayed within the bounds of the fence. Football, baseball, "shinny" (an orphan boy's game of golf) fights, flying kites, all came in turn as the seasons and king of sports decided.

At six o'clock food and prayers. Then to study, or

possibly to read a good story, if no one was watching. Until at eight o'clock that dismal, haunting bell sounded for the last time. Soon a strange solitary silence. The spirit of night and of sleep had again spread her dark heavy mantle over her children.

Summer and vacation to most boys means, as it meant to Henry Adams, "rolling in the grass, or wading in the brook, or swimming in salt ocean, or sailing in the bay, or fishing in the creeks, or exploring the pine woods and hills" -- but to my companions and me it meant three hours each morning of religious instruction in the German language, and then a hot summer afternoon's work of weeding or hoeing on the farm. The only real vacation was an occasional half-hour of sport in the "ol' swimmin' hole", or an afternoon in the hay fields. To lie on the top of a load of hay, with its sweet smell, and look up through the cracks of one's straw hat, at the blue sky, dotted here and there with lazy white clouds, was one of the most delightful sensations of my childhood.

Yet there was one day of the year when all had to be different -- the day of all days for children -- Christmas. On a Sunday afternoon about a month before Christmas we were all told to think of two presents we wanted Santa Claus (we knew there was no Santa Claus) to bring us, one for twenty-five cents and one for fifty cents. For the next few weeks we searched eagerly through all the available magazines and newspapers for advertisements of things wonderful, precious, and not exceeding fifty cents. We usually ended by picking out a knife or a belt. Then anxious waiting until Christmas eve.

Religion to a child is mostly a matter of sight and of hearing. The scene of that chapel on Christmas eve, with its soft music and the singing of "Stille Nacht, Heilige Nacht", with its two huge decorated Christmas trees on either side of a cleverly constructed village of Bethlehem in miniature, with angels and a lighted star, with shepherds watching their flocks on built-up hills of mossy stones, and Mary and Joseph in a lowly born Christ-child -- that scene still haunts me at this date. Yet to a child it was quickly forgotten in his hurry and eagerness for the long-awaited presents. For a few hours and days all else was forgotten -- we were completely happy.

Would it be altogether out of place to speak of the religious training for a moment? For be it understood, this institution was under the control of the church, with all its stiffness and cold formality. Of religious education, such as church leaders today speak, there was none. All instruction was in the German

language (of which most of us were completely ignorant), and consisted of constant memorization. Luther's "Small Catechism" was memorized from beginning to end, chapters of the Bible, and many hymns of the church. On one occasion we had to learn a long hymn which began

Voeglein in hohem Baum

I could remember that first line, but the second line constantly eluded me until my youthful genius asserted itself with this result,

Voeglein in hohem Baum
Pick up a stone and knock him down.

But there was no need to rejoice in my ability as it got me into very serious trouble.

Thus religious education as a whole meant simply the memorizing of words without their meaning, without adapting any of the material to the needs of the child.

It was this same rigid religious conventionality which produced another failing, at least to my mind, as I now look back. It was the complete separation of sexes. Boys are kept as far as possible from the girls, and to be seen talking at any time to a girl meant severe punishment. This brought vague notions into a child's head -- why should it be so? What was there wrong in it? The result was that after a boy or girl left the home at the age of sixteen there came a complete reaction. That strange desire coupled with complete ignorance brought disastrous effects. And many of those fine young lives have been spoiled or seriously handicapped. I know this from the lives of some of my companions.

So passed four years of my life with little or no variation. Until one morning I was called into that forbidding-looking office. What it was for I could not imagine, but I supposed I had done some thing wrong again. Can you imagine my surprise then, when asked if I would like to attend school in R_____, to study for the ministry. I, who had never been out of B_____, who had been in bondage and who longed to be free! I never heard the latter part of the sentence that limited my choice to the ministry. In fact, I didn't even think, I simply said "Yes". So one September morning, with a little grip in one hand, and the superintendent's hand in the other, I walked up that long lane for the last time as a child out into life.¹⁴

¹⁴Thurston, op. cit., pp. 71-76.

This brief description of the life of a boy in an orphan asylum in 1913 must certainly give the modern reader the feeling that the standards in such institutions were wretchedly low. While it was recognized that children needed as a minimum the physical necessities of shelter, food and clothing, training for work, and religious instruction, it was believed that these things could be provided in a wholesale, routine way for all children who were homeless or whose families were so shiftless as to fail to provide decent care. Because there was no adequate assistance to parents and families from public funds in most communities, and because care in "orphan asylums" was considered so beneficial, half orphans and others were also taken into these institutions as protection from "destitution at home and outrage on the streets". Children were cut off from family ties, and emotional needs were not considered. There was no individualization and little regard for personalities. All emphasis was upon mass provision of long-time care in a safe haven of refuge from the world. Many orphan asylums could have been better labeled as "children's monasteries" because they frequently isolated the child from nature, social life, and all the other experiences which might have developed his personality.

The flagrant neglect, even abuse, of children in these big congregate asylums finally shocked the social consciences of people into recognition of the fact that institutions as they existed did not produce good or even adequate citizens.

Institutions as schools

Some institutions were established out of concern for the training needs of children. Before the days of free public educa-

tion, the institution provided the only means of schooling for some children. Separate institutions were established for groups of children with special needs such as the delinquent, mentally retarded, blind, deaf, and crippled. Other institutions for dependent and neglected children, and some especially established for the socially and emotionally unadjusted, emphasized special education and training. However, they tended to give care which was isolated from the rest of the world. Children who had lived in such institutions found it difficult to make an adjustment outside the overly protective and damaging walls of the institutions.¹⁵ Our thinking today is that handicapped children should have the opportunity to go to school with normal children in order that they might learn to accept their own limitations. Children with cerebral palsy, for example, are presently being prepared for entrance into regular schools whenever possible. The normal children in the regular schools who have been properly prepared for these handicapped youngsters take their condition as a matter of course.

Some concept of the institution as a school has probably been present from the beginning of the care of children in institutions. It has not been uncommon for institutions -- especially the larger ones with populations in excess of 200 children -- to operate an elementary and sometimes a secondary school, but at the present time there is a definite tendency for institutions to send their wards off the premises to attend public or parochial

¹⁵Mary Lois Pyles, Institutions for Child Care and Treatment, Child Welfare League of America, Inc., February, 1947, pp. 8-9

schools.¹⁶ The children of the institution of today may form those contacts and friendships in community schools which is the right of every child, and, therefore, have a greater opportunity to participate in community life.

Institutions as children's homes

The next step in the development of children's institutions was the "children's home". Probably the most significant phase of this development has been the movement towards cottage systems, and the reduction in the size of groups. In some situations older, congregate structures have been abandoned in favor of new cottage buildings. In other situations it has been possible to adapt older congregate buildings to cottage living. In this respect a few institutions have been successful in cutting up dormitories by the use of cubicles resembling individual bedrooms. In other instances large dormitory groups have been so divided as to permit reasonably small units.

However, the cottage plan does not mean merely a method of housing. Unfortunately, in the hands of some institutional managers it has been capable of being as institutional as the congregate form of housing. This is especially true in those institutions in which cottage groups have been kept just as large as the old dormitory groups, or where the proportion of trained workers has not been increased. On the other hand, other cottage plans have achieved a greater freedom from the conformity which haunts most congregate institutions.

¹⁶Hopkirk, op. cit., p. 13.

One of the most significant developments in the movement towards smaller groups of children has been the use of cottage parents for each cottage group. These are married couples who may become parent persons to those children who need this kind of relationship. Also, they give the child from an unhappy home, or the child whose parents are separated or divorced, an opportunity to witness the more normal life of a happily married couple, without his needing to become emotionally involved, unless he wishes to do so. On the other hand, the child who needs mothering has a greater opportunity to receive this from the housemother of a small cottage group than was possible in the old, congregate institutions. In some cottage systems, the cottage fathers work in the community at their regular trades, and come home in the evenings to their respective cottages, in the same way that most fathers do. In other cottage systems in close proximity to colleges, it is often possible for a young married man to attend college while he and his wife are employed as cottage parents by an institution.

A token of the shift in emphasis from asylums to homes is in the present-day use of the old board room which was formerly reserved for the use of trustees at their monthly board meetings. Usually this is one of the most attractive rooms in a congregate type of institution, and repeatedly, the trustees of such institutions have turned this room over to the use of staff and children. In the asylum days children would have entered the room only to polish its floors and dust its furniture! The tendency to make institutions more homelike can well be expressed in the freer use by children of plant and equipment.

Institutions as social agencies

We finally come to the present stage in the growth and development of children's institutions. The institution as a social agency is, unfortunately, a goal which many children's institutions have still to reach. Many institutions have tried to do good jobs as schools or as homes, but there has been, oftentimes, something bafflingly incomplete about their service. The reason for this is that institutions come into the lives of children because of social problems and needs. The modern institution cannot escape the task of helping its children with family problems or with their own special needs. Because its purpose is to aid in solving social problems and to help individuals reach satisfying personal and social adjustments, the institution is a social agency and needs to make use of social work knowledge and skill in carrying on its work.

The institution has some distinctive features as a social agency, however, in that its clients live together in the same place that social services are given. Each child lives with a group with whom he normally has no ties of kinship or previous acquaintance. The agency provides for the total aspects of daily living. Different adults share in the care of these children. It is the group living and group care situation, moreover, which defines both the limitations and opportunities of the institution. This should be a guiding factor in determining the children who come to institutions and it enters into all efforts to help them.

The past decade has marked a revolution in the institutional field. There have been many new developments, notable among which is the growing acceptance of the child-caring institutions

as a method of care for certain children. This development is the result of successful experiments in group treatment of children in other countries, notably in Austria. These experiments led to a new philosophy in regard to the role of the institution in a community program of child care. This new philosophy was popularized in the United States by Susanne Schulz, formerly of Vienna and later, a member of the faculty of the School of Applied Social Sciences of Western Reserve University of Cleveland, Ohio.

There continues to linger in the minds of those acquainted with the earlier methods, however, a certain amount of association with the mass care of the almshouse days. Certainly, the history of institutional care reveals many black passages. Even after the segregation of children from the aged took place, and special buildings were built and programs inaugurated for dependent children, for delinquents and the mentally retarded, institutions still maintained their poor reputation. Not even the progress evidenced by the movement from orphanages to schools or homes helped to dispel the traditional attitudes towards such programs. The latest and most progressive step of converting these homes into community centers or children's villages met with some resistance as recently as the early thirties. There are still some workers in the child welfare field whose honest conviction it is that all children's institutions should close and that the children should be placed in foster homes, in homes of relatives, or in their own homes with adequate public assistance.¹⁷ The development of foster family care having gone so

¹⁷Cecilia McGovern, Services to Children in Institutions, (Washington: Ransdell, Inc., 1948), p. 1.

far in some communities as to result in the closing of institutions, has even led some to infer that institutions for children are both undesirable and unnecessary.¹⁸

Many of the early leaders in the field of child welfare, having participated in the forward-looking movement of establishing orphanages for the better care of children, then drew back from the community's activities and spread their interest no further than the area circumscribed by the four walls of the institution and there remained static. In so doing they lost touch with the changing needs in their respective communities. There are examples of these institutions in our own American communities today. A few other institutions, however, have kept close to the stream of community life, and with courage and flexibility, have come on to new exploration and development.¹⁹ Still a few other institutions for children, having made little progress for many decades, have made some more rapid strides in recent years.²⁰

¹⁸Hopkirk, op. cit., p. 40

¹⁹An example of a children's institution which changed its function to meet changing needs is a small church institution in Baltimore which opened just before the 1800's to care for orphan and half-orphaned girls. These girls were originally taught sewing and cooking and trained for domestic service. Shortly after 1900 the plan of training these girls as domestics was abandoned for the more democratic ideal of giving them an opportunity for general education, thus permitting them to enter fields of their own choice. This institution is now a school which is successfully guiding the adjustment of difficult adolescent girls as they learn to meet life in our complex civilization.

²⁰Sybil Foster, "Co-ordination of Institutional Care of Children with Other Services in the Community", National Conference of Social Work, 1936, pp. 548-549

Moreover, with the increased professionalization of workers in institutions as well as in foster homes and with the growth and clarification of case work philosophy and technique, an identity of interest is developing, namely, the child in need of foster care and how he may be helped. The increasing trend towards the integration of thinking and functioning of workers in the two fields, and toward the mutual elaboration of the problems of child care and methods of treatment, led to the development of the present trend. This clearly reflects the growing awareness that both of these forms of child care, formerly associated and later irrationally considered to be in competition with each other, are complementary and each can be used at different times for the same child. That the trend is rather limited reflects the lag between professional thinking and practice.²¹

²¹Martha Keiser Selig, "Temporary Use of an Institution for Children in Foster Care", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 12, 1942, pp. 466-473.

Chapter 2

Children's Institutions Today: Some Guiding Principles

If the modern institution is to be a vital part of the total child welfare program, it must participate in community planning. The community and all its services should be so well understood that the institution's own service may be developed and adapted to fill the gaps in the child-care picture.

The institution has certain inherent factors which differentiate it from a family home. It necessitates group life, and no child is fooled into believing that institutional life is like family life, in spite of the legitimate efforts on the part of Boards of Directors and institutional superintendents to make institutions more "home-like". The true character of institutions is group living and not family living. Institutions have been a bit naive in assuming that a family situation could be obtained in cottage groups of twelve or more children. Granted that certain elements of family life can be incorporated in any group, it does mean that less frustration will be experienced if the cottage and dormitory of over twelve is regarded as a "group" in the social-work sense rather than a family, and approached in accordance with the best-known group-work techniques. As a matter of fact if this is done skillfully, many of the values of family life may also be realized.²²

Many children coming to the institution have been subjected

²²Leonard Mayo, "What May Institutions and Group Work Contribute to Each Other", Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, University of Chicago Press, 1935, p. 332.

to experiences which have shattered their faith in others and even in the world. This is the chance for the institution. Some one person on the staff may be found to strike a spark in the child. He comes to believe that someone does care and he wants to please that person or wants his approval. Because of this, the shell which he has built around himself opens a crack, and from that point on, all may work with him.²³ The person with whom a particular child chooses to form a relationship may be anyone on the staff. It may be the caseworker, the cottage mother, the group supervisor, the gardener, a board member, or anyone else.²⁴ Probably the greatest advantage of the institution over the foster home is the wide range of personalities on the staff.

It has been gradually realized, therefore, that institutional and foster family care are two supplementary and complementary kinds of care for children away from their own families. Foster care, defined in detail, is

any full-time care of a child by persons not biologically related to him whether it is with a group of other children in an institution, or in a foster family home; whether it is of long or short duration; whether it is paid for in part or entirely by the child's own parents, relatives or guardian, or by public or private contributions; and whether or not it is accompanied by legal termination of the rights of natural parents and transfer of guardianship to a parent substitute.

Foster family care and institutional care each provide certain values which the other cannot offer. The inherently different

²³Foster, op. cit., pp. 549-550

²⁴The writer's own experience in a small institution, is that children will often confide in the cook as they help her in the kitchen or eat snacks which she gives them. The cook is invariably a mother person to children.

elements in the latter are acknowledged in the definition below:

A children's institution is a group of unrelated children living together in the care of a group of unrelated adults.²⁵

In the institution the social worker and other members of the staff may observe the child. This brings to bear points of view based on different backgrounds of experience, which is always valuable. These findings, drawn together and analyzed, give a composite picture of the child as he is meeting life from day to day. This is a more intensive observation than usually may be had in a family home.²⁶

Some guiding principles

The institution should give to the child the quality of affectionate relationship which he needs; he needs to learn self-government through learning to plan for himself; he needs to be taught something about property values and money. Some institutions have put considerable thought into the latter, and are developing good systems of work and pay jobs, direct purchasing, and so on. Others have attempted group discussion with the older children on economics and social planning. Institution costs and sources of income have been gone over with them, new expenditures discussed, and participation in planning asked of them. This is helpful to overcome some of the irresponsibility which is fostered by institutional living; because financial support is so far removed and its sources so vague, the reality of its limita-

²⁵Pyles, op. cit., p. 10

²⁶Foster, op. cit., p. 550.

tions is hard to accept.²⁷

Individualization must be the keynote of the institution. Mass care of children -- food, shelter, and even kindness -- does not provide for individual needs. Children should be able to participate in community activities, to attend churches of their own choice if this is at all possible, to participate in organizations such as Y.M.C.A. and Boy Scouts, to keep their own pets, etc. Visits by relatives, if helpful to the youngster, should be on a flexible, encouraging basis, and occasionally they need to be invited to dinner. The cottage mother or social worker should frequently attend parent-teacher meetings and one or the other should always be on hand when there are special doings in which their children take part.²⁸

The mental-health needs of children can be simply summed up as: the need for security and affection; the need for recognition as a person in order to build self-esteem; and the need for adventure. It is reasonable to question the programs and staffs of institutions in which love-starved children cling to visitors who show the slightest response to them, in which children seem subdued and do not converse freely with visitors, or in which "polite" salutations are given to visitors, with promptings from matrons in the background.

Economy and practicability from the housemother's point of

²⁷Foster, op. cit., pp. 551-552.

²⁸Kenneth L. Messenger, "The Individualization of the Child in the Institution", Child Welfare League of America, Inc., Bulletin, Sept. 1941, pp. 1-5.

view should not be the only rule in the purchase of clothing for children. Clothing can do so much to build self-esteem, particularly to the adolescent. Shopping expeditions should be arranged for the individual or small groups of children, and each child should participate in the decision of what clothes and shoes, what patterns, colors, and styles, should be purchased for him. Clothing should always be considered to be personal property. It should generally not be "handed down", except possibly within sibling groups where this might be customary, or in the situation where there are good clothes which one youngster has outgrown and may be quite suitable, when cleaned and pressed, for another youngster, providing that the latter youngster is accepting of this as a gift. Clothing should certainly not be worn after it becomes outgrown and unsuitable looking. The custom of keeping old shoes which children have outgrown for the use of other children is not only unhygienic but a poor policy because they are not likely to fit another child's feet properly. Beyond this, of course, there is false economy in handing down old shoes or old clothing if this results in lowered self-esteem.

Haircuts for institution children are another significant "detail". They may be a matter of regimentation, or entirely individual and according to the children's own tastes, with a reasonable degree of guidance. For the adolescent girl, smartly cut hair or even a permanent wave may be such an aid to self-confidence that, from a casework angle, the investment may be even more justified than some more usual and unquestioned expense.

The writer's own observation has been that children enjoy going on shopping expeditions for clothing, away from the institu-

tion. A shopping trip seems to provide some of the need for adventure and thrill which children crave, especially when it is a trip of some distance from the "Home". There is a different meaning to the child for clothing purchased for him by the "Home" from clothing which has been purchased by his own parents, as the clothing purchased by the Home often brings to the forefront some of the child's feelings of rejection by parents. A worker may bring out some of these same feelings even when he does other things for children in institutions, as the children are aware that something is being done for them which their own parents could have done, had they loved their children. In this respect, staff members' feelings and needs about being "giving" persons and expecting "gratitude" for giving should be understood, since hostility is often the child's expression towards staff members after having, what staff thought might be, a pleasurable experience.

Holidays are perhaps the most difficult periods for children with whom parents have not made plans. The writer's experience of once bringing a group of boys into the city on a Fourth of July to see the parade and to go out to a park for a picnic is illustrative of this point. The boys were so demanding and difficult that the experience was not pleasurable for anyone concerned, until later in the afternoon when the youngsters had supper at the writer's home. It is only too clear that the children's feelings of rejection by parents were quickly brought to the surface as they saw other children enjoying the Fourth with their parents. The following Fourth of July was spent by the children, who had not left with parents for the holiday, in a

more relaxed manner at the Home, with a picnic in the orchard, and fireworks in the evening.

The periods around holidays need to be carefully handled for certain children. For Charles, for example, - a very rejected child, who had been deserted by both parents and had been in a series of seven foster homes, holidays needed careful handling. Charles always went to the stores to steal things, especially candy (which he didn't seem to care much for), around the holiday periods. He could not stand seeing other children receive gifts from parents. After the staff got to know something about Charles' great needs for attention and affection, the caseworker had brief talks with Charles several weeks before a holiday, especially Christmas, to talk over plans with him for the holiday period. Since it was the policy of this particular institution to "evacuate" the institution over the Christmas holidays (except for youngsters who were ill or who might be clinging to the institution for security) by arranging for children to go home to parents or to the homes of the staff members, the caseworker made sure that Charles knew nearly a month in advance where he would be going, in order that he might have something to look forward to. These precautions paid dividends in Charles' case, since the stealing episodes greatly diminished during holiday periods.

The part played by privacy and personal possessions in the institution in improving self-esteem cannot be overlooked. Even a locker or cupboard space given the child as his very own can be of value. The things that children save and the way in which they decorate their rooms is fruitful for a psychological study of each child. Individual rooms, especially for adolescents and

disturbed youngsters, are far preferable to dormitories, although there is always the youngster who feels lonesome sleeping in a room by himself, and requests a partner.

Even the smallest opportunities for self-expression and performance before the group give the child a chance to see himself as a person. Vocational training, too, is one of the surest aids to self-esteem; finding special aptitudes and helping the child to develop them often gives him much status in the group. The opportunity to earn, save, spend and give can also afford the child recognition, and establish that sense of property values and rights so essential to ease in living. The child's last need -- that for adventure, excitement, and surprise -- is, perhaps, one of the hardest to meet in the institution. In a small community, though, it can be fun for the youngsters to watch a volunteer fire department put out a fire, and it may sometimes be part of the caseworker's job to provide transportation of the youngsters to the fire, following in the trail of the fire engine! Without constant watching, even in the most progressive program, regimentation and routine quickly creep into the daily living.

The significance of authority

Whether they like it or not, the adults who live in close contact with children are forced into a position of leadership of one sort or another. The program stands or falls through their efforts; goals are attained or not attained through them; they are the most important persons in the child's environment at the moment. Their good mental health, their understanding of themselves, is essential to success. The adult quickly becomes

the object of emulation and imitation by the child. Not only will the child strive to live up to the ideals of an admired adult, but he will also closely copy social behaviour, way of dress, and personal mannerisms. It can be disconcerting to a staff member, for example, when an adolescent repeats almost word for word something that he has said. The tolerances, intolerances, prejudices, generosities -- in fact, all of the attitudes -- of the grown person markedly influence the child in the development of his attitudes and his way of meeting life. Frictions and tensions among the adults are always readily discernible through the behaviour of the children. Therefore, those who deal directly with children must know something of their own behaviour if they are to understand why children behave as they do.

Staff members in children's institutions need to understand their feelings about authority. A staff member needs to know whether he is carrying a command through to the finish because he started something, because he gets pleasure from dominating others, because he fears his superiors may think him unable to enforce discipline, or because the safety and good of the individual or the group depends on compliance with the command. In matters of yielding to or exerting authority over others may frequently see themselves responding much as they used to in childhood years. If this is allowed to happen, obedience and conformity are being gained not for the child's growth and welfare, but to satisfy the needs of staff for supremacy. This is not a fair situation for the child, and those adults who cannot control this need for domination should leave the field of direct care of children. As with the child, staff members need the feel-

ing of security, or of being adequate to the situation.

A position of leadership with children demands maturity of the adult. It demands of the adult a philosophy of life. It calls for the ability to give affection and demand little in return. Leadership should not be by domination, but by example and stimulation of each one in the group to give his or her energies to the fullest and best.

For the child care institutions this means wise selection and careful training of personnel if the atmosphere is to be conducive to the good mental health of children and staff. Probably the greatest asset for the houseparent is rugged good health with consequent endurance, buoyancy, and a "young" point of view, regardless of age. "We need individuals with true liking for people -- liking for children, faults and all -- who are not unduly irritated by the less attractive qualities. We need joyous, fun-loving individuals with tact, stability, and a sense of humor, that rare quality which makes it possible to laugh at oneself as well as at the others."²⁹

Staff training should be well carried forward as the psychiatric service for the institution is developed. If the skills of the psychiatrist and social worker are far beyond the understanding of the house staff, difficulty will arise at once and treatment plans will be blocked. For instance, the child who needs to express aggression may be making excellent progress in releasing her emotions, but the housemother may not be able to accept this behaviour. In this respect, Lillian Johnson points out that no-

where has the gulf been wider than between the professional caseworker who planned for the child and projected methods of treatment and the non-professional institutional staff person who, as foster-parent and group leader, was expected to apply those methods.³⁰ Careful interpretation, step by step, of the psychiatric concepts involved is needed if the house staff are to play their vital part in the treatment plans.

Parents

Emotionally, parents play an extremely important part in the life of the child, whether they are living or dead, absent or present; and this must not be overlooked. The child's relationship to them in the past and in the present colors his behaviour, his wishful thinking, and his idealism. Probably the one word which is used in children's institutions more than any other to explain belligerent behaviour, for example, or stealing, is "rejection", as most behaviour has resulted from attempts to gain the love and acceptance of parents. Probably every child who enters a children's institution has some feelings of guilt -- guilt over the feeling that he in some way is responsible for his family situation and for his being in the institution. There is some danger that this guilt will be reinforced if religion is over-emphasized by staff members. Even religious pictures can do this. Pictures should be of the gay, happy, kind that stimulate happy phantasy for the child who isn't really happy.

³⁰Lillian J. Johnson, "What We Learn From the Child's Own Psychology to Guide Treatment in a Small Institution", Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, University of Chicago Press, 1938.

Children can never with advantage be isolated, and their family ties, however meager, cannot be disregarded. In our institutions of today we are dealing mainly with children possessed of at least one, and often two parents. (There is seldom need for orphans being in children's institutions since real orphans without parents want parents; and want to go, and should go into foster homes). There are, however, parents who, through incompetence, wilful neglect, or pressure of circumstances beyond their control, have failed their children in one way or another. The child must, therefore, be given help in understanding and accepting this without bitterness -- and he must be helped to capitalize on any assets which he may have. With the undesirable parents it may even be a service to the child to allow some contact between parent and child -- giving him a chance to face the reality of his parents' limitations rather than to cut the ties entirely and to force the child into a most unreal idealizing of them. The visiting of parents at the institution, the child's visits to his home, and work with relatives, should be among the most carefully developed phases of the mental hygiene program. As one other writer points out, the real parents should be included and used as much as possible by the institution. Every positive contribution to a child's life that a parent can make must be accepted. It will turn the well-run institution upside down, but it is well worth it. The institution will understand the parents better and they will understand the institution. The children will accept staff, not as substitute parents, but as supplementary parents. Definite identification of the parents

with the institutions is very helpful.³¹

Every resource must be exhausted before a child is removed from his own home, since even a very poor home can often offer the child a greater feeling of security than any good substitute home. Every effort should be made to work intensively with the family to make removal necessary in fewer instances. When there are several children in one family and one child presents particularly difficult problems, more will probably be gained through family service directed toward the treatment of the total family situation than by the removal of any one child. Psychiatric treatment facilities of modern family agencies can help problems such as alcoholism, incompatibility, and frequent desertion. House-keeping service may be especially helpful in allowing children to remain in their own homes when the mother is incapacitated.³²

Only those children should be admitted to the institution whose needs can be met by its program. This is one of the most difficult responsibilities of any institutional group, and at the same time, one of the most important. Too often a child is admitted because his mother or uncle or older brother thinks that the institution may be the best place for him. Frequently a careful study of the situation, and an evaluation of the child's needs, plus an interpretation of the institutional program, would convince these relatives that there is a better plan for their boy.

³¹Helen A. Day, "The Evaluation of a Child's Progress in an Institution", Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, (New York City: 1937), pp. 564-572.

³²H. S. Lippman, "Newer Trends in Child Placement", The Family, February 1941, pp. 323-324.

Pressure from working mothers to make a sort of boarding school out of a children's institution is something else which institutional directors need to watch out for. Low assistance standards of the public agency for mothers caring for children in their own homes may lead to placement, and institutions must not permit themselves to contribute to family breakdown by accepting children under such circumstances. It is far too costly, both financially and emotionally, for such children to live away from their own mothers in institutions. It is to be hoped, too, that empty beds in an institution no longer provide a reason for accepting children in order that per capita costs may be lessened.³³

It is no longer necessary to believe that institutional care should be a last resort for all children. Skilled services should be available to help preserve and improve family homes to the extent of present knowledge and the ability of human beings to change. When children must be removed from their homes, good institutional care, with less demanding personal relationships and more conditioned and directed environment, may be the first choice for some of the children who have fitted unsuccessfully into foster family care in the past. Care from good institutions and good foster family homes should be selected on the basis of the needs of the child rather than generalized ideas about the superiority of either type of care. The group nature of institutional care with its weaker personal ties and associations with many persons should be a decisive factor in its use for the child.

³³Messenger, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

Chapter 3

Children Suited for Institutional Care

The clue to appreciation of the true role of institutions is a recognition of the many different categories of children who might profit more from institutional care than foster family care. It must be recognized, however, that there are some dangers in attempting a classification of these children. The needs of individual children defy categorizing at times, and there is bound to be overlapping among categories. Moreover, there are a few individual children who may seem to fit into categories indicating institutional placement, but, other types of placement may be more beneficial. However, such a classification, if handled carefully, can be helpful in pointing up the needs of some children.

The children who may be able to use institutional care better than foster family care are given below:

I. Children Who are Emotionally Unable to Relate to Foster Parents

Sometimes a child who must be cared for away from home has such a strong emotional tie with one or both parents -- whether a beneficial tie or a harmful one -- that he would find it impossible to establish good relations with a foster father and mother. A child of this kind if placed in a group home, shares a housemother with a dozen other children. He has a chance to be with a number of adults who do not have the emotional stake in him that his own parents have and who do not demand of him as much response as would a foster father or mother.

A. The first grouping of children of this kind includes some of the children of recently divorced or separated parents. Whether

or not these children can be benefited by institutional placement must be determined by an assessment of parent-child relationships. If the divorce or separation has been a friendly one with little or no tugging of the child between his two parents, institutional placement may not be indicated at all. 1. On the other hand, there is the child who is a pawn in the game -- used to meet the hostile needs of his parents, and this situation can be heightened when one or both parents have remarried. The institution may offer a more "neutral" environment for this child, and it may be in a stronger position to control parents' actions which might otherwise be upsetting to the youngster. 2. There are also the children who have positive relations with both parents. Some of these children have feelings of divided loyalty towards their parents, and they may need help to decide between their parents.

B. There are also those children who have suffered severe rejection, and have been so traumatized that they cannot substitute other love objects for lost parents. This grouping has a tendency to overlap to a certain extent with the previous grouping. For example, in the case of the child who is being used as a "football" by his parents, there may be a large element of rejection of the child by the parents. There are, of course, myriad forms of rejection of parent by child, and child by parent. These rejections may be consciously or unconsciously expressed and perceived, but they have far-reaching implications for the child.

The rejection suffered by these children often causes a hostile and regressive emotional pattern which requires treatment. Some of these children have lost both parents, as well as their homes. Many have lived in a series of foster homes. Their re-

lationships with people, therefore, have grown increasingly shallow, as a result of these devastating experiences. They need an environment in which close personal relations are not required. The institution may offer this kind of environment, since staff members in the institution must be shared among many children, and staff, therefore, may not develop as close relationships with the individual child as would be the case with foster parents. Such a child finds in a group home that he is not alone in his experience. Besides, an institution, with its group living, is as different from his own home, or any family home, that he is not likely to make comparisons between them. Then, too, when the child is ready to reach out for relationships, there is a greater variety of personalities on the institution's staff from which the child may choose. Also, trained staff can be more accepting of the problem behavior than the average foster parents.

There are also a large class of children who may be somewhat less rejected and who need the individual attention and affection that foster parents can offer, but the nature of their problem makes them so unattractive that it is necessary to provide institutional care for at least a preparatory period. These are the children who are often called "pests" by staff members in institutions. They constantly tantalize the other children, and plague staff members with constant questions to the point of exasperation. These are children who are unwanted, insecure, and unhappy. They crave attention and love but have a certain amount of frustration, disappointment and blocking which prevents their obtaining affection in the usual manner. A sudden avalanche of

affection from foster parents usually overwhelms such children. On the other hand, in the institution it is possible to give enough attention without overdoing it.³⁴

C. Other children who might need institutional care are the children left with only one parent. The validity of this grouping can be determined only in terms of the individual case.

1. There is the occasional situation, for example, in which a group of siblings are holding on tightly to a parent, and will not accept foster parents, although the court may not approve the parent for the custody and care of his children. The siblings may live in the institution for a temporary period, until the parent is able to prove to the court that he is a fit parent.

2. There might also be the situation in which a father is contemplating re-marriage, and the institution may be used by the children for a temporary period until the proposed plan is consummated.

Institutional care, however, is not necessarily indicated on the sole grounds that the children involved have love and security from parents who cannot maintain a home for them. The community needs a wide range of many programs such as family and children's casework, financial assistance, homemaker or housekeeper service, day-care programs, child guidance clinics, school social work, special schools in local communities, and health services to help parents give adequate care to children in their own homes wherever possible.³⁵

³⁴McGovern, op. cit., pp. 29-33.

³⁵Pyles, op. cit., p. 17.

D. Another grouping might include those adolescents who cannot live at home and who have attained some degree of emancipation from parents. Perhaps the strongest case in favor of the institution is its value for this group of teenagers. It is natural that the adolescent, with his drive for independence, should re-act against a type of care supplied by the average foster home, which tends at least for a while to make him more dependent. Many adolescents with difficult behaviour have developed an intense desire to break away from family ties since it is through these relationships that they have suffered. They are essentially narcissistic, a result of disillusionment in those whom they loved. Frequently, their emotional relationships have been so traumatic that they cannot risk developing emotional ties to anyone. In some instances their behaviour in foster homes, ending in the foster parents' demand for their removal, suggests that they have a need to prove to themselves that all adults, like their parents, are cruel and rejecting.

In recent years the courts have been referring for placement many of their undisciplined, rejected adolescents, hoping thereby to check their aggression and delinquency. In general, foster home treatment of these boys and girls has not been successful. Sometimes foster parents have felt challenged and have been determined to win over the adolescent and socialize him but have finally given up in despair, admitting that, in a contest of wills, they were no match.³⁶ Untidy, insolent, resenting adult control, ex-

³⁶Lippman, op. cit., pp. 323-325.

ploding from any spark, these maladjusted youngsters are apt to move from one home to another, each move making their ultimate adjustment more difficult.

Children from 10 to 16 years of age have a natural disposition to form groups of their peers. Some children, however, within this age group undergo only hardship if they are placed in groups. Therefore, it is most important to evaluate group placement carefully in terms of the individual child's ability to use a particular institution to advantage -- or, for that matter, institutional group living at all. There are certain factors inherent in this type of living -- no matter how good the institution -- that may affect negatively a child that is not emotionally ready for this experience and thereby harm also the others living in the group with him.³⁷ However, girls and boys of the teenages usually crave association with other adolescents. This craving, added to their natural inclinations to slough off parental restraints, makes group life in an institution practical for many of them.³⁸

Some youths may be faced with the alternative of getting along well in some other place than their own home, or being committed to an institution for delinquents. This means that a form of residence is needed for these youngsters which will lessen their aggression and get them to accept discipline and responsibility, without subjecting them to the company of more

³⁷Susanne Schulze, How Does Group Living in the Institution Prepare the Child for Life Outside?, Mimeographed, with permission, by Federal Security Agency, Social Security Administration, Children's Bureau, Washington 25, D. C., p. 6.

³⁸Hopkirk, op. cit., p. 46.

confirmed delinquents or giving them the feeling that adults regard them as a failure. To most adolescents, parents and even social agencies commitment to a school for delinquents does mean this, despite the emphasis on a treatment rather than punishment program. For this reason, it would seem well to have as many of the placements as possible in small institutions independent of the court -- in spite of the fact that the courts have been cooperative with social agencies and have attempted to minimize the stigma associated with court appearance. The private institution may resemble a boarding school to the child and his family, and they, therefore, find it easier to accept this kind of placement.³⁹

In many cottage-plan institutions the children of adolescent ages have developed an atmosphere within the cottage similar to the college fraternity house. There is an informal, gay spirit with considerable nonchalance and a great effort to impress the onlooking adults with their new feeling of independence. Many of the boys and girls work and have spending money and do their own shopping for clothes, etc. In most institutions today there is a spirit of freedom, and the adolescent group travel back and forth to school, to movies, and to all sorts of activities in the surrounding communities.⁴⁰ It has been the writer's observation that the teenager, living in a small institution in a small community, through contacts with church congregations and pastors, farmers and businessmen, recreational leaders, and

³⁹Lippman, op. cit., pp. 323-325.

⁴⁰McGovern, op. cit., p. 25.

professional men such as dentists, accountants, doctors, lawyers, and school teachers, can often identify with families in the community with whom he can share some aspects of family life. This can be a valuable experience for him because it does provide some substitute parental contacts of "his very own" i.e., he does not have to share these people with other youngsters or staff in the institution. Also, it gives him some opportunity to experiment with his own feelings and abilities to relate to parent persons and become part of a family group, and to learn to his own satisfaction, without his needing to become too involved emotionally.

If aggression is so marked, however, that the adolescent will repeatedly attempt to run away from a cottage of this type, a place is needed that stresses supervision even more -- where the opportunities to run away and get into further delinquency do not exist, and where emphasis is on a treatment program. It has been found, however, that where the institution has a stimulating program geared to meet the needs of the teenagers, there is less likelihood that the youngster who has run away from other types of placement, will continue this pattern while living at the institution.

The institution has one additional advantage in that the strong sex drives which are characteristic of the adolescent period may be better handled in a group situation where all of the members of the group are going through the same growing process, and can use group protection in the handling of these drives. In unsupervised groups the adolescent often gets support from the group to act out his forbidden impulses. Within

the institutional setting, however, the group worker and other staff members can help the adolescent to form healthy ego-ideals and to channel his behaviour into socially acceptable forms. Certainly many of the drives characteristic of adolescence can be sublimated in group activities, particularly if the institution cares for both sexes.

One of the cues to the needs of teen-agers, it may be suggested, is the fact that a number of older adolescents like to live at Y.M.C.A.'s, Y.W.C.A.'s, etc., where there is a very stimulating environment. In those instances in which "Y's" have permitted these youngsters to live in residence, they have also made it clear that they would not assume responsibility for supervision of the youngsters. Under these circumstances, the youngster is soon "sleeping in" in the mornings when he should be going to school, etc. Certainly, a small institution with a stimulating program could substitute for the "Y's" in meeting the needs of the teen-ager who is still attending school, and yet also provide the supervision and limitations which the adolescent needs. There is also an older group of employed young people, particularly in larger cities, who need residence facilities, combined with a lesser degree of supervision.

II. Children Who are Temporarily "Unplaceable"

A. There are a large group of children who need socialization and habit training before foster home placement. 1. Often these children seem like "wild animals". However, they may often be helped through the consistent daily routine which is followed by the group in the institution. Both the hyperactive child and

the "firesetter" may be better handled in the institution. Institutions may offer greater tolerance of this kind of troublesome behaviour and difficult personality than can be found for some children within a family and the usual community. 2. Some children have habits which offend the sensitivities of ordinary people. But a few weeks in an institution may often bring about conspicuous changes, such as correction of objectionable table manners, toilet habits, or language. 3. There are also children who have lice or bad skin conditions. The removal of these conditions gives these children a greatly improved chance to adjust themselves happily in foster homes. 4. Some children have lived in a series of foster homes in which there was little or no supervision. The institution may offer these children the supervision and routine which the children need. Often, it is the parents who demand that the institution do this for their children. 5. Similarly, for the child who has had little or none of the schooling to be expected in one of his age, intensive tutoring may facilitate his adjustments to school and even to substitute parents.⁴¹

One writer makes the following statement about some of the children of these categories:

Some children who have to be cared for away from their own homes stand the transplanting better if they go to live for a while, not in a family home, but with other children in a group home.

Take, for example, a child who has never known what it is to take a bath, to go to bed at a regular hour, to sleep between sheets, and

⁴¹Hopkirk, op. cit., p. 48.

to eat three meals a day. Such a child may learn to do all these things with less resistance in a group of children than in the closeness of a family home.⁴²

On the other hand, many of the children who need socialization and habit training, and particularly those with undeveloped or misdeveloped habits of personal hygiene, due to serious neglect, may be dealt with almost as readily in strong foster homes. This alternative to group care for the socially untrained child is suggested partially by reason of the fact that there may be group rejection, particularly by the older children, in the group setting. With the increasing development of skills in the caseworker in the selection and maintenance of foster homes directed toward individual treatment of the child, it is quite conceivable that the traditional role of the institution in "socializing" certain children may become obsolete.

B. Perhaps the most gratifying results have been obtained in recent years in the use of the institution to prepare children for adoptive parents. An example of this would be the child who has been "infantilized" by a foster mother. A period of living in the group situation of an institution where there was rich stimulation from the other children, would enable the child to "grow up" quickly, thus preparing him for adoptive placement. Here, again, however, selected foster homes may also be used successfully for this job.

⁴²Dorothy Curtis Melby, "Baltimore's Temporary Group Home Helps Troubled Children", The Child, Marom, 1949, p. 133

III Children Who Require Specialized Services Not Available in Foster Homes

A. There are many emotionally disturbed children whose primary need is observation, study, and consistent, coordinated treatment. These children need to be in institutions which specialize in study and treatment of disturbed children.⁴³ Such institutions must be a supplementary and integrated tool in any comprehensive program for children. It was just a short time ago that the "study home" received the emphasis among child welfare workers. It has been realized increasingly, however, that study and treatment are a continuous process, interwoven from the start, that one cannot be separated from the other and that centers that study must also be prepared to treat.⁴⁴

1. There are some disturbed children who are inaccessible to casework treatment. This refers particularly to the children with inner disturbances who cannot relate to adults. Many of these children are too frightened, inarticulate, infantile, and resistive to form relationships with adults, but they

⁴³Privately administered institutions of this nature are Ryther Child Center; Seattle; Children's Aid Society of Cleveland; The Children's Service Center of Wyoming Valley, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania; St. Christopher's School, Dobbs Ferry, New York; and the New England Home for Little Wanderers, Boston. The pioneer among them is the New England Home for Little Wanderers. The latter institution is located in Boston and serves the entire New England area. Other institutions of this type are the Cedar Knolls-Hawthorne institutions operated by the Jewish Board of Guardians in New York.

⁴⁴Elizabeth M. Clarke, "The Children's Institution in the Child Welfare Program", Public Welfare, August 1944, p. 199.

can relate, at least superficially, to other children in a resident group.

2. There are other children whose behaviour cannot be tolerated by the foster family, school, or neighborhood. Examples of these children are the youngsters who seemingly without provocation break forth in severe rages in which they smash windows and tear clothes, children who set fires, children who practice sexual delinquency of a direct nature, children with severe, unexpected, asthmatic attacks, and children with many other symptom patterns. Certainly, foster homes might "take" some of this difficult behaviour. The girl, for example, who compulsively combs her hair twenty times before going to school might be helped as much in accepting a foster home as in an institution. Also, night terrors might be accepted and helped in the foster home. Likewise, modern knowledge regarding stealing patterns as meaning, in so many cases, that the youngster is reaching out for love and affection might indicate foster home placement as often as institutional placement. These children are actually in need of love and affection and foster parents may meet this need admirably.

3. Another group, requiring the facilities of a treatment institution, includes children with symptom patterns such as compulsion neuroses which need careful, controlled observation of precipitating factors. There are also children with emotional behaviour, such as unexplained mood swings, with possible physical basis. Within this group may also be included the pseudo-defective behaviour with elements of disturbance and mental defectiveness that are difficult to differentiate or test in the community. These are the children who fall within the

classification of functional retardation or pseudo-feble-mindedness. The apparent intellectual impairment of these children has emotional causation, and is subject to treatment. Ryther Child Center in Seattle, for example, has recently treated three children, all of whom had been officially diagnosed by responsible medical men as being truly feble-minded. All had histories of emotional deprivation, each child having been removed from his natural parents in infancy, all having formed temporarily satisfying relationships to parent substitutes, two of them with adoptive mothers and the third to a very maternalistic type of institution. Each child, furthermore, had his mother substitute traumatically taken from him and each was thrust subsequently into an atmosphere of rejection or indifference. While forced by their environment into premature relinquishment of feeling, they resisted this process by refusing to take on intellectual skills and by occasionally bursting out with excessive emotion, usually in hostile form. Therapy for these three children utilized the combined resources of the Ryther Child Center, including the treatment institution, casework therapy, psychiatric consultation, foster home placement, and out-patient care.

These cases would seem to establish the value of a treatment institution for this type of child. They would also seem to establish beyond doubt the right of any child, considered as intellectually handicapped, to receive a complete diagnosis and his right to an opportunity for treatment, when this is indicated, before custodial school commitment. The success of Ryther Child Center and other institutions with pseudo-feble-mindedness in nowise precludes similar success with this type of feble-minded-

ness in foster homes where intensive casework is carried on.⁴⁵

4. The child who cannot relate to foster family, community, school, or neighborhood also may require a treatment institution. Examples which have been discussed in recent articles include a girl so anxious that she cannot leave her home to attend school; a disturbed boy approaching adolescence and intensifying his aggression toward parent persons; and a girl withdrawn from foster parents, school, and neighborhood groups to such an extent that she was unsatisfying to the foster parents.⁴⁶

B. There are many children who might need periods of institutional care for medical observation, treatment, or convalescent care. Undoubtedly, there are children requiring convalescent care who should be getting this care in their own homes. However, there are some youngsters, such as those with rheumatic fever, who often need institutional care in cases in which parents are uncooperative with treatment, or during the acute stages of the disease.⁴⁷ Substitute parental contact in the institution is vital for these children. The institution may become something in-between a hospital and home, such as is the case with the Children's Convalescent Home in Cincinnati, Ohio. There are

⁴⁵John D. Macdonald, A Study of Three Cases of Functional Feeble-mindedness, August 1947, Monograph III, The Ryther Child Center. A member of the staff of the graduate school of social work at the University of British Columbia was able to recall some eight cases of this type in a two-year period, seven of which were definitely helped in foster homes.

⁴⁶Martin Gula, "Study and Treatment Homes for Troubled Children", Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), pp. 334-335.

⁴⁷Hughes, op. cit., pp. 137-139.

also cases in which children need the machinery for treatment which is available only in the institution. An example of the latter type of institution is the Children's Orthopedic Hospital in Seattle, Washington.

IV Children Whose Parents Cannot Accept Foster Parents

There are a number of children of inadequate parents who, because of their attitude toward failure as parents, seem to prevent another family's success with their children. These parents refuse to let their children have from any other family the things which they cannot provide themselves. Extremely rejecting parents may cling to the hollow semblance of their parental status and stand in the way of foster home care. The institution may be able to serve some children of such blocking parents while special case work efforts or court action may make possible other care when it is especially needed by some children.⁴⁸

V Children Who Need Protective Care

A. There are a number of girls who are unmarried mothers. These girls need some sort of sheltered care during their confinement. It is very important that this sort of planning be a part of the casework services offered these girls, and that these services also include planning for the expected baby. Since becoming an unmarried mother is an expression of disturbance in the area of the girl's relationships with her family, it is very important that casework services be offered.

B. An ever growing number of children are being diagnosed

⁴⁸Pyles, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

as constitutionally feeble-minded. These children generally require custodial school commitment, and there is growing pressure on state and provincial governments to provide increased facilities for these children.

C. The delinquents constitute another group. It is difficult to draw a line between these children and those who are emotionally disturbed. Study and treatment is indicated for these delinquent children, and at present a few state and private training schools for children adjudged delinquents have added to their staffs psychiatrists, psychologists, and special social workers to permit a practical study of behaviour.⁴⁹

D. Another grouping includes those children who need protection from unstable parents. For example, the personnel of an institution are in a better position to deny uncooperative and unstable or alcoholic parents access to the child when they feel this is detrimental. Also, a child who has been threatened with kidnapping or death by a sadistic parent feels much more secure in the protection an institution offers him.⁵⁰ Ironically enough, these children often need parent substitutes. Adoption at a distance, where legally possible, is often useful.

On the other hand, mistreated children whose own parents respond to education and supervision usually need protective service but this may be measured in weeks or months rather than years.

⁴⁹Hopkirk, op. cit., p. 26.

⁵⁰Lippman, op. cit., pp. 327-328.

VI Children Needing Services in Their Own Homes or Foster Homes

A. There is a famous experiment in education by Emperor Frederick the Second, of the fifteenth century, who wanted to know in what language a child would first speak if he were untaught -- the ancient languages, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or his own native mother tongue! He gave a number of new-born, homeless babies to nurses with the order to give them all necessary care in regard to feeding, bathing, diapering, warmth and physical protection but never to speak to them or in their presence show any signs of affection. But the infants all died at an early age. It was said that "they could not live without the appreciation, the facial expression and friendly gestures and living care of their nurses".⁵¹

The above example is a drastic one. But it is not as removed from possibility as might be thought. Infants reared in institutions are permanently handicapped. Children cared for in baby institutions in the first few years of their lives have a characteristic type of personality defect because of this. These children have warped personalities because they did not have a continuous relationship with parents, or at least a mother person, throughout babyhood. They have a shallow infantile personality which has no depth, no capacity for insight into social relationships, no true use of language as a means of social communication, no capacity for higher abstract thinking, no ability for the give-and-take of human relationships, no capacity for love or even for hate. They do not pass through the normal stages of emotional development, and are always impulsive and demanding like a newborn baby, which means that their activity never develops sufficient pattern and they cannot be trained, educated,

⁵¹Lauretta Bender, M.C., "There is No Substitute for Family Life", Child Study, Spring, 1946, p. 74.

or controlled in any way except in an environment which gives them no opportunity for choice, expects no responsibility from them and merely offers them a benign routine. It seems to be imperative that a child spend the first three years of its life in a continuous relationship with one mother person.⁵²

Pre-school children are generally not suited to institutional living because of the emotional and psychological needs which continue during this period. Also, from the practical standpoint, the need for rest periods for the institution's housemothers, during the time of day when the children are away at school, makes a strong case against admitting these children to the institutions. Having pre-school children in the institution who must be constantly supervised makes this rest period plan more difficult to accomplish. The one possible justification for the admittance of pre-school children to the institutions may be in the case where such a child is a member of a sibling group and the advantages to the child of staying with his siblings outweighs the disadvantages of inconvenience to staff.

B. Also orphans and children indefinitely deprived of family life do not belong in institutions. These children need the security of substitute parents and family life.

C. There are also those adolescents who need parents, instead of institutions. These are the children who, though adolescent in chronological age, have not reached adolescence in terms of emotional maturity. The youngster in puberty, of course, is also dependent on parents or parent persons and has not yet

⁵²Lauretta Bender, M.D., "Infants Reared in Institutions Permanently Handicapped", Child Welfare League of America Bulletin, September 1945, pp. 1-4.

reached the stage of wanting to emancipate himself from parents, and therefore, a foster home may be preferable to the institution for this youngster.

D. Any child who has special needs which require extensive individualized care and whose life is made more difficult by group living should have some kind of placement other than institutional placement. This would include the extremely shy and withdrawn child who would be overwhelmed by the impact of group living, those who are very sensitive, or those who suffer from severe sibling rivalry.⁵³

In summary, the classification indicates the various groups of children who might benefit from institutional care, and on the other hand, it points up those groups who need services in their own homes or in foster homes. This classification should serve as a background for evaluating the needs of children admitted to Martha and Mary Children's Home during the past three years. It also should provide a broad picture of the many functions of children's institutions. This is the chief contribution of the classification in this particular study, since the crux of the study is to project a possible future function for Martha and Mary Children's Home.

⁵³Pyles, op. cit., p. 17.

Chapter 4

Origins and Development

The Martha and Mary Children's Home is a project of the Lutheran Free Church, located in the little town of Poulsbo, Washington. Together with Ebenezer Old Folks Home, it is operated by the West Coast Lutheran School and Charity Association, which is the legal title of the corporation organized in 1893 to give legal status to the original Martha and Mary Children's Home. This institution came into being in Poulsbo in 1891 as the "Martha and Mary Orphan's Home" and, as the title indicates, the children admitted to the Home in the early years were primarily orphans. For the past decade, however, the care of orphans has not been part of the function of the Martha and Mary Home.

The articles of incorporation of the Association permit a great variety of enterprises including the operation of a printing business, colleges, and other schools, as well as institutions for children and asylums and hospitals for the aged. Except for a high school which was started in 1894 and conducted for only two years by the Association, however, the activities of the Association have been limited to the providing of physical care and training for dependent and neglected children at Martha and Mary Children's Home, and the providing of physical care for elderly men and women at Ebenezer Old Folk's Home. This has continued to be the function of the Association down to the present day.

The Founder of Martha and Mary Orphan's Home

The founder of the Martha and Mary Orphan's Home was the Rev. Ingebright Tollefson, a Lutheran pastor with great initiative

and organizational ability. He is best known for his remarkable energy in establishing missions and charitable enterprises of all kinds in many different places. The extent of his labors can be seen today, spread over a wide geographical area. According to the material which was gathered at the time of his death in 1936,⁵⁴ Rev. Tollefson was born in Norway in 1860. When he was only two years old, his mother died, and his uncle and aunt undertook the rearing of this small child as their own son in a distinctly religious atmosphere. At the age of eight, Ingebright emigrated with his foster parents to America and they settled in Minnesota.

Upon his ordination from Augsburg Seminary in 1887 Rev. Tollefson came out to the West Coast to become the pastor of the First Norwegian Lutheran Church in Tacoma, Washington, and pastor also of the churches in Poulsbo and Bothell, Washington. In 1889 this pastor married Mina Josephine Moe, the daughter of a well known Poulsbo pioneer, and in 1894 he, together with his family, took up residence in Poulsbo. He had already founded the Martha and Mary Orphan's Home which had been dedicated on May 30, 1891.

From 1897 to 1931 this pastor founded the following institutions and missions in the order named: The Deaconess Hospital in Grand Forks, North Dakota; the Bethesda City Mission in New York City; the Siloah Mission in Seattle, Washington; and the Bethany Home for the Aged in Everett, Washington. He also founded two journals: "Den Lutherske Missioneer" and "Evangelisk Bibliothek".

⁵⁴The descendants of Rev. Tollefson have given the writer most of the factual material regarding the life of this active pastor.

The Lutheran Free Church in North America

To appreciate the setting of the Children's Home, it is essential that this institution be considered in its relationship to the Church. This is a practical consideration since at least half of the financial income of the Children's Home is derived from the voluntary gifts of the Sunday Schools, Ladies' Aid Societies, Martha and Mary Societies (set up by at least two congregations for the specific purpose of promoting the support of the Children's Home), Luther Leagues, Men's Brotherhoods, and congregations of the Lutheran Free Church. In this respect, Martha and Mary Children's Home is practically an institutional mission of the Lutheran Free Church, although there are no legal ties with the Church, and all property and control is vested in the local organization, the West Coast Lutheran School and Charity Association. This local autonomy, particularly as it relates to the congregations, is one of the basic principles of the Lutheran Free Church, and is indeed one of the principles on which this church group was founded.

The Lutheran Free Church was born out of controversy and struggle in North America in 1897. This struggle had its origin in Norway between the State Church, which was Lutheran by confession and a department of the national government, and the "Haugean spiritual awakening", dating from 1796. The latter movement emphasized the role of the layman in the church. This idea was quite foreign to the aristocratic clergy in the State Church of that day, and they bitterly fought the trend. The Haugean movement spread to America, and the struggle was, therefore, projected on the American scene. It came to a head in 1893 when the two

viewpoints clashed openly over whether Augsburg Seminary in Minneapolis would become the property of a newly formed Lutheran synod which was dominated by the "old tendency". The "new tendency" had been espoused at Augsburg for many years; and the leaders of the college were reluctant to hand the school over to the synod. The result was the formation of a loosely-knit organization of pastors and lay people called the "Friends of Augsburg" to protect the interests of the institution. The "Friends" then formulated a set of principles and rules for a Lutheran Free Church, and these were adopted in 1897. This has been considered to be the formal beginning of the Lutheran Free Church.

Although the Lutheran Free Church was born in controversy and struggle, the results of the controversy have been decidedly constructive. Most Lutheran congregations founded by Norwegians in North American countries enjoy greater liberty and autonomy today than would have been theirs now had it not been for the struggle in the '90's, and congregations are perhaps more low-churchly and their pastors more democratic as a result of the clash of ideas. Within the Church, the struggle has produced a close fellowship among the individuals, congregations and agencies of the Church.⁵⁵

The Lutheran Free Church today consists of 356⁵⁶ congregations in the United States and Canada. Fourteen of these con-

⁵⁵ Clarence J. Carlsen, The Years of our Church, The Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, Minneapolis, 1942.

⁵⁶ Annual Report of Lutheran Free Church 54th Annual Conference, p. 202, June 14-18, 1950. The Messenger Press, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

gregations are located in Alberta and Saskatchewan, and twenty-nine are in Washington and Oregon. The balance of these congregations are located in the middle-western states. An additional ninety-five congregations are in Madagascar and China. Affiliated with the Lutheran Free Church at the present time are the following institutions: Augsburg College and Theological Seminary in Minneapolis; Bethesda Home for the Aged in Willmar, Minnesota; the Lutheran Deaconess Home and Hospital in Minneapolis; Oak Grove Séminary, a Lutheran high school, at Fargo, North Dakota; and the West Coast Lutheran School and Charity Association in Poulsbo, Washington.

Beginnings of the Martha and Mary Children's Home

The ministry of Rev. Tollefson brought him in close contact with the new settlers. In 1890 there was an epidemic on the coast which may have been either tuberculosis or typhoid fever, or both. The story has come down from the past that dying mothers begged this pastor and his wife to care for their children. The Tollefsons responded to this plea in many cases and brought some of these orphaned children into their own home to give temporary shelter. Rev. Tollefson then met with his church board and asked for financial help to start an orphanage. The present location of Martha and Mary Children's Home in Poulsbo was bought in 1890. It is believed by Rev. Tollefson's descendants that Poulsbo was chosen as the site for the new Home because farm land was wanted, and this land was less expensive in Poulsbo. There was apparently also the influence of Rev. Tollefson's father-in-law, Mr. I. B. Moe, a pioneer of Poulsbo and a generous giver to the institution. A house was built to accommodate twenty children and the dedication

ceremonies were held on May 30, 1891. Eight children were admitted to the Home on the first day, and Mrs. I. Tollefson served as the Home's first matron.⁵⁷

While the responsibility for the early beginnings of Martha and Mary Children's Home rested largely with Rev. Tollefson, a group of interested men and women rallied around him, and as he wrote about the new venture in the Church papers, he created interest for the cause among people in the Middle West. Considerable support was received from that source, and this support has continued down to the present day. Rev. Tollefson also traveled and made personal appeals for funds from individuals as well as congregations. In some congregations Martha and Mary Societies were established and these groups of women sewed to raise money for the Home.

As a result of the publicity which the Children's Home received in those early years, the tiny community of Poulsbo became better known among a large number of the Church's people in the mid-western states than were the names of Tacoma and Seattle during the last decade of the former century.⁵⁸

Poulsbo has been known as "Little Norway" for the obvious reason that most of its early day settlers

⁵⁷"Orphan's Home Old Institution", Kitsap County Herald Fortieth Anniversary Edition, p. 15, 1940.

⁵⁸This is actually the written observation of an early pastor, which the writer has verified by talking with an old-time resident of Poulsbo who migrated there from the Middle West in the early years. The town of Poulsbo was well known to this man in the Middle West, even though he had never seen it. When he arrived in Seattle, however, he was astonished when the ticket agents didn't even know where Poulsbo was located or how to get there.

came from Norway. The usual route which was taken was to Minnesota or some other Middle Western state where there was a Scandinavian community, and thence to Seattle and Poulsbo. Part of the attraction of the Kitsap County district was its resemblance to the Norwegian coastal landscape.⁵⁹

The Martha and Mary Children's Home was entirely in the capable hands of its founder for the two years between 1891 and 1893. In 1893 the West Coast Lutheran School and Charity Association was formed and this organization sponsored the work until 1897 when its management was transferred to the Deaconess Lutheran Hospital Corporation in Minneapolis. In 1912 the management was transferred back to the West Coast Lutheran School and Charity Association. The reason for responsibility for operation of the Home being assumed by the Deaconess Hospital was that they could provide and maintain the staff. A series of deaconesses came from Minneapolis to serve as matrons for the Home during this period.

The original Orphan's Home was a simple frame building with the appearance of an ordinary house. This house was remodeled and added to several times until it was quite a large three-story frame building and had a capacity of about sixty children. This large, congregate building, the original part of which had been used for half a century, was completely demolished a decade ago at the time that a new building was completed.

During the early years, intake was handled by the rector and the Board of Directors. There was apparently no lower age limit on intake, since infants were admitted. Parents and pastors

⁵⁹"Early Settlers Took Roundabout Route to Come to Poulsbo", Kitsap County Herald Fiftieth Anniversary and Progress Issue, p. 1, October 5, 1950

made most of the referrals to the Home. According to a matron who is now retired, in many cases children were admitted whose mothers had died. The fathers were often woodsmen or fishermen who could not work and take care of the children at the same time. These fathers would promise to pay for their children's care at the Home, but often did not carry through. Occasionally a parent remarried and a home was re-established for the children. An attempt was made to find good foster homes for children who were still living at the Home at fourteen or fifteen years of age, although some children lived at the Home until they were old enough to go out into the world to earn their own living. Apparently there were many children who could have benefited by foster home placement, but there were no social agencies to do this work.⁶⁰

There were some large dormitories in the old institution. Twelve to fourteen boys ranging in age from twelve to fifteen years had one of these "dorms" on the east half of the third floor, according to a retired deaconess who was matron from 1914 to 1923. The west end of the third floor was separated by a store room and there was a room for six older girls as well as single rooms for three members of staff. The second floor had three dormitories with eight youngsters in each dorm, and two dorms with six children in each, as well as a sewing room where the ironing was brought and repaired and clothing problems solved.

⁶⁰The writer has talked with one man who once lived in the old institution. He told the writer that he thought that most of the children in the Home at the time he lived there would have gladly seized the opportunity to go to a foster home, but this opportunity never presented itself.

There was also a room on the second floor for two staff members. On the first floor there were two living rooms, one of which was "unused" except for Board meetings; one large playroom for younger children; a large dining room; and kitchen, pantry and storeroom. Both the front and the back of the building had large porches. The basement had a milk room, fruit cellar, furnace room, and utility room. There was a laundry building in the back yard which also contained a playroom and bathroom.

The dining room contained four long tables, and at each table there was a staff member who dined with the children. Staff during those nine years from 1914 to 1923 consisted of five women and the farm manager who had charge of the older boys. The Home operated a forty-acre farm, and the older boys learned to care for a team of horses, milk cows, and take care of chickens and hogs. Operation of the farm was an essential part of the Home's economy as it provided food for children and staff. There was enough hay grown on the farm to feed the stock. The boys also helped with the vegetable garden during the summer. The farm manager and ten or twelve boys would go to the Home's wood land east of Poulsbo to cut sufficient wood for the fuel needs of the kitchen and furnace. According to the matron, this was a great time for the boys, since they had a picnic dinner with them and

when they returned to the Home, they could go swimming.⁶¹

The 30th of May celebration was an annual affair at the Children's Home to commemorate the founding of the Home.⁶² This celebration brought thousands of visitors to Poulsbo each year from as far north as Bellingham and as far south as Tacoma. At one time, as many as eight thousand persons came to the Home on a 30th of May. Chartered boats from communities all over the Puget Sound area brought visitors to Poulsbo on this day. Many of the visitors brought picnic lunches with them, and spent the day at the Home. An afternoon program of music, speeches, and games for the children on the grounds was always a part of the day's schedule. Ice cream stands were set up all over the grounds to provide refreshments. This day was the highlight of the year for the children who lived at the Home, as well as for all the

⁶¹According to impressions which the writer has received from one middle-aged man who lived at the Home as a child, these work expeditions were hardly any fun. The reward for such work, according to him, was sometimes the "privilege" of going out to pick raspberries to add to the Home's larder.

According to another man who had formerly lived at the Home as a small child--now a successful young businessman--the older adolescents "lorded" it over the smaller children and always seemed to get anything they wanted from the staff at the expense of the smaller children. This comment may be understood in the light of the fact that much of the actual work of the institution was done by the older boys and girls. The "matron" apparently functioned in the capacity of a "supervisor" of the older girls in the housekeeping, sewing, cooking, etc., while the farm manager acted as "supervisor" for the older boys who worked the farm.

⁶²This traditional day of festivities for the Children's Home has persisted down to the present day, although it has dwindled in importance in terms of financial support and the number of people participating.

children in the community. The writer has often heard the comments from middle aged people in Poulsbo regarding the meaning of this day to them when they were children. Apparently many of the children attached greater value to this day than they did to Christmas or the Fourth of July.

The matron in 1941 of the old building which served until the new building was opened in 1941, recalls that she enjoyed trying to make the children's rooms attractive, even though she did not have much to work with. The walls and ceilings were in need of paint and plaster repair at this time, but much of this was forgotten in anticipation of moving into the new building. The dining room seemed depressive to staff because it was so large and gloomy. It had been planned for a large household and was painted with colors chosen mostly to hide finger marks, but the number at the Home in 1941 had declined from 60 children to 13. The staff now consisted of only the matron and her husband and the cook, as compared with a staff of nine in the earlier years. The ironing and mangling were done in one end of the dining room, and the children would often do their studying or reading in the evening at this same end of the dining room.

The farm was still being operated at this point, and the herd of ten milk cows provided butter, cream, and milk for the children. There was also milk which was sold to the Ebenezer Old Folk's Home, and some cream was sold to the creamery. The farm produced its own hay, but other feed for the stock had to be bought. There were 250 laying hens, and the surplus eggs were sold. According to the matron, most of the boys liked to help with the feeding of the stock, which included two horses

and the calves, and one boy would be responsible for pushing the cart of milk up to the Old Folk's Home. Even at this late date, it was felt by the matron that the farm had a definite value in terms of training for the boys and financial assistance for the Home. The children were not permitted to go to their rooms during the daytime, because the matron felt that she could not watch the children closely enough to permit this freedom.

Casework for the Home's children was being provided at this point by a worker from the public agency. This may explain the fact that there was such a small group of children living in this large, congregated building at this time. The public agency was also making payments to the Home for the children for whom they had assumed primary responsibility. The matron recalls a brother and sister of confirmation age who had been admitted at two and four years, respectively. The caseworker from the public agency eventually found a foster home in Spokane for the two siblings.

A new building to replace the old institution was dedicated on May 30, 1941. This dedication took place exactly fifty years after the dedication of the old building. The new building was built specifically to meet the needs of children, with a maximum capacity of approximately twenty, as compared with the sixty or more children who once lived in the old building. The construction of a new building was necessitated by reason of the fact that the old building was condemned as a fire-trap, while the size of the old building made it quite inappropriate for the relatively small number of children and staff who were living in the building at that time.

Rather than give up the work with children completely,

therefore, a new building was constructed, although it was taken for granted that the program with children would be carried out on a much smaller scale than had been done in the "olden days". The church had traditionally supported two institutions for children--the one in Poulsbo and an institution in Willmar, Minnesota. The latter institution was being disbanded by the church at this time, and it was felt by the Board that they wished to perpetuate the tradition of children's institutions in the Lutheran Free Church by maintaining the small institution at Poulsbo.

No effort was made to change the program of the institution at this time, in spite of the fact that the institutional population had been dwindling. A new factor--World War II--made it possible to postpone the decision as to the future function of Martha and Mary Children's Home. The war brought family breakdown in some communities, and war work meant there were many mothers working in business and industry. Since the supply of foster homes was not sufficiently large to meet the needs of children living away from their own homes, pressure was brought to bear on children's institutions to admit these children. Martha and Mary's met this need and the home was filled to capacity all during the war years.

For a few years after the war, the Home continued to be filled with children. The population then began to drop however, as the institution became adjusted to more normal conditions. The population has continued to decline to the present time. A decision needs to be made now, therefore, regarding the future function of the institution.

Chapter 5

An Evaluation of Present Program

The State of Washington has set up a series of standards for institutions caring for children, based on improved practices which have been developed by institutions during the past decade. Both lay people and professional people with practical experience in the operation of institutions have worked together to develop these Standards; and they reflect the growing recognition that institutional foster care has come to be an important and integral part of a comprehensive program to meet the needs of children. Recognition is given to the fact that the child's own home and family are the natural medium in which normal social and personal development can be assured, but that institutional foster care should be thought of as one type of resource to be utilized when a child needs treatment and care to meet a specific problem in his growth and development. The standards suggest that such care may prepare him for return to his own home if this is possible, or for a new living arrangement. The scope of the standards is comprehensive. They cover the following areas: Governing Board, Finances, Personnel, Plant and Grounds, and Program,⁶³ and it is obviously appropriate that an evaluation of the present status of Martha and Mary Children's Home should be made in terms of these categories.

Plant, Grounds, and Equipment

Martha and Mary Children's Home is a two-story, brick build-

⁶³ Standards for Institutions Caring for Children, Department of Social Security, Olympia, Washington, February, 1950.

ing which is colonial style architecture. It has white pillars in the front of the building which are set off attractively against the red bricks. Even though it requires some additional landscaping, the building is probably the most imposing residence in Poulsbo today. There is a driveway and a large lawn in front of the Home. Visitors to the town have thought sometimes it was the town mansion of one of the community's more prosperous businessmen. There is no indication that it might be a children's institution. The Home is situated on a five-acre tract of land. There is, therefore, sufficient space for recreation, although there is a need for additional trees and shrubs. The farm is no longer in existence, since the government purchased this ground during the Second World War, and the site was used for a housing project to house the families of war workers who were employed in various governmental installations in Kitsap County.

The interior of Martha and Mary Children's Home is homelike. The front door opens into a comfortable living room with a colonial-style fireplace. The living room is decorated and furnished in a tasteful manner. There are two davenports with slipcovers of bright floral design. There are two floor lamps, two table lamps, a radio and the piano. The ceilings are low throughout the building. The living room, children's library and office have matching carpeting and draperies. To the right of the living room is the office, easily accessible to the children. The office has been used by the caseworker. The lack of privacy which the office offers, however, makes it unsatisfactory, as a place of work for the caseworker or the administrator. It should probably be used by the houseparents, since the

children's recreational supplies are often stored in this office, and its convenient location seems to make it the "nerve center" for the daily living activities.

On the left of the living room is the "children's library". This is a room with a large, round table in the center of the room on which the children read, play with crayons, and do homework, if they wish. It is the room to which the children can come at any time, regardless of the activity which is going on in the living room. The number of books in the library is not very great, but there is constant inspection of them by staff so that books which require binding or repair are either destroyed or sent to the bindery. There are a few children in the Home who do considerable reading.

The living room is used by the children and staff for occasional vesper services, record playing, listening to the radio, or just plain "talking". Maintenance is greatly simplified in such a modern building, but there is not as much privacy for staff as there was in the older congregate buildings which had extra living-room areas tucked in here and there. Due to the fact space for staff to use for leisure time activities is limited, the use of the living room by the children is at times restricted.

There is hard maple flooring on the first and second story floors. The hall floors are covered with bright red asphalt tile which is also very durable. There are six bedrooms on the first floor which will accommodate two children in each room. The writer has heard people comment that it is unusual to see bedrooms on the first floor of many children's institutions. The second floor contains four bedrooms which also accommodate two

children in each room. There are also two small dormitories which will accommodate four children in each dorm. These dormitories could easily be converted into four bedrooms. The reason for their existence is not quite clear, since the staff considers bedrooms to be more satisfactory and there is considerably less difficulty in getting children to sleep at night when there are a maximum of two children in a room. At times when the institutional population is down, it is possible for some youngsters to have bedrooms of their own. The children's bedrooms are available to the children at all times. Each child has adequate place for his own clothes and personal belongings in his bedroom, since all bedrooms contain chests of drawers and metal lockers, as is the case, with a few rooms, there are closets. The house-mother's room and the sewing room are also on the second floor. The sewing room contains the off-season clothing supplies. There are two bathrooms on the first floor, and two bathrooms on the second floor. Sleeping facilities and toilet and bathroom facilities are, therefore, adequate.

The basement floor contains the kitchen, dining room, two shower rooms, two storerooms, the laundry, furnace room, and a play area for children. The floor is of linoleum tile, and is easily cleaned. This is a daylight basement, since it is on the ground level on the back side of the building. The kitchen is large, compact, and is fully equipped. All equipment is on a scale which would be quite appropriate in any family-sized home. There are two large work surface areas which are covered by green formica, a hard surfaced material which is acid-resistant and is tolerant to considerable heat. The green color was chosen by

the children themselves from samples. The dining room is convenient from the standpoint of service from the kitchen, and is a very compact room with four tables which will accommodate six persons at each table. Members of the staff eat with the children. There is usually at least one staff member at each table. The dining room is small, but it is cozy and inviting. Dishes are made of a heavy plastic material, peach-colored and attractive, and these are easy for the children to handle, since they are light in weight. The importance which Scandinavians attach to good food is generally reflected in the nutritious and well prepared food which children and staff enjoy.

The play room is used by the boys generally to store their bicycles. They also play there when the weather is unsuitable for outside play. There is an automatic washing machine and a drier in the laundry room. Both are no larger than would be found in the average household. Linens are generally sent to the commercial laundry. The Home has a deep-freeze unit, and there is adequate space for the storage of food and supplies. Also, there is a small, economically operated, hot-water heating plant, using oil for fuel.

There is little doubt that the Home does meet, extremely well, the requirements of the Washington Standards with regards to plant, grounds, and equipment. The institution conforms in building, lighting, ventilation, heating, temperature, and plumbing to local ordinances and building codes. The requirement of the Washington Standards, however, that all outside openings, including windows, of rooms used for sleeping, toilet purposes,

dining, cooking, and storage of food should be screened, is not met.

Program and Child Development

For the past several years the institution has provided care for children of both sexes up to thirteen years of age. There have been no geographical limits on intake. Intake has been selective in terms of the institution's ability to benefit the child. The caseworker has studied each family situation, and in many cases, alternatives to institutional placement have been indicated, in which cases, the caseworker has helped parents to accept other plans for their children. Where institutional placement has been indicated, every effort has been made to prepare the child for placement. With older children, for example, it has often been possible for the child to visit the Home prior to placement and have supper with the children, in order that he might have the opportunity to decide whether he wanted to live at the Home. Interpretation regarding the child's background and needs has been given other members of the staff by the caseworker. Parents have signed agreements regarding board payments and authorizations for medical treatment. There have been a number of pre-school children admitted to the Home, but in the majority of cases they were members of sibling groups who were being admitted, and it was felt that the younger child should remain with his brothers and sisters.

There has been casework supervision of all children under care. The clinical services of psychiatry and psychology have not been used, however, to the extent that such services could

have been used. The social worker has worked with both the children and their families, and has helped children to keep in touch with their families. Individual conferences have been held with staff members and informal group discussions have taken place in which the problems of individual children have been discussed. There have also been some staff discussions centering around material on child care which staff members were reading. The caseworker has been the liason person between the institution and social agencies, schools, and individuals of the community with respect to planning for children under care.

With regards to discharge, most of the children who have lived at the institution have been helped to move on to other types of placement or helped to return to their homes when they had received the maximum benefit of institutional care. There have been some children, however, who have not moved on to other placements at the point when they have been ready for this. In most cases, these have been the sibling groups with close ties to one parent, usually a father. These fathers often have not been able to accept foster home placement or housekeeping services for their children because they had already tried these arrangements and had been dissatisfied with the results. In one case, the eventual remarriage of the father gave a home to his four girls after three years of living at the institution. In another case, after five years of living at the institution for three brothers, the father finally, in desperation, returned two of his sons to their mother who had remarried, and placed his eldest son with a relative. At least the boys were happy with this plan!

Since the institution is not licensed to do foster home

placement, it has followed the policy of making referral to a private child placing agency for boarding care or adoption placement of children needing these types of placement. Such referral takes place, of course, in those instances where the institution has primary responsibility for planning. In most cases, however, the private agency and the county welfare departments have had continuing responsibility for planning for children whom they referred to the Home for placement. Responsibility for making further plans towards discharge, therefore, was theirs. The institution's caseworker acted in an advisory capacity to these agencies regarding the progress of the child in the institution and the readiness of the child for discharge from institutional care.

With regards to education and training, the children attend the public schools of the community and participate in the extracurricular activities in those schools. Some youngsters have been members of the local Boy Scout troop. Also some boys have participated in the Pee wee athletic activities of the community. The children receive small allowances, which are scaled according to the child's age. The purpose of the allowances is to teach the youngsters how to handle money. The children perform assigned duties around the institution, such as helping with the dishes, making their own beds, emptying waste baskets, etc. These jobs are considered to be their contribution to the making of the home. Older children are encouraged to earn at least some of their spending money, and some of the older children have earned surprisingly large amounts by working for farmers during the summer months, picking berries and cascara bark, etc. Occasionally there

are opportunities at the Home for children to earn extra spending money.

Religious instruction has always played an important role in the program of the institution. Staff members often have had some training in Bible Institutes, and this has well qualified them to instruct the children in Christian teachings. In the routine of the institution religion plays an important part, as in prayers at mealtimes and vespers in the evening before going to bed. Children have traditionally attended the Lutheran Free Church in the community, and some of the older youngsters participate in the youth program, Luther League, of the church.

The institution has never employed a trained group worker. Since the rather wide age range of the children and the small size of the group has made it difficult to plan in terms of organized recreation, little effort has been made in this respect. However, last summer a young man was employed for the summer months to plan recreation with the children. This consisted mostly of his going with the children to the lake for swimming, picnics, hikes, and other activities in which the entire group could participate.

The physical needs of children are generally well met in the institution. Meals are well balanced and attractive. Clothing which the children wear is superior, the writer feels, to that of the clothing worn by the average child in the community. Medical and dental examinations are required prior to admission. A Mantoux test and a serological test for syphilis are also required if recommended by the physician. The institution has not assumed responsibility for getting children immunized against

diphtheria or vaccinated against smallpox, since the public schools have generally assumed this responsibility. All children see the dentist every six months. Annual medical examinations are usually given in the public schools, so the institution has not assumed responsibility for this. Local physicians in the community are called when children are ill, and visits to the offices of these physicians are made when indicated. Medical and dental care is paid by the Home on a fee basis. All medical and dental appointments are recorded in the child's record. A local hospital is used for children requiring hospitalization, and children, ill, not requiring hospitalization, are cared for in their own bedrooms at the Home.

Governing Body and Administration

The Governing Board of Martha and Mary Children's Home is the Board of Trustees of the West Coast Lutheran School and Charity Association, the legal title of a Washington corporation which operates both the Children's Home and Ebenezer Old Folk's Home. The Board consists of nine members who are fairly representative of the church community, but they do not represent the community at large, generally speaking. The reason for this is that Board members must be members of the Lutheran Free Church. This requirement is definitely limiting as to the size of the group from which Board members may be drawn, and is especially limiting in the case of the Poulsbo institutions, since they are geographically somewhat isolated from the bulk of the supporting church constituency. The present Board consists of two businessmen, two housewives, two ministers, an accountant, a

former farm manager of the institution, and a public school custodian. There are no representatives on the Board at the present time from the fields of professional service most directly concerned with the program, i.e., health, recreation, education, and social services. It is suggested that this situation could be helped considerably through the use of advisory committees consisting of people drawn from the community at large. Board members would then act as chairmen of these committees. The individuals drawn from the local community to serve in an advisory capacity to the Board would serve the dual function of supplementing the strengths of the present Board as well as assisting the Board to interpret program to the non-church community.

The Washington Standards emphasize that the function of board members relates to policy making and not to administration. This standard is not fully complied with by the present Board. One reason for this is that, traditionally, the Board was an administrative body, and some residual of this idea has persisted down to the present day. This is illustrated by the fact that the Board has failed to delegate full executive responsibility to an administrative person. Considerable responsibility has been delegated by the Board to the caseworker. However, this delegation has not been clearly defined, and the result has been that the executive functions of the organization have tended to be shared among several staff members and the Board of Directors. This is obviously a cumbersome and unsatisfactory administration for the institutions, and assures no scope for a full-time qualified executive who could offer leadership for the agency.

The external organization of the Association includes both

a Constitution and Articles of Incorporation. Both documents are obsolete. The Articles of Incorporation were written in the year 1900, and are very much in need of rewriting. The statement of purpose in the latter document covers an area of activity which is too broad to be practical in terms of present or conceivable future function of the organization. Other changes since the writing of this document over a half century ago include a change in the name of the sponsoring church body. Also, the method of electing members to the corporation has changed. Corporation members (limited to 30) are today nominated at the Annual Meeting of the West Coast District of the Church, and these nominations are voted on at the annual meeting of the Corporation. The Corporation, in turn, elects the Board of Trustees. The Trustees are elected to the Board for a period of three years. At the end of that period, the practice followed is that a Board member may be re-elected to the Board for an additional three years. At the expiration of his second "term" he must retire for a period of at least one year before being eligible for election again. Thus, there is assured some rotation in office. This plan of board turnover seems to meet the Washington Standards.

The Constitution, a lengthy, detailed document, defines the duties of the rector and matrons of the institutions. It is clear from this document that executive authority for the internal management of the institutions was vested in the matrons. The rector was apparently an integrating person. The Constitution is antiquated, and clearly reflects the administrative role of the Board of Trustees. The detailed rules in the document covering the operation of the institutions are not only obsolete, but

they do not belong in a Constitution. It is suggested that a new Constitution be written which should be a brief document, but should reflect present-day thinking regarding child care. A Manual for the institution should contain the bulk of the detailed material regarding Board responsibilities, job definitions, personnel practices, etc.

Traditionally, the Board has had the following standing committees: Personnel, Buildings and Grounds, Furnishings and Equipment, and an Executive Committee which includes the functions of a Finance Committee. The Washington Standards suggest that in addition to these, the following committees may be desirable: Membership, Public Relations, Nominating, and a board-staff committee concerned with service to clients. Washington Standards further suggest that the chairmen of standing committees should be members of the board, but that other members may be added from the board, staff, community, or representatives from specialized fields. This suggestion seems to be particularly relevant for the Board under discussion, since its small size makes it extremely difficult to form a sufficient number of committees to get sufficient membership on an individual committee without bringing in members from outside the Board to act in an advisory capacity. On the other hand, if members of the Corporation could be brought on to Board committees, the Board would then be able to take advantage of the skills of Corporation members, and would also be giving Corporation members an opportunity to view the practical workings of the Board, so that when the time came when they, too, might be elected to the Board, they would be prepared to assume this responsibility.

Financing

Martha and Mary Children's Home is not a community chest agency. More than half of its financial support is derived from the church community through voluntary gifts and donations from individuals and congregations. The balance of the financial support of the institution is derived from payments from parents of children under care, and payments from the county welfare departments for children for whom they have assumed primary financial responsibility. The financial contributions from the public agency are based on a formula by which they pay a percentage of the institution's previous year's per capita cost towards the maintenance of an individual child for whom they have assumed responsibility. The public agency's calculation of the institution's per capita cost is made on the basis of detailed expense figures submitted to it by the institution of the previous year's actual cash expenditures. Legitimate charges such as depreciation on buildings and equipment although they are primarily "bookkeeping entries", are not taken into consideration by the public agency in its calculation of the institution's per capita cost. This means that the public agency's calculation of the per capita cost of the institution is always less than the institution's own calculation.

At no time has the public agency met the full per capita cost of the institution, and this situation is accepted by the Board, since they feel that payment in full would lead to control and domination of the institution's policies by the public agency. The Board has consistently resisted this trend in modern welfare activity. Similarly, with respect to the tendency of private

institutions to affiliate with community chest agencies, the Board has shown resistance towards the idea of similar affiliation of the institution, although the institution is, of course, a member agency of the Community Council. The Board feels that if the institution is to continue to be a church institution, the church should support it.

This is not an idle assumption, since the willingness of the church people to support their Children's Home has been proved through the years. For sixty years the institution has been supported financially by the voluntary gifts of the church people. This indicates that the institution does have meaning to the church body as a whole, even though the bulk of the supporting constituency are several thousand miles away. The fact that the institution is the only remaining children's institution of the church on this continent may contribute to the desire on the part of the church people to perpetuate and maintain this small institution for children. The construction of a new building just a decade ago to replace the old building -- at a time when most other private children's institutions in Washington seemingly were doing little more than keeping their old buildings in operation -- indicates something of the strong desire to carry on the tradition of a children's institution in the church, as well as meet the physical standards of present-day child care.

The Home may fairly be considered as representing more than just another church institution. It is a product of Norwegian Lutheran culture in North America, and a symbol of the contribution made by Norwegian Lutherans to the land of their adoption. The Board and the institution's supporters are proud of their

Home, and are willing to make sacrifices to maintain it. Some of the interest which the supporters take in the children is indicated each Christmas when hundreds of gifts for the children come pouring into the Home, and the youngsters are delighted by every delivery at the local post office bringing packages from the Middle West. This is also the time of year when the bulk of the Home's financial gifts are received, since many of the congregations have special offerings for the Home at this time.

A yearly budget was recently inaugurated. This budget is drawn up prior to the fiscal year and is approved by the Board. The Board has given the caseworker considerable freedom in operating the institution within the limits of this budget. Also, the institution has an excellent double-entry bookkeeping system, which takes into account prepaid items, depreciation on equipment and buildings, etc.. Accounting service is purchased by the institution, and there is a yearly audit of the books by a licensed public accountant. All disbursements, excepting the petty cash items, are made by check and signed by the caseworker. Bonding of employees who handle funds has not been done, although this does seem to be a standard which should be met. There are yearly and semi-annual financial reports. The writer doubts that monthly financial statements, as suggested by the Standards, would be of any particular value to the organization unless there were monthly Executive Committee meetings, as suggested by the Standards. The minimum requirement of four regular Board meetings a year as proposed by the Standards is met by the Board under discussion.

Personnel

As has already been mentioned, the Board has not delegated full administrative authority and responsibility to any one person in the organization. Traditionally, it appears that the rector was a coordinating person in the organization. This person traditionally had many duties relating to the institutions. These included the pastoral work at both Homes and some responsibility for records and bookkeeping. He was also pastor of the local congregation. Beyond these duties he was the "tie" with the supporting church constituency. The position of Rector deteriorated through the years, and the persons in this position, with the exception of one Rector, have not been apparently the leaders which the organization needed. There are some additional reasons for this beyond the fact that the Board never delegated full administrative responsibility to him. These reasons are centered in the fact that the church has traditionally followed the policy of employing for this position pastors who were retired from active pastorates. This means that these men came to this job with little experience or training, and sometimes they had little interest or capacity for administration. Also, they came to this relatively responsible job at a point in life when they were unprepared to assume the heavy job of administration.

The present rector is seventy years old. The Board is presently seeking another pastor to take his place, since he has reached a time in life when retirement is indicated. It is hoped that if future pastors are employed by the organization they will be known simply as "pastors" or "chaplains", and will have clearly defined duties of a religious nature, chiefly with respect to

Ebenezer Old Folk's Home. The title of rector should be completely dropped on the retirement of the present rector, since the title has little meaning to anyone. Future pastors of the organization should be made directly responsible to the administrator.

It does not seem logical that the administrator of this organization should necessarily be drawn from the ministry, unless he were also trained in social work. In the field of education, for example, the preacher is no longer used in the administrative role. Pierce Atwater describes this development in the denominational colleges as follows:

There was a time when ministers headed most private colleges. In years past, training for the ministry was not unlike that for educational positions. It was thought that a minister who had headed a successful church had proven capacity for leadership and could be transported into the educational field and preside over the destinies of a college with similar success. As training for education progressed, there developed a measure of resentment against the use of distinguished ministers as college presidents. Even in sectarian colleges there is today a growing tendency to use educators as presidents. Standards set by intercollegiate associations demand certain minimum professional qualifications in faculty members. Men and women trained in education prefer to work in an atmosphere where the emphasis is educational and not religious. Properly handled, there need be no serious conflict between education and religion. Improperly handled, conflict always results. The thorough-going educator does not want to chance trouble. He wants to enter an institution for professional practice where he will have a reasonably free hand. Naturally he gravitates away from the denominational school when it is presided over by an executive without professional background in education. Undoubtedly there is a definite correlation between successful denominational colleges and the adoption of high standards of faculty training and experience. More and more are those trained in the field of education being promoted to college presidencies. Less and less are distinguished ministers being given

these posts.⁶⁴

This trend of using trained educators in the positions of denominational college presidencies, rather than preachers, is a trend which has its equivalent in the field of social work. Increasingly, administrators in the social work field are being drawn from the ranks. Pierce Atwater describes this trend as follows:

More and more executive positions in social work are being filled from the practitioner group. The present managing personnel knows something about most fields of activity, but has had no intensive knowledge of any. However, a record for satisfactory performance in some main branch of operation is certainly no disadvantage in obtaining executive status, and in the near future will probably constitute one of the principal requirements. Apprenticeship experience seems still the best road to the responsibilities of an administrative job. The normal steps would be something like this: (1) good educational background, (2) professional school certificate or degree, (3) case work, group work, or community organization practice, (4) supervisory or semi-executive experience, (5) management.⁶⁵

The recommendation of the Washington Standards with regard to the background of the executive seems to substantiate the statement of Pierce Atwater. It is as follows:

It is desirable that the executive be one trained in the field of social work, with specialized training and experience in services to children. He should have administrative skill and understanding of the needs of children, and be competent to provide leadership within the community in the planning and care of children.

It would seem that the administrator of the institutions should be recruited from the field of social work, since it is in

⁶⁴Pierce Atwater, Problems of Administration in Social Work, The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1940, p. 7.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 6.

this area that the institutional programs must be centered in the days to come. The introductory chapter of this study has also described the historical progression of children's institutions from the early institutions as almshouses or poor houses, institutions as orphan asylums, schools and "Homes" to their modern status as social agencies. This is the proper evolution for progressive children's institutions. Administration regarding planning for the future of the Children's Home should take into account the fact that Martha and Mary Children's Home is a social agency, serving community needs. In this connection, one writer enlarges on the functions of the executive of a social agency as follows:

Quite as diversified as the responsibilities and skills required of the captain of a ship are those of the executive secretary or director of the average social agency. Among the activities for which he is directly or indirectly responsible are the following. He must initiate plans for the effective development of the agency's human service. He must provide material, leadership, and secretarial service for the board and committees of the organization. He must conceive and execute an adequate public relations program. He must prepare and present a financial budget. He must control expenditures within that budget. He must devise and execute plans for the raising of funds unless the agency is a member of a community chest. If it is a chest member (as most reputable private agencies now are), he should aid the chest's financial and public relations activities. He is responsible for the equipment and arrangement of his agency's office or institutional plant. He is responsible for the employment and direction of the staff and, through the staff, for the professional care of the clients of the organization. He must participate effectively in the joint planning and action of a community council of social agencies. In sum, he must be a professional leader, promoter, business manager, planner, supervisor, coordinator, and ambassador.⁶⁶

⁶⁶Elwood Street, Social Agency Administration, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1948, p. 103.

This may be a somewhat colorful presentation of the need for a full-time executive. But it nevertheless points up the necessary functions of any administrator who might be employed by the West Coast Lutheran School and Charity Association if a long view is taken of the future needs of the organization.

The position of an administrator affects all other staff. Normally the administrator employs, promotes, and discharges staff members within the limitations of the budget. It is in this area of activity that the institutions have experienced considerable confusion, since this executive function has been distributed among the Board and several staff members. This system prevented staff development, and this, in turn, has obviously hindered the development of the programs sponsored by the organization.

If the organization is to grow and develop as a social agency, the administrator should be given the authority to employ, promote, and discharge staff. The Board should leave the executive free to do this. It is recognized that the executive cannot control employment and direct his staff if he suffers interference from the Board in this area. The personnel committee of the Board should act in an advisory capacity to the executive on personnel matters and should make recommendations to the Board in respect to the principles which are to be followed.

With the declining influence of the rector, the active management of the Children's Home was assumed by the matron of the institution. This situation was changed with the employment of a caseworker three years ago. The administrative functions formerly exercised by the matron of the Children's Home were gradually

assumed by the caseworker, and the matron assumed the title of "housemother". The caseworker took charge of intake and business management of the Children's Home, as well as the business management of the Ebenezer Old Folk's Home. It may be seen by this that the social worker's role has been somewhat distorted in the institution. Part of the difficulty may be due to the fact that a social worker on the staff was a new experience for the organization, and more time is needed to clarify the function of the social worker.

There has been unwise delegation of responsibility by the Board again, to other staff members. There has been a tendency on the part of the Board, for example, to give responsibility for publicity materials to the supporting church constituency, and speaking engagements with local churches to the housemother of the Children's Home. Fortunately, the amount of time spent by the housemother in these extra-curricular activities is not great, but it might well be this is a misuse of the housemother's time and abilities, since her time should be spent with the children. However, this situation does point up the fact, again, that the institutions should have an executive.

More recently, the problem of changing the program of the Children's Home in order better to meet needs in the community has absorbed a great deal of the time of the Board, and out of this is emerging an increased awareness of staff needs, and an attempt to define positions more definitely than before. It is hoped in this respect that there will be developed a position classification for the institution which will give clear job

definitions.⁶⁷

During the past three years staff has consisted of a caseworker, housemother, assistant housemother, cook, laundress, and maintenance man. The caseworker has been responsible for intake, business management and Board and community relationships. The housemother has had direct supervision of the children and the maintenance staff, as well as responsibility for the routine housekeeping. The assistant housemother has been the housemother's helper, and has also acted in the capacity of the housemother on the latter's days off and vacations. The cook has had responsibility for preparing meals and supervision of kitchen, dining room, and store room. The laundress has had responsibility for washing the children's clothing, ironing, and some sewing and mending of clothes. The maintenance man has had responsibility for the grounds.

The recommendation of the Washington Standards that caseworkers on institutional staffs should have completed two years of graduate work in a recognized school of social work is met. The Standards point out also that case work supervision must be provided for. This standard has not been complied with by the institution. Since the institution is actually too small to em-

⁶⁷A short time ago, the caseworker and the Chairman of the Personnel Committee of the Board had a number of conferences together to discuss some of the personnel practices of the Home. Out of these conferences developed a written statement which was patterned after that of another children's institution. The statement seems quite adequate in terms of the Washington Standards. A position classification remains to be developed.

ploy a casework supervisor, this means that casework consultation or psychiatric consultation, on a part-time basis, will need to be purchased by the institution, unless the executive is qualified by professional training and experience to give this supervision.

Many of the housemothers in recent years have been teachers by profession. Assistant housemothers have usually been young women with Bible School training. The Children's Home has been fortunate in having excellent housemothers through the years, and many of them assumed considerable administrative responsibilities in the Home. In fact, traditionally, it was the matrons of the institutions who made their "reports" to the Board at Board meetings; but this is no longer the practice, as the caseworker assumed this function. Houseparents (i.e., man and wife) -- have long been needed at the institution. However, the institution has learned through experience that it is extremely difficult to get a married couple both of whom are qualified for the job. Probably the relatively low salaries in this field have kept many people out. In this respect a statement by Howard Hopkirk is

The work of houseparents is important enough to warrant training for the job comparable to that expected of nurses. The salaries provided for houseparents are so inadequate, however, as to make it impractical to require any investment by these men and women of time or money for preparatory training. As the work becomes dignified by better salaries and more attractive living conditions, some specific educational preparation might more reasonably be required by employers. In time, a minimum of such training might be certified by those providing the instruction or might even be represented by a practitioner's license issued by the state. It still is too early in the development of foster care as an

occupation to warrant either certification or licensing.⁶⁸

As already mentioned, maintenance staff has usually consisted of a cook, a laundress, and a caretaker. These people have had no particular educational qualifications for their jobs, although cooks have nearly always had previous experience in their work. The present caretaker is an older man who lives with his wife in a cottage on the grounds. This happily married couple act as grandparent persons to the youngsters. They are a friendly, warm, giving couple who display a give-and-take spirit between themselves. They have meant a great deal to the staff and to the children.

In summarizing the staff situation, it can be said that the number of staff has probably been fairly adequate in terms of the size of the group of children under care. The problem has been more one of staff development than of a larger staff. Except for the fact that the organization has a little library of professional literature and also, leave has been allowed staff members for attending various local social work conferences, there has been little work done in the area of staff development. Since responsibility for staff development is normally that of an executive, this lack has been due to the fact that the institution has not had an executive person with the requisite authority. In-service training at the institution has generally been neglected except for a type of apprenticeship. The assistant housemother, for example, has traditionally learned,

⁶⁸Hopkirk, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

informally and while on the job, the job of the housemother. Professional literature has been used by the housemothers, with some success, according to their own testimony.

Volunteer workers were once used to some extent at the Children's Home, particularly for sewing and mending the children's clothing. The latter job has always been the perpetual "headache" for staff, since the job was not large enough to employ a full time staff member, and in the institution's routine, it seemed always to have been the job which was done last. This means that the work tended to accumulate. Occasionally, a volunteer group of women comes to the Home at the present time to assist with the mending and sewing. Also, groups of women from some of the local garden clubs occasionally make flower arrangements for the living room and dining room and library, particularly around holiday periods. Other than this, there are few volunteer workers coming to the Home on a consistent basis. There is need for a skilled group worker--perhaps on a part-time basis--particularly a man who has skills in carpentry and crafts. The Children's Home does have a hobby shop, but this shop has never been used as an instrument in treatment.

Traditionally staff was recruited from the supporting church constituency. This meant, in most cases, that staff was imported from the Middle West. This practice, however, is gradually being abandoned by the organization. Personal interviews with prospective staff members are impossible under this system unless agencies in the Middle West are employed by the organization to do this job. Since the institutions are only an hour's ferry distance from Seattle, a metropolitan area of more than

half a million people, it seems logical that the institutions in the future should attempt to recruit staff from the local area. This means that the institutions will be separated somewhat further from the supporting church constituency, since staff members will come from a variety of church backgrounds, but the advantages will far outweigh any disadvantages.

Chapter 6

The Children in the Home

It is highly important to review the types of children who have been under care; and for this purpose, case history sketches on all children admitted to the Home during the years 1948, 1949, and 1950 have been reviewed for this chapter. The total number of children who have lived in the Home during these recent years (1948-1950) is only thirty-three, since this was a period of declining institutional population. The number of admissions during this period were forty-two. The reason for this apparent discrepancy is the fact that nine of the admissions were readmissions of children who had previously been admitted to the Home during the same three year period. These readmissions are counted as separate admissions in the institution's statistics.

Table 1 shows that there have been sizeable numbers in all three age groups, three to six, seven to nine, and ten to twelve. It also points up that there is a preponderance of pre-school children. Table 2 shows that the greater proportion of the children had residence at the Home for periods of less than six months. A large number of these children received only interim care from the institution. Table 3 shows that nearly four-fifths of the referrals to the Home were from a private agency, the Associated Lutheran Welfare of Seattle.

Table 1 - Age Grouping of Children Admitted to Martha and Mary Children's Home During 1948-1950

Age	Number of Children	
	Number	Per Cent
3-6	19	45
7-9	14	34
10-12	9	21
Total	42	100

Table 2 - Length of Residence for Children Admitted to Martha and Mary Children's Home During the Three Year Period 1948-1950

Length of Residence	Number of Children	
	Number	Per Cent
Under six months	19	45
Six months to one year	12	29
One year to one and a half years	6	14
One and half years to two years	1	2
Over two years	4	10
Total	42	100

Table 3 - Sources of Referral of the Children

Sources of Referral	Children	
	Number	Per Cent
A private agency	33	79
Parents and relatives	5	12
County welfare departments	4	9
Total Children (1948-1950)	42	100

In this chapter are given case history sketches on all children admitted to Martha and Mary Children's Home during the past three years. The classification scheme as given in Chapter 3 is used to outline the needs of these children, since it is a particularly valid classification for defining the needs of children who came to the Home for care. The sketches, therefore, are grouped according to the major sub-headings of the classification. These children constituted forty-two admissions. Though not a large number of admissions, the admissions are distributed, nevertheless, rather evenly among all the major sub-headings. In general, the categorizing of the children according to their needs, points up that the great majority of the children were unsuitable for foster home placement.

Approximately ten per cent of the children were emotionally unable to relate to foster parents, chiefly because they were suffering from rejection. One-fifth of the children were hyperactive, had skin infections, or were from foster homes which gave little or no supervision. This group were, therefore, unplaceable, and needed the routine of institutional living to become "settled" and "socialized" before foster home placement. Another group, consisting of approximately one-fourth of the admissions, were emotionally disturbed children whose needs could not be met by the institution, since staff were not oriented to study and treatment. The tragedy of this situation cannot be overemphasized. The Home was unprepared to help the children who needed the facilities of an institution the most!

Approximately one-fifth of admissions were youngsters whose parents could not stand the competition of foster parents of the same sex. These parents could not permit adults to develop a too close relationship with their children because this would point up their own inadequacy and failure as mothers and fathers. Some of these parents rejected their children, but could not admit this. The institution provided a neutral environment with which the parents could feel comfortable. The arrangement also provided a good opportunity to do casework with the children and the parents. Still another group, constituting approximately one-fourth of the children, required foster home placement at the time of admission. For these children the Home provided interim care until suitable foster homes could be found. The case histories which follow will point up, more specifically, the kind of work which the Home should do in the future.

Table 4

Classification of the Children According to Needs
(Admissions to Martha and Mary Children's Home
During the Three Year Period 1948-1950)

Group	Needs	No. of Children	
		Number	Per Cent
I	Children emotionally unable to relate to foster parents:		
	a. Children suffering from severe rejection	3	7
	b. Adolescents who could not live at home and had attained some degree of emancipation from parents	1	2
	Total number of children emotionally unable to relate to foster parents	4	10

Group	Needs	No. of Children	
		Number	Per cent
II	Children temporarily unplaceable, and who needed institutional routine:		
	a. Children with hyperactive behaviour	5	12
	b. Children with skin infections, etc.	2	5
	c. Children from foster homes which gave little or no supervision	2	5
	Total number of children who were temporarily unplaceable	9	21
III	Emotionally disturbed children requiring treatment in a study and treatment institution:		
	a. Disturbed children inaccessible to casework treatment	4	10
	b. Children whose symptom patterns could not be tolerated by foster family, school, or neighborhood	3	7
	c. Children whose symptom patterns needed professional observation and treatment	1	2
	d. Children who could not relate to foster family, community, school, or neighborhood	2	5
	Total number of emotionally disturbed children requiring treatment in a study and treatment institution	10	24

Group	Needs	No. of Children	
		Number	Per Cent
IV	Children whose parents could not accept foster parents	9	21
V	Children who required foster home placement at the time of admission	10	24
Grand Total (1948-1950)		42	100

I. Children Emotionally Unable to Relate to Foster Parents

These cases illustrate the situation in which children could not relate to foster parents because of their ambivalent ties with their own parents. The child in the first case, for example, had experienced rejection from all the members of his family. This caused a very hostile emotional pattern.

The second youngster could not accept a substitute mother, and was the proverbial "pest" in the institution. The third youngster was an adolescent who was emancipating herself from parents.

1. EUGENE MYRTHEN* (Referred from private agency; almost two years' residence 1948-49, also two months in 1950). This husky ten year old boy had been living with his immature father in the home of the paternal grandparents, since the divorce of his parents. This was an unhappy situation for Eugene since his grandfather was most severe with him, particularly with his problem of bed-wetting. Eugene's mother had been awarded custody of Eugene and his sister in the interlocutory decree of divorce. She gave Eugene's father the responsibility of caring for Eugene, however, because the father would not sustain payments to her for the care of the children. The mother continued to care for Eugene's sister.

* All names given are fictitious.

Eugene's brother had already been adopted by another family. Eugene had some very strong feelings about this, and blamed his father for permitting this to happen. Eugene seemed to become increasingly distrustful of his father, as his father neglected him in the institution. He held on to his mother, and he often said, "At least my mother keeps her promises." In spite of his extremely belligerent behaviour and constant defense of his rejecting mother, Eugene was a likeable boy.

Foster home placement was made in the home of a football coach in the local area. This man had taken a great liking for Eugene. (Eugene was the best tackler on the Pee Wee football team.) The boy had acquired a hero-like worship for this coach. Three months later, however, the foster mother died and Eugene returned to the Home. Eugene's mother then made arrangements for him to live with the maternal grandfather in another state.

It is apparent that Eugene had the capacity to form a relationship with foster parents because he did make a satisfactory initial adjustment in the foster home where the foster mother's death brought the placement to an end. Another foster home placement for this boy was indicated. The institution met Eugene's needs during the periods when he could not accept foster parents.

2. HOWARD LEE (Referred from County Welfare Department; fourteen months residence 1949-50). This nine year old, red headed boy, together with his sister, Beverly, was a ward of the County Superior Court in the temporary custody of the County Welfare Department. Howard had been living at the Detention Home as a result of his having stolen money amounting to several hundreds of dollars. He gave this money to his mother who spent it. The mother was committed for a few months to a state mental hospital. The diagnosis was schizophrenia. Howard's emotional tie to his mother was so strong that he did not want a foster home, but wanted to continue to stay at the Detention Home. Since this was not possible, placement was made at Martha and Mary's.

At the Home, Howard took a great deal of the attention of staff members because he was constantly making up questions for them to answer, and he became the Home "pest". He was suspicious, at first, when questions were asked him, and he would never answer spontaneously, but would carefully weigh every question

before answering. He seemed to avoid direct answers to questions.

Howard and his sister were eventually returned to live with their mother when she remarried.

It was apparent that Howard was, basically, an insecure, unhappy, and rejected child. He could recall that his mother's boy-friend once deliberately broke his arm. Howard's stealing of money for his mother was apparently done to prove to his mother that he was able to provide for her, as a husband would do. Institutional placement was indicated for Howard since he could not accept foster parents.

3. BEVERLY LEE (Referred from a County Welfare Department; thirteen months residence, 1949-50). Beverly came to live at the Home a few weeks after her brother, Howard, had come. This eleven year old girl, very much adolescent in her behaviour, was a large, blonde girl who was behind in school. It was suspected that Beverly had had sexual relationships with the son of her mother's lover, and there was the possibility that she might even be pregnant. In the Home Beverly was untidy and explosive. This seemed to be normal adolescent behaviour. She accumulated vast quantities of stuff in her bedroom. Occasionally Beverly would appropriate items belonging to other girls and add them to her own things. Her bedroom was nearly always messy, and she resisted the efforts of housemothers who wanted to help her with her room.

Beverly was rather reluctant to leave the Home when her mother remarried. This adolescent wanted to continue to live at the institution because she enjoyed the stimulation of group living with other teen-agers, and did not want to form a close relationship with her mother's new husband. A small residential home for adolescents with a stimulating program would have met the needs of this youngster.

II. Children Temporarily "Unplaceable"

These children were mostly hyper-active youngsters who were unaccustomed to any kind of steady, consistent, routine. They all needed habit training which the institution could offer.

Three of the children were siblings who needed adoptive parents; two were siblings who needed board and housing until their mother could make further plans; two were siblings troubled with skin infections and scratching in the area of the genitals; and two were brothers who had lived in a series of foster homes with little supervision.

1. MARLENE TANNER

2. PAUL TANNER

3. STEPHEN TANNER (Referred from private agency; almost one year at the Home, 1949-50).

These three attractive siblings, aged nine, seven, and six respectively, were admitted to the Home since their mother, dying of cancer, could not accept foster home placement for them while she was living. The mother gave custody to a private agency for permanent planning. Placement at the Home was considered to be temporary until a permanent plan could be worked out. In the institution, Marlene's behaviour was especially erratic, as she would fall down the stairs, grab for food at the dining room table, and sometimes had a blank look on her face. Stephen got his fingers into everything. Paul, at first, would not take affection. All three of the children seemed to be undisciplined, as a trip to a city store soon after placement pointed up; it took two social workers to manage the three children, as they got into everything at the store and had to be watched every minute.

The routine of the institution helped to calm and settle these children. All three of the children were tested while at the Home, and they were found to be of superior intelligence. The children's mother died while they were in the institution. The children were eventually placed in a young college professor's home in California for adoption.

This is an example of using the institution to prepare a sibling group for permanent placement. The children's behaviour made them temporarily unplaceable.

4. DAVID FORSETH

5. PATRICIA FORSETH (Referred from private agency; slightly under one-half a year in residence, 1948-49). These two siblings, five and six years old, were brought from Alaska to Washington by their mother. The reason for this move was not clear, although the mother indicated that she planned to find employment in Washington. David and Patricia had formerly lived in a variety of unsatisfactory foster homes, one of which had twenty children. The mother admitted that she had been with the children only a small part of their lives, and gave this as explanation for David's "wild" behaviour. This bright little boy had a hyper-active behaviour in the institution. He was full of vitality and had to be doing something every second. Patricia, too, seemed to be undisciplined.

The mother soon remarried, and returned to Alaska with her husband. The children stayed at the Home until school was out in the summer, and then returned to Alaska.

The institution in this case was used as a boarding plan while the children's mother worked out her plans. David's hyper-active behaviour and Patricia's wilful behaviour made these children temporarily unplaceable.

6. DICK WAHL

7. JUDY WAHL (Referred by a relative; in residence for one year, 1948-49). These youngsters, aged seven and four respectively, together with their brother Melvin, were admitted to the Home since it seemed that they needed immediate care. The mother brought the children to Washington from California, and left them with a middle-aged cousin who had previously cared for the children under similar circumstances. The cousin, however, was not in a position to care for the children at this time.

Before coming to Washington, the children had been living with their parents in a housing project. This seems to have been a poor environment for the children. The father was an immature person who spent pay-checks on liquor and had relationships with other women. It was suspected that the children had witnessed the father in intercourse with a woman. The mother and the children were eventually evicted from their unit for non-payment of rent.

The mother was an immature, disturbed person who seldom came to the Home after the children were admitted,

and she made no effort to pay for the children's care, although she had signed agreements to do so.

Dick was afraid of the dark and was always scratching in the area of his genitals when he was first placed. Dick could take a lot of affection from staff members, and was an appealing child. Judy was a vivacious and attractive child with a winsome personality. Both Dick and Judy had skin infections on placement. The routine of institutional living was very helpful for these children.

The children's cousin seemed to be the only steady influence in the lives of the children. She constantly remembered them with small gifts and letters while they were at the Home, and this meant a great deal to the children. The youngsters were finally returned to California where they had residence, after a great deal of correspondence with the California authorities. The children were distributed among relatives there.

These siblings required institutional placement because they were temporarily unplaceable. The institution could have prepared these two siblings for long-term foster home placement if California authorities had cooperated with the institution.

8. NOEL GRANT

9. RONNY GRANT (Referred from private agency; in residence more than two years, 1948-51). These two brothers, both ten years old, had lived in five foster homes prior to admission to Martha and Mary's. These had all been private placements made by their mother. The mother was dissatisfied with the last placement, since she felt that the children were not getting the discipline they needed. The foster mother had been sending them out to movies whenever they got too much for her. The boys were in a group of youngsters who were involved in the theft of some money from a neighbor, and this was the immediate reason for pressure from this mother for placement in a children's institution.

The writer got to know the mother as an extremely sick person, emotionally. Casework with the mother was in the area of trying to help her to accept psychiatric treatment for herself.

The two boys were handsome, and intelligent, and they were able to take affection. There was overt rejection of Noel by his mother, even prior to his birth. Ronny had had a more secure relationship with his mother. Noel had tried to compete with his brother for his

mother's affection, but had been unsuccessful, and he was jealous of attention which his mother or anyone else gave his brother. Both boys were suitable for foster home placement, but foster homes could not be found by the private agency responsible for referral.

The boys are reluctant at the present time to go to foster homes. Noel says that he wants to live with his mother, and Ronald would rather continue to live at the Home because he is enjoying his participation in Pee Wee athletic activities. Noel has identified himself with a family in the community with whom he often has meals and goes on shopping trips. This gives him some opportunity to see what family life is like. Noel is an excellent worker, ambitious, and is always able to get part-time jobs in the community.

It does not seem that the children's mother will be able to offer a home for them. These two brothers might continue to live at the institution, providing it became an institution for adolescents and had a stimulating program.

These youngsters may be classified as having been temporarily unplaceable at the time of their admission. The institution failed these children, however, in that it did not make referral to the public agency for foster home placement when the children were ready for foster homes.

III. Emotionally Disturbed Children Requiring Treatment in a Study and Treatment Institution.

These are children who required the specialized facilities of an observation and treatment institution. Some of these children could not form meaningful relationships with people. Others had behaviour which could not be accepted by the community. Still another child seemed to be mentally retarded, and should have had the opportunity for a complete diagnosis. Other children could not relate to foster parents or to the community.

1. JIMMY LIEN (Referred from private agency; in residence more than two years, 1949-51). This twelve year old youngster, together with his brother, Jerry, had been twice removed from their home because of the

frequent absences of the parents from the home and habitual drinking, marital discord, and immoral practices on the part of the mother. They had lived in two children's institutions and two foster homes prior to placement at Martha and Mary's.

Jimmy is a very disturbed youngster emotionally. It is felt that his disturbance is in the area of sex, and that he has some disturbing memories about the sex practices of the adults in his early environment. He has a liking for, and a sensitivity to the needs of animals and birds, but is unable to form meaningful relationships with people. His disturbance was expressed more recently when he lighted a fire in an old house which caused the house to burn down.

He has been making weekly trips to the city for treatment interviews with the psychiatrist. It is felt by institutional staff that these interviews have been helping Jimmy because he seems to have more release from his "emotional burdens".

Jimmy cannot respond positively to adults in the casework or foster care role. He could use, however, the immediate treatment in the resident group of a treatment institution.

2. JERRY LIEN (Referred from private agency; more than two years at the Home, 1949-51). Jerry, ten years old, and his brother, Jimmy, were referred to Martha and Mary's after failure of their foster home placement. This failure was due to the foster mother's inability to accept Jimmy's behaviour. Jimmy's great need for his brother, and Jerry's refusal to be separated from his brother, made it necessary for Jerry to follow Jimmy to the institution. In a sense Jerry was "sacrificed" in order that Jimmy's needs could be better met.

In the institution Jerry was always defensive and protective of Jimmy. He was proud of the fact that he had so often taken the blame for Jimmy's behaviour, and thus protected Jimmy from punishment. Jerry was a rather belligerent child in the institution. This unhappy child could not accept too close relationships or warmth from staff.

This youngster is neurotically tied to his brother and needs treatment to help him to break this tie so he can establish more normal relationships both within and outside the family.

3. DARRYL HARMUNSLIE (Referred from private agency; five months 1948-49). Darryl is a nine year old youngster, the son of a successful businessman whose several marriages brought chaos to the life of the boy. At the time of admittance Darryl's mother had separated from the father and had gone East, accompanied by Darryl's sister. The mother had had three grown sons by her first husband when Darryl's father married her. She was happy, therefore when their first child turned out to be a girl. Darryl was born after his sister, and he was rejected by his mother.

This wistful-appearing child, a bed-wetter and a youngster who seldom told the truth, did make considerable progress in the neutral environment of the institution. Darryl's stay at the institution was cut short, however, by his father's remarriage. Darryl went to live with his father and a new step-mother and the latter's son by a previous marriage. Darryl failed to adjust in this situation.

This child needed the help of a treatment institution where he could experience a continued, consistent relationship with adults he could trust and where he could exchange real relationships for phantasy. This father whom Darryl worshipped, needed intensive treatment.

4. LARRY JOHNSON (Referred from private agency; three months in residence, 1949). Larry was not quite five years old at the time of admission, and he was considered very young for institutional placement. However, placement was to be temporary since it was felt that Larry would be an adoption possibility, if his parents could be helped to relinquish him for adoption. These very inadequate parents were assisted to do this while Larry was living in the institution.

Immediately prior to placement at Martha and Mary's Larry had been living in a boarding home where he had been over-sheltered. The foster mother had tried to make twins out of Larry and a three year old child. When Larry came to the institution he was dressed like a baby rather than with clothing appropriate for a little boy. He was overly docile. At the institution he was outfitted in typical boy's clothing. He was immediately accepted in the group as the "baby" of the family, and he was well treated by the older boys. Larry made rapid strides in the institutional setting in changing from a baby to a more aggressive boy. Although making a poor adjustment at school at the start, his teacher noticed a definite change after his fifth

birthday. He seemed to become more mature quickly.

It seemed that this boy needed the influence of a group of older boys from whom he could pattern his own behaviour. The institutional environment provided him with this opportunity for growth and development, and prepared him for adoption. This is an example of using the institution to help a child with emotional conflicts to develop normally.

5. RICHARD DAHLEN

6. DONALD DAHLEN (Referred from private agency; five months at the Home, 1949). These children were six and four years, respectively, at the time of admission. They were emotionally disturbed brothers who had disturbed parents. The father rejected Donald and treated him cruelly, but tried to handle his feelings of guilt by making up with Richard for the mistakes which he made with Donald. (The father once struck Donald so hard that the youngster suffered from concussion.)

The mother, in turn, favored Donald and took this out on Richard.

The mother placed tremendous pressure on the institution to accept these children for care. It was suspected by a church agency in the middle west, which had been contacted by the parents, that the mother had tried institutions all across the country, but had been refused in most places because Don was a pre-school child. She began to press church agencies, therefore, as a last resort. The parents were on their way to Alaska where the father was being transferred in his employment.

Both youngsters sucked their fingers. Richard had been troubled with masturbation and would claw and scratch himself. At the institution, the youngsters seemed completely undisciplined and got their fingers into everything. The mother had seen a psychiatrist who had recommended institutional placement, stating that the routine of institutional living might benefit the children.

The boys did settle down some in the Home, but they were removed by the mother before the full value of institutional care could be demonstrated. These children needed the facilities of a treatment institution, and the parents needed psychiatric treatment. The children's symptoms could not be tolerated by the average foster parents.

7. DORIS BLAKE (Referred from private agency; two months in residence, 1950). Doris, eleven years old, together with her brother, Gary, were wards of a County Juvenile Court in the custody of a private agency. There had been considerable marital difficulty between the parents which had led to a breakdown of the home. The mother was hospitalized at a state mental hospital with a diagnosis of schizophrenia, paranoid type. She had been rigid and over-protective of the children, and full of fears for them, and had not permitted them out of her sight. The mother's worries and fears had succeeded in upsetting Doris. The children's step-father was completely uncooperative in any plan for the children except a plan which would return them home. The children had been living in the Detention Home, and were desperately anxious to leave this place because it was so confining. This was the reason for placement at Martha and Mary's.

Doris, however, could not take the comparative freedom or permissiveness of Martha and Mary's and repeatedly disappeared. She needed an environment which would give her more controls. She also disrupted the situation at school, as she told wild, illusionary stories about her own background and tried to control the teacher by threatening to inform the principal against her. On her last run-away from the Home, the writer went after her, following a trail of victimized shop-keepers, and eventually found her with the assistance of an officer from the Sheriff's office in a private residence. She had told the people that an accoster was after her, and she accused the writer when he confronted her of being the accoster in a frightened "theatrical" manner. Since it was felt that Martha and Mary's could not handle this disturbed girl who was accustomed to a rigid, controlled environment, she was returned to the detention home from which she was promptly released to her parents. Doris needed treatment in a controlled institutional setting, because her behaviour could not be tolerated by foster family, school, or community.

8. ROSEMARY KRISTENSEN (Referred from private agency; slightly less than one year at the institution, 1948-49). Rosemary, six years old, came from a large, low income family, but she was placed by her guardian, a real estate agent, in the home of a U. S. Army Lt. Colonel and his wife. These foster parents were people of superior ability, and they began to realize that Rosemary was not properly placed with them, as her I.Q. was discovered to be 84. The matter came to a crisis when the Colonel was ordered overseas. The foster parents then decided not to keep Rosemary, although the foster mother seemed to be fond of the child.

It was obvious on placement that Rosemary had received a considerable amount of training in the foster home. Rosemary had an appreciation for music and rhythm. She played at the piano, watered the plants in the living room of the Home without prompting from anyone, and assisted the cook and laundress in their respective jobs. She found it difficult to take the competition of the other children, however. A private agency assumed responsibility for placement of this child since she was considered to be a good adoption risk if a home could be found where the academic standards were not beyond her reach.

Rosemary, however, regressed markedly. The rejection which she experienced at the hands of the foster parents was a traumatic experience for her. She became fat and unattractive as she gorged herself on food. The older children rejected her, and eventually refused to sit at the same table with her in the dining room. There followed two foster home placements, both of which failed. Since institutional treatment facilities were not available in the State of Washington, Rosemary was returned to the state where she had residence.

This child's behaviour indicated elements of emotional disturbance combined with apparent mental retardation. Rosemary could have used the diagnostic and treatment facilities of a study and treatment institution.

9. CHARLES ERICKSON (Referred from County Welfare Department; one year in residence, 1948-49). This twelve year old youngster's mother deserted him when he was tiny. His father deserted him in 1943. There were a series of seven foster home placements, one of which was exploitive in nature in that all of his newspaper earnings were taken from him by the foster parents. In spite of so many rejections, Charles was an out-going boy who made friends easily. This youngster's needs were so great that many people seemed to instinctively want to do something for him, and many who came into contact with this boy felt that they had somehow or other failed to do the right thing by him.

Since he had been transferred from one foster home to another he had developed a great insecurity that gradually led to an inability to live in a home where there were other children because he attempted to supplant them and became jealous of the attention they received. Charles had also developed a sort of bravado and got attention through silliness.

This husky, adolescent boy acted out his feelings

of rejection in behaviour which untrained housemothers could not accept. The writer was the only person in the institution who could enforce limits which were set up for this boy. Charles' behaviour was most acceptable on those occasions when he had a staff member all to himself. He could take a great deal of affection at times from the writer, who had to be a father person. In the institution Charles was able to accept the fact that he was not the only child without parents. Group placement was helpful, therefore, in treatment of this disturbed youngster.

Since 14 was the upper age limit at the Home, Charles went to live on a foster home farm in the local area. This plan eventually failed, and he then voluntarily went to live with the Indians with whom he had often identified himself. This act had an element of rejection of the white race in it, since Charles felt that he had been rejected. Obviously Charles needed treatment of a kind that was not possible at the time of his residence at Martha and Mary's. Charles could not relate to foster parents, school, or community.

10. MELVIN WAHL (Referred by a relative; one year in residence, 1948-49). This boy was nine years old at the time of his admission, together with his brother and sister. Melvin did not get along with the other children, as he tried to boss them and called them names such as "cheats" when he played with them. He seemed to be always arguing with the other children and making wild statements. His treatment of the other children caused them to reject him. He was overly protective of his brother and sister. Melvin did not seem to have sufficient super-ego formation to carry through assignments or responsibilities and staff, therefore, could not trust him. He had little tolerance to frustration.

This disturbed child could not respond positively to foster parents because he was clinging so desperately to the hope that his parents would reunite. A treatment institution might have helped this frustrated child work through his feelings of rejection.

IV. Children Whose Parents Could Not Accept Foster Parents

The parents of these children could not permit their children to form close relationships with substitute parents. These parents

were failures as parents, but could not allow other adults, particularly those of the same sex, to become parent persons to their children. These parents were usually accepting the institution because relationships in the Home were less close than in the average foster home. Also, to them, institutional placement of their children did not point up their failure as parents as strongly. These parents were most difficult to work with, since, basically, they were rejecting their youngsters, but they could not face the world with this fact.

1. DAVE CHRISTIAN

2. JUDITH CHRISTIAN (Referred from private agency; five months, 1948, four months later in 1948, ten months, 1950-51). This brother and sister, aged four and six years, were admitted and discharged from the Home three times. The mother could not sustain a plan for the children and she could not stand the competition of a foster mother for them. The children were originally placed because the mother could not make ends meet on ADC and wanted to work.

The mother had been reared in foster homes and children's institutions herself, and it seemed that the children were being forced into the same pattern. The mother would take the children from the institution into some unsatisfactory arrangement such as their living together with another unstable family. This plan would fail; and after a series of such failures, the mother would return the children to the institution.

Since it is questionable that this mother had any insight into her problem, the worker's function was primarily to keep this mother from carrying out unrealistic plans for the children. In this case the institution met the needs of a mother who was a failure as a parent and could not permit the children to have foster parents.

3. LOUISE HEGLAND

4. JOHN HEGLAND (Referred by their father; slightly less than one year in residence, 1949-50). This brother,

seven years, and sister, six years, had been in twelve boarding homes. These were all private placements made by the father, and most of these arrangements provided board and room for the father as well as care for the children. It is apparent that some of these placements did not work out because of the presence of the father in the foster home. One pair of foster parents with whom they had boarded refused to continue to care for the children unless the father would permit them to adopt the children. The father refused to do this.

The father is a relatively young man who, together with his brother, were adopted at an early age by the paternal grandparents. The father said that he had a great liking and respect for the paternal grandfather who had been, according to him, a good father to him during his youth. In his emotional development, however, he seemed to have considerable conflict with authority and ambivalence toward parent figures. The children's mother and he were divorced, and the children's mother was rearing another family with her second husband. The father had custody of the children.

The children had been living in the paternal grandparent's home immediately prior to placement at the Home. The father was dissatisfied with this arrangement because he felt that the grandmother could not give the children the discipline which they needed. She was partial to John because she had reared a family of boys herself. She rejected Louise, and it is suspected that she did this because she identified Louise with the children's mother. She was overly protective with John, and father complained that she was making a "sissy" out of John. He wanted to move the children from the grandparent's home for this reason.

Institutional placement was beneficial for these children. It enabled John to emancipate himself from some of his dependency on his grandmother and to develop a stronger personality as he had to assume responsibilities in the group situation. John's father was one of the first to notice this growth and was greatly pleased by it. Louise could easily express verbally the rejection which she felt she received from her grandmother, and she could reject in return. This attractive child was "silly" around boys, and sought to have boy friends. This behaviour seemed appropriate for this rejected child.

The children went to live with their father, against the choice of the agency, when he entered into a common law marriage with a woman who had two children of her own. The father told the worker that he would not marry the woman until he was sure that the two families could live together happily. The father's immaturity was pointed up by this unwise decision.

These children needed institutional placement because the father could not accept foster home placement for them.

5. GARY BLAKE (Referred from private agency; two months in residence, 1950). This nine year old youngster together with his sister, Doris, had been living in the detention home while his mother was hospitalized with schizophrenia. The parents could not accept foster home placement for their children, and institutional placement was therefore indicated for a temporary period. Gary returned to his home to live at the end of the school year.

V. Children Who Required Foster Home Placement

These children needed the benefits which could be derived from close personal relationships with substitute parents. Institutional placement was unsatisfactory for these youngsters because they wanted to be loved by parents. There were two sibling groups who could have responded to love and affection from foster parents. Another child was much too young for institutional placement and needed a mother. The last child had such tremendous needs for affection that only selected foster parents could have met this need.

1. CAROL WILLIAMS

2. RONALD WILLIAMS (Referred from private agency; eight months in residence, 1947-48, five months, later, 1948). This brother, six years old, and sister, five years old, were wards of a county juvenile court in the custody of a private agency. The father was employed in Alaska and the mother lived in a housing project near the Home. The mother was known to be promiscuous. She failed to manage on the money which her husband was sending to her for the support of the family, and she was jailed in March of 1948 for having tried to cash bad checks with local businessmen. The children were placed in the Detention Home and five days later were readmitted to the Home. (They had originally been admitted in May

of 1947 but had been discharged to the mother in the early part of 1948 as part of a plan of attempted rehabilitation of this family.)

The father came down from Alaska, and he was helped to obtain a divorce from his wife. These children were placed in a foster home because they needed the experience of living with stable parent substitutes.

3. PAT DIGERNESS

4. JAMES DIGERNESS (Referred from private agency; seven months in residence, 1949-50, two months later, 1950). This brother and sister, six and seven years old respectively, had been in a variety of foster homes. Their parents were divorced and the father had been granted custody of these two siblings. Just prior to placement at Martha and Mary's, the children had been living in an unapproved boarding home in which there were sixteen children. In order to assist the father to retain the custody of his children, it was indicated that the children be placed elsewhere. The children had a close emotional tie with their father. Institutional placement was decided upon because the father was contemplating remarriage, and it was felt that the children would be at the institution for only a short period until the father completed his plans.

Patricia seemed much more like an adult than a little girl on placement, and staff felt they had to treat this sweet, but serious-faced child as a mature person. The mother had apparently confided in this child as if she were an adult. In the neutral environment of the institution, Patricia blossomed out into a gay, saucy little girl who was greatly liked by staff, and had many admirers among the boys.

James seemed to disappear in the group. He was a tremendous eater at meal times in his quiet way, and this seemed to indicate his need for love and affection. He seemed to express himself a little more after living a while at the Home, but remained a very passive child. Undoubtedly, psychological testing was indicated for this child, but was never carried out while he was at the institution.

The children were admitted and discharged twice. The first discharge was to a paternal uncle's home. The illness of the children's aunt made it necessary for the children to return to the institution for a few months until they could be discharged to a foster home. The children seemed to find it easy to move back to the institution the second time. Patricia, especially, identi-

fied with the institution, and found it a little difficult to leave both times, as she found it difficult to move from any placement.

In this case the institution was used as a convenience to the father to house and board his children. It gave the father an opportunity to remarry, and thereby establish a home for himself and the children. These children could have used a foster home as well.

5. JOHN BERG (Referred from private agency; two months in residence, 1948-49). John, almost four years old, was a foster child of David and Patricia Froseth's mother, and was treated by the Froseth children as their little brother. In Alaska John's father lived with David and Patricia's mother and the two Froseth children. John's father was separated from his child's Eskimo mother.

John was just under four years old at the time of admittance. Obviously, he was too young for institutional placement. He was demanding of his father on the latter's visits to the Home, as were the Froseth children. The father had hoped to marry Patricia and David's mother, but her remarriage to another man cancelled this plan. This father took his child from the institution as soon as he heard of the marriage.

This child was too small to benefit from group living in the institution. He needed the individual attention and care which foster parents could give.

6. BETTY FJERAN (Referred from County Welfare Department; three months in residence, 1948). This eight year old girl was from a large family of eight children. Both parents are sub-normal mentally, and three of her brothers have been committed to a state custodial school as being feebleminded.

In the year previous to placement at the Home, Betty had lived in three foster homes with little success. In one of these foster homes there was one child with whom she was not able to compete mentally, so she tried any means she could to get attention. In the foster home where she lived immediately before placement at the Home, the foster parents were disgusted with her behaviour which included masturbating, chattering, and demands for attention.

Since Betty was from a large family and she liked to be with groups of children, it was felt that she would be happy in a children's institution. She was completely rejected by the other children, however, as her great craving for attention and affection led her to criticize and tattle on other children. She was a poor eater at the dining room table, as she was so busy watching the other children eat. This disgusted the older children. She slung to staff members, but they were unable to satisfy her unstable needs.

Betty was returned to her own home when her mother proved to the satisfaction of the county welfare department that she could maintain an adequate home for the child. With her mental handicap, Betty might sometimes require institutional care of a specialized type. The institution failed this child as her needs for affection were too great to be met in a group setting. She needed foster parents who could accept her with her limitations and who could give her the care she had missed in her own home.

These case history summaries of admissions to the Home will be helpful as a background for a discussion of possible future functions for the institution. This discussion follows in the remaining chapter.

Chapter 7

Facing the Future

There has always been a direct correlation between periods of national emergency or disaster and the populations of children's institutions. During such periods, the pressure brought to bear upon child caring agencies has always increased to the point that the usual intake policies of children's institutions have to be modified. As has already been intimated, World War II created an emergency situation which filled the Home with many normal children. The war and its aftermath, as is well known by people, brought breakdown in family life. Divorces and separations among parents made it necessary to plan for children who were victims of these circumstances. At the same time mothers were moving into the labor force. This was often due to the fact that marginal workers were being employed at wages higher than the amounts allowed by the public agency for assistance grants to mothers remaining in their own homes with their children. Social agencies bogged down in their attempts to meet the needs of children with the resources at hand. Usually as a last resort, they were compelled to use children's institutions for the placement of many children.

One could certainly question whether or not institutions should permit themselves to be used in this manner. One could question why social and other community agencies cannot provide sufficient housekeeping services or other services to maintain children in their own homes, or why there is a shortage of foster homes. One can also speculate about the breakdown in cooperation

between child placement agencies and children's institutions resulting from this pressure; and, more important than anything else, one can question the effects of institutional placement on the individual child. These important questions are not a part of the present study; what is relevant, however, is that Martha and Mary Children's Home was filled to capacity during the war years, and for a period of several years thereafter, and some children were cared for who would have benefited from another type of placement.

For the past three years, Martha and Mary Children's Home has experienced a declining institutional population. This decline would have come sooner, but for the emergency conditions brought about by World War II. Another factor contributing to the decline of the population was the return of some large sibling groups to their own homes or to the homes of a remarried parent. A third factor was the increased use of foster homes for normal children, particularly by the public agency. Also, the institution's own intake policies were somewhat more selective during this period than previously.

Forty-five per cent of the children admitted during the 1948-1949 period were ages from three to six. Institutional placement for this age group is seriously questioned by many writers, for it is during the first six or eight years of the child's life that he needs his mother and other members of the family circle. It is during these years that the child is building confidence in his relationships with members of his family, and these warm personal relationships help the child to develop confidence in himself. Unusual situations during this period may provoke

anxiety and distress in the child because he has not had a background of experience to guide him in coping with them.⁶⁹ On the other hand, pre-school children who have suffered from many foster home placements have often been benefited by a period of group living.

The population study also points up the fact that almost three-fourths of the children admitted had residence in the institution for a period of less than one year. A large proportion of this group received only interim care from the institution. Some writers state that study and treatment facilities may be combined effectively with interim care.⁷⁰ Martha and Mary's, of course, has never had this combination of facilities.

Martha and Mary's has traditionally had some functions which, perhaps, are somewhat unique among child caring institutions. The Home has cared for the children of fishermen whose jobs took them long distances from their own homes for long periods of time. The absence of the fathers has frequently resulted in family breakdown and divorce. The remarriage of the mothers, and the birth of children resulting from the new marriages, often made it necessary to plan for some kind of placement for the children of the original union. The distrust which these fathers have had for housekeeping arrangements and foster homes, both of which had usually been tried, seemed to indicate the need for institutional

⁶⁹Florence Clothier, "Institutional Needs in the Field of Child Welfare", The Nervous Child, April 1948, p. 158.

⁷⁰Leon H. Richman, "Responsibility for and use of Interim and Emergency Placement", Social Service Review, September, 1946, pp. 354-361.

placement. These children were usually the large sibling groups.

Also, the institution in recent years has cared for a few children whose parents were employed in Alaska. The movement of these parents to take advantage of job opportunities made placement of their children necessary in some instances, the lack of adequate housing and schools in Alaska being among the reasons advanced for placement by most of these parents.

The institution has had no geographical limits on intake, although for all practical purposes, intake has been limited to western Washington and Oregon, as well as Alaska. The fact that the institution is part of a world-wide church organization, and that its supporting constituency is spread over North America, makes it doubtful that there will ever be geographical limits on intake.

Suggestions for Changed Uses

A number of suggestions have been made regarding the future use of Martha and Mary Children's Home. The public welfare agency on a state level has suggested it might become a hospital or convalescent unit for physically handicapped children, or an institution for mentally deficient children. A convalescent unit, however, should properly be located nearer medical resources than Poulsbo is. Furthermore, the equipment and staff would need to be selected and supervised by medical personnel. As for the care of the mentally deficient, it has long been accepted that the state should be responsible for this group as well as for the insane. If the State's facilities are not adequate, it would seem to be better planning to promote increased facilities

under state auspices, rather than to attempt to meet the problem through the use of the limited funds of voluntary agencies.

On the other hand, the local public welfare agency has felt the need in the community for a small institution which could care for adolescents. There is also need for a small study and treatment center for emotionally disturbed children. The need for the latter type of institution is pointed up by the population study which shows that twenty-four per cent of admissions required this type of facility. The public welfare agency on a state level has indicated that both types of institutions could be used in the local area.

Martha and Mary Children's Home as a Study and Treatment Institution for Disturbed Children

To develop Martha and Mary Children's Home as an institution for emotionally disturbed children, would involve very expensive planning. Some of the implications of a home for disturbed children and a home for adolescents will be discussed in terms of the following factors: (1) intake policy; (2) personnel; (3) building; (4) location; and (5) religious beliefs.⁷¹

The first requirement is that intake policy must be selective in terms of age groups. Also, diagnostic priorities need to be established in terms of the problems to be treated, such as the psychoneuroses (children with phobias, hysteria, and obsessions); the organ neuroses (children suffering from spastic bowel, asthma, eczema, hypertension, and the cardiac invalids without heart

⁷¹A pamphlet published by Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, Plans for an Institution for the Treatment of Emotionally Disturbed Children, has been used as a reference in what follows, pp. 1-51.

disease); and the character problems (such as the hostile aggressive child; the socially withdrawn; the child presenting a sex problem; and the neurotic delinquent, in so far as he can be assimilated without danger to others). There would need to be freedom on the part of the professional staff to concentrate on particular problems for periods of time and to control admissions accordingly in order to advance current research and instructional projects.

The initial study of each child would need to include a medical history; a social and psychiatric history; a physical examination; various psychological examinations, such as one or more standard tests of intelligence (verbal and performance), the Rorschach, and the Thematic Apperception Test; a psychiatric examination; and observations on the child's behaviour in the institution. Initial treatment plans for an individual child would be decided at a diagnostic staff conference which would be attended by all those staff members who had direct contact with the child or with his family members.

The various departments of the institution would need to be so coordinated as to provide the maximum benefits to each child in all aspects of his development: physical, educational, recreational, and emotional. The program for each child should be individualized, determined primarily according to his peculiar needs and secondarily, according to the research interests of the staff. The plan for care of the child after he leaves the institution would also need to be individualized and might include foster-home placement, school placement, or return to his own home with continuing psycho-therapy as needed. In order to carry

out this kind of program, the staff would need to consist of a number of professionally trained persons.

The chief personal qualification for staff members would need to be flexibility. The recognition by the worker of the experimental nature of his post would be the best insurance for the success of the project. Staff would need to include a director, psychiatrist, psychologist, social case workers, social group workers, houseparents, secretarial staff, and maintenance personnel. The number of children in residence would need to be limited to about twelve, since disturbed children require individual bedrooms.

A less intensive treatment institution than the one presented, somewhere between the highly specialized treatment center and the traditional children's home, might buy the services of consulting psychiatrists and psychologists on a part-time basis, rather than employ resident persons. The latter plan would, of course, be easier for Martha and Mary's to bring to fruition since such services could be obtained more easily on this basis. The resident staff would need to include an administrator or executive, a social caseworker, a social group worker, houseparents, secretarial or stenographic services, and maintenance personnel.

Research and teaching would need to be provided for by the institution. Members of the staff would need to consider research a professional obligation and a part of their job. Those staff members most interested and qualified to undertake research should, however, be appointed to do this work. These persons should be allowed sufficient time to pursue research and report upon it, and should be given a voice in determining intake policy

so that they could concentrate on children presenting particular problems for periods of time in order to advance current research projects. The institution should also offer training opportunities for psychiatrists, psychologists, caseworkers, and pediatricians.

Since Martha and Mary Children's Home was constructed for the specific purpose of caring for children, the building would be ideally suited for the care of a small group of about twelve disturbed children. On the other hand, Martha and Mary's was not constructed to provide adequate and private living quarters for staff. The Home does not contain an apartment for cottage parents, for example. There are only single rooms available for these staff members at the present time. The Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society urge that these overworked people need a retreat from the children, and that if this is not provided, the result will be that it will be hard to attract and hold really first-class cottage parents. Martha and Mary's has already experienced the losing of cottage parents because of lack of private living space for these parent persons. The apartment for cottage parents should be a complete living unit, containing a living room, bedroom, bath, and kitchenette as a minimum number of rooms.

The location of Martha and Mary's is excellent in most respects, but does have some serious handicaps. The Home is in close proximity to consolidated public schools, in which the Home's children have always been well accepted. There is no reason to believe that disturbed children could not be integrated in the present school system, since the teaching staff have been cooperative with the Home's staff in working with disturbed child-

ren in the past. The community, too, has been quite accepting of the behaviour of disturbed children. The destruction of a very old house in the community by a fire which was started by a disturbed child residing at the Children's Home, recently put this to the test: There was little repercussion from the people of the community regarding this.

The Home is in close proximity to three churches, and to a small branch county library. There are, however, no recreation centers, hospitals, or clinics in the immediate locality. Sewage disposal, fire protection, and water supply are all provided by the town. There are five acres for play and recreation. The Home is situated on a prominent site which affords a good view. Since the town is very small, moral hazards such as the commercialized vice in most large cities, are not in evidence. The greatest handicap, perhaps, is the fact that the institution is somewhat isolated from the center of population. Puget Sound separates the community from Seattle. There are several ferries which bridge this gap at various points, most of the crossings taking one hour or less. It is possible, therefore, for staff members and children to ride a ferry in the morning directly to Colman Dock, in the heart of the Seattle business area, spend the day in the city, and return to the Home in the evening. This makes feasible the use of clinical services in Seattle for the children, although transportation costs are expensive. Psychiatric consultation to the staff is available in the same way.

The cost of a study and treatment institution -- even if on a modified scale -- would be much greater than the institution has experienced up to this point. Interpretation of program to

the supporting church constituency would be extremely difficult. The ability of a small institution in a small community to attract the highly trained professional staff which would be required to staff a treatment program would severely test the skills of the finest administrator. The writer suggests, therefore, that the immediate establishment of a study and treatment institution in Poulsbo for emotionally disturbed children would be premature. The Church and the Board of Directors are not yet ready for this development, although there appears to be a great deal of interest on the part of several Board members. The Board and the Church, however, have not had the opportunity to become fully acquainted with what is involved in setting up and maintaining a treatment center program.

Martha and Mary Children's Home as an Institution for Adolescents

Even though not an immediate objective, a study and treatment institution might still be a long-term goal for the organization. In the meanwhile, however, an immediate objective must be realized.

In a sense, the Home is already an institution for adolescents, since the five youngsters now living at the Home are all adolescents. Four of these children constitute the ten per cent of the total who have resided at the Home for a period of more than two years. None of these children desires foster home placement at the present time, since all of them prefer the group living at the institution. This is probably the best argument in favor of the development of Martha and Mary Children's Home as a home for adolescents.

Care of older boys and girls is not a new idea with the Children's Home. In the days when the Home was an orphanage, there were young men and women who lived at the Home -- some of them until they were as old as twenty years. It is commonly conceded that one of the chief contributions of the old-time orphan's home was its care of these older boys and girls. A present Board member and former farm manager for the institution can recall that these older youngsters were difficult to handle. It is presumed, however, that some of the difficulties were due to the fact that the staff were untrained. Trained staff in the institution would make a great deal of difference.

As was pointed out in Chapter II, adolescents comprise one of the most promising categories of youngsters who benefit from group living. It is interesting to note in this respect that institutions such as private boarding schools and summer camps have traditionally been used in the education and training of privileged children whose parents can afford it. The latter, however, are often far less in need of such facilities than the underprivileged youngsters who roam the streets. Private boarding schools have shown that, even for well-adjusted adolescents, there is value in the experience of group living.⁷² It is not at all hard to visualize Martha and Mary's as a residential home for the community's underprivileged adolescents whose parents could not afford private boarding schools for their youngsters. This would be in complete harmony with the organization's traditional function of charity. The public schools could be used for the

⁷²Clothier, op. cit., p. 161.

educational aspects.

Adolescence is a period in a youngster's life when he is struggling to achieve self-reliant independence from his parents. For the sake of his future sexual, marital, social and economic adjustment, it is vitally important that he sever his confused ambivalent tie to his parents. As a member of a group of his contemporaries, he may do this, and at the same time find reassurance that compensates him for the loss of dependence on his parents. He develops an intense relationship with his contemporaries as well as loyalties to his group leaders and group ideologies. Also, the adolescent yearns for adventure, drama and romance. So often, particularly in underprivileged communities, these satisfactions are most easily found in unsocial activity.

On the other hand, the adolescent's enthusiasms and loyalties can be capitalized on in the flexible residential home. With trained staff and a stimulating program, the adolescent finds reassurance and gains self-confidence as he comes to excel in some activity. Also, in group projects there is a socializing opportunity, as the youth responds to the common goals of the group with his driving energies. Since his personal hostilities are mitigated under group pressures and peer relationships, the adolescent is freer to face his problems and cope with them.

The adolescent may resist foster families who presume to take over the parental role. Often, the difference between their standard of living and that which he is accustomed to, gives him an additional reason for resisting. A residential home with attendance at the public high school has an economic advantage,

therefore, besides serving to keep the adolescent in the community.⁷³ One can visualize Martha and Mary's as the kind of residence for adolescents from which the boy or girl may go out into the community to participate in community activities. It will be a difficult problem to maintain this balanced relationship with the community and at the same time provide a responsible, influential living experience and relationship for the adolescent himself. It is apparent, however, that some institutions for adolescents have been reasonably successful in this attempt. The Bethesda Children's Christian Home near Philadelphia, for example, has achieved some success in working this problem out with adolescent girls.⁷⁴

Accordingly, a residential home for adolescents of essentially normal personality structure who may, however, be socially disturbing, is projected as the immediate future function of the institution. Flexibility in meeting individual needs while preparing these youngsters for community life would need to be the aim of the institution. A few emotionally disturbed adolescents may be included in the group, since it is recognized that a large group of relatively well adjusted adolescents will do the properly selected disturbed adolescent more good than he will do harm to the group. The institution should be co-educational since the youngster's reabsorption into the community would be facilitated if he has not been isolated from the opposite sex. Staff, too,

⁷³Ibid., pp. 162-163.

⁷⁴Grace I. Bishopp, The Role of Case Work in Institutional Service for Adolescents, Child Welfare League of America, Inc., September, 1943, pp. 3-34.

would need to consist of both men and women for the same reason.⁷⁵

Intake would need to be selective in terms of those adolescents whose needs could be best met by group life in the institution. Obviously, the seriously disturbed adolescent, such as the pre-psychotic or severely psychoneurotic youngster would not be admitted. These children would need hospital-schools which were clinically and therapeutically oriented. Also, the institution would, generally, not serve the delinquent adolescent who needed a more highly controlled environment and more than the usual amount of restriction. There is no reason to believe, however, that the institution could not meet the needs of some of those youngsters who would normally be committed by the Court to boy's or girl's industrial schools. If the institution did some experimental work in this area, the results might be very helpful to other organizations. It may well be asked whether the large, congregate industrial schools are really meeting the needs of all the children who are committed to these institutions. Small institutions, attached to communities, and spread throughout a state or province might well be more economical, both financially and in terms of the youngster's emotional needs, than the present system of building huge industrial schools which tend to be concentrated in some rural spot in a state or province where the adolescent is in complete isolation from his contemporaries of the opposite sex and from normal community life. One cannot help but feel that the planning for industrial schools is left too much to the politicians, and that social workers have not been

⁷⁵Clothier, op. cit., pp. 164-165.

sufficiently called in as advisors.

Another opportunity for a residential home for adolescents would be experimentation with self-government. This could be done through the use of a Council in which the youngsters, housemothers, and professional staff would be represented. The children would have voting privileges, and houseparents and case workers would act in an advisory capacity. This is the plan followed by the Genevieve Home in Louisiana.⁷⁶ The Council of the latter institution may initiate rules for the protection of the individual's rights against the violation by the group, or the protection of a group's rights from violation by the individual. These regulations make the children's experience of living together a good deal more pleasant. The Council is also used as a safety valve. Regular Council meetings have a steadying effect upon the group, particularly at times of staff change or during any period when there is wholesale uneasiness. Grievances aired in Council meetings lose some of their intensity, and the group is given a sense of being able to do something about a troubling situation. This relieves pent-up feelings. Changes or disruption in normal routine causes the youngsters to turn to renewed testing-out of regulation; but, finding in Council that the old restrictions hold firm, the youngsters are reassured by the stability of the agency that cares for them, thus finding enough security to prevent total group disorganization.⁷⁷

⁷⁶Lorene Putsch, Self-Government in a Children's Institution, Child Welfare League of America, Inc., July 1945, p. 10.

⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 11-18.

If the aim of the institution is to make living for young people a practical, ordinary, and flexible experience which is not too far removed from the youngster's previous living experience or his probable future place in life, then the institution must provide opportunities for youngsters to make a contribution to their living at the Home. The girls, for example, might assist the housemother in housekeeping. Each girl might also be responsible for her own washing, ironing, and mending. Certainly, some of the girls could assist the cook in the kitchen, and assist in serving in the dining room. The boys might take care of the Home's small vegetable garden, and manage the watering, mowing, and raking of the lawn, for example. The housefather would supervise the boys' work outside. No maintenance staff, therefore, would be required, excepting for the cook.

Implications

The proposed program for Martha and Mary's would require the following minimum staff: an administrator for the total organization, a case worker (and if possible, a group worker with skill in handling groups constructively), and houseparents. The institution would need to buy part-time psychiatric consultation, psychological services, and stenographic-secretarial help.

The building is, for the most part, ideally suited as a residential home for adolescents. Group pride in the building should not be difficult to attain, since there seem to be few private residences for adolescents in the state of Washington which have better physical facilities. Some changes will need to be made in the interior planning of rooms, however, or an

additional wing constructed to the building. As already mentioned, the staff has little privacy as rooms are now used. They should have their own living room which would be used exclusively by the staff, and it should be comfortably furnished and decorated. It should contain among other things, a radio and popular and professional literature. Also, as already mentioned, the houseparents must have their own apartment. All other staff members in residence should be provided with separate bedrooms, and adequate bathroom facilities not used by the children. Living quarters for the administrator would need to be provided either on the grounds or very close to the institution.

The institution should have an administrative unit which should be separate from the children's quarters to insure quiet and privacy, though it should be readily accessible to the public.⁷⁸ This administrative unit should include an office for the administrator, an office for the caseworker, a separate office for the stenographer, a waiting room for clients, and a bathroom. It should assure privacy for interviewing. The administrative unit should be separate from the children's living quarters because the administrator and the caseworker are not directly involved in the every-day care of the children. The latter function is the job of the houseparents.

Failure to define clearly the functions of staff members can result in untold confusion. Cottage parents or houseparents, for example, must be the substitute parents in the situation. The

⁷⁸A Guide Manual for Children's Institutions, Health and Welfare Council, Inc., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, pp. 22-26.

caseworker on the other hand, is the treatment person on the staff. The caseworker, if not careful to stay within the limits of his unique function, would threaten the houseparents. The caseworker should work through the houseparents in the treatment process, and should fortify and guide the houseparents. If the caseworker is careful to stay within his own sphere of competence in assisting houseparents to work towards treatment of the individual child, then houseparents will feel free to come to the caseworker for help. The child who cannot accept authority, for example, may be referred directly to the caseworker by the houseparents; not in terms of the caseworker punishing the child for failure to cooperate, but, by recognizing his failure to cooperate as being the child's own individual problem, and asking the child to talk to the caseworker about his problem. This should be the normal relationship between the houseparents and the caseworker.

The location of the Home in a small town, surrounded by small farms and woods-lands, makes it an ideal setting for adolescents in some respects. During the summer months, there are job opportunities in harvesting berry crops, etc., for the farmers. Recently, one of the most profitable enterprises for the older boys has been the picking of cascara bark. This bark, which is used for medicinal purposes, is sold by the youngsters for as high as twenty-five cents a pound. One fourteen-year-old youngster earns as much as seventeen dollars a week picking this bark in the woods, drying it in the sun, and sacking it. His earnings are spent in any way that he wishes to use them. It is quite possible, therefore, for ambitious youngsters to earn money in the local area. On the other hand, a youngster accustomed to

the ways and sophistications of the big city might not be satisfied with living in a tiny community such as Poulsbo.

Further light on how such an institution should be organized is shown very effectively by the following, which are statements secured from six adolescents on what would improve the institution in which they had lived. These young men ranged in age from 16 to 20, and they had all been living in various institutions up to a few months before the writing of the statement.

- "1. A bed of my own.
2. Not too many boys in the same room with me. I never feel alone. And not too many big boys who are bullies and get away with it. I like to be alone sometimes. And I like to be with my buddy sometimes. But you always made us do everything in bunches.
3. A few shelves nearby, where I could putter with my airplane or stamp book before I went to bed.
4. A closet nearby where my own clothes could be kept.
5. A cottage mother who loves me like a mother. I don't mind if she's tough, if she's fair. And not so old she can't have fun with us once in a while. And she should look for the best in us kids, not the worst all the time. And she should have snacks with us and laugh with us like Mrs. X used to do.
6. A cottage father who likes us kids, not a guy who's busy fixing his car all the time and won't even let us stand around to see how he does it. He should take us out once in a while to something special like a college football game or a hobby show or something. Who doesn't mind if we yell sometimes and break a chair. And he should be like old Mr. Y. He was old, but he always had fun with us, and he was fair, and he never had much trouble with us kids like the other cottage fathers. And he shouldn't complain about the case-workers and the superintendent and the food.
7. Nice meals like we know kids have in their own homes. In my institution, whenever we saw beef stew we knew it was Wednesday. And we were always right. The girls used to say that the cook only

knew how to make seven things, one for each day of the week. And we don't think it's fair for the grown-ups to eat different things -- except coffee. And why weren't the girls allowed to sit at our table once in a while, sort of mixed up?

8. A chance to be with the girls and learn how to dance and have fun. Now we go to the "Y" and all we do is stand by the door.
9. A little workshop that could be open most of the time, where we could make things that we wanted to make or a place to make a model railroad, like Georgie, here, says he made in his home. Or a place to have magic shows for money, -- selling tickets, and everything. And sometimes a chance to go out with the other kids in town and not feel we were different all the time.

And sometimes a chance to go to town alone and feel like I was like everyone else walking around. And maybe go to the Main Street movie instead of our movie in the auditorium all the time. And join the "Y" hobby club in town.

10. And last -- you told us we could only write the first ten things -- a better chance to find out about our folks when we're in institutions. When they don't come and don't call, we get worried. Especially the little kids and the new kids. And that's what was good about the social worker. She saw us once in awhile, and sometimes we could find out things."⁷⁹

It is hoped that Martha and Mary's could become the kind of institution suggested by these young men. The ability of the Board of Directors and the church to leave professional staff free to work with these children would determine the failure or success, in a large measure, of the program.

Relations with the Church

The institutions are closely connected with one local congregation of the supporting church constituency. The congregation has apparently never been self-supporting, and has been rather

⁷⁹Gula, op. cit., p. 191.

dependent on staffs and populations of the institutions for its membership. This has not been a wholesome situation for the growth and development of the congregation. Neither has it been a helpful situation for the institutional staffs and populations.

Traditionally, staff was recruited from the supporting church constituency, and staff automatically participated in the activities of the local congregation. The situation with regards to staff today, however, is different. Staff is being recruited in many cases with religious backgrounds different from that of the supporting church constituency. This trend may be accentuated in the future as the organization reaches out for more professionally trained people to staff its programs.

The Board of Directors of the organization will need to come to grips with this problem, particularly as it relates to the population of the Children's Home. Traditionally, the "Home's children" attended Sunday School and church services at the local church. It is hardly realistic to assume, however, that all the adolescents living at the Children's Home in the future will be required to attend a particular church. It would seem that teenagers might benefit in their own growth and development if they were permitted to identify with churches of their own religious backgrounds and interests. A very careful evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages of a close tie-up between an institution and a local church congregation would seem to be indicated.

At the time of writing, there is considerable discussion in the supporting church constituency regarding the possibility of merger of the supporting church with a number of other Lutheran synods. Should such a union be completed, much good might result

with respect to the Children's Home. In the local community, the uniting of the congregation of the supporting church with another Lutheran congregation in the community might make a strong, self-supporting congregation in the community which would cease to lean on the institutions for support. Also, union of synods would enlarge, presumably, the supporting church constituency to approximately thirty times its present size. It seems valid to presume that, if this merger or union becomes an eventuality, there will be a greatly increased constituency in the Pacific Northwest area. In this case, future support of the institution might very well be expected to come from the area which the institution serves, which would reduce the institution's dependency on the Middle West. This would be a more realistic financial support than the present system in which financial support for the institution is derived from a geographical area which has no opportunity to use the institution's services. Also, it would greatly broaden the group from which board members might be drawn, and this should strengthen the Board.

If the institution becomes a home for adolescents a new name for the institution is indicated. "Martha and Mary Children's Home" is inappropriate for an institution for adolescents. The Biblical reference to "Martha and Mary" cannot in any way be linked to an institution for adolescents. Also the term "Children's Home" might be resisted by adolescents. To rename it, nothing seems more logical than to commemorate the institution's founder, the Rev. Ingebright Tollefson. Without the efforts of this pastor, the institution would not exist today. "Tollefson House" would be short, lacking any connotation of dependency,

and furthermore, clearly honoring the name of a man who made remarkable contributions to his church.

In conclusion, it must be said that Martha and Mary Children's Home is a private child-caring institution with a proud philanthropic tradition. Naturally it jealously guards its independence. However, there is a general recognition that, in the intimacy of the relatively isolated agency or institution, there is more warmth and personalization and fewer administrative routines and delay than in more formally organized programs. Yet this very fact points up the responsibility which is that of the private agency and institution. As Florence Clothier has said in her excellent article on this subject:

Small private independent agencies and institutions with their own interested boards have an important responsibility to society in addition to the clinical or educational service they provide for the children under their care. The greatest justification of the private agency and institution is that, because of its flexibility and freedom in regard to intake policy, it can serve as a research laboratory in the field of child welfare. Treatment programs and educational measures can be tested in the small homogeneous but flexible institution. Follow-up studies can be carried out. Individual and group therapeutic programs can be evaluated. What is learned in the small agency and institution will, it is hoped, eventually permeate and impregnate the public child caring agencies which carry by far the heaviest case load. It must be confessed that private institutions and agencies, by and large, are failing to avail themselves of their opportunity to be fully useful to society to do the pioneering research jobs that the public agencies cannot do. There is a place for private institutions and agencies but only if they give up complete isolationism. Only when there is continuous self-evaluation and generous coordination will individual children get the type of service most suited to their needs. Only then will each private agency and institution fully justify its existence by its contribution to our store of knowledge.



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