



1993

Education of the Lost, the Left, and the Homeless: Chicago Public Education of Truants, Incurables, and Delinquents from 1899-1990

Jacqueline J. BuFord
Loyola University Chicago

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

EDUCATION OF THE LOST, THE LEFT, AND THE HOMELESS:
CHICAGO PUBLIC EDUCATION OF TRUANTS, INCORRIGIBLES,
AND DELINQUENTS FROM 1899 to 1990

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND POLICY STUDIES

BY

JACQUELINE J. BuFORD

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

MAY, 1993

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Chapter I

FOUNDING OF CHICAGO AND DEPENDENT AND DELINQUENT CHILDREN IN COMMON SCHOOLS

Chicago, the two hundred plus square mile metropolis located on Lake Michigan, began as a mere trading cabin surrounded by hostile Indian tribes. In 1808, growth in Chicago's population and the threat of annihilation by Indians prompted the installation of a fortification called Fort Dearborn. By 1816 the fort had been destroyed by Indians but rebuilt by settlers. Its resilience and that of its inhabitants are credited with producing the first permanent settlement and with founding Chicago.¹

However, during the 1820s and 1830s, Chicago did not flourish until neighboring territories in Illinois were settled. Settlers from the east arrived in Illinois territory during the administration of Governor Shadrach Bond. His administration was successful in the areas of military defense against the Indians, improved food distribution to settlers, and road construction within the state. Subsequently, with the removal of immediate Indian attacks, easier access to food, and improved transportation,

¹George Counts, School and Society in Chicago: American Education. Its Men, Ideas, and Institutions (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1971), 18.

the administration of Governor Bond could then begin to address the issue of education in Illinois.

Among the first laws in the United States to address education was the federal government's Survey or Land Ordinance of 1785. Initially, it mandated that the Ohio River area was to be divided into townships of six square miles, and each township was to be subdivided into thirty-six sections. Section sixteen of the township's thirty-six sections was reserved for the support of education; that is, section sixteen of all surveyed territory north of the Ohio River was a "school section."²

Principles of the Land Ordinance of 1785 reflected the influence of New England Calvinism. They implied that government must provide its citizens access to religious and moral instruction; moreover, tax supported education was the means to accomplish this instruction.³ Accordingly, sale and lease of Section-sixteen lands and taxes levied on personal property and real-estate provided plausible means to support operation and maintenance costs of common school systems in townships of Illinois.⁴

On 26 August 1818, Illinois' official focus on

²John Howatt, Notes on the First One Hundred Years of Chicago School History (Chicago: Board of Education, 1940), 5.

³Hannah Clark, Public Schools of Chicago: A Sociological Study (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1897), 10.

⁴Howatt, Chicago School History, 6.

education began at the state legislative convention in Kaskaskia. Easterners who had relocated in the Illinois territory were familiar with the federal government's Land Ordinance of 1785. Consequently, school laws which emerged during this convention contained principles and language similar to the Land Ordinance of 1785. As a result of this familiarity and of easterners' association with practices in common school education in their former homes east of the Ohio territory, Illinois legislators passed the Enabling Act of 1818. It laid "the foundation for the maintenance of public schools throughout the state."⁵

Viewed by Illinois citizens as a sanction and complement to the federal government's Land Ordinance of 1785, the Illinois Enabling Act of 1818 announced the principles under which land would be taken for school usage. It declared that "religion, morality, and knowledge [were] necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind; [therefore,] schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged [in the State of Illinois]."⁶

Both the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Enabling Act

⁵Clark, Public Schools of Chicago, 11.

⁶ U.S. Congress, Collection of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. XVII, ed. Theodore Calvin Pease, Laws of the U.S. Northwest of the Ohio River: Adapted and made by the Governor and Judges in their Legislative Capacity, at a Session begun on Friday, the XXIX Day of May, One Thousand, Seven Hundred Ninety-five, and Ending Tuesday the Twenty-fifth Day of August (Cincinnati: W. Maxwell, 1796), 128.

of Illinois were visionary in their wish to educate citizens; for although schooling existed in the State of Illinois by 1816, it was "some small volunteer group that convened in the private home of an early settler" and not an attempt to educate all citizens of the settlement.⁷

However, not until the 15 January 1825 did the Illinois General Assembly pass a law "for the establishment of free schools."⁸ In this instance "free" meant nonsectarian.

In 1825, an Act Providing for the Establishment of Free Schools or the Free Law of 1825 of Illinois mandated creation of a common school or common schools in every county of Illinois and financial support of schools by appropriating a sum of two dollars from every \$100 which was received by the State Treasury.⁹ By 1827, the amended version of the Free Law of 1825 stipulated that every county elect school trustees, employ county commissioners to lay school districts, and levy a 2 percent tax "on any person so agreeing and consenting . . . for the support of such school."¹⁰

⁷Clark, Public Schools of Chicago, 10-11.

⁸Illinois, Revised Code of Laws of Illinois, Enacted by the Fifth General Assembly at their session held at Vandalia, 4 December 1826 through 19 February 1827 (Vandalia: Printed by Robert Blackwell, 1827), 364.

⁹Charles D. Jay, The Sesquicentennial One Hundred and Fifty Years of Illinois Education (Illinois: Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1967), 2.

¹⁰Revised Code of Laws of Illinois, 365.

The Free Law of 1825 also reflected ideas and attitudes of educationally progressive settlers who emigrated from New England to the Illinois territory. Easterners transferred their notions of common schooling to the midwest to the fullest degree to which this new environment permitted. Foremost among the notions of these New England emigres who inhabited the northern part of Illinois was the concept that an educated citizenry was the foundation of a stable civic government. Stated simply within the preamble is the belief that:

To enjoy our rights and liberties we must understand them; their security and protection ought to be the first object of a free people; and it is a well established fact that no nation has ever continued long in the enjoyment of civil and political freedom, which was not both virtuous and enlightened; and believing that the advancement of literature has always been and ever will be the way of developing the rights of man, that the mind of every citizen of the republic is the common property of society and constitutes the basis of its strength and happiness; it is, therefore, considered the peculiar duty of a free government like ours, to extend the improvement and cultivation of the intellectual energies of the whole; therefore, Section 1. Be it enacted¹¹

Stephen Forbes, a private citizen of Fort Dearborn, Illinois, was among the first Illinois citizens to accept the notion of an educated citizenry. Accordingly, in 1830 he opened the settlement's first school. Attended by twenty-five children from the fort and a few others who settled nearby, a building on what is now the corner of Michigan Avenue and Randolph Street was used as the fort's

¹¹Ibid., 1.

school.

Although more schools appeared after Forbes', the establishment of schools within Chicago was not a single operation. Opening of successive schools was closely tied to the development of the fort's settlement into a city. In 1831, Cook County was organized, and the appointment of a Commissioner of School Lands was made. By 1833, Chicago had become a town, and its voters, "influenced by the spirit of speculation or to promote public welfare, petitioned for the sale of school lands." As a result, four blocks of the school section (section-sixteen) were sold at auction for \$38,619.47, and interest from this sum was used to establish the first common school in Chicago.¹²

Hiring a Miss Chappel, the school opened in a log house on South Water Street. Twenty-eight children were enrolled. The South Water Street School was the first Illinois school which was developed from a financial plan. This plan proposed establishment of a school fund with money gained from interest accrued from the sale of section-sixteen lands. From this school fund, teachers' salaries were to be paid. This Water Street School was the first school financed with public funds; therefore, it is credited with being Chicago's first public or common school.¹³

¹²Clark, Public Schools of Chicago, 12.

¹³Illinois, Laws of the State of Illinois Passed by the Eleventh General Assembly at Vandalia, on the 3 December 1838, sec. 3 (Vandalia: William Walters Public Printer, 1839), 215.

Through acts of the Illinois legislation, cities and towns of the state received uniform instructions which addressed education within their localities. However, Chicago's sudden growth in population, particularly growth in its children population, caused Illinois legislators to direct many laws specifically at the city and other urban areas with populations of more than 100,000 inhabitants. Special legislation began on 6 February 1835. Amended in 1840, the law was passed for "Township 39, Range 14, East, Principal Meridian (Chicago)."¹⁴ It mandated annual election of Trustees of Schools by legal voters on the first Monday in June. This annual election opened positions for five to seven trustees who would examine teachers, select books, visit schools, and recommend school sites.¹⁵ Each Chicago common school district was also to elect three trustees who would employ teachers, keep the schools free, see that all white children attended school, and levy taxes for all expenses except teachers' salaries, if the taxes were never more that one-half of one percent on taxable property.¹⁶ Duties and responsibilities dictated by this new legislative act created an organizational pattern which

¹⁴Ibid., sec. 1, 215.

¹⁵Illinois, Laws of the State of Illinois Passed by the Twelfth General Assembly, held at Springfield, on 7 December 1840, "Organization of Common Schools, and Application of Interests," sec. 48 (Springfield: William Walters, Public Printers, 1841), 270.

¹⁶Clark, Public Schools of Chicago, 38.

was based on the New England district system.¹⁷

Evidence of New Englanders' influence on education in Illinois began as early as the 1818 Kaskaskia convention. Accordingly, the union between Chicago school affairs and Chicago politics was accomplished by a New Englander, J.Y. Scammon, a relocated Maine attorney who established himself in the City Council.¹⁸

Scammon orchestrated a union between the city's school and politics by giving complete control of Chicago schools and school finances to the Chicago City Council in 1839. This new and centralized control may have been a response to the closing of Chicago schools by school trustees in 1838. School closing was a result of an ill used \$36,000 school fund which had been loaned at interest rates which were too low to accrue enough funds to support Chicago's five school districts. As a result, the city council of 1839 was charged with the responsibility of appointing a "board of inspectors" to oversee administration of city schools. In 1857, these inspectors became the Chicago Board of Education.¹⁹

As the Chicago City Council gained control over school administration, it entrusted school inspectors with the

¹⁷Ibid., 11.

¹⁸Ibid., 38.

¹⁹Joan K. Smith, Ella Flagg Young: Portrait of a Leader (Iowa: Educational Studies Press and the Iowa State University Research Foundation, 1979), 10-11.

responsibility of bringing uniformity to the common school's program of instruction. Earliest attempts at achieving school uniformity involved textbooks usage. "Regulations for Schools" (1841) contained the first list of authorized textbooks. They were Worcester's Primer, The Elementary Speller, Exercises in Composition and Parley's First, Second and Third Books of History. Additionally, "Regulations for Schools" included curriculums in the subject areas of reading, grammar, spelling, composition, geography, arithmetic, algebra, and history; furthermore, it advocated daily reading of the Bible but without comment. These regulations also denoted that schools were to be attended five and one-half days per week, and a vacation of four weeks was allowed per year. In the 1840s, more than three thousand students in Chicago's five school districts followed school inspectors' directives listed in "Regulations for Schools."²⁰

On the other hand, efforts of school inspectors were more effective in achieving uniformity in textbooks usage than in relieving overcrowding in Chicago classrooms. In 1845, to relieve overcrowding, the first permanent school was constructed at a cost of \$7500.²¹ Unfortunately, school construction could not keep pace with increases in Chicago's population or school enrollment. At thirteen

²⁰Clark, Public Schools of Chicago, 14-15.

²¹Ibid., 66.

hundred pupils and eighteen teachers, school enrollment and teacher employment during the 1840s was four and a half times greater than during the 1830s.

Overcrowding continued into the 1850s. In 1853, the city's population had reached 59,130, and school enrollment was 3,086 pupils and thirty-four teachers. By 1859, school enrollment had reached 6,578 pupils and one hundred and one teachers. A year later 1,178 additional students and twenty-two teachers were noted in the annual board report. Many classrooms enrolled more than 100 pupils; some primary teachers had two hundred to three hundred in a room. Average student-teacher ratio in primary school was eighty-one to one.²² School districts were forced to increase their number from five to seven. Unfortunately, schools remained ungraded and practically independent in method.

In response to continued overcrowding and lack of uniformity in the school system, the Chicago City Council created the Office of Superintendent. This office was held accountable for introducing order and uniformity into Chicago school's organization and operations. The superintendent was "to serve as a kind of secretary to the school inspector."²³

²²Chicago Public Schools, Department of Public Instruction, City of Chicago Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending February 1, 1860 (Chicago: Press and Tribune Book and Job Printing Office, 1860), 2.

²³Smith, Ella Flagg Young, 10-11.

Bringing teaching experience and administrative skills to the office of superintendent of schools, a New Englander, John C. Dore (1854-1856), became Chicago's first common school superintendent in 1854. Under his leadership, every child's name was recorded on a school roster, and a daily record of attendance was kept for each enrolled student. Dore advocated a "general examination [of] all children so that they could be classified according to their progress." Additionally, during Dore's administration, recitation and memory as methods of instruction were discouraged, and lack of parental involvement in public education was criticized. He examined classes, organized departments, and insisted on uniform textbooks.²⁴ Furthermore, Dore is also credited with specifically improving the educational environments of older boys who, at the time, were placed in ungraded elementary classrooms with younger children. He provided advanced academic and vocational training for these older boys and relieved overcrowded, ungraded, elementary school classrooms by providing additional classrooms specifically for older children.²⁵

City administrators attempted to follow Dore's efforts and unify Chicago schools. On 16 February 1857, the amended Chicago charter abolished the school district system which emulated New England's organizational scheme. The amended

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid., 42.

charter created a centralized school system. This centralized system became the Chicago Board of Education.²⁶ While increasing the number of school inspectors to fifteen, the charter attempted to use the centralized administration to diminish creation of a common school organization which would be a reflection of political influences and political divisions within the city.²⁷

Following Dore's departure, the newly created Chicago Board of Education worked in coordination with another New Englander, William H. Wells of Massachusetts (1856-1864). Superintendent Wells' philosophy of education was "that education should be free and universal" He advocated the notion that common schooling, within the state, secured the state and, subsequently, the nation from political instability. To Wells, uneducated men and women were "a dangerous element in a free Republic."²⁸ To eliminate this dangerous element, Wells believed education should begin with the very young child. Consequently, he began training board teachers in Pestalozzian and Froebelian theories and methods, and he encouraged inclusion of these theories and practices in Chicago elementary schools'

²⁶Howatt, Chicago School History, 11.

²⁷Clark, Public Schools of Chicago, 39.

²⁸Chicago Public Schools, Fourth Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Public Schools of the City of Chicago for the Year Ending February 1, 1858 (Chicago: Chicago Daily Press, Book and Job Print, 1858), 19.

program of instruction.²⁹

Arriving in Chicago when poverty and crime were noted among city children, the notion of common schooling became Wells's platform from which he could affect change in a growing, uneducated, urban population. City administrators hitched on to Wells's notion of common schooling and passed the Chicago City Ordinance of 1858 which stipulated that "free instruction shall be provided for all children residing within the limits of the city, who are over the age of five years, and who desire to attend the public schools"³⁰

Although the language of the ordinance of 1858 appeared to have had humanitarian and moral intents, the ordinance also possessed economic and social implications. Chicago citizens' fear of escalating deviant behavior among urban youths, namely criminal behavior and economic dependency, prompted city officials to include delinquent and dependent children in the common school's educational programs.

Passing from rural simplicity to urban complexity, Chicago's population during the 1860s escalated to 109,000; half of these residents were foreign born. Crime flourished in the city. Organized gangs roamed the streets, thievery

²⁹Smith, Ella Flagg Young, 10.

³⁰Fourth Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Public Schools of the City of Chicago for the Year Ending February 1, 1858, 19.

was rampant, and gambling was reported as "wide opened." Chicago was becoming a growing commercial center. One hundred commercial establishments appeared on North Avenue and South Water Street. These enterprises were accompanied by houses of "ill fame," saloons, and dram parlors. For every one church, there were seventeen saloons. Furthermore, civic and social authorities noted a growing number of compulsory education age juveniles among lawless elements in the city in the 1860s.³¹ Non-attendance (lack of school enrollment) and truancy (lack of school attendance) among urban boys had become a social concern in Chicago which required attention.

City administrators gave the responsibility of getting unenrolled and truant city children into programs which nurtured development of morals and vocational skills to the Chicago Board of Education. These children, whom common schools would educate, were identified by the board as orphans, neglected and abandoned, truants, delinquents, and classroom incorrigibles. They differed in circumstance which rendered them socially deviant; however, they were either dependents or delinquents, and they held truancy or non-attendance in common.³²

³¹Clara L. McCausland, Children of Circumstances: A History of the First 125 Years (1849-1974) of Chicago Child Care Society (Chicago: R.R. Donnelly and Sons., 1976), 36.

³²Edith Abbott and Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, Truancy and Non-attendance in Chicago Schools: A Study of the Social Aspects of Compulsory Education and Child Labor Legislation of

Among the first to argue for the education of deviant students was School Board President Luther Haven. In 1859, stating that "ignorance and crime go hand in hand," Mr. Haven's report to the board of education stated his conviction that

Ill educated children and no educated children educated themselves in ways that are prejudicial to the best interest of society. These children fill the reform schools, bridewells, and penitentiaries; and the community which does not educated them must provide means for sustaining them in a reformatory or penal institution.³³

Haven saw a direct relationship between ignorance, poverty and crime. For the deviant student, Haven advocated education, thrift, and virtue. His notion of "a good education," to which he referred in his board report, included instruction in reading and writing, complemented with moral and religious training. These, he believed, inherently led to a life of thrift and virtue.³⁴

New York City was seen by Haven as typical of cities with large urban populations and as exemplifying those problems of moral corruption, crime, and poverty which accompany urban areas. In citing New York's crime statistics from 1840 through 1849, the relationship between deviant

Illinois (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917), 153.

³³Chicago Public Schools, Department of Instruction, City of Chicago Report of the President of the Board of Education and Fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools for the Year Ending February 1, 1859 (Chicago: Book and Job Printing Office of Scott and Co., 1859), 5.

³⁴Ibid., 6.

behavior and education was apparent to Haven. Data on arrested criminals during this nine year period denoted that of 27,949 convicted criminals, only one hundred and twenty-eight were well educated; half could read and write; and 13,112 had no education at all. Citing statistics from the years 1847 and 1848 as typical of New York's annual crime rate, Haven noted that of 1122 convicted persons, only six were reported as "well educated," and only twenty-two of the 1122 criminals indicated that they had received a common school education. The following year, New York statistics illustrated the same trend: 1345 were convicted of crimes; ten had good education; and twenty-three had received a common school education.³⁵ Apparently, to Haven and other Chicagoans, poverty and crime were the directions in which the ill and the uneducated of Chicago were headed. Options considered by the Chicago Board of Education were to either build more reformatories, bridewells or penitentiaries or to educate dependent and delinquent children to socially acceptable behavior and financial independence.

In March of 1867, the Chicago City Council agreed with Haven's predictions. City and state administrators mobilized resources and produced laws which stipulated procedures that would govern education. The Chicago City Council passed an ordinance which lengthened the school term from the first Monday of September to 2 January of the

³⁵Ibid.

following year. Later, council action extended the term to the Monday after the first Friday in May. Moreover, this ordinance granted full control of the new high school to the Board of Education with the condition that high school would be free to children thirteen years or older, and high school would provide a four year course with a two year training course in the normal department for pupils who were at least sixteen.³⁶

Attempts to provide free schools to children in the state continued. In 1870, a guaranteed free school education for all (white) city children was made official by the State of Illinois Constitution of 1870. Article VIII, Section I guaranteed "a thorough and efficient system of free schools, whereby all the children of this State may receive a good common school education."³⁷ This 1870 state constitution also made the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction a permanent position and its administrator "the principal officer of [education in] the State" of Illinois.³⁸

Establishment and maintenance of free schools in Illinois remained a concern of the Illinois General Assembly. Approved by the assembly on 1 April 1872, and

³⁶Clark, Public Schools of Chicago, 41.

³⁷Jay, One Hundred and Fifty Years of Illinois History, 6.

³⁸Ibid.

amended and approved 30 March 1874, again amended on 30 May 1877 and 31 May 1879, the Law for Establishment and Maintenance of Free Schools in Illinois eventually included all children and every aspect of education. Accordingly, African American children of Illinois were granted a common school education in the free school act. The approved 24 March 1874 amendment finally mandated the "protection of colored children in their rights to attend public schools."³⁹

Although common schools for all children were provided through statutes and ordinances, non-attendance, truancy and illiteracy flourished in the city. By 1875, Chicago's school population had escalated to seven hundred teachers and an average daily attendance rate of 33,000 students; however, daily attendance of 33,000 students was only 67 percent of the total number of children enrolled in Chicago's common schools. Additionally, perusal of a sample population of 27,865 Chicago citizens illustrated that 7,350 persons older than ten could not read; 3,198 could not write; and more than 35 of every 1,000 persons older than

³⁹Illinois, Laws of the State of Illinois, Passed by the Thirty-sixth General Assembly At the Regular Session which Convened at the Capitol, in Springfield, on the Ninth Day of January, A.D. 1889, and Adjourned Sine Die on the Twenty-eighth Day of May, A.D., 1889 (Springfield, Illinois: H.W. Rokker, Printer and Binder, 1889), 341.

ten years of age were illiterate.⁴⁰ To Chicago administrators, these statistics were frightfully representative of Chicago's entire population.

Although free schools had been offered to Illinois citizens as early as 1825, state mandated compulsory education remained out of the reach of many children seven through thirteen years of age until public awareness of the ills of child labor, of excessive truancy, and of juvenile crime forced the passage of a series of state mandated compulsory education laws. On 23 June 1883 an Act to Promote Elementary Education, Chicago's first compulsory education law, was passed. It stated that every child between 8 and 14 must attend school as least 12 weeks in each year, unless the board of education or school directors excused him "for any good cause"; that is, the child was being taught elsewhere, or his health forbade attendance, or there was no school within two miles of his home.⁴¹ The 1883 compulsory education law also mandated that parents or guardians who were found guilty of violating compulsory education laws were to be fined five to twenty dollars by a court of records or justice of the peace, and penalty for

⁴⁰Chicago Public Schools, Department of Public Instruction, City of Chicago Nineteenth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 2, 1873 (Chicago: Bryant, Walker and Company, Book and Job Printers, 1873), 36.

⁴¹Laws of the State of Illinois Enacted by the Thirty-third General Assembly at the session which Commenced 3 January 1883 and Adjourned 18 June 1883, sec. 1 (Springfield: H.W. Rokker's Printing House, 1883), 167.

non-enforcement of the act by a board of education or its directors was a fine of ten dollars.⁴²

Unfortunately, the Act to Promote Elementary Education was not enforced. Therefore, the Illinois General Assembly stepped in and passed another compulsory education law in 1887. It also was not enforced, and in 1888 an attempt was made by the Chicago Board of Education at compulsory education when the board appointed a committee to draft a new bill that was to be a more effective substitute for the state's 1887 compulsory education law. This Chicago effort was not accepted by the state's general assembly; however, the bill was supported by the then powerful Chicago Woman's Club and the Trade and Labor Assembly which supported the board of education's efforts to provide common schooling to Chicago children.

On 24 March 1889, another compulsory education law was passed by the Illinois General Assembly. At this time compulsory education included ages seven through fourteen; it lengthened school attendance to sixteen weeks, of which eight had to be consecutive or else the child's parents or guardians had to provide proof of home teaching, attendance elsewhere, or a physician's certificate of ill health. The law also appointed truant officers and permitted them to

⁴²Ibid., sec. 3, 167.

enforce attendance laws;⁴³ furthermore, it mandated that schools teach English, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and United States history. Prescribing a penalty of three through twenty dollars for parents or guardians who did not comply with the law, the Compulsory Education Law of 1889 empowered truant officers with authority to arrest "any loafing child" and fine a parent or guardian for rendering false statements in explaining why his child was not attending school. Additionally, the law authorized the board of education to prosecute in police or municipal courts, before police justices or county judges, the parent or guardian of the truant child.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, the Compulsory Education Law of 1889 also was not enforced according to its provisions, and truant officers were forced to rely on "persuasion"⁴⁵ to achieve school attendance.

Troubled by continued truancy and its emerging association with poverty, juvenile crime, and, of course, illiteracy, a detailed study of Chicago common school drop-outs was undertaken in 1892. Albert G. Lane, Superintendent of Chicago's common schools (1891-1898), presented data

⁴³Illinois, Laws of the State of Illinois Passed by the Thirty-sixth General Assembly, At the Regular Biennial Session which Convened at the Capitol in Springfield on the Ninth Day of January, A.D., 1889, and Adjourned Sine Die on the Twenty-eighth Day of May, A.D., 1889, Article XVI, sec. 4 (Springfield, Illinois: H. W. Rokker, Printer, and Binder, 1889), 341. This law was passed on 21 May 1889.

⁴⁴Ibid., 45.

⁴⁵Clark, Public Schools of Chicago, 30.

which illustrated that between 1889 and 1894 25 to 35 percent of Chicago Public School children left school at the end of third grade. In fact, Lane noted an apparent pattern of school absenteeism during the school year or 1889-1890. Examination of records of students who entered first grade in 1889 indicated that 89 percent continued to second grade; 80 percent of second graders continued to third grade; 65 percent of third graders continued to fourth grade; and only 61 percent, of the total number of children entering public school six years earlier, entered sixth grade. Concurrently, examination of the enrollment of the next years's first grade class (1890-1891) through six successive grades illustrated the following declines in enrollment: by second grade, 92.34 percent remained; 85 percent remained by third grade; 76.9 percent remained in fourth grade; 70.7 percent remained in fifth grade; and 52 percent of those student who enrolled in public school six years earlier entered sixth grade.⁴⁶ Corroborated by the 1890 census, data on Illinois illustrated that a 35 percent drop-out rate among children of the state existed within the state for children fifteen years of age and older.⁴⁷

The preceding data allowed Superintendent Lane to

⁴⁶Ibid., 100.

⁴⁷U. S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890, Part II, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897), 137.

speculate that by 1894, of those children who entered first grade, approximately 25 to 35 percent would leave the Chicago Public School System within six years. Lane therefore speculated that nine thousand more students would leave school at the end of first grade in the 1895-96 school year, and an additional eighteen thousand would leave before 1901. To combat this trend, Superintendent Lane advocated an improved course of study and a lengthened school year. These improvements he felt, would decrease truancy, dropping-out, and illiteracy in Chicago. Moreover, they would keep children off city streets.

In 1893, the 1889 Compulsory Education Law was amended by Illinois legislators. The amendment increased the school attendance requirement from eight to twelve consecutive weeks. In Chicago as within other Illinois school districts, penalties and convictions of parents or guardians convicted of not sending Chicago children to school were provided. A fine of one to twenty dollars was mandated.⁴⁸ However, the board of education was reluctant to prosecute parents and guardians under this new law, even though truant officers were reporting cases of non-attendance.⁴⁹

Although Superintendent Lane worked diligently to

⁴⁸All the Laws of the State of Illinois Passed by the Thirty-eight General Assembly, Convened January 4, 1893 Adjourned June 16, 1893, sec. 313 (Chicago: Chicago Legal News Company, 1893), 128.

⁴⁹Ibid., 29-30.

bring compulsory education age children into Chicago classrooms, big business, specifically factory owners and domestic employers, benefitted from overcrowded schools, early dropout, and family poverty.

"Industrial children," as child laborers were called, were among those children who left public school at third grade. They were employed in Chicago industries but viewed by members of the industrial world as individuals with no idea of geography, of history, or of the world in which they lived; with no sense of the beauty of literature; and with little ability at pronouncing sentences, the meaning of which they had no understanding or appreciation.⁵⁰

Furthermore, industrialists complained that many children who remained in school beyond third grade were still unprepared for the work force. To the industrialist of Chicago, common schools permitted city children to leave elementary school with neither mastery of penmanship, bookkeeping, nor abilities in rapid numerical computation.⁵¹ Employers argued that these children were not suited for sophisticated technology which had begun to appear in Chicago factories during the 1890s.

On the other hand, Chicago educators considered their

⁵⁰Ibid., 112

⁵¹Chicago Public Schools, Public Schools of the City of Chicago Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 24, 1898 (Chicago: John F. Higgins Print, 1898), 49.

third grade common school curriculum to be among the finest in the country. Third grade, the grade during which most truancy began, offered a curriculum which provided instruction in the fundamental processes of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division; in the common measures; in the different denominations of U. S. money; in the simple reduction of common numbers; in reading, spelling, and writing "a fair hand"; in three years of nature study of phenomena of the different seasons; and in writing of simple compositions. Additionally, the third grade curriculum provided instruction in simple songs and musical intervals; instruction in drawing the principal geometric forms, with some free expression of ideas through color and paper-cutting; instruction in stories from history and literature; and instruction in selections of poetry that would be committed to memory.⁵²

While Chicago educators examined its third grade curriculum, truancy remained a problem. Moreover, court records, "which seem to be very little changed from year to year in the proportion of children of different ages,"⁵³ illustrated that children as young as seven years of age were brought into court for non-attendance, truancy or violating school rules.

⁵²Clark, Public Schools of Chicago, 110.

⁵³Abbott and Breckenridge, Truancy and Non-attendance in Chicago, 152.

Departure of boys and, to a lesser extent, girls, from Chicago public schools in the mid-through-late nineteenth century has been attributed to family poverty in a city which simultaneously wrestled with immigration, urbanization, and industrialization. Poverty forced parents and guardians to send young children into Chicago's work force as soon as these children were able to master menial industrial tasks.⁵⁴

By 1890, Chicago's population had reached 1,099,850.⁵⁵ Like many other urban areas during the 1890s, Chicago had become the home of hundreds of thousands of European immigrants; in fact, 449,628 of Chicago's residents were foreign-born whites, and 412,164 were native-born white with foreign-born parents. Most immigrants were by vocation farmers or rural tradesmen from Ireland, Germany, and Italy. On the other hand, Chicago had also become home for 14,852 African Americans. Many of these individuals had left tenant farming or sharecropping in the rural South.⁵⁶ Finding jobs in Chicago's factories, in meat packing houses, on the railroads, or in the grain or lumber market, these newly arrived urbanites joined an unskilled Chicago

⁵⁴Jane Addams, "Child Labor and Pauperism," National Conference of Charities and Corrections (1903): 115.

⁵⁵Department of the Interior Census Office, Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890 Part II, 167.

⁵⁶Ibid.

population which had been steadily growing since the early nineteenth century. Immigrants, African Americans and poor whites formed a lower socio-economic strata of urban poor which lived in overcrowded, unsanitary tenements and experienced urban trauma in environments frequented by vice and crime. Acquisition of food, shelter, and clothing were foremost in the minds of the city's poor. Consequently, many poor children, like their parents, did not place value on school or education.

The Chicago census of 1896 showed the city's population of school age children at 451,597 of which parochial and private schools enrolled only 68,883. Furthermore, in 1896 seventy-eight percent of the City's inhabitants were immigrants, and 80,000 of the city's children were foreign born. Census data on school age children in the seven through fourteen year old age group indicated that 7,000 children were truant from school on any school day, and twelve thousand of the city's children under sixteen years of age were employed full-time, despite an 1891 and 1893 child labor law which forbade employment of children and which required four months school attendance per year. Additionally, Chicago's political leaders and social workers estimated that non-attendance for fifth graders was 70 percent; that is, 70 percent of Chicago children never entered fifth grade. Furthermore, the average length of stay at school continued to be only three

years.⁵⁷

Although common school laws of Illinois and Chicago mandated attendance of all compulsory age children, desperately poor children were not attending common schools of Chicago, however, neither were children from very wealthy families attending publicly funded schools. A peculiar schism, defined by an economic disparity among parents of compulsory education age children manifested itself in Chicago schools as early as 1816. As a trading post or fort with a nearby settlement, Chicago's wealthy families, military officers, and fur traders did not educate their sons and daughters with other less financially able children of settlement families. In 1853, official establishment of publicly funded schools for settlement families continued the trend of common schools for the less financially able.⁵⁸ As a result, the blemish (the association of wealth and success with private schools and the association of lack of affluence and failure with common schools) accompanied Chicago publicly funded schools through the nineteenth century. Accordingly, a pattern of attendance emerged in Chicago schools in which the extremely wealthy and the extremely poor did not utilize tax supported education.

Tutors or special schools, generally referred to as

⁵⁷Department of the Interior, Census Office, 137.

⁵⁸Howatt, Chicago School History, 7.

academies, accommodated educational pursuits of children from wealthy families. On the other hand, children of desperately poor families in Chicago found common schools out of their reach. These children were either dependent, delinquent, or dependent and delinquent, and of course, truant. By categories and description in Illinois, dependent children were orphans whose parents or guardians were deceased or children abandoned or neglected by their parents or guardians. On the other hand, delinquent and criminal children were those who had violated school rules or who were involved in criminal activities. Dependent, delinquent, criminal, and working children formed a population of truants who required special legislation to affect change in their care, protection, and education. Desperately poor and socially deviant from mainstream Chicago society, dependent and delinquent children were frequent participants in criminal activities or victims of overwork and abuse in area industries. Although working in unison, compulsory education and child labor laws lacked effective judicial enforcement before 1900.

Lawyers, social workers, ministers, and other socially conscious individuals troubled by rise in juvenile crime and by the treatment of juveniles by the courts and jails, stunned by conditions of child labor, and alarmed by the growing population of foreigners in Chicago brought the plight of dependent and delinquent children to the attention

of local city administrators. As a result, in response to the humanitarian zeal and noted growth of crime among the urban poor of the era, Chicago educators proposed an educational objective which concentrated on educating all children

So that each ward of the Commonwealth may become an integral and efficient member of the body politic who will contribute the best product of his thought and powers to the enlightenment and prosperity of the State All children have the right of a full and free use of all available means whereby he may secure his own development and gain such mental powers as will make him an efficient agent in determining not only his own but his neighbor's welfare, for it is a law of social reciprocity that no man can live unto himself alone, and the community prosper.⁵⁹

Similarly, Chicago educators also focused on immigrant children and viewed the role of city educators as "undertakers of the work of educating youth for citizenship."⁶⁰ Through laws and efforts, Illinois legislators and Chicago educators utilized laws which mandated establishment and maintenance of tax supported schools to educate Illinois children to be intelligent, economically self-sustaining citizens in a homogenous environment. Credited with being the foundation of civic stability, an intelligent, economically self-sustaining

⁵⁹Chicago Public Schools, Public Schools of the City of Chicago: Forty-first Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 28, 1895 (Chicago: J.M.W. Jones Stationery and Printing Company, 1895), 16.

⁶⁰Public Schools of the City of Chicago Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 24, 1898 (Chicago: F. Higgins Print, 1898), 47.

citizenry inherently discouraged growth of a dependent and delinquent social class and diminished the probability of creating an array of social institutions ranging from orphanages to penitentiaries.⁶¹

Accordingly, Illinois' enabling acts which mandated establishment and maintenance of free schools for the education of "all children between the ages of six and twenty-one years"⁶² were used as legal sources to substantiate inclusion of deviant children in Chicago's common school's educational environment. As a result, laws mandating compulsory education could be used to provide educational programs to orphaned, neglected, abandoned, delinquent, incorrigible, criminal, and homeless children.⁶³ However, lacking in the Chicago common schools' educational program for dependent and delinquent truants were an instrument which would enforce education of deviant children and effective programs of instruction which would affect rehabilitation or reform of deviant behavior.

A history of care, protection, and education of dependent and delinquent children in America with emphasis on Chicago is a prerequisite to an understanding of deviant students, their dilemmas, and the legislation and

⁶¹Hull House Bulletin, vol. II (June 1887), 5.

⁶²Laws of the State of Illinois Passed by the Thirty-sixth General Assembly, Article XVI, sec. 4, 341.

⁶³Hull House Bulletin, vol. III (April and May 1899), 10.

institutions which were created to educate them in Chicago
common schools.

Chapter II

EUROPEAN MODELS SET THE STAGE FOR SHELTER, CARE, PROTECTION, AND EDUCATION OF CHICAGO DEPENDENTS AND DELINQUENTS

The question of how to provide shelter, protection and education to children in the North American colonies who were orphaned, neglected, abandoned, delinquent, or adjudicated criminals was a matter with which the colonial townspeople were concerned. This concern, like early governmental and educational organizations and practices in the colonies emulated European models. Therefore, an understanding of colonial provisions of shelter, protection, care, and education to colonial children is best understood if a description and history of these provisions to European dependent, delinquent, and criminal children is presented.

Provision of housing and protection to socially dependent European children before the seventeenth century was not a separate issue from provision of housing and protection to dependent adults. Housed with those adults who were unable to provide for themselves, dependent children and adults were collectively called the poor. As members of "the poor," children were included in the

harshest as well as the most benevolent of measures which applied to this group; for according to secular and religious laws, children were miniature adults, and hence held personally accountable for their circumstances.

The Corpus Juris Civilis, a body of civil and Roman laws compiled and published under Justinian's authority around 528-534 A.D., is credited with being the first formal document which explicated provisions for the poor of Europe. It became formally known as the Decretum in c.1148 when it was privately compiled by Gratian, a monk of Bologna, Italy. As a result of papal influence, the Corpus Juris Civilis, the Decretum, is viewed as the foundation of secular and religious laws in most of Continental Europe. Its body is a composite of papal decrees, church council canons, and commentaries of Gratian and church lawyers. As late as 1582, other church writings and decrees were added to it by popes and Catholic church officials.¹

Among the Decretum's civil laws was an extensive discussion of the theory and practice of charity. In its totality, the Decretum connoted that "poverty was not a crime"; and shelter and protection of the poor were the responsibility of society.² The Catholic Church was naturally the administrator and supervisor of social welfare because tithing (at the time a compulsory tax) was the

¹Walter I. Tratter, From Poor Law to Welfare State: History of Social Welfare in America, 4th ed. (New York: Free Press, A Division of Macmillan, Inc., 1989), 3.

²Ibid.

foundation of relief for the European poor during the medieval period. Of course, the poor included parentless, abandoned, neglected, and delinquent children.

Church relief to socially dependent individuals was not the sole source of aid to the medieval poor. It was supplemented by the European feudal system which was based on land and agriculture. As early as the eleventh century, landed aristocrats provided serfs, workers of the land, with protection against destitution if destitution were caused by illness, seasonal unemployment, or old age. This protection was secured by serfs in exchange for their labor and curtailment of their individual freedom.³ On the other hand, for the small group of poor individuals who did not provide manual labor to the landed aristocracy, local religious monasteries provided temporary relief from destitution. Among services provided to the poor by monasteries were shelter and protection of orphans, indigents, and the aged; and hospital services of medical assistance and shelter.⁴

In the fifteenth century, as the feudal system of relief to the poor declined, church assistance experienced its greatest activity. Protection and shelter which had been granted to serfs by the landed gentry diminished in extensiveness. Labor shortages on large, landed estates

³Ibid., 4.

⁴Ibid., 5.

were created by three waves of the Black Death plague (1348-49, 1361-62, and 1368-69), and by widespread population movements of serfs from large farm estates to European cities. This movement of the poor to cities produced disease infested, urban pockets of poverty and crime and placed many unsheltered, destitute individuals on European city streets. These urban areas of severe poverty alarmed established monarchs and noble families.

In England under King Edward III, official attempts to decrease growing numbers of urban poor was initiated. Edward attempted to restrict movement of the poor and thereby retain them in the country on large estates. Of course, Edward's restrictions were supported by English aristocrats; consequently, he enacted the Statute of Laborers of 1349. It fixed maximum wages, restricted travel of the unemployed, and forbade giving charity to "sturdy and valiant alms-seekers."⁵

The affect of the Statue of Laborers lasted for nearly two hundred years. Following Edward's lead, Parliament attempted to curtail growth in the number of urban settlers by putting the poor to work. Supplementing Edward's Statue of Laborers, Parliament enacted the Parliamentary Acts of 1531 and 1536. They provided severe punishment by flogging until bloodied; or branding, enslavement, and execution for repeated offenses of begging by sturdy individuals who were

⁵Ibid., 8.

capable of working. While the Act of 1531 provided severe disciplinary measures for the able-bodied but lazy individual, its counterpart, the 1536 Act for the Punishment of Sturdy Vagabonds and Beggars, included an order for compassion in which church officials were charged with protection for the poor, lame, sick, and aged. The 1536 Act also made the parish, through its church, the local unit of relief for the poor.⁶

By the 1590s, food scarcity and widespread famine, high prices and inflation, and uncertainty and great suffering among the poor made rioting and thievery modes of behavior among the European urban poor. Natural calamities of crop failure, famine, pestilence, and the Black Death ravaged the country, and political struggles between factions of powerful royal families created periods of civil unrest and social hysteria in English cities. The church's role in relief to the poor of Europe escalated as a result of decades of natural and civil disorder. These natural and civil calamities stimulated European urban growth in areas which became characterized by severe poverty.⁷

Although urban poverty and homelessness were rampant in English cities, the role of the church in providing relief for the poor declined in England during the 1500s. Nationalization of Catholic Church land by Henry VIII and

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., 10.

corruption of church officials set the stage for the Protestant Reformation. As Henry attempted to use church funds to enrich his treasury and to finance a war in Europe in which England would emerge as a superpower, the Reformation and the crown supplanted the role of the Catholic church in the lives of the English people.

By the 1590s, social and economic changes displaced remnants of the feudal order. Gradually increased individual freedom, growth in commerce and international trade, and an economy based on money took root in Europe. Consequently, a life style based on agriculture and handicrafts gradually gave way to a lifestyle suited to European urban society. As a result, a cyclical sequence of unemployment based on supply and demand rather than a seasonal sequence of unemployment began to be experienced by the urban poor of England. However, amid economic changes and growing poverty in England came new ideas of individual freedom, economic trends of an international scope, and a growing new middle class. These social changes and new ideas of individual freedom prompted an intense demand for social order in a country without a standing army. Suddenly, national security and economic growth required putting the poor to work or risking civil insurrection.⁸

Safeguarding her authority and power against national insurrection, Elizabeth I of England enacted the Poor Law of

⁸Ibid.

1601. It decreed that parents were legally liable for the support of their children and grandchildren; children were responsible for the shelter and protection of their needy parents and grandparents; and vagrants who refused work were to be committed to a house of correction, or branded, or put in a pillory, or stoned, or put to death. This measure of 1601, by law, removed responsibility for the poor, homeless, and needy from the hands of the church, and it placed enforcement of relief to the poor under civil authority and civil administration. Additionally, it defined who the socially dependent were, and it prescribed measures of relief for them. Individuals who had relied on society for shelter and protection were categorized as the dependent child, the unemployed able-bodied, and the impotent. Civil authorities mandated the following for each category: dependent children were to be presented with means of securing a livelihood, namely apprenticeship; able-bodied individuals were to be put to work; and the "incapacitated, helpless, or 'worthy' poor were to be given either home or institutional relief."⁹

The notion that the poor were entitled to public relief was brought to America in the early 1600s by English colonists, and it set the stage for care and, later, education of the colonial poor. As in England, work was the solution to social assistance of colonial poor children and

⁹Ibid., 10.

adults, and education was the means through which vocational and religious training were imparted. This combination of work and religious training was entrusted with producing vocationally trained, economically independent, moral adults.

English colonists accepted the notion of vocational and moral training of colonial dependents. Beginning with the 1619 settlement at Virginia and followed by the Massachusetts Bay settlement, compulsory labor laws were passed that declared that "no idle drone be permitted to live amongst us"¹⁰ without the infliction of harsh punishment such as whipping, exile from the settlement, or jail. Within this declaration which inhibited settlement of dependent individuals in American colonies was the subtle association of poverty with evil or moral corruption. Able-bodied individuals who spent time "idly or unprofitable" were viewed by colonists as criminals in the community. Idleness was viewed as the work of the devil. Accordingly, it was the role of the town's trustees, overseers of morality in colonial communities, to bind-out or indenture the idle, able-bodied settler and the dependent child.¹¹

Social dependents were subject to binding-out methods that colonials adapted to their community's population and

¹⁰Ibid., 22.

¹¹Ibid.

treasury. Binding out of orphaned, abandoned, neglected or other children involved one of three methods. First, the farming out or contract system, generally was reserved for poor adult, but some poor children were included in this method. Here an individual agreed to work for a stipulated period of time in exchange for housing, food, or other rudiments necessary for his existence in the settlement. Second, indenture, in which an apprentice was bound to a craftsman by formal contract, was the usual binding-out method reserved for children. The master, the craftsman, provided the child with food, shelter, and an apprenticeship in a trade in exchange for the child's assistance in producing the artifact. Usually, indenture lasted seven years. Another colonial method of relief for the poor was the outdoor method. This method utilized two applications. One involved transferring the destitute child or adult to the home of each family in the settlement within the course of a year. This practice in which colonists voted "to send a widow `round the town' to live two weeks with each family able to receive her" was common in the 1680s in Massachusetts. The other outdoor method of relief involved providing indigent families with money gained from taxation or with goods donated by other members of the community. In this situation, the family requiring relief remained in its own home. Finally, a third frequently used method of poor relief was the practice of placing the child or destitute

person with a family at public expense. The receiving family received payment from the townspeople for providing room and board to the dependent child. Medical and clothing expenses for the dependent child was also provided by the townspeople.¹²

All colonial methods of shelter, protection, and education of pauper children exhibited flaws. The binding-out method of apprenticeship may have prepared the child with a vocation for adulthood, but all too often the child was abused and overworked. The outdoor method passed the child around town with little attention to his care or needs. Finally, shelter and protection of needy children by the lowest bidding family had potential to degenerate to a situation where a child's presence in a colonial home was needed to supplement the receiving family's income. It was highly doubtful that a child's level of care would improve within a family that was on the brink of destitution itself.¹³

The plight of dependent children was further stifled by the passing of the Entitlement Clause of Residency Requirement for the colonial poor. Entitlement based on residency required that persons seeking public assistance "remain in a community for three months without being asked

¹²Homer Folks, Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children (New York: Arno Press and the New York Press, 1971), 6.

¹³Ibid., 46.

to leave."¹⁴ The aim was to provide public assistance to local residents. By definition, a resident was an individual who remained in a community for a period of time stipulated by county or community law. It can be assumed, with certainty, that those newly arrived settlers who showed signs of any aspect of financial dependence or poverty were not encouraged to remain in settlements which had residency requirements for entitlement to poor relief. Residency requirement was initiated by the Plymouth Colony in 1642, followed by Virginia in 1646, Connecticut in 1673, and Massachusetts in 1692. Residency as a prerequisite for public assistance was a profound social issue.

As late as 1875, Illinois required six months residency within a county or town before an individual could become declared a local pauper. Individuals who were declared paupers within six months of their arrival in Illinois were returned to their former town or county and a

Written notice, by mail or otherwise, to the county clerk of the county which the pauper so resided, or if he then resided in a town supporting its own poor, to the town clerk of such town, requesting the proper authorities of such county or town to remove said paupers forthwith, and to pay the expenses accrued and to accrue in taking care of the same.¹⁵

This declaration by the Illinois General Assembly of 1875 which required residency of six months as an independent,

¹⁴Tratter, From Poor Law to Welfare State, 19.

¹⁵Illinois, Laws of the State of Illinois Passed by the Twenty-ninth General Assembly, Convened 6 January 1875 (Springfield: State Journal Steam Press, 1875), 88.

self-sustaining individual as prerequisite to county or town relief was typical of state laws during the 1800s.

Residency as a requirement for relief or welfare was not declared illegal in the United States until 21 April 1969 in the case of Shapiro v. Thompson by the United States Supreme Court.¹⁶

Residency regulations of a county were prerequisites to relief offered by the community to dependent children and adults. Used by townspeople to provide social and financial relief to a few dependent children and adults, binding-out. It was suited to small communities or areas with few paupers. On the other hand, for most dependent individuals, colonial almshouses, poorhouses, or workhouses (as almshouses were called in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries) were used to shelter the colonial idle and unprofitable. This dependent population increased as a result of social and economic strains created during and after the Revolutionary War. Additionally, many colonies experienced growth in their population of dependent children and adults from economic and social situations peculiar to activities within their region. For example, many New England widows and orphans were the results of men lost at sea; or dependency resulted as seasonal work of fishermen, sailors, longshoremen, and craftsmen diminished or vanished in New England communities. On the other hand, the North

¹⁶Tratter, From Poor Law to Welfare State, 19.

experienced an increase in the birth of illegitimate children who became a growing source of orphaned, abandoned, and neglected individuals. It is estimated that one-third through one-half of first births during the Revolutionary Era were the results of pre-marital sex.¹⁷

Workhouses of the post-colonial era housed both legitimate and illegitimate children and widows along with the vagrant, the aged, the mentally ill, the retarded, the morally corrupted, and the adult criminal. Association of dependent children and adults with criminals in workhouses gradually caused the American poor to become subtly characterized as a population of morally weak and corrupt individuals. However, establishment of a workhouse in the community was not a total benevolent act based on moral obligations assumed by townspeople for less fortunate individuals. The community could set socially dependent individuals to work in private homes, or civic leaders could assign workhouse settlers duties such as street cleaning, farm work, or maintenance of public buildings. Officially, provision of work for dependent individuals was viewed as providing opportunities for exercise of the Calvinist conviction that work for the poor was morally therapeutic, even though setting the poor to work was beneficial to the economy of the community in which the workhouse was located.

A profile of almshouse poor is exemplified by the

¹⁷Ibid., 32.

almshouse (workhouse) population and operations of the Albany, New York Almshouse in 1823. There were 126 pauper inhabitants, of which forty-six were children under seven years of age. Many inhabitants were employed. During the day, older boys were bound-out to farmers or mechanics and girls to respectable families. Those children who remained in the almshouse of New York during the day were generally between the ages of three and seven years of age, too young to be bound-out or put to work.¹⁸

Housing of pauper children with pauper adults and adult criminals was not unusual in nineteenth century America. Common housing was a result of colonial beliefs that childhood was not a special or peculiar stage of human development and that children were miniature adults. Therefore, as a miniature adult, the child was perceived as inherently aggressive, sinful, and prone to all sorts of vices. He was doomed to damnation in hell if he did not receive close supervision and stern treatment. Cotton Mather, famed minister of this period, stated in a sermon that "Better whipt than Damn'd" was the child. However, the Calvinist notion of "breaking and beating" the child in the mid-eighteenth century was gradually displaced in growing urban areas by a movement of social reform and humanitarianism, instigated by Enlightenment ideas of Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke.

¹⁸Folks, Care of Destitute, 26.

Newton's reliance on reason to understand a universe governed by observable laws, and Locke's treatise which proposed that the human mind was a tabula rasa without innate ideas, gradually displaced the grim determinism of Calvinism which held that for an unspecified chosen few poverty and suffering were inevitable. The belief that all people possess reason and are, hence, equal, supplemented the new idea that men are born good or with the capacity for good; as a result, mankind could attain salvation on earth. Furthermore, Enlightenment ideas proposed that elimination of poverty on earth was both just and right; for the poor had human qualities comparable to those qualities of more economically privileged individuals; hence, the poor had a right to share more adequately in the resources of the nation. Moreover, poverty and social dependency were not natural conditions of mankind.

By mid-nineteenth century, ideas of Newton and Locke were supported and expanded by Americans such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and other Transcendentalists of the mid-nineteenth century. These thinkers proposed that the child entered the world "innately pure and good but was corrupted by an overbearing society."¹⁹ They proposed that this "innately pure and good child" could be molded into an adult worthy of salvation if he were provided with an environment supervised by a loving, watchful mother who

¹⁹Ibid., 102.

provided "good example and gentle guidance."

Horace Bushnell's Christian Nurture (1846) was accepted as an authority on the effects of nurturing on the child. Finally, a new wave of evangelical religion emerged in America before the Civil War. It advocated supplanting the notions of a "stern, vindictive Calvinist God with a Unitarian God of love and Christian nurturing."²⁰ Strict discipline and hard work advocated by Calvinism were no longer prescriptions for mid-nineteenth century children.

The decline of strict adherence to religious doctrines of Calvinism, which had pervaded the colonies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, now allowed American educators and humanitarians opportunities to augment their ideas with new ideas regarding treatment of children. New scientific developments extended the notion that the child was not a miniature adult. He was now perceived as not only born pure and good but also molded by his environment.

American educators sought European models which manifested this new notion of the purity and good of the child. They accepted Frederich Froebel's recommendation that recreation and play were necessary to the molding of children into self-determining adults; they accepted Charles Darwin's ideas that children experience developmental growth and developmental behavior which were modified by the environment; and they accepted Sigmund Freud's notion that

²⁰Ibid., 201.

sound nurturing in infancy and childhood formed good character and healthy personality for adulthood. Gradually, the American notion of children shifted from the certainty of "children's evil to the probability of their good."²¹

The mid-nineteenth century view of the child as environmentally malleable, innately good, developmental in growth and behavior, and in need of careful preparation for adulthood stimulated a new social consciousness in America. This new view of the child, in conjunction with shocking stories of workhouse conditions of poverty and abuse of the young and confinement of the old, prompted the public to demand civic intervention. Social concern and civic intervention led to classification and segregation of dependents and delinquents children in state institutions and, consequently, to establishment of state orphanages, mental hospitals, reformatories, and penitentiaries in America. Among their purposes, institutions were entrusted with "protecting, relieving and instructing [dependent and delinquent] children."²² Gradually, children who had previously been confined to county almshouses received better care, protection, shelter, and education. As a result, farming-out, binding-out, indenture, and outdoor and contract methods of relief to pauper children were displaced by institutions specifically designed for children.

²¹Ibid., 106.

²²Folks, Care of Destitute, 31.

separation of children from adults began with segregation of pauper children from pauper adults and adult criminals in almshouses. This segregation of children from adults in poorhouses was a concerted attempt to remove adult influences of sloth, vice, and crime from the child's environment. However this transition from almshouses to institutions for juveniles was gradual.

Illinois's treatment of pauper children in almshouses was typical of state governments' actions regarding dependent children. In 1897 and again in 1899, the Illinois General Assembly eliminated from pending bills any legislation which prohibited a child's retention in an almshouse. Moreover, as late as 1890, the U.S. census showed that 4,987 children between the ages of two and sixteen remained in county almshouses in the nation.²³

Ohio (1861) and New York (1875) were the earliest states to segregate pauper children from pauper adults. This segregation prompted state administrators to construct institutions for dependent and delinquent children. Accordingly, orphanages and reformatories appeared in America around mid-nineteenth century. Goals of institutions for deviant children were to curtail corrupting influences of adults on children and to improve the condition of dependent and delinquent children by combining the functions of the home, the school, and the church.

²³Ibid., 51.

Orphaned, neglected, abandoned, and delinquent children were viewed by civic leaders as in danger of moral ruin and waywardness and as a population of potentially dependent adults. Therefore, funding of mid-nineteenth century institutions was justified because it eliminated potential financial demands on Chicago and Illinois by a large population of dependent adults who would emerge from financially dependent children of the 1850s.²⁴

In publicly funded institutions, civic administrators focused on providing dependent children with viable vocations for adulthood. Civic leaders hoped that vocationally trained children would decrease the number of individuals who later would become financially dependent on the state. Again, New York State was among the first to legally address dependent children. New York legislators mandated that publicly funded institutions educate dependent and delinquent children. Common schools were logical extensions of institutions designed to assist dependent children.

By mid-nineteenth century, the common school system had not been fully implemented in America, and Illinois has not removed pauper children from poorhouses. However, Illinois attempted to provide a "proper education" for pauper children. On 24 May 1877, the Illinois General Assembly approved a law which mandated payment of tuition

²⁴Ibid., 41.

for pauper children kept in poorhouses. From county treasuries, county boards were ordered to pay "a just and equitable sum of money for the tuition of pauper children residing in the county poor house, and attending any district school in this State."²⁵

To Illinois legislators, suitable mid-nineteenth century vocational training included farm work for boys and the domestic arts of cooking, cleaning, and sewing for girls. Academics, moral training, and hygiene skills supplemented apprenticeships in farming and the domestic arts. Furthermore, after acquisition of vocational training and basic academics, girls were bound-out as servants to local families until they reached fifteen years of age; and boys were bound-out as apprentices to mechanics or farmers until they reached fifteen.

For delinquent or criminal pauper children, state reformatories appeared in America after 1850. Children accused of crimes against persons or property had previously been confined in adult penal institutions or houses of refuge within the state. However, when public abhorrence to the treatment of these children reached state legislators during the 1850s, delinquents, like dependents, benefitted from the humanitarian movement which swept eastern and midwestern states. Subsequently, reform schools appeared in

²⁵Illinois, Laws of the State of Illinois Passed by the Thirtieth General Assembly, Convened 3 January 1877 Adjourned Sine Die 24 May 1877, sec. 18:1 (Springfield: 1877), 145.

the mid-nineteenth century.

This institution, the reform school, like the orphanage, was a European import. Eastern and midwestern judges, educators, and philanthropists visited Europe and utilized European reformatories as models for publicly funded institutions in America. Reformatories of Germany and France were most frequently copied. Among the most frequently lauded were Rauhe Haus (Rough House) of Hamburg, Germany and Colonie Agricole (Agricultural Colony) of Mettray, France.

Although not the oldest German reform school, Rauhe Haus emerged as the institution with educational principles that were most complementary to American ideas and ideals. It was founded in 1833 by the theologian, John Henry Wichern of Hamburg, but the idea of a reform school began in 1830 when Wichern's visits to the poor and needy of Hamburg exposed him to a multitude of "destitute, vagrant, and vicious children who had not yet been convicted by the courts of crime." With a \$300 donation and his mother's assistance, Wichern took possession of a thatched roof cottage with three boys "of the worst description."²⁶ Thus began Rauhe Haus.

As a method of reform, Wichern utilized the principles of family organization, Christian training, and vocational

²⁶"Preventive and Reformatory Education," American Journal of Education 24 (1916): 727.

training.²⁷ "Receiving young children whom vicious habits were threatening to pervert or had already perverted," Wichern's children were divided into groups of twelve and supervised by an instructor who had been educated in the normal school branch of the Rauhe Haus Reformatory.²⁸ These groups of twelve children and the instructor, whom the children referred to as their father, were a "family." Each family had its own house, which it built itself; and each house was separated from other houses by gardens and orchards.²⁹ This organizational concept was the forerunner of the cottage plan which displaced the large single dormitory room of reform institutions of America in the early 1900s.

Small "family" groupings of Rauhe Haus children provided opportunities for vigilant supervision by the father-instructor. Discipline which he administered was firm and severe, but "tempered by parental tenderness." Additionally an account of a child disposition, faults, and progress were kept by his "father." Undesirable habits were "rooted out at any sacrifice by the head of the family"; a confession followed by a promise of amendment was sought from the child; then "no means" were spared to affect a

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸M. Demetz, "Agricultural Labor in Reformatory Education: Reformatory Agricultural Colonies in France," American Journal of Education 3 (1895): 616.

²⁹Ibid.

"lasting reformation."³⁰

Moral reform was the lasting reformation and the object of family discipline. Rauhe Haus founded moral reform on academic, industrial, and religious education and training. First, academic course work consisted of reading, writing, the German language, written and mental arithmetic, geography, and music. Instruction in these subjects spanned four or five hours a day, according to the season and the demands of field labor. Every six through twelve months, children were subjected to examination to determine their academic achievement. Second, Rauhe Haus's industrial program consisted of supervised farming and heavy housework for boys along with a trade in tailoring, shoe making, weaving, carpentry, or bookbinding. Girls were instructed in household arts, sewing and knitting. Girls also participated in outdoor work in the garden, cow sheds, and poultry yard; and they assisted in hay and corn harvest. Third, daily prayer, Bible reading, and instruction in religion and the history of the Bible provided avenues for religious training. Chapel, academics, and workshops were co-educational. It was believed that in these places, association with other families would bind reformatory school inhabitants into a socially cooperative community.³¹

³⁰Demetz, "Agricultural Labor in Reformatory Education," 570.

³¹Ibid.

Like Germany, France constructed juvenile reformatories. Initially, France was motivated by a desire to segregate imprisoned children under twenty-one years of age from adult criminals. Before establishment of French reformatories, delinquent and dependent children were confined to jails or prisons. Jailed or imprisoned children included those who were declared guilty of a crime; orphans, abandoned and neglected children; children of adult criminals; children without employment; and children who had been surrendered to the courts by their parents. According to Articles 66 and 67 of the Napoleonic Code and Articles 375 and 376 of the French Civil Code, and later to the Act of 1850, imprisoned children were believed to be "on the slippery verge of open vice and crime,"³² and their imprisonment was an equitable solution to their impact on French society. However, by 1839 imprisoned children were removed from adult prisons and placed at the Mettray Agricultural Colony or a facsimile.

The Mettray Agricultural Colony was founded by the Societe Paternelle under the presidency of M. leComte de Gasparin.³³ Its goal was to provide the child with moral, religious, and professional education. Moral and vocational training were viewed by French civic and religious leaders as vital to reforming juvenile criminals. Funded by the

³²Ibid., 573.

³³Ibid., 612.

state, Mettray was supervised by teachers who were selected according to their understanding of the details of a moral and industrial education. To safeguard Mettray's position on moral education, teachers at the Institution of Mettray had been trained by the colony's normal school. They were requested to exhibit principles of a christian life and to live according to monastic discipline.³⁴

Children who were confined to Mettray were called "colonists." Interviewed by a director, the colonist was assigned to a "family" and to an occupation which the director decided was best suited to the child's character. Character was determined by the director's impression of the child's noted propensity toward truthfulness or falsehood, vivacity or dullness, sobriety or intemperance, and aptitude or aversion to particular employments.³⁵ Uniforms were worn and military discipline included marching to drums and trumpet with the precision of soldiers to and from work, lessons, and meals. By 1850, the greater number of Mettray graduates could read, write, and cypher; and only forty-six of five hundred and twenty-five who were bound-out had relapsed into crime.³⁶

These schools, Rauhe Haus and Mettray Agricultural Colony, became models around which New York and

³⁴Ibid., 574.

³⁵Ibid., 575.

³⁶Ibid., 623.

Massachusetts developed their juvenile reformatories in the 1850s and, later, other states emulated. They were founded on a philosophy that stressed the possibility of reform of deviant behavior through supervision, christian principles, family bonding, farm work, and industrial education. Underlining all aspects of reform were ideals from the christian religion. They included the idea that the most wanton human could be reformed and regenerated through the spirit of family association, emulation of christian example, cultivation of honor, habitual obedience to law, self-imposed restraints guided by christian principles, and love and habits of labor.³⁷

At the core of christian reform of deviant behavior was the notion that successful rehabilitation required close supervision. Christian ideals and christian habits were most easily imparted to delinquent children if these children were kept in small groups. Small group supervision provided "family" supervisors with immediate access to inmates. Furthermore, small group supervision provided confined children with opportunities to view and appropriately emulate christian behavior. Finally, small group supervision increased opportunities for appropriate individualized care and management which was best suited to the character and disposition of each inmate.

Europeans believed that the ideal setting for

³⁷"Preventive and Reformatory Education," 612.

acquisition of christian reform was the farm. Long perceived as the habitat of natural man, it was believed that the farm setting removed mankind from temptation and vice, inherent in city living. "Life in the fields [supplied] a remedy for all evils we have Vigorous exercise in the open air [strengthened] the body; and the spectacle of the beauties of nature excite the human heart at a profound sentiment of admirations and gratitude toward the Creator. . . ." ³⁸

To the inherent reforming qualities of farm labor was added instruction in a handicraft. Training in a handicraft was to provide an avenue for revenue for inmates upon their release from confinement. Brush-making and chair-caning were popular skills; in fact, they became known as "institution' industries." ³⁹

Reformatories which were established in the United States shortly before and after the 1850s incorporated European elements of vocational training, moral education, and religious training in their administration and procedures. American jurists, educators and humanitarians, like their Europeans counterparts, believed that in unison, these elements (vocational training, moral education, and religious training) would save delinquent children from

³⁸Demetz, "Agricultural Labor in Reformatory Education," 612.

³⁹Folks, Care of Destitute, 127.

lives of evil, and provide them with means of acquiring and maintaining a livelihood.

Massachusetts was among the first to open and operate a state reformatory on the order of the Rauhe Haus and the Agricultural Colony of Mettray. In 1847, Massachusetts opened the Lyman School for Boys at Westborough. The Massachusetts legislature instructed the Lyman School for Boys' superintendent and manager to "cause the boys under their charge to be instructed in piety and morality, and in such branches of useful knowledge as shall be adapted to their age and capacity; they shall also be instructed in some regular course of labor . . . as may seem to them best adapted to secure reformation, amendment, and future benefit."⁴⁰ This Massachusetts legislation set ground rules for founding of state publicly funded reformatories in Maine (1850), Rhode Island and Ohio (1854), Connecticut and Maryland (1855), Michigan and Missouri (1856), and Wisconsin (1857). However, while many reformatories attempted to rehabilitate juveniles, others were institutions of juvenile reform in name only. Harsh practices of eighteen century houses of refuge were merely relocated to juvenile reformatories. However, in 1876 New York State constructed the New York State Reformatory at Elmira and here began a modern approach to juvenile reform that revolutionized

⁴⁰Richard Lundman, Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 114.

custodial care of delinquents and juvenile criminals in America.

State and local administrators of Elmira included the following social factors into operation of its institution:

- a. punishment was not a deterrent to crime nor did it return an improved offender to society;
- b. education and training were not to be emphasized in a house of correction;
- c. indeterminate sentences, introduction of parole and probation for good behavior were introduced;
- d. creation of detention homes and diagnostic centers were utilized;
- e. group therapy and counseling were used as treatment; and
- f. rehabilitation rather than punishment was the goal of internment.⁴¹

A ten year study of Elmira's operations yielded findings which documented the effectiveness of Elmira's approach to reform. It indicated that four of five Elmira graduates showed complete rehabilitation or at least did not return to a penal institution upon release at twenty-one years of age, nor did graduates forfeit probation or lose their binding-out privileges.⁴²

In 1885 the Illinois General Assembly began to identify delinquent boys whom the state believed were in need of moral, religious, and vocational training. They

⁴¹Tratter, From Poor Law to Welfare, 116.

⁴²Ibid., 117.

were

Every boy who frequents any street, alley or other place for the purpose of begging or receiving alms; every boy who shall have no permanent place of abode, proper parental care or guardianship; every boy who shall not have sufficient means of subsistence, or who from other cause shall be a wanderer through streets and alleys or other public places; and every boy who shall live with, or frequent the company of or consort with reputed thieves or other vicious persons.⁴³

Although a legislative act to provide "training schools for boys" appeared in the Illinois General Assembly as early as 18 June 1883, in 1885 an amendment was warranted. Visits by legislators to training schools and reformatories within the nation revealed models which Illinois institutions would emulate.

In 1890, the Illinois General Assembly sent a committee to Elmira and other eastern training schools, reformatories, and prisons to report on their construction, organization, and discipline. Of those seen, the Elmira Reformatory of New York was described and advocated by Illinois legislators as most effective in reforming juvenile delinquents and criminals.

As a result of the Elmira visit, changes occurred at the Illinois State Reformatory at Pontiac. These changes began in 1891. At Pontiac, cells which measured seven feet high, eight feet long and eight feet wide were replaced with

⁴³Illinois, Laws of the State of Illinois, Enacted by the Thirty-fourth General Assembly, Commenced 7 January 1885, and Adjourned 26 June 1885, sec. 3 (Springfield: 1885), 238-39.

an open dormitory system. Military training and discipline were added. Moreover, teachers instructed in the ordinary English branches, and introduction of farming and gardening occupations became part of the reformatory's program of instruction. Finally, broom making, which was viewed as a more lucrative profession, displaced shoe construction.⁴⁴

By 1895, under Major R.W. McClaughy, inmates at Pontiac were placed in one of three grades: first, second, or third. Newcomers were placed in second grade to rise or fall according to merits or demerits based on success in academics and social behavior. The penal grade was third; it was assumed as a result of misbehavior in conduct, work, or study. Punishment for misbehavior entailed donning a red garb of disgrace, marching in lockstep, deprivation of coffee at meals, and removal of light from the solitary confinement cell. A grade of three for six consecutive months in conduct, labor, and study placed a Pontiac inmate in first grade. Teachers who had received a first grade teacher's certificate and an evaluation of successful teaching were hired at Pontiac. These instructors provided grades which denoted inmates' merit status.⁴⁵

Changes in operations and philosophy at the Pontiac State Reformatory prompted Illinois state reformatories to

⁴⁴T.H. MacQueary, "Reformation of Juvenile Offenders in Illinois," American Journal of Sociology 8 (July 1902-May 1903): 652.

⁴⁵Ibid.

move toward becoming training schools. Moral and industrial training were training schools' focus. Rehabilitation of juvenile criminals shifted from breaking and beating to testing for environmental causes of delinquency. Finally, delinquency became recognized as a problem which could be treated through academic, moral, and vocational training. As a result of these new concepts, enlightened judges, lawyers, humanitarians, and socially conscious individuals began a new approach to organizing and administering publicly funded institutions in America.

Chicago utilized all early methods of sheltering and training dependent and delinquent children. It was guided by state mandated provisions which addressed housing and education of the orphaned, abandoned, neglected, and adjudicated criminal children.⁴⁶ Dependent children of Chicago were among the first to benefit from state mandates. Those dependents who were sent to training schools received clothing, tuition, maintenance and care at the county's expense. Cook County paid eight dollars a month for boys ten years of age and under; seven dollars per month for boys under fourteen years of age; and six dollars per month for boys under eighteen. Furthermore, boys crippled or disabled were allocated \$10.00 per month for their clothing, tuition,

⁴⁶Laws of the State of Illinois Enacted by the Thirty-fourth General Assembly, at the session which Commenced 7 January 1885 and Adjourned 26 June 1885, sec. 3, 239.

maintenance, and care.⁴⁷

In 1888, local programs and institutions for dependant and delinquent children were inadequate in number and scope. Provisions of shelter and education for dependent and delinquent children in Chicago prompted civic leaders to attempt to establish additional state schools for deviant children, but the idea lacked political support and funding.⁴⁸ However, a more successful attempt to shelter and educate pauper dependents and delinquents was supported by the Chicago Woman's Club, Jane Addams's Hull House, and the Chicago Bar Association. These efforts encouraged the 1899 Illinois General Assembly to create the country's first juvenile court system.

Founded on the ancient Roman principle of mens rae and the English doctrine of parens patriae, the Cook County Juvenile Court was created in Chicago in 1899. Both principle and doctrine which the court acknowledged were founded on appeals for justice for dependent and delinquent children by the king's chancellor in medieval England.⁴⁹ These concepts were transported to colonial America and initially administered in New England colonies. However, Illinois was first to legislate mens rae and parens patriae

⁴⁷Ibid, sec. 9, 239.

⁴⁸Folks, Care of Destitute, 96.

⁴⁹Edward Eldefonso, Law Enforcement and the Youthful Offender (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1979), 161.

into practices and later attitudes toward children.

The principle, mens rae (criminal intent), is a doctrine that exonerates a child under fourteen from responsibility or capability of having criminal intent. The second principle, the doctrine of parens patriae, declared the State of Illinois as guardian of children who were declared by a court or magistrate as "vagrant, truant, disorderly, pauper or destitute."⁵⁰ Children under parens patriae became known as within court "custody."⁵¹

Accordingly, through use of these principles, the State of Illinois, through local county courts, could assume the right to intervene in the family and channel or terminate parental rights. In combination with a group of wealthy and largely female reformers, "child savers" as they were called, the Illinois General Assembly adopted mens rae and parens patriae and advocated the creation of the Illinois 1899 Juvenile Court Act, "an Act to Regulate the Treatment and Control of Dependent Children."⁵²

Specifically designed for Chicago with its population of 500,000 inhabitants, the 1899 Juvenile Court Act mandated that circuit court judges designate one of their members to hear all cases involving children under the age of sixteen.

⁵⁰Laws of the State of Illinois Passed by the Thirtieth General Assembly, Convened 3 January 1877 Adjourned Sine Die, 24 May 1877, sec. 3 (Springfield, 1877), 90.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

Additionally, the act stipulated that a court room be used as the Juvenile Court Room for court proceedings, and a book or books was to be kept to record hearings. These hearing would officially become known as the Juvenile Record and the court would officially become the Cook County Juvenile Court.⁵³

Selected from among his peers, Judge Richard S. Tuthill was appointed to the Cook County Juvenile Court in July 1899. Under Judge Tuthill, the Cook County Juvenile Court began to take shape and to set precedents which were copied by later established juvenile courts in America. Tuthill's appointment began with the statement, "I will try no criminal cases until you get the children out of jail." Tuthill attempted to mitigate the affects of criminal laws on children. Wishing to avoid the stigma of crime on the child, Tuthill created a new mechanism for dealing with child offenders. Modifying the application of criminal court procedures and penalties to the needs of children, Tuthill did not allow children to be incarcerated with adult offenders, to be arrested by warrant, or to be indicted in juvenile court. Furthermore, Tuthill stipulated that juvenile court hearings were to be held in private chamber without lawyers, oaths, or judicial robes.⁵⁴

⁵³Lundman, Prevention and Control f Juvenile Delinquency, 110.

⁵⁴Eldefonso, Law Enforcement, 150; and Tratter, From Poor Law to Welfare State, 118.

Judge Tuthill is also credited with shaping the Cook County Juvenile Court into an institution of individualized justice. It became a place where the individuality of a child was recognized; accordingly, court procedures were adapted to this individuality. Acknowledging concerns of "children savers," Tuthill's procedures eliminated official but harsh treatment of children by criminal courts in Illinois. As a result, Judge Tuthill became known as "the children's judge"; and accordingly, the role of juvenile court judges as parental guides in this country was initiated by Tuthill.

Juvenile court judges responsibilities were denoted as

The care, custody, and discipline of the children brought before the court . . . [approximating] as nearly as possible that which [children] should receive from their parents, . . . and as far as practicable [children] shall be treated not as criminals but as children in need of aid, encouragement, and guidance.⁵⁵

Accordingly, under Judge Tuthill the Cook County Juvenile Court was charged with the saving and enlightenment of the child.⁵⁶ In juvenile court, the basic question was not "What the child had done", but "What can be done to save him?"⁵⁷

Chicago leaders and organizations such as Judge

⁵⁵Tratter, From Poor Law to Welfare, 118.

⁵⁶Chicago Public Schools, Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914 (Chicago: The Board of Education, 1914), 377.

⁵⁷Ibid., 377.

Tuthill, Mrs. Lucy Flowers and the Chicago Woman's Club, Jane Addams and Hull House, and other socially conscious individuals had begun to view the child as needing treatment or care which was unique from that of the adult. The basic assumption which had begun to appear between 1800 and 1825 was that youth or the inherent nature of immaturity caused children to be in need of treatment and care which was different from that of adults.⁵⁸ Therefore, movement to provide separate institutions for children from institutions for adults suddenly placed not only delinquents, but also dependent children under the supervision of the Cook County Juvenile Court. Previously, dependent and delinquent children of Chicago had been committed arbitrarily to city jails (bridewells), almshouses, or reformatories. After 1899, dependent and delinquent children were identified as products of corrupted environments which required judicial intervention. However, appropriate intervention required identification of conditions which produced delinquency and dependency.

Under Tuthill, juvenile court defined the delinquent as a child under the age of sixteen who allegedly committed an offense that if committed by an adult would have been a crime; a child who had allegedly violated a specific ordinance or regulatory law that only applied to children, such as curfew regulations, school attendance laws, and

⁵⁸Eldefonso, Law Enforcement, 147.

restriction on the use of tobacco and alcohol; a child who was beyond the control of his parents or guardians; or a child who was ungovernable, incorrigible, runaway, or in need of supervision.⁵⁹ Moreover, within the category of delinquent children were the incorrigible and criminal child. The incorrigible child was a chronic offender. Additionally, according to the Juvenile Court Act of 1899, an incorrigible child was "any child of compulsory school age who [was] not attending school, and who had been guilty of habitual truancy, or of persistent violation of the rules of the public school."⁶⁰ On the other hand, the child criminal was under sixteen years of age, adjudicated, and held in custody for crimes against persons, such as murder, robbery, rape, or assault.⁶¹

In juvenile court, the dependent child category included youths under sixteen years of age who lacked in physical care, protection, supervision, guidance, and discipline. Dependent children were also abandoned or deserted children. Furthermore, dependent children were those whose parents or guardians had been sent to prison or

⁵⁹Ibid., 170.

⁶⁰Illinois, Laws of the State of Illinois Enacted by the Forty-first General Assembly at the Regular Biennial Session, Begin and held at the Capitol, in the city of Springfield, on the First day of January A.D. 1899, and adjourned sine die on the Fourteenth day of April A.D. 1899, sec. 4 (Springfield: Phillips Brothers State Printers, 1899), 347.

⁶¹Lundman, Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency, 235.

children whose parents or guardians had been declared by the courts as unfit to care for offspring, or dependents were children of parents or guardians who had no lawful occupation. If a parent or guardian kept his child out of school unlawfully or if a parent or guardian willfully refused to give his child proper medical or surgical attention, after free medical attention had been offered, then this child also was categorized as dependent by juvenile court. Moreover, if a child were found in any illegal establishment or if the condition of the child was one of want or suffering or improper guardianship which endangered the child's health or morals, then this child also was defined as dependent by juvenile court. Finally, dependent children were those who were exploited or who lacked protection from degrading conditions, abuse or fear of physical cruelty.⁶²

Within the court defined dependent and delinquent population, truancy from Chicago schools was common. In Chicago, a truant was defined as any child between the ages of seven and sixteen who did not attend an Illinois school. School attendance by delinquents, incorrigibles, abandoned, neglected, and orphans of compulsory education age was mandated by the Illinois Compulsory Education Law of 1889. The only exception to the 1889 Compulsory Education Law was that if at fourteen years of age "necessity existed for

⁶²Eldefonso, Law Enforcement, 248.

withdrawal from school to secure employment," then the child could be employed, provided he secured an Age and Work Certificate from the Chicago Board of Education.⁶³ The intent of the Age and Work Certificate requirement was to deter parents or guardians from forcing young children out of school and into the labor market and, of course, to provide common schooling to all Illinois children.

Investigation by the Chicago Board of Education's Compulsory Education Department and by Illinois State factory inspectors revealed that many children had not attempted to secure an Age and Work Certificate in the 1890s, or they had been denied the certificate because there did not exist a "necessity . . . for withdrawal from school."⁶⁴ Accordingly, early 1900s investigations by the Compulsory Education Department profiled the average fourteen year old who applied for an Age and Work Certificate as a male child who had not finished sixth grade, who earned "a pittance of pay, and who left school by the thousands."⁶⁵

Encouraged by the newly established Cook County Juvenile Court, in September 1899 through 1900 the Compulsory Education Department made 31,593 investigations

⁶³Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914, 414.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid.

of truancy in its total school enrollment of 255,861. (Average daily attendance in Chicago Public Schools was 199,821.) Truant officers returned 16,781 children to school: 16,490 to public schools and the rest to private schools. Of the 31,593 investigated children, nine hundred and twenty-six were "habitual truants" or street children; that is, nine hundred and twenty-six children lived on the city's street; two hundred and fifty-four had indifferent parents; and one hundred and eighty-three were incorrigible and described by the Compulsory Education Department as "fit only for truant school," which was legislated by the Illinois General Assembly to be built by 1902.⁶⁶

Rising truancy rates within the state prompted the Illinois General Assembly of 1899 to mandate truant schools, and it prompted Juvenile Court Judge Tuthill to commission Chicago Board of Education truant officers as court probation officers in 1900. Efforts of these probation officers at getting Chicago truants into the classroom were supplemented by state factory inspectors. These inspectors gained authority to enforce truancy laws from the Illinois Child Labor Law of 1891 and the Illinois Child Labor Law of 1893. Under the 1891 law, children under thirteen years of age could not be employed. This was extended to children fourteen years of age in 1893. However, both laws forbade

⁶⁶Chicago Public Schools, Forty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 23, 1899 (Chicago: John F. Higgins Print, 1900), 193.

employment of children under thirteen or fourteen, respectively, by any person, firm, corporation, manufacturing establishment, factory, or workshop within Illinois. The Labor Law of 1891 required consent of the school board for employment and eight weeks of school per year for the child who was thirteen and employed, while the Labor Law of 1893 required a "register giving birthplace, age, and residence of every child under sixteen who [was] employed."⁶⁷ Additionally, empowered by juvenile court, factory inspectors had authority to demand a physician's certificate of health from employed children.⁶⁸

Although the union of truant officer and factory inspector attempted to enforce the compulsory education laws of Illinois and Chicago and although truant officers and factory inspectors placed many children in classrooms, many parents had learned to avoid juvenile court referral by increasing the age of their children by as much as two years when they initially enrolled the child in school. Therefore, frequently, a twelve year old child received an Age and Work Certificate when the certificate was reserved for children fourteen years of age and older. Unfortunately, six years passed before the Illinois General Assembly outwitted such parents. The assembly added a

⁶⁷Illinois, All the Laws of the State of Illinois Passed by the Thirty-eight General Assembly, ed. Myra Bradwell (Chicago: Chicago Legal News Company, 1893), 77.

⁶⁸Clark, Public Schools of Chicago, 45.

literacy provision to the Child Labor Law as a prerequisite for the Age and Work Certificate. The provision required minimum competency in reading and writing before a school could release a fourteen year old child for employment. It stated that

The school record shall certify that the minor who is over fourteen years old and under the age of sixteen shall be able to read and write legibly simple sentences in the English language and have completed a course of study equivalent to the work prescribed for the first five years of elementary schools in spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic to and including fractions,⁶⁹ geography, and history.

The Compulsory Education Department of the Chicago Board of Education enforced the literacy test provision of the child labor law. As a result of this enforcement, increases in attendance in third, fourth, and fifth grades were noted in schools located in or near industrial areas in Chicago. A school in the stockyard district increased in class enrollment and attendance from fifty-three to one hundred and fifty-nine pupils in 1906.⁷⁰ However, the appearance and enforcement of a literacy test as a prerequisite for employment of children fourteen years and older were not a matter to be solved easily. The judicial case of the People v. Sahrouda in 1914 formally established the State of Illinois and City of Chicago positions on child labor.

⁶⁹Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914, 55.

⁷⁰Jane Addams, "Operation of the Illinois Labor Law," American Academy of Political and Social Science Annals (March, 1906), 27:327.

In this county case, Mr. Sahrouda, a parent, refused to permit his fifteen year old daughter to graduate from elementary school. He wished to place her in a factory job during the year. The Age and School Certificate Bureau objected to the issuance of the Age and Work Certificate for employment. Sahrouda's daughter could not be legally employed without the certificate. However, Sahrouda refused to return his daughter to school. He was taken before Judge Newcomer of the Cook County Juvenile Court, who ruled that the girl be returned to school. The finding in this case was that there existed "no financial necessity for employment" in Mr. Sahrouda's household.

Outcomes of the People v. Sahrouda profoundly explained and illustrated Chicago's position on child labor. First, the case implied that children would be given a chance to complete elementary education. Second, the case permitted principals to police issuance of Age and Work Certificates to discern needs for employment. Third, parental greed was now placed under a legal check. Furthermore, the "necessity for employment" clause of the Age and Work Certificate placed a substantial check on employment of truants in the age group of twelve through sixteen; this check inhibited employment of street children and other dependent children of Chicago.⁷¹

⁷¹Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914, 414.

Although circumstances of nineteenth century abandoned, neglected, delinquent, incorrigible, and criminal children were unique to each child, deviant children exhibited commonalties which allowed law makers and educators to group them according to their behaviors and environmental circumstances. As a result, a general description emerged for socially deviant children. As a category or group, the delinquent and criminal child emerged as children who were unable to abide by the prohibitions and sanctions of the greater society, particularly alarming were violation of offenses against persons. Furthermore, deviant behavior in children began to be attributed to emotional factors or environments which were unique to the child.⁷² On the other hand, the neglected and abandoned child lacked guidance that could be speculated to produce an individual who would secure a self-sustaining place in society. The redeeming commonality among deviant children was the notion held by educators and jurists that through education each deviant group was capable of becoming self-determining, economically independent, and viable adults in Chicago. Therefore, working in unison, legislators and educators of Illinois sought to create programs and institutions which would diminish growth of a dependent and delinquent population.

⁷²Lundman, Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency, 235.

In their scheme to diminish growth of a dependent and criminal population in Illinois, state legislators' proposal of compulsory education laws which mandated education of dependent and delinquent children within Illinois was only the beginning of controlling social deviants in Chicago. Moreover, although the Juvenile Court and the Parental School Acts of 1899 stipulated enforcement of compulsory education and child labor laws and although these laws indicated areas which were believed to be vital to reform in deviant behavior, a detailed description of judicial procedures and educational programs for deviant children were not included in Illinois legislative acts of 1899.

Chicago's jurists and educators needed sound examples of custodial institutions, judicial procedures and programs, and programs of instruction for deviant children. Illinois legislators had identified social behavior and basic education as elements which produced socially responsible, self-determining, and financially independent adults. However, Chicago administrators needed to examine questions as to what programs and which school administrators would provide effective programs of instruction and leadership to Chicago's deviant students.

At Illinois' first legislative conference in 1818 at Kaskaskia, legislators and educators established a pattern of looking to eastern states for examples of leadership and programs in education. Therefore, Chicago's examination of

established schools and programs of instruction in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania was a natural beginning in the city's quest to find effective educational programs and general superintendents who would bring leadership to Chicago Public Schools' programs which focused on dependent and delinquent children.

Emerging as a result of Chicago's need to acquire leadership in education and as a result of Chicago's desire to assimilate a diverse urban population into a harmonious society, education in Chicago had begun to take on a profile in which civic responsibility and acceptable social behavior were desired outcomes for all children. Therefore, nineteenth and early twentieth century programs of instruction for deviant students in Chicago also prescribed instruction which included moral, civic, and economic dimensions.

However, for the dependent and delinquent compulsory education age population, effective schools and programs of instruction which touted acceptable social behavior, civic responsibility, and vocational training were only part of remediating deviancy in Chicago children. Vital to the success of educating Chicago's deviant students, but missing from common schools' procedures and operations, was an effective plan and an authorized and powerful agent to enforce compulsory education laws in Chicago. Therefore, a presentation of educational programs for deviant students of

the city requires inclusion of an investigation of Chicago Public Schools' programs of instruction for orphans, delinquents, and criminal children, an examination of the coordination between the city's juvenile court system and Chicago Public Schools, a presentation of the changing profile of dependent and delinquent urban children, and an investigation of the changing focus of education as proposed by the Chicago Board of Education.

Chapter III

A DEVIANT POPULATION RECEIVES EDUCATION WITH MORAL, CIVIC, AND ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS

Educational programs and policies of Chicago public schools have been the results of programs, policies and philosophies held by strong administrators who have periodically directed the Chicago Public School System. Invariably, Chicago's general superintendents sought to produce students who would be of social, civic, and economic benefits to their socio-economic class, their community, and to the greater national society. Chicago children who received common schooling, that is, those educated by federal, state, and local taxes, received instruction in "good citizenship," which invariably encompassed presenting the child with knowledge, skills, and means with which to secure his position in society as an intelligent, economically self-supporting, law abiding adult.

To mold delinquents, incorrigibles and, dependent children into good citizens, Chicago educational and political leaders of the nineteenth century utilized moral values based on their interpretations of the Bible. Entering the educational programs of Chicago as early as

1818, these biblical lessons were catalysts in developing curriculums which advocated moral values, vocational training and socially acceptable behavior. On the other hand, early twentieth century leaders associated stable employment with positive moral values and with an individual's acceptance of his civic responsibility to society. However, by late twentieth century, acquisition of sophisticated technical skills utilized by industry became synonymous with economic independence and social success. Furthermore, degree and type of education subtly denoted social and economic status. As a result of the inclusion of moral teaching and vocational training in common school education, decades of Chicago's public education evolved to include elements of moral behavior, civic responsibility, economic independence, and social success.

Initiated by a concern for local stability in the Illinois territory, common school education in Chicago was a result of a desire to assimilate new settlers from Europe and the east into a cohesive, harmonious community in the midwest. J.C. Dore, the first superintendent of the Chicago Public School System (1854-1856), formally introduced to Chicago the idea that an educated urban population was inherently a safe and cohesive society. To Dore, "education [was] the surest protection to the public and to the individual" in preventing crime and social unrest.

According to Dore, lack of education, the "train of evils",¹ could be readily ". . . seen in the courts of justice, schools of reform, houses of industry, and prisons. . . . Education [was] necessary for public safety and individual happiness."² Furthermore, through education the American culture could be transferred to succeeding generations of Chicagoans. For "it [was] the province of the Public Schools to educate each rising generation, that it may be able to transmit our institutions, unimpaired, to each successive generation in its turn."³

Dore argued that the transmission of institutions to Chicago children decreased the probability of developing a large, dependent and delinquent urban underclass. Dore suggested that common schools of Chicago should be entrusted with assimilating city dwellers into a homogeneous urban citizenry.⁴ He suggested that an educated Chicago citizenry was inherently politically stable and economically

¹Chicago Public Schools, First-Ninth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools of the City of Chicago (Chicago: Democrat Book and Job Office, 1854), 16.

²Chicago Public Schools, Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools of the City of Chicago, for 1856 (Chicago: Chicago Democrat Press, 1856), 16-17.

³First-Ninth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools of the City of Chicago (Chicago: Democrat Book and Job Office, 1854), 22.

⁴Chicago Public Schools, Department of Public Instruction, City of Chicago Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending February 1, 1861 (Chicago: Rand, McNally and Co., Printers and Stationers, 1870), 18.

independent.

Creation of a politically stable and economically independent Chicago citizenry during the 1850s required development of a new breed of urban men and women. The foundation of this new breed was the ability to think and live harmoniously. Labor had proven itself as necessary to the economic survival of countries and communities; however, rationalism was the instrument through which political stability and order could be achieved.

Observing that other countries had produced many men who labored but few who thought, Dore surmised that labor directed by thought became dignified because it was inspired by ideas. He then concluded that the union of thought, labor, and dignity should begin in early childhood, a time when the child began to learn to give form to his mind's images. Moreover, an environment guided by natural laws and biblical precepts hindered development of dishonesty, intemperance, and sloth.⁵ Finally, Dore held that the combination of thought, labor, and morality in common school students would produce a Chicago citizenry of politically stable, hard working, and socially cooperative individuals.

William Wells, General Superintendent of Chicago Schools (1856-1864), followed Dore's notion of using moral education to promote political stability and economic indepe

⁵Chicago Public Schools, Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914 (Chicago: Board of Education, 1914), 179.

ndence in Chicago school children. However, Wells decided that a child should develop an awareness of his obligatory ethical social behavior within the community. Wells initiated this notion by replacing oral instruction on city and state governments and institutions with oral instruction on lessons of "manners and morals" and lessons on the natural sciences. His instructional program relied heavily on use of biographies from ancient and modern history in which ideals rather than the historical continuity of events were presented. Historical figures were used to illustrate ideals of manners and moral behavior which denoted "good character." These illustrations most frequently were displayed in characters' speeches and actions. Where available personalities failed to be didactic, nature became the pedagogical blueprints of behavior.⁶

Dore stressed creating a new breed of individuals who would possess well developed minds as well as strong bodies and Wells sought to instill ideal behavior in Chicago school children. Furthermore, both men attempted to utilize publicly funded education as their means of molding a diverse population into a harmonious urban society. This notion of urban harmony continued as European immigration to Chicago escalated during the 1890s.

As millions of European immigrants arrived in Chicago

⁶Hannah B. Clark, Public Schools of Chicago: A Sociological Study (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1897), 21, 73.

between 1890 and 1940, the thrust of Chicago common school education shifted from education for moral behavior to education toward assimilation and acknowledgement of civic responsibilities. "Americanizing the foreigner" was a major concern of Chicago common schools in the 1890s. At this time, Superintendent Albert G. Lane (1891-1898) declared that the goal of the Chicago Public School System was to prepare Chicago's common school children for triumphant confrontations with negative urban elements. Consequently, Americanizing children of foreign parentage promoted the common school as the environment in which development of the "right" ideas, habits, attitudes, and customs took place. This preparation of the immigrant child for life in Chicago began with daily school attendance, strict attention to the teacher's instruction, acquisition of self-control, and faithful preparation of each day's lesson. Lane proposed that

The right development of habits of promptness, attention, patience, faithfulness, honesty, obedience, purity, love and helpfulness, and the acquirement by the pupil of the elementary knowledge necessary to social life through a proper use of all mental faculties, [had] been the constant aim and effort of Superintendents, principals, and teachers.⁷

In programs of instruction, inclusion of habits or promptness, attention, patience, faithfulness, obedience,

⁷Chicago Public Schools, Public Schools of the City of Chicago Forty-second Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 26, 1896 (Chicago: J. M. W. Jones Stationery and Printing Co., 1896), 40.

and helpfulness was identified necessary for developing "good character." These habits were included in the board's curriculum of the 1890s; furthermore, they were identified as necessary entities in development of good work habits needed by Chicago industrial workers.

Drawn into the Chicago Public School System's educational program were children of Chicago's streets and publicly funded institutions. These dependents and delinquents benefitted from common school curriculums which prepared individuals for industrial labor and harmonious urban living.

Working in unison, compulsory education laws of Illinois and Chicago mandated school attendance of dependent and delinquent children until age sixteen. In Chicago, as a result of the passing of the Juvenile Court Act of 1899, all compulsory education mandates were enforced by the Juvenile Court of Cook County. Under this act, the juvenile court guaranteed education of truant, orphan, delinquent, and criminal children. The act defined these children as "court dependents." Violations of compulsory education laws resulted in fines or confinement to custodial or truant schools.⁸ As stipulated by the Juvenile Court Act, the

⁸Illinois, Laws of the State of Illinois, Enacted by the Forty-first General Assembly at the Regular Biennial Session, Begun and Held at the Capitol, in the City of Springfield, on the First Day of January A.D. 1899, and Adjourned Sine Die on the First Day of April A.D. 1899, sec. 1 (Springfield: Phillips Brothers State Printers, 1899), 346.

guardian of education for dependent and delinquent children was the local board of education.

Most children brought before the Juvenile Court of Cook County for truancy violations were picked-up by board of education truant officers, Chicago policemen, or factory inspectors. Chicago's truant population was comprised of orphans, abandoned and neglected children, habitual truants, classroom incorrigibles, and children convicted of crimes. Many of these children wandered Chicago streets or worked in city shops and factories. A great number of truants who appeared in the Juvenile Court of Cook County from 1900 through 1927 were also foreign born children.⁹ The phrase, "court dependents," was used by the Juvenile Court of Cook County in cases in which the county court replaced the parent as guardian of children under sixteen years of age. As a result, supervision of care, protection, and education of court dependent children became the responsibility of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.

Legislation of the 1899 Juvenile Court Act may be viewed as the formal union of three civic bodies (the county, the city, and the board of education). Roles of these local institutions assumed what previously had been domains of the home, the church, and the school. Generally,

⁹Clifford R. Shaw, Delinquency Areas: A Study of the Geographic Distribution of School Truants, Juvenile Delinquents and Adult Offenders in Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), 205.

in the typical household, the family initiated moral values, the church advocated their practice, and the school attempted to exemplify and inculcate within the child an understanding of their necessity. However, lives of deviant children (dependent and delinquent children) of the late 1890s and early 1900s lacked input from these institutions. Therefore, interest, care, protection, and education of dependents and delinquents became civic matters, to be administered and supervised by the local county, the city, and the board of education.

In Chicago, moral, civic, and social development of the deviant child was dominated by the Chicago Board of Education. Personnel of the board of education was fully aware of the impact of street life on city children, and they distrusted the habits and attitudes of various elements of the city; for educators realized that

Forces emanate from the school, the home, the church; and in equal measure, they emanate from the streets, public amusement places, and from occupations and companionship. Education may be towards good citizenship which is characterized by service in community life, or it may be that pitiful degradation which is a threat and a menace. For this reason a city's care of its dependent and delinquent children should be looked upon as a measure for its own safety, a civic duty comparable to that which [is provided by] a Fire Department, a Police Department, and a Health Department.¹⁰

Accordingly, Chicago administrators concluded that monetary investment in care, protection, and education of the

¹⁰Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914, 376.

dependent and delinquent child was "a wise and necessary investment for the public good."¹¹ Subsequently, provisions were made to prevent dependent and delinquent children of the early 1900s from becoming names on public welfare or penal rolls.

The answer to decreased public dependency also included the addition of instruction in manual training in Chicago common schools. Inclusion of manual training or vocational training in the common school curriculum began when the apprenticeship system declined during the late 1870s after the relationship of apprentice and master had become viewed as "involuntary servitude" and equated with slavery, which had become illegal as a result of the United States Constitution's thirteenth amendment. Additionally, crafts taught by masters were not applicable to impending industrialized urban settings in Chicago.

As early as the 1850s, a need for manual training was noted in the "number of ignorant and vagrant children" in Chicago. In 1856, three manual training schools were mentioned in Chicago School Superintendent William Wells's Annual Report. These schools were "conducted by an association of benevolent and self-denying ladies, and sustained by private bounty." They were attended by "a large number of children that could not be reached by public schools," undoubtedly truants, who were brought "under wholesome and

¹¹Ibid.

elevating influences" of the ladies. The goal of these women was to provide skills to older boys which would allow them to earn a living and provide financial support to their families.¹²

In 1883, the Chicago Board of Education formally entered manual training when it took over administration of the Chicago Manual Training School from Chicago businessmen of the Commercial Club of Chicago.¹³ Concentrating on educating boys over fourteen years of age in the commercial arts, course work at the Manual Training School shifted from manual training in woodworking to use of tools. By 1890, the school included an English high school and a manual training school. As a result, the Chicago Manual Training School included a college preparatory course and a three year course in manual training. Overall, the school attempted to reach fourteen year old boys before Chicago common school boys attempted to enter the labor market of Chicago.

Initially, manual training in common schools excluded girls. Some board of education lists of truant girls numbered less than ten, while elementary school boys of fourteen years of age became "the typical truant" as they

¹²Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools of the City of Chicago for the Year 1856, 55.

¹³John Howatt, Notes on the First One Hundred Years of Chicago School History, 1940 Reprint (Chicago: Chicago Board of Education Archive, 1946), 32.

numbered in the thousands. It has been suggested that the commercial spirit of the 1890s enticed boys to enter business at an early age. Whatever the reason for male truancy, or dependency and delinquency, nearly all boys who left Chicago schools were destined to be bread winners of families. However, their untimely departure from schools produced a new set of problems: they were too old for elementary school, yet too young to legally enter the work force of Chicago; and they were lacking in basic reading, mathematics, and manual skills.

Investigation of board of education files of these too old and too large truants indicated that boys generally were truant in greatest numbers beginning in grade four. In response to this discovery, in 1898 the Chicago Board of Education attempted to prepare at-risk truants for industry by proposing the inclusion of a course of study of "primary manual training" in the lower grades. This course of study was to be introduced at a cost of \$100 to \$150 per school. The fee would cover teacher instruction and materials, estimated to cost approximately ten cents per pupil per year.¹⁴ Furthermore, the board of education's decision to move manual training to primary grades was the Chicago Board of Education's attempt to prepare publicly educated children

¹⁴Chicago Public Schools, Public Schools of the City of Chicago Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 24, 1898 (Chicago: John F. Higgins Print, 1898), 22.

with working class skills before the tendency toward truancy took affect. These efforts of presenting vocational training to Chicago public school children were expansions of an earlier idea of Richard T. Crane, a Chicago industrialist.

In January 1891 by donating funds and equipment to Tilden School, R. T. Crane introduced manual training to elementary school boys in grades seventh and eighth. Crane equipped a basement of Tilden School at a cost of \$2,000. He donated, tools, benches, and materials. Furthermore, Crane hired teachers to supervise the boys' instruction in wood-working.¹⁵ Consequently, Tilden School became the center of the Chicago Public Schools' manual training program for eight grade boys in the city. Crane's efforts were followed in 1892 by the Chicago Herald Tribune, which fitted a room in the Jones School as a similar manual training center for boys. By 1897, the board had established ten other manual training centers.¹⁶ Moreover, in 1898 manual training was extended to elementary school girls. The board appropriated funds, and girls were enrolled in sewing and cooking classes in public schools. Their course of study was called "Household Arts."¹⁷

Advocacy for incorporation of manual training within

¹⁵Ibid., 60.

¹⁶Clark, Public Schools of Chicago, 28.

¹⁷Howatt, First One Hundred Years of Chicago, 34.

common school curriculums was continued by John Dewey. His rationale was that

The school should not be an institution that is arbitrary and traditional, but must be related to the growing evolution of society. One of the social changes most prominent at the present time is the industrial one. Correlated with these industrial changes is the introduction of manual training, shop-work, household arts and cooking. The school must not remain apart, isolated from forms of life that are affecting life outside. The impulse to create, to produce, whether in the form of utility or art, must be recognized. This impulse or tendency is just as real and important in the development of the human being as something that appeals simply to our desire to learn, to accumulate information and to get control of the symbols of learning.¹⁸

Investigations by the board's compulsory education department truant officers, supplemented by inquiries among truant boys, indicated that Dewey was correct. Many boys and girls who left school stated that they experienced an isolated curriculum which had no relationship to Chicago life outside the classroom. Citing curriculums which lacked a mixture of industrial skills with basic academics concepts, truants indicated that the Chicago public schools were out of step with industrialization in Chicago during the early 1900s.

By 1908, Chicago Public School Superintendent Edwin G. Cooley (1900-1909) attempted to prepare city children with appropriate industrial training. He advocated an elementary

¹⁸Chicago Public Schools, Public Schools of the City of Chicago Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1901 (Chicago: Chicago Board of Education of the City of Chicago, January, 1902), 105.

program of instruction which not only presented Chicago children with a general education but also with an introduction to the ideals of American life. "General education," according to Cooley, was acquisition of basic academic skills in reading, writing, and arithmetic; and "introduction to the ideals of American life" included acquisition of an understanding of basic industrial skills. Accordingly, Superintendent Cooley expanded manual training programs and encouraged apprenticeship schools and industrial rooms within neighborhood schools with high truancy rates. Moreover, Cooley introduced industrial training to commercial high schools and evening schools of Chicago.¹⁹

Chicago public schools' extensive concentration on provision of basic industrial skills to Chicago truants and delinquents was founded on the objective of training dependent and delinquents in skills that would provide economic independence in adulthood. Consequently, Chicago public schools adopted goals which stressed this independence. Industrial training therefore impressed upon the student that as a man he was expected

- a. to earn his own living;
- b. to respect labor;
- c. to be self-supportive;

¹⁹Chicago Public Schools, Fifty-third Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1907 (Chicago: Chicago Board of Education of the City of Chicago, 1907), 194.

- d. to learn that honest self-support was noble; and
- e. to abhor the easy going, self seeking, time serving ideas that afflict the young.²⁰

Acquisition of principles, goals, and basic industrial skills in manual training was through maxims and through the use of tools. Exercises were prescribed and graded, and use of tools were encouraged to begin as early as the child's strength and intellect would allow.²¹

Board "policy" on industrial training programs of instruction was "to encourage the making of articles of utility."²² Utilitarian articles were those products which were used in Chicago homes and industry. Initially simple for young children, construction of items used in industrial training nurtured development of "concentration of attention, thought, and care." Sequence of the industrial training program of instruction consisted of models presented in a series of arranged and graded exercises of increasing difficulty. Each model introduced a new tool and skill, and each exercise repeated the preceding tool's manipulation and skill before proceeding to successive activities of escalating difficulty. Additionally, teachers

²⁰Chicago Public Schools, Public Schools of the City of Chicago: Forty-first Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 28, 1895 (Chicago: J.M.W. Jones Stationery and Printing Co., 1895), 229.

²¹Ibid.

²²Chicago Public Schools, Forty-ninth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1903 (Chicago: Board of Education of the City of Chicago, August, 1904), 75.

were allowed freedom in selecting models to developed prescribed manual skills. Individualized instruction was encouraged, and each boy was permitted to work on a different project at his own pace. Inherent to the production of an article in industrial training in manual skills was the notion that the student would develop self-reliance and a sense of his power as a result of his creation.²³

As early as 1905, Cooley noted categories of children who left Chicago schools unprepared for industrial labor. Later investigations by Cooley discerned that common school dropouts included children who departed common schools after reaching sixteen years of age (the end of compulsory education by 1905); children who left school after eighth grade; children who left school because they were bored by the English or the classical programs of instruction; and children who entered high school but did not graduate. These children, fourteen through eighteen years of age, Cooley felt, could "make as legitimate a demand upon the finances of the Board of Education as any class of people who [were] attending the schools." By 1908, Cooley proposed the creation of continuation schools to reach this particular population of at risk truant and dropouts. The

²³Ibid.

proposed cost for continuation high schools was \$225,000.²⁴

The continuation school was Cooley's instrument to entice truants and potential truants to return or to remain enrolled in Chicago public schools. This enticement was accomplished through vocational courses which were directly related to skills used in industries and shops of Chicago. Therefore, course work was directly related to developing specific job skills related to an identified vocation rather than acquisition of basic industrial skills or advanced skills in reading, mathematics, and other academic subjects offered in conventional public high schools of Chicago. For example, mathematics in continuation schools was focused on those specific skills related to draftsmanship, bookkeeping, or stenography. Furthermore, mechanical drawing or construction was required; each was practical and thorough. Additionally, practical training in hygiene and in civics were offered.²⁵ The continuation school was a carrot placed in front of the older truant boy and girl. It provided skills which would secure him or her a position in Chicago industry and society as a vocationally prepared, economically independent adult.

Although Cooley made bold attempts to decrease

²⁴Chicago Public Schools, Fifty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1908 (Chicago: Board of Education of the City of Chicago Publisher, 1908), 223.

²⁵Ibid., 222.

truancy, it continued to rise. By 1914, a curriculum revision was believed to be the solution to decrease annually escalating truancy rates. The proposed solution to truancy continued to tout moral education, academic skills, and manual and industrial training. However, a curriculum revision indicated that the flaw was not in the objectives of Chicago public education but in those methods used to inculcate new skills, habits and attitudes in deviant students. Consequently, addition of a concept called "humanism" to courses of study in 1914 was believed to be the solution needed to instill the right moral, civic, social and manual skills in Chicago Public School children.

Humanism involved the idea that children retained habits and attitudes of intellectual or moral training if these were taught and learned as part of an activity; that is, if habits, attitudes, and skills were less consciously learned, they were more soundly retained. Prompted by the concept of humanism, the board's curriculum department, under the supervision of General Superintendent Ella Flagg Young (1909-1916), revised courses and included activities which encompassed kindergarten immaturity through adolescence development in high school students.²⁶ These revisions, which lasted for decades, included moral values, academic skills, civic service, and manual training.

²⁶Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914, 177.

young's educational program was adapted to truant rooms pupils and children institutionalized in publicly funded custodial settings that were administered by the Chicago Board of Education. Every grade level was included in the Young revision.

Beginning in kindergarten, acquisition of moral, civic, academic, and manual training skills utilized the child's social life. It was believed that this stage of mental growth allowed a "rare growing season" into which "right and courteous behavior became an unconscious part of life."²⁷ Here, in kindergarten, acceptable social behavior and civic duties were nurtured through singing songs, marching to given measures, care of pets, helping younger and weaker children, telling stories during story hours, and sharing experiences during classroom discussions. As the developmental stage which allowed moral training to occur "before self-consciousness [hid] the child's real conception from his fellows," kindergarten was vital to introduction of acceptable habits and attitudes.

In first and second grades, moral, civic, and academic education utilized the same activities as those used in kindergarten "except as they [were] affected by the restriction of freedom in the child's life and the increasing complexity of aim in the teacher's mind due to the advent of the course of study." But above all other

²⁷Ibid.

subjects stressed in first grade, reading was most important. Beginning at age six and taught through phonics, reading was a catalyst to ideas in ethics and academics.

Reading permitted moral education to be presented through stories, followed by dramatization and memory presentations. Narratives involving historical figures were supplemented by stories about animals, their usefulness, their habits, and their relation to man. Dramatic representations were used in each grade. Here teachers allowed the child to give his own interpretation of the character's speeches and actions. Additionally, moral lessons were encouraged in oral and written compositions in which the exchange of personal experiences became subjects for additional assignments. These activities supplemented songs and stories of animal care which began during kindergarten.²⁸

In third through eight grade, history and literature were subjects which the Chicago Board of Education utilized as avenues to provide greatest opportunities for moral education. Utilizing abstract ideas as subjects, history lessons included examples of privileges and duties of citizenship, laws for protection of wild birds and animals, and means of securing humane treatment for horses. Additionally, clubs to relieve social problems of Chicago were utilized as instruments of practical moral and civic

²⁸Ibid., 177-178.

training. Moreover, acquisition of information on organizations which provided care for abandoned or injured animals, such as the Humane Society or the Anti-Cruelty Society, was provided. Finally, creation of student organizations which encouraged self-control and intelligent, self-guidance in school age children was included in the 1914 curriculum revision of Superintendent Young. While history presented the civic aspect of character development, literature was viewed by Superintendent Young as offering the child situations involving examples of moral values through personal conduct. Characters within narratives were discussed with the objective of encouraging development of appropriate decision making and illustrating consequences of unacceptable behavior. Furthermore, teachers were encouraged to incite enthusiasm for noble traits of character or abhorrence of unworthy conduct. In fact, the elementary school curriculum of the Chicago Board of Education during the early 1900s was far more concerned with providing children with examples and implications of moral and social conduct than providing lessons which focused on historical events.²⁹

Within Chicago common high schools, lessons in moral education were not wanting. Programs of instruction in morality attempted to encourage development of high ideals

²⁹Chicago Public Schools, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the Year Ending June 11, 1937 (Chicago: Chicago Board of Education, 1937), 21.

within students. Lessons in appropriate moral behavior were to be grasped through participation in the school orchestra or glee club; membership in social, debating, literacy, and dramatic clubs; instruction in practical hygiene; organization of student committees to address school problems; and concern with issues in society. These activities were viewed as means of encouraging team play, fair play, personal development, self-control, citizenship, and social behavior. The objective of moral education in the high school student was to nurture him into a "unit of society capable of satisfactorily performing the social and moral obligations developing upon him" in an urban setting and an industrial world.³⁰ Therefore, moral training concentrated on student performance of social and civic responsibilities in his school and in his community.

Drawn into an educational program of moral, civic, academic and industrial training offered by the Chicago Board of Education were children from the Chicago Orphan Asylum (the Asylum). These orphans experienced the 1914 curriculum revision of the Chicago Board of Education, and they benefitted from the 1899 Juvenile Court Act in which the city, county, and state were held accountable for education of dependent children. As a result of the 1899 act, administration and supervision of education for

³⁰Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914, 179.

publicly assisted dependents (orphans, and abandoned and neglected children) and delinquents were placed under the domain of the Chicago Board of Education.

The Chicago Orphan Asylum was located at 5120 South Park Avenue. Children from this institution attended Burke Elementary School. Their enrollment in public schools required a 1916 Illinois Circuit Court ruling which permitted residents from attendance areas outside of an immediate neighborhood to enroll in a local school in which they did not pay real estate taxes.³¹ Chicago Orphan Asylum children received a common education at Burke School from 1916 through 1930. At this time, changing conditions in the neighborhood characterized by an influx of low income families, streets under the control of marauding juvenile gangs, racial problems as incoming African American families relocated into the area, and overcrowded housing and schools caused concern for asylum children. Small orphans confronted with neighborhood changes, prompted re-establishment of kindergarten through second grade at the asylum. These classes were taught by Chicago Board of Education teachers. However, continued economic and social decline in neighborhood conditions forced the Chicago Orphan Asylum to move to cottages built in the Austin Area of

³¹Clare L. McCausland, Children of Circumstances: A History of the First 125 Years (1849-1974) of Chicago Child Care Society (Chicago: R.R. Donnelly and Sons Co., 1976), 104.

Chicago in 1930. At this time, all orphans were then sent to the Dewey School in the Austin area.³²

Also under the educational supervision of the Chicago Board of Education were publicly funded institutions of juvenile incarceration. These institutions were frequently referred to as training schools or reformatories. Their aim was to return delinquent children to society with reformed habits, behavior, and attitudes. To achieve this reformation, supervised instruction and modified behavior were warranted.

In Chicago, the institution of reform for boys was the John Worthy Training School of the City Bridewell Prison (County Jail); and for girls, there was the Frances Juvenile Home for Girls. By 1915, the John Worthy School (the Training School) had become the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys. Within Illinois juvenile residential institutions, incarceration averaged thirty days.³³ During this period, moral training by the Chicago Board of Education took on emphatically practical aspects. Courses of study were selected after placement examinations in reading, writing, and arithmetic denoted achievement levels. These courses prescribed social behavior and vocational skills, while they implied the Puritan notion that through

³²Ibid., 123.

³³Public Schools of the City of Chicago Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 24, 1898, 70.

hard work the delinquent or criminal child could acquire social acceptance and an economically stable and profitable place in society. Programs of instruction demonstrated the child's obligatory responsibility to become useful to his community and to develop a moral conscience. At the John Worthy Training School of Chicago, criminal and delinquent children were fitted "for free life again by physical, mental, moral, and industrial training" administered by the Chicago Board of Education.³⁴ If the delinquent and criminal students learned their lessons well, then their salvation could begin on earth.

A typical Chicago reform school population committed to the John Worthy Training School were the nine hundred and thirteen boys detained from 1 July 1897 to 1 July 1898. Eighty percent had good natural mental capacity, but none had education above the ordinary. These boys were instructed according to the notion held by board of education members that "the peculiar discipline afforded by a study [was] obtained in the thorough mastery of a part of that study." This notion pervaded programs of instruction for delinquent and classroom incorrigible boys and girls throughout the city. Accordingly, one hour per week attendance in academic classes in basic skills was necessary to development of communication skills, and freehand and mechanical drawing were believed to be imperative to

³⁴Ibid., 70-71.

understanding mechanics of industrial skills.³⁵

The foundation of industrial training relied on the ability to draw machinery and to interpret a freehand and mechanical drawings. They were skills held by industrial workers of the city, and they had been identified by the board of education as vital to understanding basic skills and machinery of industry. Working in unison, freehand and mechanical drawing were not only credited with supplementing an understanding of mechanics, but they were also credited with developing powers of observation, focusing close attention to detail, producing complete and clear conceptions, cultivating habits of accuracy, and developing mechanical skills within the hands and mind. Instruction in course work in mechanics and drawing in training schools and reformatories of the early 1900s was founded on the notion that these skills prepared boys with industrial skills used by Chicago workers.³⁶

Other shop courses and activities at the John Worthy Training School which were identified as capable of providing lessons of a moral nature were basketry, hammered copper and brass, weaving, wood-working, foundry, forges, machine shop, gardening, farming, outdoor exercise,

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Chicago Public Schools, Fifty-second Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1906 (Chicago: Board of Education of the City of Chicago, March, 1907), 170.

baseball, swimming, singing, and chapel.³⁷ These were considered excellent vocations and activities for delinquent Chicago boys. Unfortunately, John Worthy Training School had no provisions for girls.

Before 1910, with the exception of the Cook County Jail, there were no publicly funded institutions in Chicago for girls who were identified as having criminal behavior which warranted incarceration. In 1910, delinquent girls or girls awaiting trial for criminal acts were sent to the Chicago Refuge for Girls; however, by 1912 the Frances Juvenile Home was founded. Prior to the 1900s, girls who were identified by the courts as delinquent or exhibiting criminal behavior were committed to county jail or placed in houses of refuge or almshouses within the city limits. Delinquent girls shared these institutions with orphans, abandoned or neglected children, and criminal adults; or in a few cases, delinquent girls were cared for by private philanthropic organizations with religious affiliations.³⁸

Delinquent girls housed at the Chicago Refuge for Girls (the Refuge) were educated to socially acceptable behavior by the Chicago Board of Education. In 1910, three teachers

³⁷Chicago Public Schools, Public School of the City of Chicago Fifty-eighth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 1912 (Chicago: Board of Education of the City of Chicago, 1912), 172.

³⁸Chicago Public Schools, Sixty-first Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1915 (Chicago: Board of Education, 1915), 72.

provided morning, afternoon, and evening classes at the Refuge. Morning school extended from 10:00 a.m. to 12:30; afternoon classes from 2:00 p.m. to 4:30 p.m.; and evening school, in which all three teachers worked, extended from 7:00 p.m. to 8:30 p.m. Courses were adapted from public school curriculum and modified to address needs of the Refuge girls. However, focus of the Refuge's girls' education was on practical application of skills. Accordingly, girls were instructed in diet, clothing, and sewing. All courses were taught with reference to the responsibilities of motherhood and the role of the mother. In addition, every girl was employed in the laundry and kitchen. Here she received systematic instruction in making clothing and meals for herself and her future family. Laundry work was supplemented by classes in sewing in which older girls made clothing for infants who resided in other public institutions in Chicago. Furthermore, cooking, sewing, serving food, housekeeping, and laundering and mending clothing were duties of the girls during their incarceration.³⁹

By 1912, General Superintendent Young, in her Annual Report, made the first mention of the Frances Juvenile Home (the Home). At this time, the Home was Chicago's second shelter for criminal or delinquent girls from Chicago and

³⁹Chicago Public Schools, Fifty-ninth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1913, 299-300.

surrounding suburbs. Superintendent Young said the Home had a membership that "usually reached eighty." Within this membership were girls of immigrant parentage. Like the John Worthy Training School for Boys, the Frances Juvenile Home composition frequently changed with the arrival and dismissal of girls. For some arrivals, this home was their first acquaintance with instruction in reading, writing, and ciphering. Girls of immigrant parentage were concentrated in classes in English, reading, and writing. In general, girls committed to the Juvenile Home had received fewer than two years of school education.⁴⁰

In conjunction with activities at the Francis Juvenile Home for Girls, the Chicago Board of Education acknowledged society's efforts to return the delinquent or criminal girl, as a rehabilitated person, to her community.⁴¹

Accordingly, teachers at the Home were assigned goals of improving the girls general attitude toward life, encouraging a desire to earn an honest living, providing instruction, and assisting girls with academic development. In 1913, to accomplish these goals, geography, games, songs, and physical exercises had become part of regular school lessons offered by the Chicago Board of Education to girls

⁴⁰Chicago Public Schools, Public Schools of the City of Chicago, Fifty-eighth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 1912 (Chicago: Board of Education of the City of Chicago, 1912), 174.

⁴¹Sixty-first Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1915, 73.

at the Frances Juvenile Home.⁴² Moreover, records of their achievements were kept at the Burke Elementary School.⁴³

While orphans, delinquents, and criminally bent children were educated by the Chicago Board of Education, of additional concern to the Chicago Public School System were foreign truants. Their moral education was viewed as critical in Americanizing them and fusing them into the Chicago setting. In fact, schools were charged with instilling a national awareness within the foreign-born child, and educators were expected "to affect desired fusion of divergent people."⁴⁴ Immigration of millions of foreign children during the 1890s into Chicago obliged common schools to declare that "English [was] the language of the schools," and "United States History [had] some place in the program of every grade."⁴⁵

Instruction in a common language, English, was believed to be viable in forging the strongest bond between children of foreign born parents and the American urban society. It was ventured that through instruction in English, the child of foreign parents became "the inheritors of national beliefs and sentiments that react upon them to

⁴²Fifty-ninth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1913, 73.

⁴³Fifty-eighth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 1912, 174.

⁴⁴Clark, Public Schools of Chicago, 110.

⁴⁵Ibid.

form a common opinion and a common feeling." Secondly, the study of American history, which included epoch-making events and knowledge of principles on which the national life was based, inculcated common standards and sentiments within the child. These standards and sentiments cultivated patriotism and nationalism which were reinforced through school activities, such as celebration of historic anniversaries, associating the national flag with school houses, and recollection of stories of historical figures who displayed heroism and ideal American behavior.⁴⁶ During the first four decades of the twentieth century, board educators took up the flag: the immigrant child was going to be Americanized by the Chicago Public School System.

Locating children of immigrants after their arrival in Chicago, the Compulsory Education Department in cooperation with the Government and Immigrants' Protection League attempted to discourage school truancy by securing immigrant children's attendance in common schools.⁴⁷ However, it was the Chicago settlement house to which the immigrant family ventured for assistance and understanding of urban life in America.

Settlement house assistance to foreigners involved

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Fifty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1908, 183.

imparting skills and knowledge which were used in daily living. Their assistance began with assimilating foreigners to urban living. It had become apparent that the Chicago Public Schools had begun to fail in Americanizing children of foreign parentage; for among these children

The number of arrests . . . was twice as large as the number of arrests of children of native born Americans It seemed that schools [loosened] the immigrant children from the authority and control of their parents, and [tended] to send them, without sufficient rudder and power of self-direction into the perilous business of living.⁴⁸

As part of the immigrant community, the settlement house became the rudder which understood the foreign child and his needs.

Social leaders of Chicago's settlement communities, such as Jane Addams of Hull House, Graham Taylor of Chicago Commons, and Lillian Wald of the Henry Street Settlement, were critical of education which common schools presented to children of immigrant parents. Many of these children had begun to believe that schools were omniscient. According to settlement house leaders, these children learned from a hidden common school curriculum to treat their immigrant parents with superficial judgments of Americanism, which questioned and degraded the foreign culture and left both the child and the parent confused, distracted, and disturbed. This chaos caused a decline in home control and

⁴⁸Chicago Public Schools, "Public School and the Immigrant Child," National Education Association, Journal of the Proceedings and Addresses (1908): 100.

a decline in family values. For many children of foreign parentage, this decline in parental control initiated the child's odyssey toward truancy, crime, and juvenile court.⁴⁹

The most famous and influential settlement house in Chicago during the early 1900s was Hull House. It was frequented by Italians, Hebrews, French, Irish, Germans, other foreign immigrants, and African Americans who relocated from the rural south. The Hull House Settlement House agenda, like agendas of other settlement houses in Chicago, addressed the practical aspects of urban life. For the immigrant and the relocated, Hull House leaders viewed their acquaintance with daily experiences, habits, and attitudes as routes to Americanization and self-reliance. Foreign attitudes based on agrarian values had to be replaced with those which accommodated life in an urban, industrial setting. Therefore, the following goals were reflected in Chicago settlement houses' agendas:

1. To improve and enforce tenement housing laws;
2. To initiate a more practical curriculum in schools;
3. To establish more and better health facilities and services;
4. To support improved garbage collection;
5. To improve the neighborhood by building public parks and playgrounds; and
6. To gain political reform and elect honest and

⁴⁹Ibid.

responsive local officials.⁵⁰

Within these goals, improvements in the family, housing, health, community, education, and politics were areas of concentration which settlement houses in the early decades of the 1900s addressed.

The poor and the immigrant lacked basic urban skills, habits and attitudes which were peculiar to America. Instilling the American way of doing things in recent Chicago settlers involved civic, moral, and industrial education. Instruction, if begun with the child, was believed to be most effective in Americanizing the immigrant, urbanizing the relocated, and assisting the poor in Chicago. On Chicago's west side, Jane Addams used Hull House to urbanize foreigners and assist the poor. This urbanization focused on the community's children. Wishing to "hitch" education to practical application in city life, Addams insisted that there was a natural fusion between intellect, work, and social values. This fusion evolved during the developmental stages of childhood; furthermore, it began with child's play. Addams proposed that each stage of child development provided opportunities for acquisition of an understanding of the relations between the mind, the hands, and ethics. She suggested that young children experienced an "imaginative period." At this time, teachers

⁵⁰Walter W. Tratter, From Poor Law to Welfare State: A History of Social Welfare in America, 4th ed. (New York: Free Press, A Division of MacMillan, Inc., 1989), 162.

should cultivate the child's art impulse; therefore, the role of the teacher during this stage was to create or direct activities which centered around an object made by the small child. Secondly, in child development, Addams proposed that the older child experienced a "technique period"; here, instruction should call attention to the quality of the child's work. Finally, in adolescence, concentration should be placed on a "trade school period"; that is, the adolescent should be encouraged to make useful objects which had direct relationships to his future earning in a chosen vocation.⁵¹

The second stage of Addams's notion uniting intellect, work, and social values involved the nobility of work. Addams argued that work developed a man's social value. For the poor, work lacked merging of an understanding of the history of raw materials, manual techniques, and values. When this understanding was not acquired, the worker lacked an understanding of the social or cultural meaning of his work; the worker had no understanding of the historical implications of his labor; and the worker did not possess a scientific foundation for his industrial training.⁵²

Addams's notions of the nobility of work does emerge in

⁵¹Jane Addams, "Discussion 'Relation of Industrial Education to the Public Schools'," National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, Bulletin 6, Part 2 (May, 1908): 94.

⁵²Jane Addams, "Child Labor and Education," National Conference and Correction Proceedings (1908): 367-368.

Chicago common school education. For example, between 1900 and 1920, Chicago schools under superintendents Cooley and Young addressed social significance of vocational training⁵³ and stressed education in civic duties.⁵⁴ Under these administrators, the nobility of labor and respect for self-support were touted.⁵⁵

Although Jane Addams and other settlement house leaders' are credited with assisting immigrant families to life in Chicago and other urban areas, settlement houses fell on hard times within the nation. Their leaders' too visible opposition to America's involvement in World War I caused public suspicion and distrust of settlement house leaders and, hence, prompted a decline in financial support of settlement house causes.⁵⁶

Regardless of settlement house leaders' political proclivities, educational leaders within the nation agreed with many settlement house ideas regarding education of foreign truants. John Dewey, who studied the immigrant truant, furthered Addams's argument when he proposed that schools (for truant children of foreign born parents as well

⁵³Fifty-third Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1907, 194.

⁵⁴Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1913, 177.

⁵⁵Forty-ninth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1903, 75.

⁵⁶Tratter, From Poor Law to Welfare State, 167.

as other truants and delinquents) should assume the role of the "school as settlement." That is, schools had to teach practical skills to aid foreign and poor children in making a transition from the peasant's life of Europe or the rural south to complex situations of modern urban America.⁵⁷

Neighborhood schools located in immigrant neighborhoods applied Dewey's school as settlement concept. They provided bath services; health and hygiene instructions; and information to parents, which attempted to lessen the "filth and crowding and suspicion of doctors and health officials." In fact, schools used children of immigrant and poor families as vehicles through which national and local information, habits, attitudes, and activities were disseminated within the community. As a result, common school children became agents of Americanization in Chicago.

Supporting John Dewey's educational position were the child study and mental hygiene movements founded by psychologist G. Stanley Hall in the 1890s. Gradually taking roots in modified forms in Chicago Public Schools, the child study and mental hygiene movements supplemented settlement house endeavors and Dewey's suggestions for educating deviant and immigrant children. The movements attempted "to study and understand the child's behavior and development

⁵⁷ Joan Gittens, Children of the State: Child Labor Reform and Education in Illinois 1818-1980s (Chicago: Chapin Hall Center for Children, 1986), 76-77.

through systematic observation."⁵⁸ As early as 1918, Chicago common school curriculum revisions reflected this philosophy. Observations of truants, delinquents, and classroom incorrigibles by the Chicago Board of Education (the board) prompted it to begin to view deviant students as products of undesirable habits modelled on those of their parents or significant others in their lives. The board believed that these adults or significant others were incapable of illustrating or instilling within the child moral, religious and socially acceptable habits and attitudes "of regular school attendance, of telling the truth, of keeping the face clean, of punctuality, of self restraint, of assuming an attitude of respect, and of obedience toward those in authority." The board at this time had begun to view the situations of truants, delinquents, classroom incorrigibles, and social misfits as the creations of "subnormal parents." Board authorities described these parents as "mentally weak", and "incompetent and inefficient" in directing their children's lives as their offsprings faced a "multiplicity of conditions and circumstances in modern city life nearly all of which [tended] toward immorality, truancy, and delinquency."⁵⁹

⁵⁸Warren H. Buttons and Eugene F. Provenzo, Jr., History of Education: Culture in America (California: Prentice Hall, 1983), 202.

⁵⁹Chicago Public Schools, Sixty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1918 (Chicago: Board of Education, 1918) 75-76.

To curtail the influence of poor parenting and poor adult modelling on city children, Chicago Board of Education's truant officers performed a multiplicity of activities, all geared toward returning compulsory education age children to Chicago schools. For example, during the academic year of 1917-1918, the board's fifty-five truant officers, directed by the Cook County Juvenile Court, monitored student attendance at 300 public schools and 115 private schools. Truant officers also made 25,590 calls at schools during the year; secured 5,997 returns of truants to schools; and made investigations with subsequent returns of 66,321 temporary absentees who failed to attend school due to personal illnesses, illness within the family, poverty, or lack of shoes or clothing. Furthermore, truant officers served 2,189 parental warnings; investigated 2,023 transfer cases; warned 376 destructive agencies (movie houses, shops, saloons, etc.); returned 63 boys to Parental School for violation of parole; investigated 2,487 cases of employment certificate; conducted 430 parole investigations; placed 718 unenrolled children in school; took 236 boys to special industrial centers; conducted a city-wide industrial survey; and cooperated with philanthropic organizations to relieve poverty among poor children.⁶⁰

Of 2,189 parental warnings in the 1917-1918 school year, municipal court prosecuted seven hundred and two and

⁶⁰Ibid., 171.

fined fifty-three parents twenty dollars. In Cook County, flagrant cases of parental violation of compulsory education laws required a stay in the House of Corrections. However, jail confinement of parents or guardians for failure to address compulsory education laws was seldom. Many parents of truants who appeared in court received nominal fines, but the majority of parents of truants were reprimanded by a Cook County Juvenile Court judge and given a final chance to cooperate with the Bureau of Compulsory Education of the Chicago Board of Education. On the other hand, of the truancy cases in the 1917-1918 school year which were prosecuted by juvenile court, seven hundred and eighty-eight cases were for habitual truancy or persistent violation of rules governing department or attendance. Four hundred sixty-two boys of the seven hundred and eighty-eight cases were committed to the board's Parental School, four cases were dismissed, and the rest were placed on probation or continued.⁶¹

Continued studies of unexcused absences by the Bureau of Compulsory Education during the 1917-1918 school year produced the following truant profile and presented the following causes of non-attendance at public schools:

- a. 20,270 temporary absences, particularly during January through June, due to illness;
- b. 6,696 due to trivial reasons or inexcusable;
- c. 5,997 truancy;
- d. 3,289 moved;

⁶¹Ibid., 171-172.

- e. 2,373 due to poverty;
- f. 899 due to employment;
- g. 822 left the city;
- h. 406 seeking employment; and
- i. due to other reasons: baby sitting, housework, lack of shoes or clothing, illness in the family, death of a relative, toothache, suspension, excluded by medical inspector for pediculosis capitis, impetigo, or other reasons.⁶²

This academic year, 1917-1918, was typical of truancy rates and truant officers' investigations. However, the 1917 through 1918 truancy study was followed by a new wave of curriculum revisions which again, as in 1914, focused on vocational training.

In March 1919, Illinois accepted funding from the federal government's Smith-Hughes Act. The act permitted the federal government to reimburse local school districts for half the cost of conducting vocational and continuation school classes.⁶³ Again new programs focused on the fourteen through eighteen year old truant population of Chicago. In this revision, new programs allowed children, fourteen through eighteen years of age who had been truant from public schools, to attend continuation schools, evening schools, or manual training or commercial classes in special buildings that were set aside for eight to twelve hours per week for instruction in vocational skills.⁶⁴

⁶²Ibid., 172.

⁶³Howatt, Chicago School History, 47.

⁶⁴Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1908, 222.

Stipulated by the Smith-Hughes Act, the focus of publicly-funded education for deviant students remained concentrated on providing these children with skills which were applicable to industrial vocations. This wave of practical education marked the founding of the Commercial Continuation School which the Chicago Board of Education opened in September 1918. It was a combined effort of academics and on-the-job training for boys and girls fourteen years of age and older. Those children selected for the continuation school were truants or potential dropouts. As members of the Commercial Continuation School, students studied English, arithmetic, penmanship, typing, stenography, accounting, civics, history, commercial geography, calculating, and banking machines. English classes were required of all students, and students in advanced stenography and accounting courses attended school six hours daily, five days a week. Additionally, continuation school students were employed in Chicago banks, department stores, or other businesses. Students attended school one or more hours daily as their employment permitted. However, a school day extended from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. Twenty-one graduates were certificated in June 1919 to begin careers in Chicago commercial businesses.⁶⁵

For older students beyond compulsory education age,

⁶⁵Edwin G. Cooley, "Chicago's Continuation School System," Chicago School Journals, 2, No. 2 (October, 1919): 11.

the Automobile Continuation School was opened in 1919. It was also financed by federal funds. Here army mechanics had been trained during World War I; but by 1921, the school offered a complete course in auto mechanics, car ownership, chauffeuring, and general garage work. Course work included shop work, shop hygiene, drawing, English, mathematics, and civics. The school enrolled 175 students. (Women attended special classes on Wednesdays.) All instruction was through lectures and practical demonstration on cars and equipment.⁶⁶ As the automobile began its seduction of the truant, enrollment at the Automobile Continuation School flourished.

This trend in which the Chicago Board of Education attempted to present dependent and delinquent children with industrial and commercial skills geared toward employment continued to be stressed through the 1930s and 1940s. For example, in 1936, Superintendent of Schools, William H. Johnson (1936-1945), introduced essential (remedial) courses in elementary school mathematics, reading, and shops, while he expanded others. These remedial classes attempted to retain potential truants in schools and prepare truant room boys and girls as well as institutionalized children with basic academic skills needed in industry. Johnson also pushed further development of course work in handcrafts, trades, and commercial training in Chicago high schools.

⁶⁶Ibid.

Acknowledging Superintendent Johnson's desire to expand vocational skills, the Chicago Board of Education authorized construction of the Southside Vocational School at a price of three million dollars at 86th Street and Chappel Avenue. Additionally, the superintendent had the Bureau of Curriculum field test revised curriculums in elementary schools during the 1937-38 school year.⁶⁷ Superintendent Johnson and the board had begun to shape Chicago public schools to meet urban needs of the 1930s. Under Superintendent Johnson, public education in Chicago officially meant preparation of common school students for work.⁶⁸

Attempts to educate children for entry into Chicago's working class produced confusion and conflict over goals of the Chicago Public School System. Johnson's plan, in which 20 percent of high school students would take "general courses" in preparation for college while the remaining 80 percent were required to enroll in vocational courses, denied opportunity for higher education to four-fifths of publicly educated students. Johnson's plan appeared to indiscriminately channel Chicago children into industry immediately after graduation. His focus on vocational training was not in agreement with all Chicago educators.

⁶⁷Chicago Public Schools, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the School Year 1938-1939 (Chicago: Chicago Board of Education, 1940), 107.

⁶⁸Howatt, Chicago School History, 60-61.

At the forefront of arguments against the Johnson Plan was Professor William C. Reavis of the University of Chicago. He was also President of the Citizens Schools Committee. Producing data which showed that only twenty percent of Chicago's children chose vocational education, Reavis supplemented his objection to the Johnson Plan with the support of the Citizens Schools Committee of 1939. They argued that this plan deprived children of advanced education in order to provide cheap labor for Chicago business interests.⁶⁹

Another in disagreement with Johnson's attempt to channel four-fifth of the city's students into vocational training was Illinois School Superintendent Vernon L. Nickle, who took office in 1942. Assisted by the Secondary School Principals Association and subsidized by a \$35,000 appropriation from the Sixty-fourth General Assembly of Illinois to investigate curriculums for appropriate education of Illinois students, Nickle's suggested a decrease in manual training of public school children.⁷⁰ Moreover, Nickle's successor, George Wilkins, also argued that 80 percent of Illinois children should not be channelled into manual training or vocational education

⁶⁹Mary J. Herrick, Chicago Schools: A Social and Political History (Beverly Hills, London: Sage Publications, Inc., 1971), 230.

⁷⁰Charles D. Jay, Sesquicentennial One Hundred and Fifty Years of Illinois Education (Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction), 22.

sequences. In such a training scheme, Wilkins declared, Illinois public schools would lag behind industrial nations in familiarizing students with the scientific or technical background of industry. Wilkins argued that

The methods of production and distribution of goods to satisfy man's needs [was] being revolutionized. ... Manual labor that until recently provided employment for a large segment of our workers [was] disappearing at greatly accelerated rates. Consequently, the need for unskilled workers [was] rapidly approaching zero. By contrast the need for physicians, surgeons, lawyers, engineers, mathematicians, educators, executives, administrators, and other leaders will greatly increase. Adequate professional education of the highest quality will need to prepare people for these fields of service.⁷¹

Regardless of the Johnson-Reavis-Nickle's conflict, many Chicago children with social problems found solace in Johnson's founding of vocational centers. By 1938, vocational centers were established in public elementary schools. Concentrating on developing personal and social skills, educators supervised deviant students as students developed skills which allowed them to effectively participate in home and family life, to acknowledge social and civic responsibilities, and to make profitable use of leisure time. Materials used by vocational center students were selected according to needs and interests of pupils, their age, and their physical and mental health. Moreover, a curriculum guide was prepared for the teaching of personal

⁷¹Ibid., 24.

and social living.⁷²

High school age truants, dependents, and delinquent children who were placed in special truant rooms or custodial programs during Johnson's administration of Chicago Public Schools were inundated with a steadily increasing number of industrial arts laboratories. In these laboratories, seven revised units in shop and mechanical subjects and a unit on transportation were taught.⁷³ Home arts, a course of study for girls, was revised to parallel boys' industrial arts laboratory. Cooking and sewing skills were integrated in projects in art, general science, physical education, and English. Furthermore, indicating to their teachers and board administrators that academic subjects were only interesting when they were combined with domestic arts, truant room girls were allowed to cook their own meals, make their own garments, and engage in other domestic activities associated with family and home life. This approach to domestic arts provided truant room girls with "a feeling of success." On the other hand, for the deviant student who held a proclivity toward business, shorthand became a unit in the school's commercial program of instruction. It was introduced in schools to complement typing and to provide training in secretarial duties and

⁷²Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the School Year 1938-1939 (Chicago: Chicago Board of Education, 1940), 107-108.

⁷³Ibid.

personality development.⁷⁴

In 1939, the board revised elementary and high school education again; truant room and institutionalized students benefitted from these revisions. Prior to this year, the role of the common school had been primarily to inculcate within the child the accumulated wisdom and tradition of the race.⁷⁵ However, the emerging role of education for deviant students had shifted to decreasing or eliminating failure and building self-esteem. Examination of the affects of Chicago public education curriculums on deviant students indicated that "the devastating effect of failure and truancy and other infractions of rules are the natural, expected indicators" of frustration when "the child's fundamental needs are not met in his environment." As a result, Chicago educators sought to understand and "to ameliorate the underlying causes in the life of the child that motivates these infractions." If educating deviant children were to become effective, discovery of why truants, delinquents, and juvenile criminals did not attend school was warranted, and removal of the cause or causes for non-attendance became necessities. Consequently, in 1939, attempts to gain a better understanding of truancy began with replacement of truant officers with trained, "home visitors, field workers, psychologists, psychiatrists,

⁷⁴Ibid., 392.

⁷⁵Ibid.

nurses, and counselors."⁷⁶ Scientific study of the whole child by professionals was the new approach to discovery of the sources of deviant behavior.

By 1940, this new emphasis on the whole child was touted by the Chicago Board of Education. Misbehavior, truancy, delinquency, and incorrigibility were viewed as symptoms of conditions in family life, in school situations, in the child's social environment, and in the psychological and physiological makeup of the individual. Scientific study of deviancy dictated methods of remediation, rehabilitation, and prevention; that is, scientific study of deviant behavior advocated special treatment, care, and education of socially maladjusted children.⁷⁷ As a result of this scientific view of the child, children who exhibited deviant behavior had become objects of study and not victims of punishment.

Professionals with whom dependent and delinquent children became familiar included behavior scientists such as psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers. These specialists suggested methods of instruction to classroom teachers for effective education. Furthermore, they encouraged principals and teachers to stress prevention before misbehavior, truancy, and delinquency began.

⁷⁶Ibid., 300.

⁷⁷Chicago Public Schools, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the School Year 1939-40 (Chicago: Chicago Board of Education, 1940), 270.

Deviancy was no longer considered a disease; it was an aspect of social maladjustment.⁷⁸

Investigation by the Chicago Board's Bureau of Compulsory Education of the truancy population of 1939 and 1940 pinpointed specific causes of truancy and delinquency in Chicago children. Sources of truancy and delinquency appeared to be founded in poverty and environmental influences; intemperate, indifferent, and incompetent parents; broken homes, employed mothers and uncared for children; lack of parental supervision; evil influence of older children; habitual tardiness; unsanitary homes; wanderlust due to seasonal influences; overgrown boys and girls in lower grades; and a desire to go to work. Furthermore, the innate character of the child was no longer credited with being the source of deviant behavior; atypical behavior had become attributed to environmental influences.⁷⁹

As the concept of the source of deviant behavior shifted and World War II changed the face of the world during the 1940s, the City of Chicago, public schools, and the character of city workers also changed. Property in the inner city, which had previously paid for public education had deteriorated or diminished in value as a result of age

⁷⁸Ibid., 127.

⁷⁹Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the Year 1938-1939 (Chicago: Chicago Board of Education, 1940), 267.

or lack of care, while the number of children in public schools increased as a result of population growth after World War II. Assessed value of Chicago real estate per public school child decreased by some \$3,000, while suburban per capita assessed value increased. Additionally, city administered demolition of buildings for the construction of super-highways to accommodate automobile movement to and from the suburbs reduced taxable property, and it replaced housing in adjacent areas with public housing which did not pay full city taxes, if any at all. Furthermore, numerous scientific discoveries resulting from activities in federal defense during World War II and in the 1950s had begun to alter civilian industry and change the composition of vocational opportunities in Chicago. Nuclear energy, computers, television, and new electronic devices created new careers characterized by technology, science, and mathematics. Having little use for poorly educated or unskilled laborers, the employment climate of Chicago shifted. Employed but unskilled laborers who had comprised 36 percent of the city's work force during the first decade of the twentieth century dropped to an employed unskilled population of 9.5 percent by 1960. Furthermore, these workers competed for the remaining few, menial available jobs in the city.⁸⁰

⁸⁰Chicago Fact Book Consortium, ed., Local Community Fact Book, Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1960 (Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory, University of Chicago, 1963), 2-5, 67-73,

Many unskilled Chicago laborers had left cotton fields and coal mines of the south and southeast. Others laborers were displaced by sophisticated cotton gins and coal cutters during World War II. Some sought factory jobs in the north. Unfortunately, unprepared for city living, these new urbanites were not ready to perform sophisticated work for which technical skills were needed.⁸¹ By 1950, many newly relocated Chicagoans found themselves relying on public assistance. In 1962, thirty-one percent of every one thousand persons in Chicago received public assistance. Within this publicly assisted population (272,860), 90.5 percent were African Americans.

African American men not only lagged behind other Chicagoans in economic independence, but they also lagged behind other Chicagoans in acquisition of industrial skills. By 1960, African Americans and other poor individuals continued to fall out of step with industrial changes in Chicago. Five percent of Chicago's male workers were unemployed; however, 11 percent of African Americans were unemployed, and 25 percent of these workers were unskilled laborers. Median family income was \$6,738 for the nation, but for the African American family, the average of \$3,763 was near the nation's "poverty level."⁸²

83-89.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Ibid.

By October 1963, white flight to the suburbs produced a racially skewed Chicago public school population. African Americans now composed 54 percent of elementary school pupils and 36 percent of high school students in Chicago public schools. This increased public school attendance by African American children occurred in spite of a Chicago population in which African American children constituted only 34 percent and 27 percent, respectively, of the city's elementary and high school age students.⁸³ Of course, the composition of truant rooms, vocational centers, detention centers, training schools, reformatories, and custodial schools financed by public funds and administered by the Chicago Board of Education also changed in racial composition.

Administering Chicago public schools during its harshest period of transition was Superintendent Benjamin Coppage Willis (1953-1966). He confronted an educational system characterized by a multiplicity of problems. These problems were complicated by Chicago politics and its social climate. Overcrowding decreased public school children's attendance by one-seventh of their time in school; building restrictions during World Wars I and II inhibited school construction; and increased birth rates at the end of World

⁸³Advisory Panel on Integration of the Public Schools, Report to the Board of Education of the City of Chicago: Integration of the Public Schools--Chicago, Chicago Board of Education, 31 March 1964, 52-71.

War II increased elementary school attendance in 1953 to 279,267 and nearly doubled it by 1965 to 415,251 students. High school attendance increased in 1953 to 86,954, and it increased by more than fifty percent by 1966 to 127,544. Under Superintendent Willis, total school population increased by 180,000 between 1953 and 1966, while Chicago lost 70,000 tax paying residents to the suburbs.⁸⁴ Overcrowding, inadequate facilities, school segregation, and political meddling in public school education complicated Willis's attempts to move Chicago public school children toward mid-twentieth century education goals.

Although vocational training had been part of Chicago schools' curriculum since 1900, by the mid-1900s job skills had acquired elements which subtlety defined socio-economic status and suggested individual character. Moreover, Superintendent Willis and parents of public school minority students realized that by 1950 professional training and technical skills had established an intimate and intrinsic relationship with economic success and social mobility in America. Production of vocationally trained individuals, who could meet demands of urban corporations had become the aim of Chicago public schools. Accordingly, goals of Chicago public schools had moved from inculcating morals and civic responsibilities, to acquisition of technical skills

⁸⁴Chicago Public Schools, Annual Report of the General Superintendent, 1963, 3-6, 52.

which would guarantee economic stability and middle class socio-economic status.

Personal economic success and social mobility were purported to be possible through training in a body of technical skills and acquisition of social conventions and values that became increasingly subtle and refined as the individual climbed the social ladder. Acceptable training, conventions, and values were those of the Caucasian, middle class of America.⁸⁵ Unfortunately, locked out of late twentieth century economic and social comforts were 20 percent of America's citizens. The poor, the aged, the African American, and single female parents most frequently found themselves unable to attain middle class social status and economic stability.

Economically, those individuals whose incomes were among the lowest 20 percent in the United States comprised America's poor. It was a growing population composed of the aged (30 percent); families headed by women (25 percent); minority groups, particularly African Americans and Hispanics (20 percent); and poor whites. In 1966, the federal government made its first count of Americans who lived below the poverty level. From this investigation, African Americans comprised 8.9 million of 28.5 million persons living in poverty; that is, 41.8 percent of African

⁸⁵Edgar Z. Friedenberg, "Ideology of School Withdrawal" Profile of the School Dropout, ed. Daniel Schreiber (New York: Random House, 1967), 15.

Americans were living below the poverty line. In 1975, their number decreased to 33.5 percent. At this time, the poverty level was adjusted to an annual income of \$5,500 for a family of four. On the other hand, further federal investigations indicated that 26.9 percent of Hispanics families were also living below the poverty level. By 1980, African Americans and Hispanics had become the nation's largest minority groups of economically poor in America. In 1989, of the nation's economically poor, African Americans comprised 32.5 percent of the group, and Hispanics trailed at 25.7 percent.⁸⁶ Within this population of economic dependents, children suffered peculiar hardships related to poverty. Investigations of African American and Hispanic children indicated a positive correlation between "their color and their economic status or the occupation of their parents." Furthermore, investigations indicated that these children would remain members of the lowest socio-economic class in America.⁸⁷ Over 12 million American children lived below the poverty level in 1989. These poor children included 7 million whites, 4 million blacks, and 2.5 million

⁸⁶United States Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1991,: The National Data Book, 111th ed. (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1991), 462.

⁸⁷Mollie Orshansky, "Children of the Poor," Profile of the School Dropout, ed. Daniel Schreiber (New York: Random House, 1967), 71.

Hispanics.⁸⁸

For that 20 percent of America's population at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder during the 1980s, federal and local officials advocated education as the most viable mean to alleviate poverty among America's children. "America 2000," President Bush's educational plan, aimed at eliminating illiteracy by the year 2000. As a result, the 1980s became a decade in which the problems of education achieved national significance."⁸⁹

Children who could benefit most from eliminating illiteracy were Chicago's school truants and dropouts. By 1980, these children had become noticeable through their undisciplined behavior; their acts of random violence; their lack of basic academic skills; their gullibility and suspicion of new ideas or experiences; their sometime homelessness; their sexual awareness and their skill at bringing this sexual awareness to the attention of others.⁹⁰ They were members of the lower socio-economic class and the new desperate urban poor.

Like their early 1900 counterpart, the dilemmas of present day dependents and delinquents began with situations

⁸⁸United States Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census, 462.

⁸⁹George Bush, America 2000: An Education Strategy Source Book (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Education, 1991), 11.

⁹⁰Friedenberg, "Ideology of School Withdrawal," 23.

of "poverty, cultural deprivation, race prejudice, family and emotional troubles, and neighborhood uprooting." Moreover, in the 1960s, the situation was compounded when success became defined as economic stability and social mobility. However, for children with deviant behavior (truants and dropouts and criminal children of the 1980s), the foundation of economic and social success, a Chicago school education, has remained elusive. Specialty skills requiring diplomas and or degrees coupled with middle class values of punctuality, obedience, and cooperativeness were rites of passage to middle and upper socio-economic classes; however, this behavior was foreign to behavior deviants.⁹¹

Much of the failure of the Chicago public schools in educating truants, delinquents, classroom incorrigibles, and criminal children has been attributed to public education's objectives. Described as emulating and perpetuating middle class values, Chicago public schools have been characterized as "obsessional, prejudiced, and prudish" and as "petty bourgeois, bureaucratic, gradgrind-tactical (emphatically utilitarian) and nouveau riche climbing" institutions.⁹² Sporadic displays of acceptance of aspects of minority cultures, such as Black English and Hispanic machismo toward manhood, were fashionable but they were never fully accepted

⁹¹Paul Goodman, "Universal Trap," Profile of the High School Dropout, ed. Daniel Schreiber (New York: Random House, 1967), 30.

⁹²Ibid., 33.

in public education nor in corporate Chicago. Rejection and isolation by Chicago public schools of minority cultures, of which African Americans and Hispanics were the greatest number, has produced dropout rates of 45.9 percent in Chicago.⁹³

Examples of common schools' failure of minority children are numerous and historical. While 90 percent of all African American children attended school by 1950, they lagged three grades behind whites in educational achievement. Furthermore, African Americans students were five times more likely than whites to drop-out after fifth grade and half as likely than whites to finish high school. Moreover, African Americans were two-thirds less likely than whites to graduate from college.⁹⁴ Furthermore, African Americans and Hispanics have maintained national dropout rates of 13.6 and 35 percent, respectively.⁹⁵ On the other hand, possession of a diploma by minority students most frequently indicated acknowledgment of attendance and not acquisition of basic and advanced skills in academics or vocational training. Too frequently, educationally ill

⁹³Jacqueline Heard and Robert Davis, "Daley Lashes Out at Kimbrough," Chicago Tribune, sec. 1, 24 September 1992, 1.

⁹⁴Herman H. Long, "No Hiding Place: The Negro Search," Profiles of the High School Dropout, ed. Daniel Schreiber (New York: Random House, 1967), 167.

⁹⁵Christine Hawes, "Hispanic Dropout Rate Still Edges Up, U. S. Report Says," Chicago Tribune, sec. 2, 17 September 1992, 3.

prepared students of public schools found themselves lacking in ability to reap benefits of Chicago's industrial community; that is, they lacked communication and professional skills.

By the 1960s, attempts by the Chicago Board of Education to educate a student population which exemplified racial, cultural, and language differences (particularly those of African Americans, Hispanics, and minorities of Oriental and Asian ethnicity) warranted the Chicago Board of Education to adopt and develop programs to remedy social alienation. Federal, state, and local funds financed special programs which included preschoolers through high school young adults. Basically these programs addressed job training skills. Collectively, job training programs which attempted to educate the poor of America were called "compensatory education." That is, they were

Attempts to provide, for socially disadvantaged children, the experiential background which is the normal expectation of a middle class environment.⁹⁶

Students who required compensatory education were

Disadvantaged children [who] tend to reflect the low educational level of their parents. They [were] further handicapped by lack of appreciation for education, low family income, and little or no experience of the wider community outside the environment in which they lived. Poor housing, poor health conditions, and broken or incomplete families [were] among the factors adversely

⁹⁶Carl L. Byerly, "A School Curriculum for Prevention and Remediation of Deviancy," Profile of the High School Dropout, ed. Daniel Schreiber (New York: Random House, 1967), 276.

affecting these children.⁹⁷

They may have been

Whites or Negro [African Americans] or members of a minority group of any race. If they [were] Negroes [African Americans] or members of a minority group or a different race, they also [were] affected by a whole complex of problems and attitudes relating to race.⁹⁸

If truancy, delinquency, and classroom incorrigibility were to be diminished in Chicago public schools, educational leaders within the city had to address low educational expectations, low self-esteem, and views of the school as an alien and unnecessary institution, a notion commonly held by deviant students.

Chicago educators attempted to reach the truant, delinquent, and incorrigible child by adapting and designing compensatory academic and vocational programs that ranged in scope and sequence from preschoolers to high school seniors. Compensatory education programs were utilized by administrators and teachers in truant rooms, custodial schools, and reformatories. Specifically, these programs stressed acquisition of basic skills in reading and mathematics, supplemented with vocational training in technical and professional occupations. Additionally, self-esteem courses became an integral part of guidance programs offered to deviant students by the Chicago Board of Education. Furthermore, some of these basic skills and

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

vocational training programs were offered in conjunction with technical assistance from local colleges, universities, and vocational training institutions.

Another facet of compensatory education for deviant students was the Great Cities Program for School Improvement, headed by Superintendent Benjamin C. Willis. For elementary schools, the Great Cities Program included the Early Identification and Prevention Program (1959) and Junior Guidance Classes (1960). For Junior High Schools there was BRIDGE (Building Resources of Instruction, 1961), Career Guidance (1958), and the Options for Knowledge Programs and Academies (1980).⁹⁹ To this partial list were added supplementary programs federally funded by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), Chapter I of 1965. ESEA provided federal funds to educationally disadvantaged children which included children who were neglected, delinquent, potential dropouts, and criminal. ESEA also provided annual summer schools which focused on students identified as multiple academic failures; education and employment courses of study; and high schools, which presented prerequisite courses for technical and professional aspects of agriculture.¹⁰⁰

Methods of classroom instruction for the deviant

⁹⁹Ibid., 279.

¹⁰⁰Chicago Public Schools, Elementary and Secondary Education Act: ESEA Chapter I Application, Fiscal 1990 (Chicago Board of Education, 1989), 60-61, 69.

student was another aspect of compensatory education. Within truant rooms, training schools, custodial schools, and penal institutions, a multiplicity of methods which enhanced mastery of concepts and skills were utilized. Individualization, team teaching; incorporation of the mastery learning method; peer coaching and tutoring; Reading Recovery; mechanical, visual, and manipulative aides; and use of the city and its communities as educational resources were included in teaching and learning experiences for educationally disadvantaged deviant students of Chicago public schools. Additionally, instructional materials were carefully selected. Materials of value were those which depicted realistic urban settings, those which presented the pluralistic nature of urban society, those which depicted people and events with which young urban children could identify, those which provided opportunities to develop skills of communication, those which presented desirable attitudes and respect for the law, and those which provided career opportunities available in urban areas. Moreover, "school climate," that total educational environment which includes the school as academic, social, cultural, and political entity became a necessary consideration in Chicago's education of deviant children.¹⁰¹

Having become collectively called compensatory education by the late 1980s, Chicago's common school

¹⁰¹Ibid., 288.

education of deviant students had moved from education for purposes of establishing moral character in the 1800s to education for the purpose of middle class socio-economic status. Compulsory education in Chicago initially attempted to present children with a moral foundation evident in Chicago's citizenry. It advocated hard work, productivity, usefulness, and Christian values. Lasting through the 1890s, education toward morality was usurped by the notion of education for purposes of industrialism and urbanism.

In Illinois, industrialism and urbanism developed Chicago into

Hog Butcher for the World,
 Toolmaker, Stacker of Wheat,
 Player with Railroads and the Nation's
 Freight Handler;
 Stormy, husky, brawling,
 City of the Big Shoulders.¹⁰²

Foreign immigrants and African Americans became Chicago's stock, freight and mill workers. High visibility of immigrants and blacks in Chicago during the early 1900s prompted the Chicago Board of Education to emphasize instruction for Americanizing and urbanizing these relocated, low-income workers to Chicago's industrial setting. Inculcation of practical and basic skills of the English language and mathematics usage for daily living and instruction in the American way became the focus of Chicago

¹⁰²Carl Sandburg, "Chicago", as quoted in Adventures in American Literature, Classic Edition (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979), 627.

public schools' curriculum. Programs of instruction were designed to produce citizens who were credits to their families, their communities, and their country. Through efforts of common schools, welfare recipients, inmates of penal institutions, and the non-self-sufficient were to be eliminated from Chicago's society as thoroughly as possible.

Truants, orphans, abandoned and neglected, delinquents, and classroom incorrigibles (children with deviant behaviors) had to become economically independent and socially acceptable. Academic success, denoted by the diploma or the degree, was credited with providing most socio-economic groups of Chicago with economic success. However, minorities of Chicago found roads to economic success and social mobility lacking in acceptance of their languages, cultures, and values. As a result, minorities were alienated and locked out of the Chicago middle class in greater numbers than that which was proportionate to their number in the city's population.

Swelling numbers of truancy petitions, police reports, and welfare services indicated that dependent and delinquent children had become a population characterized by social alienation, economic frustration, and political powerlessness. However, mid-1980s programs adapted or designed by the Chicago Board of Education and supplemented by federal, state, and city funds joined predecessors which attempted to diminish the number of deviant students. These curriculums

promoted vocational training, self-esteem, and an understanding of the value of education. However, unfortunately, as the population and offenses of dependent, delinquent and criminal children grew in Chicago, their social and environmental circumstances required special educational settings in which to administer the common school curriculum. For some children, their behavior required the supervision of a reformatory; for others, less supervision, such as that which was provided in a parental school, was warranted; still others could be permitted to remain under family supervision while participating in a more structured setting during the day; and finally, others merely required a little more supervision as they attended neighborhood schools. Attempting to meet the social and education needs of its growing population of dependent and delinquent children, as necessity arose, Chicago Public Schools produced special schools and special programs in which they promoted their curriculum with moral, civic, and economic dimensions.

CHAPTER IV

SPECIAL SCHOOLS AND SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR TRUANTS, DELINQUENTS, AND CLASSROOM INCORRIGIBLES

While the Juvenile Court Act mandated uniform compulsory education for children with deviant behavior in towns of 100,000 or more within Illinois¹, the Parental School Act stipulated procedures for administering education to court dependents and delinquents. Prior to 1899, protection and education of dependent and delinquent children were limited. Those dependent and delinquent children who were members of specific religious denominations were generally sheltered and educated by that privately funded institution or charitable organization with which they were associated. In Chicago, these organizations included the Catholic Charities and the Chicago Orphan Asylum. Other dependent and delinquent children were sent to almshouses, jails, reformatories, and prisons. After 1899, all girls and boys in need of supervision as a result of truancy, neglect, abandonment, delinquency, or criminal

¹Illinois, Laws of the State of Illinois, Enacted by the Forty-first General Assembly At the Regular Biennial Session, Begun and Held at the Capitol, in the City of Springfield, on the First Day of January A.D. 1899, and Adjourned Sine Die on the First Day of April A.D. 1899, sec. 1 (Springfield: Phillips Brothers State Printers, 1899), 346.

behavior were wards of county courts and hence under supervision of civic authorities. Unfortunately, as Chicago reached a population of two million inhabitants,² juvenile court wards numbered in the thousands.³

Setting the stage for care, protection, supervision, and education of deviant children within the state, the Illinois General Assembly of 1899 held that

Cities [within Illinois] having a population of 100,000 inhabitants or more, establish, maintain and conduct, within two years from the date of taking effect of this act, one or more parental or truant schools for the purpose of affording a place of confinement, discipline, instruction and maintenance of children of compulsory school age who may be committed thereto.⁴

Furthermore, state administrators proclaimed that the "duty of the board of education [was] to furnish such schools [parental or truant] with such furniture, fixtures, apparatus and provisions as may be necessary for the maintenance and operation" of parental or truant schools.⁵ Therefore, in 1899 local boards of education were held accountable for establishing, administering, and supervising children whose behavior or circumstance warranted court

²Irving Cutler, Chicago Metropolis of the Mid-Continent, second ed. (Iowa: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Co., 1976), 179.

³Mary Ann Pollett, "A Study of Social Adjustment in Chicago, 1929-1981" (Ph.D. diss., Loyola University of Chicago, 1982), 135.

⁴Laws of the State of Illinois, Forty-first General Assembly, First Day of January A.D. 1899 and Adjourned Fourteenth Day of April A.D. 1899, sec. 1, 346.

⁵Ibid. sec. 2., 346.

supervision. Consequently, the Parental School Act initiated Illinois' entrance into a gentler phase of education of children whose behavior differed from that displayed by children in conventional families and classrooms. However, a structured plan prescribing procedures for education of court dependents and behavior deviants was essential to the Juvenile Court and Parental School Acts' success.

According to the Illinois General Assembly, Chicago administrators and educators were not only to establish parental schools for compulsory education aged truants and delinquents, but Chicago leaders also were given the task of creating a juvenile court for protection and supervision of school truants, neglected and abandoned children, delinquents, and children involved in criminal acts.⁶ Therefore, in 1899 city children whose circumstance differed from wholesome atmospheres of their urban counterparts found themselves under civil authority administered by Illinois county courts. Moreover, children who required the more structured supervisory and educational institution of a reformatory school were also under supervision of civil authorities in Illinois. Together, the Juvenile Court and

⁶Clifford Shaw, Delinquency Areas: Study of the Geographic Distribution of School Truants, Juveniles, Delinquents and Adult Offenders in Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1929), 75. Also in Edward Eldefonso, Law Enforcement and the Youthful Offender (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1979), 170.

the Parental School Acts of 1899 safeguarded and prescribed supervision and education of deviant children of Illinois cities.

Having two years time to adhere to the 1899 Juvenile Court Act, Chicago judiciary and educational administrators were charged with creating a juvenile judiciary system and a parental school to channel the "proper direction of energy of deviant students."⁷ The task of discerning the proper direction of deviant students in relation to the judicial system was given to Judge Richard S. Tuthill, who was assisted by Julian W. Mack and Merritt W. Pinckney.

First among duties and responsibilities of Judges Tuthill, Mack, and Pinckney was removal of fear and formality from "children's court." Therefore, neither oaths nor robes were included in juvenile court procedures. Secondly, concerns with the proper handling of girls in juvenile court prompted Judge Pinckney to hire a woman lawyer to advise and counsel court remanded girls. Within the Juvenile Court of Cook County set up by Tuthill, judges ruled on care, protection, and education of Chicago children in an environment of concern and informality.

Children brought before juvenile court were involved in criminal, delinquent, neglect, or dependent cases. Most serious cases involved criminal and delinquent acts. They

⁷Chicago Public Schools, Forty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 23, 1899 (Chicago: John F. Higgins Press, 1900), 145.

included several categories. The first involved children who allegedly had committed an act, which if committed by an adult, would have been a crime. Delinquency included cases in which a child had violated specific ordinances or regulatory laws that applied to children only. They included curfew regulations, school attendance laws, and restrictions on the use of tobacco and alcohol. Also considered delinquents were children whom school psychologists and social workers reported to the school board or juvenile court as beyond control, ungovernable, incorrigible, runaway, or in need of supervision.⁸ A third group of children who were seen by juvenile court judges were defined as "neglected" children. The neglected child was defined as under sixteen years of age and lacking in physical care, protection, supervision, guidance, and discipline. Under the umbrella of neglected were children kept out of school unlawfully, and children whose parents or guardians willfully refused to allow their offspring to receive proper medical or surgical attention, after an offer for free medical attention had been made. Moreover, living conditions contributed to the condition of "neglected." Children who were found in any illegal establishment or whose condition was one of want or suffering fell into the category of neglected; moreover, children of parents or guardians who were sent to prison or declared by courts as

⁸Edward Eldefonso, Law Enforcement and the Youthful Offender (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1979), 170.

"unfit" to care for their offsprings were also considered neglected. Furthermore, improper guardianship which endangered a child's physical health or moral character created a state of "neglect." The juvenile court characterized many of the latter group of neglected children as "exploited" or lacking "protection from degrading conditions, abuse or fear of physical cruelty." The final category of cases to be heard in juvenile court were those labeled "dependent." These cases involved court rulings on children who were in need of adoption, termination of parental rights, or appointment of a guardian.⁹

Although the Juvenile Court of Cook County attempted to categorize dependent, neglected, abandoned, delinquent, incorrigible, and criminal children, this attempt was exhausting. Most frequently, children fell into multiple categories; that is, many delinquent and incorrigible children were also dependent, neglected, abandoned, and truant. However, although many children legally belonged to more than one court dependent group, the Cook County Juvenile Court attempted to base its findings on that condition of the child which demanded the court's most immediate attention.¹⁰

⁹Ibid., 248.

¹⁰Paul S. Grubard, ed. Children Against Schools: Education of the Delinquent, Disturbed, Disruptive, (Chicago: Follett Educational Corporation, Parkinson Division, 1969), 40.

A profile of juvenile court children emerged during the early 1900s. Boys were referred to the Juvenile Court of Cook County four times more often than girls. Generally, a juvenile court referred boy was fourteen or fifteen years of age and involved in an offense against property. In order of frequency, offenses included larceny, burglary, and auto theft, as the availability and popularity of the automobile increased. Girls who were referred to juvenile court were also fourteen or fifteen years of age. However, girls were most frequently involved in running away, unfavorable behavior, larceny, and sex offenses.¹¹

From 1900 through 1906, boys and girls between the ages of ten and sixteen who appeared in the Juvenile Court of Cook County totaled 8,056. However, by 1914 approximately 4,000 cases had begun to be heard, annually. Composition of annual hearings typically included 2100 truant boys, 700 delinquent girls, 700 truant and delinquent boys, and 1600 dependents; that is, 1600 children were victims of poverty and neglect.¹² Furthermore, hearings in Juvenile Court invariably included a truancy petition. Juvenile Court rolls included names of children who were Polish, Italian, American, German, Irish, Lithuanian, Bohemian, Jewish,

¹¹Shaw, Delinquency Areas, 75.

¹²Chicago Public Schools, Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914 (Chicago: The Board of Education Press, 1914), 377-78.

Austrian, Hungarian, and of mixed parentage.¹³ However, relocations of African Americans to Chicago increased the number of blacks in the city; and in 1918, Cook County Juvenile Court petitions for truancy and child labor law violations naming "colored children"¹⁴ appeared.

For nearly three decades the multi-ethnic composition of juvenile court referred children did not change. However, by 1926, of 9,243 juvenile court cases, a new child appeared. His actions exhibited aggressive and unlawful behavior which "persistently violated the rules of the public schools." This aggressive and unlawful behavior appeared in conjunction with truancy.¹⁵ In fact in the 1920s, truancy as a major concern of juvenile court took a back seat to behaviors involving violence, such as assault with a gun, purse snatching, shoplifting, burglary, forging, and immorality. Additionally, children declared "delinquents" or "incorrigible" by the Cook County Juvenile Court grew in number in Chicago.¹⁶ However, of cases heard by juvenile court, the majority were truancy petitions; and most truant children were returned with a court warning to

¹³Ibid., 167.

¹⁴Chicago Public Schools, Sixty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1918 (Chicago: Board of Education Press, 1917), 172.

¹⁵Chicago Public Schools, Fifty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1909 (Chicago: Board of Education Press, 1909), 169.

¹⁶Shaw, Delinquency Areas, 53.

their parents or guardians. On the other hand, children convicted of serious crimes were committed to Illinois reformatories at Pontiac or St. Charles, Illinois.

Generally, reformatory children were boys found guilty of crimes of violence against a person. In cases involving most girls, prostitution was the reason for commitment to a state reformatory during the early 1900s. The underlining commonality among reform school children was that their behavior could not be handled by public school personnel. Children sent to state reformatories in St. Charles or Pontiac landed there as a result of judgments made by a school board and county court. The reformatory child was

A child who [was] found to be incorrigible and his or her influence in such school [was] detrimental to the interests of the other pupils, [in this instance] the Board of Education authorized the superintendent or any officer of the school to represent these facts to the circuit or county court by petition; and the court [was] authorized to commit said child to some juvenile reformatory.¹⁷

Not only could a juvenile court judge's finding of "detrimental to the interests of the other pupils" determine a child's commitment to a reformatory, but it also determined which child was committed to parental school.

In Chicago, many children whose behavior was offensive and habitual but not criminal nor pernicious were committed to the Parental School of the Chicago Board of Education (1902-1975). Admittance to a parental or truant school was

¹⁷Laws of the State of Illinois Enacted by the Forty-first General Assembly, sec. 11, 348.

initiated by court petition. A truant officer, another agent of the board of education, or any reputable citizen could bring an alleged compulsory education age delinquent to the juvenile court's attention. County court judgment of "habitual truancy or persistent violations of the rules of the public school" warranted confinement to a custodial or truant school.¹⁸

Classroom incorrigibles were part of the Chicago custodial school population. These children "persistently violated the rules of the public school" and invoked school discipline which seemly failed to correct disruptive classroom behavior. Like chronic truants, classrooms incorrigibles also were referred to the Parental School of Chicago by the Cook County Juvenile Court.¹⁹ Through its parental school, the Chicago Public School System became responsible for providing a common school education to habitual truants and children with deviant behavior problems who were of compulsory education age.

Parental consent was not required for commitment to the Chicago Parental School or other custodial schools within Illinois. However, if a child's parent or guardian could be found, notation of parental consent or lack thereof was to be verified by oath on the Cook County Juvenile Court

¹⁸Ibid., sec. 5, 347.

¹⁹Fifty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1909, 169.

petition for student commitment.²⁰

Parental school children were described by legislators, judges, and educators as children who were in need of social services and manual skills; that is, custodial care and vocational training could improve their behavior. This could be accomplished through training in basic reading, math, and manual skills.²¹ As an institution, the Parental School of Chicago was to function as an auxiliary to the Chicago School System. Its goal was to rehabilitate the delinquent child. Parental School rehabilitation took affect through structured environments and structured programs of instruction.²²

The Chicago Board of Education gave the task of providing a structured social, vocational, and academic environment for truants and delinquents to Thomas H. MacQueary, first Superintendent of Parental School, and Robert M. Smith, Supervisor of Manual Training of Chicago Public Schools. In 1901, MacQueary and Smith were commissioned by the board to visit parental and reform schools within the nation.

Most custodial schools of the late 1800s which were

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Chicago Public Schools, Forty-sixth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1900 (Chicago: Hack and Anderson, Printers, 1901), 16-17.

²²Fifty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1909, 156.

nationally recognized as well organized and educationally successful were located in eastern states. They included the Glenn Mills Schools of Pennsylvania; the Lyman School of Massachusetts; the Boston Parental School; the State Industrial School of Rochester, New York; the State Reformatory of Elmira, New York; the Truant Schools of Brooklyn and New York City; and the Indiana Reform School.²³

The affects of MacQueary and Smith's visits to eastern custodial schools could readily be seen on 31 January 1902 when the Parental School of Chicago opened its doors to thirteen habitual male truants. They were the first of 320 boys who could comfortably be housed in eight cottages which stood firmly on fifty acres of semi-swamp land eight miles from the Juvenile Court House of Cook County.²⁴

Like models in eastern states, the Parental School was in session for fifty-two weeks. Upon opening, it included grades two through seven and enrolled only truant and delinquent boys. The school was divided into eight groups of forty children. Each group was called a family. Each family group was housed in its own cottage; and each cottage was headed by a husband and wife, and serviced by a matron

²³Forty-sixth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1900 (Chicago: Hack and Anderson, Printers, 1901), 15.

²⁴Fifty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1909, 156.

and a teacher. Each cottage had its own classroom, but it shared dining and kitchen areas with other family groups.²⁵ Initially, the Parental Special School of Chicago housed boys only, but a girls branch was added in 1919.

Not only did MacQueary and Smith copy the lay-out of eastern custodial schools, but they also adopted the eastern schools' theory which motivated the organizational plan. Specifically, organization of the Parental School of Chicago along the lines of the group, family, or cottage plan was based on the premise that "constant supervision" of deviant children by a "wise selection of family officers" would provide unconscious acquisition of acceptable habits. The objective of the Chicago Board of Education was to provide acceptable habits in every aspect of students' education. Called an "all around" education, programs of instruction at the Parental School "involved physical, manual, mental, moral, and religious development."²⁶ The board's programs of instruction corroborated the 1899 General Assembly's recommendation that custodial schools include nature study, constructive work, military drill, and gymnastics. These courses of study were advocated because they provided opportunities for abundant movement, which was believed to

²⁵Chicago Public Schools, Public Schools of the City of Chicago, Fifty-eighth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 1912 (Chicago: Board of Education of the City of Chicago, 1912), 169.

²⁶Forty-sixth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1900, 23.

be useful in eradicating "unsocial instincts which survive with unusual strength" within children whose behavior deviated from those enrolled in conventional classrooms. It was the goal of the 1899 General Assembly to supplant these "unsocial instincts" with acceptable morals and manners practiced by urban citizens; and hence, to mold parental schools children of Illinois into self-sufficient and morally conscious adults.²⁷

To comply with Illinois curriculum regulations and to increase frequency of academic success, a modified version of the conventional Chicago public school curriculum was prepared for Parental School students of Chicago. As in eastern schools, this modified curriculum addressed practical application of academic subjects. Accordingly, reading, writing, arithmetic, and science activities were included in course work in industrial shops, cooking and sewing, gardening, laundry work, gymnastics, and military exercises.²⁸

Course work at the Parental School also acknowledged social and cultural roles assigned to gender. Daily activities for boys included one hour of farming, gymnastics, and military tactics. Manual training in hourly classes of woodshop, mechanical or freehand drawing were offered to boys as early as fourth grade. Girls at the

²⁷Ibid., 15, 28-29.

²⁸Ibid., 18, 28-29.

parental School were placed in classrooms that were arranged as laboratories. Within this setting, a variety of activities were simultaneously carried on. They included weaving, typing, dressmaking, crocheting, needlework, and pastry and candy making.²⁹

The term, "physical culture" was used to describe the social conduct of deviant students at the Parental School. Specifically, it denoted those undesirable habits and/or poor foods which rendered both the mind and the body in need of change.³⁰ Physical culture included the idea that deviant behavior could be reconstructed and shaped by work and discipline. Manual and moral training were the means through which proper skills and behavior were to be instilled in the child. Accordingly, goals which attempted to eradicate unacceptable social behavior, to instill acceptable habits, and to develop manual skills dictated curriculum objectives and coursework for Parental School children of Chicago. Therefore, military drill, gymnastic exercises, and manual labor were required of custodial school students. These programs of instruction were credited with reconstructing and shaping socially acceptable

²⁹Chicago Public Schools, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the School Year 1937-1938 (Chicago: Chicago Board of Education Press, 1938), 388.

³⁰Ibid., 15.

character traits of deviant students.³¹

Specific elements of good character were addressed in select subjects. For example, farming and preparation of meals contributed to developing "habits of orderliness and mutual helpfulness."³² On the other hand, woodwork and mechanical and freehand drawing were credited with developing faculties, quickening the intellect, and preparing the child for an adult occupation, while academics subjects such as reading, writing, arithmetic, and science were credited with growth in self-esteem and confidence.³³

Chicago custodial school educators utilized the school's entire program of instruction to affect socially acceptable behavior in deviant students. While school administrators and teachers believed academics and manual training developed the minds and hands of deviant students, they also held the notion that military drill and corporal punishment readily trained students to habits of obedience and courtesy.³⁴ Believing that corporal punishment achieved and instilled reconstructed habits at a faster pace than other forms of instruction or supervision, many

³¹Forty-sixth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1900, 16, 25-27.

³²Chicago Public Schools, Sixty-first Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1918 (Chicago: Board of Education, 1915), 72.

³³Ibid., 138.

³⁴Forty-sixth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1900, 16.

educators of the early 1900s utilized it. However, because of its nature, corporal punishment was permitted and practiced when all other penalties (deprivation of privileges, moral suasion, or confinement to the guard house) failed to accomplish desired results. MacQueary, the first superintendent of the Chicago Parental School, held the typical educator's stance on corporal punishment. He was "personally opposed to corporal punishment"; however, for thirty-one years, he was "forced to admit the wholesome effect of such punishment in certain cases" ³⁵

Before using corporal punishment to affect change in a child's behavior, religious training was advocated in shaping appropriate habits and manners in Illinois parental school students. The 1899 Illinois General Assembly mandated religious services at parental schools. These services were to be "in accordance with the beliefs of the [children's] parents." ³⁶ If a particular denomination were not available within the institution, then a priest, minister, or rabbi was to be procured by the school to administer to the religious needs of the child. ³⁷

Religious leaders were not the only providers of moral training to parental school children of Chicago. Teachers

³⁵Ibid., 19.

³⁶Laws of the State of Illinois Enacted by the Forty-first General Assembly, sec. 4, 346.

³⁷Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the Year Ending June 11, 1937, 261.

were active moral trainers. Presenting morals and values indirectly, rather than by precepts, Chicago Parental School teachers illustrated the noblest spirit. Accordingly, the Parental School student was encouraged to demonstrate like habits of moral training in his behavior.

Consistent demonstrations of socially acceptable behavior by a deviant student of the Parental School indicated the child's apparent readiness for parole.³⁸

Procedures for parole from parental and truant schools were stipulated in the Parental School Law of 1899. It mandated that

No child shall be released upon parole in less than four weeks from the time of his or her commitment, nor thereafter until the superintendent of such parental or truant school shall have become satisfied from the conduct of such child that, if paroled, he or she will attend regularly the public or private school to which he or she may be sent.³⁹

Therefore, parole was a parental school administrator's sorting process. It indicated which child had acquired socially acceptable habits and could be returned to public or private school, which child was ready to participate in regular classroom activities, and which child should remain longer in a custodial setting.

Although no child was released on parole from an Illinois parental or truant school within less than four

³⁸Sixty-first Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1915, 138.

³⁹Laws of the State of Illinois, Enacted by the Forty-first General Assembly, sec. 8, 348.

weeks of his arrival, the first usual occurrence of parole was after four months.⁴⁰ Generally, parole supervision lasted for a period of one year. Enrollment in a conventional neighborhood school classroom was a requirement of parole. During this time, principals of neighborhood schools supervised paroled children; and in monthly reports, principals described the paroled child's behavior and attendance as "satisfactory."⁴¹

Of those students paroled from the Parental School, four-fifths did not return. However, of those children who were returned for a second term, principals' monthly reports described these children's shortcomings as their inability to maintain acceptable behavior, attendance, or school work. A second referral to the Parental School required a six months commitment, and a third recidivist was committed for twelve months. Unfortunately, third term recidivists were considered to be "those who would always be a problem to society."⁴²

To state administrators, the third term recidivist was considered to be "incorrigible," and he was treated accordingly. Illinois statues of 1899 stipulated that when the

⁴⁰Ibid., sec. 8.

⁴¹Ibid., sec. 9, 348.

⁴²Sixty-first Annual Report of the Board of Education for the year Ending June 30, 1915, 139.

Child [was] found to be incorrigible and his or her influence in such school to be detrimental to the interests of the other pupils, the Board of Education may authorize the superintendent or any officer of the school to represent these facts to the circuit or county court by petition; and the court shall have authority to commit said child to some juvenile reformatory.⁴³

On the other hand, for children sixteen years of age who did not receive parole, dismissal from the Parental School of Chicago was mandated. Generally, it was also the last the delinquent saw of a classroom.

Each year, as many as 550 children were paroled from the Parental School. The General Assembly of Illinois mandated that a paroled child's school attendance should be monitored by a monthly "return postal card"; however, the whereabouts of many paroled children was often at issue. Frequently, a parent did not tell which school his paroled child attended; additionally, district superintendents were not informed of non-attendance until the end of the month, after they themselves requested the "return postal card"; and children who managed to get work certificates eluded truant officers.⁴⁴ These flaws were aggravated by the fact that parole readiness was not based on diagnoses or evaluations completed by a professional team nor did the Chicago Public School System provide a follow-up program for children who were returned to their homes and neighborhood

⁴³Laws of the State of Illinois, Forty-first General Assembly, sec. 11, 348.

⁴⁴Sixty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1918, 164-65.

schools.⁴⁵

Although the Parental School had its flaws, its creation as an auxiliary to the Chicago Public School System emanated from a necessity to enforce compulsory education in Chicago. The Chicago Parental School was the first of its kind in Illinois; therefore, its programs were untested. It was never to assume the character of a penal institution nor to acquire the reputation of an elegant boarding school.⁴⁶ Moreover, the Parental School was not created to be an institution by which parents could relieve themselves of the care and responsibility of their children. However, as an institution in loco parentis, it had to create a socially acceptable "home" influence that was "specially needful to boys [and later, girls] who had found their way" to its cottages.⁴⁷ Frequently, the Parental School of Chicago was the only structured environment to which thousands of children in Chicago had been exposed.

While the aims of the Parental School administrators remained earnest, its decline and final closing in 1975 is attributed to confusion over its objectives and flaws in its operations, organization, and curriculum. Newly appointed

⁴⁵Robert J. Havighurst, Public Schools of Chicago: A Survey for the Board of Education of the City of Chicago (Chicago: Board of Education of the City of Chicago, 1964), 459.

⁴⁶Fifty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1909, 156.

⁴⁷Ibid., 14.

general superintendents of the Chicago Public School System as well as principals of the Parental School frequently proposed and changed the Parental School's operations to reflect new and novel trends in education.⁴⁸ By 1964, Robert J. Havighurst's Public Schools of Chicago: A Survey for the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, suggested that the impact of fluctuating objectives and different interpretations of the role of the Parental School by its administrators contributed to a decline in the school's effectiveness. This confusion over the school's objectives coupled with an apparent revolving door parole policy for students created conditions which were inappropriate to affect socially acceptable behavior in Parental School children. Furthermore, Havighurst suggested that the structure, the cottage or family organization, did not attract competent professional personnel to the school; nor did long work hours, inadequate housing, and minimum salaries induce personnel to remain on staff. Additionally, Havighurst noted that most Chicago Parental School girls were committed because of moral issues involving relationships with men and boys. However, situations in which girls could learn acceptable social behavior with men and boys were not a part of the Parental School's program of instruction. In fact, all aspects of Parental School girls' education was under the auspices of women. As a result, it

⁴⁸Ibid.

was unrealistic to anticipate that girls would develop healthy, socially acceptable behaviors with the opposite sex.⁴⁹

Although the Chicago Public School System closed the Parental School in 1975, the school's task of changing truants, delinquents and other behavior deviants into independent, civic minded Chicago citizens was an ambitious undertaking. As the first of its kind in Illinois, the Parental School administration, organization, and program of instruction was a blueprint for Illinois custodial schools and for academic and social guidance programs which operated within these schools.

As the Chicago Parental School experienced its optimum enrollment, another structured environment was created by Chicago Public Schools. This habitat for delinquents and truants was the truant room. Its creation was the result of overcrowding at the Chicago Parental School. At 509 students in 1907, the Parental School housed nearly twice its capacity.⁵⁰ All children identified by the Chicago Board of Education or the Cook County Juvenile Court as truant, delinquent, or in need of special supervision and services could not be committed to the Parental School.

⁴⁹Ibid., 458-59.

⁵⁰Chicago Public Schools, Fifty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1908 (Chicago: Board of Education of the City of Chicago Publisher, 1908), 277.

Consequently, in 1908 the Chicago Board of Education placed the overflow of truants and delinquents in selected inner city schools. First selected was Jenner; and in 1909, truants rooms were placed at Dante Elementary School.⁵¹

Jenner Elementary School, on the south side of Chicago and Dante Elementary School, on the west side assisted the Parental School in educating Chicago's deviant student population. Both schools were selected by the Chicago Board of Education because the inner city areas in which they were located had held the highest rates of truancy and juvenile delinquency in the city for decades.⁵²

Placement in a truant room was usually initiated by a teacher-principal referral. However, truant room referral could also be initiated by the Chicago Public School System's Compulsory Education Department or the Cook County Juvenile Court. The process of truant room referral continued when the Director of Special Schools at the Chicago Public School's central office was sent the referral notice for truant room placement.⁵³ If approved, the Director of Special Schools sent a truant officer to the child's school or home to personally escort the child to the

⁵¹Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914, 380.

⁵²Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the School Year 1938-1939, 300.

⁵³Sixty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1918, 71.

nearest school with a truant room.⁵⁴

Following a program of instruction which stressed practical application of a subject, the truant room was headed by a strong female teacher. Instruction in basic skills in reading and mathematics was under the supervision of the classroom teacher; however, students were taken to shop classrooms which were equipped with work benches, facilities for hand work, and desks for study.⁵⁵ Boys constituted three-fourth of Chicago public school's truant room population.

Unlike parental school children, truant room children lived at home; however, like parental school children, truant room children were expected to return to their neighborhood schools after several months of "approved good behavior."⁵⁶ However, between 1908 and 1930, truant rooms in Chicago public schools averaged thirty-four students. This increased truant and delinquent population was partly attributed to lack of adult male supervision and direction in the home. Fathers and older brother who served or were killed in World War I and later adult males who left home in search of employment during the Depression created a gap in which the absence of male role models was felt in many homes; and hence, truancy and delinquency flourished. This

⁵⁴Ibid., 128.

⁵⁵Ibid., 380.

⁵⁶Ibid.

was particularly the situation in large cities.⁵⁷ In 1929, compulsory education surveys indicated that truancy had become a severe problem in Chicago. In decreasing order of occurrence, children were referred by the Chicago Board of Education to Juvenile Court for the following behaviors:

- a. truancy from home (running away);
- b. begging;
- c. destruction to property;
- d. snatching pocket books; picking pockets;
- e. petty stealing;
- f. shoplifting;
- g. stealing automobiles;
- h. hold-up with a gun;
- i. breaking into stores, factories, and residencies;
- j. setting fires;
- k. stealing from employers;
- l. manslaughter;
- m. forgery;
- n. immorality and homosexuality; and
- o. rape.⁵⁸

Boys remained associated with all aspects of deviant behavior. However, delinquent behavior associated with girls continued to be associated with morality. "All" cases involving girls included the phrase "sexually immoral."⁵⁹ Ranging in age from ten through eighteen, girls under court supervision were described as "not very bad" but mere victims of conditions of vicious homes characterized by poverty, dissipation, and parental neglect. The Cook County

⁵⁷Ibid., 71.

⁵⁸Delinquency Areas: A Study of the Geographic Distribution of School Truants, Juvenile Delinquents, and Adult Offenders in Chicago, 54.

⁵⁹Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914, 386.

Juvenile Court and the Chicago Board of Education saw truant and delinquent girls as instruments of "scoundrels in guise of men and boys."⁶⁰ Perhaps, this notion existed because most truant and delinquent girls were pregnant.

Prior to 1929, truant and delinquent girls had been sent to the Chicago Home for Girls.⁶¹ In 1929, truant, delinquent, and pregnant African American girls were enrolled at the Urban League Branch of the Douglas School on Chicago's south side. In 1943, truant, delinquent, and pregnant Caucasian girls were enrolled in the Washington School on the north side of Chicago. In conjunction with the conventional academic program of Chicago public schools, the Urban League Branch and Washington schools presented an educational program which addressed child and family care for unwed, pregnant truant and delinquent girls.⁶²

Although the Chicago Board of Education and juvenile courts attempted to provide an education for deviant children, as late as 1937 truant rooms students continued to lag behind children in conventional public classrooms. Academic tests indicated that ninety-five percent of truant room boys were below grade level in reading and other

⁶⁰Ibid., 386.

⁶¹Mary Bartelme, "Chicago Home for Girls," Some Notes on History (Chicago: Mary Bartelme Home for Girls, undated). Special Collections, the Chicago Historical Society, Chicago.

⁶²Sixteenth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School 1944-45 (Chicago Public Schools), 44.

subjects, and aptitude tests revealed that only a few possessed the mechanical ability to justify their transfer to vocational schools. Behaviors of truant room or custodial school children were described "exhibiting instability and retardation."⁶³

Truant rooms and the Parental School did not affect a substantial change in behavior or academic achievement in the truant and delinquent population of Chicago's compulsory education age children. Many Chicago parents of non-deviant children were unhappy with dispersal in truants and delinquents in truant rooms in neighborhood schools, and judges and educators were frustrated by the Parental School's inability to house more truants and delinquents. Growth in truancy flourished; moreover, increases in the habitual truant population which had become evident as early as 1901 averaged more than two hundred cases per month.⁶⁴

By the late 1930s

Approximately one percent of the school [age] population [was] such active problem cases or so truant that they [were] immediately selected by principals and teachers as being in need of special attention.⁶⁵

Unfortunately, increased truancy continued to appear in

⁶³Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the School Year 1937-38, 393.

⁶⁴Chicago Public Schools, Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1901 (Chicago: Chicago Board of Education of the City of Chicago, January, 1902), 48.

⁶⁵Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the Year 1937-38, 390.

conjunction with criminal or severe behavioral offenses in Chicago's deviant students.

Unable to accommodate a growing truant and delinquent population with one parental school and truant rooms, the Chicago Board of Education sponsored visits to Canadian and American urban areas to determine what other metropolitan school systems were doing to address the problems of "unadjusted boys, truants, incorrigibles and behavior deviants."⁶⁶

General School Superintendent William Bogan (1928-1936) utilized a small grant from an advisory council to establish the Committee on Juvenile Delinquency which studied children who displayed deviant behavior. In 1929, this committee investigated programs of instructions in eastern reform and truant schools which attempted to eradicate deviant behavior in truant and delinquent boys. From ten truant rooms of elementary and high schools on the north and west sides of Chicago, ninety public school students and eight teachers initiated the Montefiore Special School for truants and incorrigible boys on 16 September 1929.⁶⁷ Holding class all year, Montefiore's

Aims were to care for boys of the north and west sections of Chicago . . . who had been considered

⁶⁶Chicago Public Schools, Montefiore School Nineteenth Annual Report 1947-1948 (Chicago Public School), 1.

⁶⁷Mary J. Herrick, Chicago Schools: A Social and Political History (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc., 1971), 226.

incorrigible in the regular schools, who did not respond to the regular class studies and the methods employed in the regular elementary and junior high schools of the district . . . , who [had], because of poor attendance or misbehavior, fallen behind the grade of other boys of their age and grade, [and] whose interest and aptitudes needed to be discovered, encouraged and developed."⁶⁸

Boys selected to attend Montefiore were habitual truants, delinquents, and incorrigibles. However, unlike parental school children, these new custodial school students would be allowed to remain at home with parents or guardians. On the other hand, Montefiore students, like Parental School students, also required a special school setting. This setting was characterized by constant supervision. Consequently, in 1929, "special" was used to denote those schools which were created for students who required constant supervision in order to improve their school attendance and social behavior.

Areas on the west and south sides of Chicago near factories and near the stockyard district were ideal locations for custodial schools. These locations held large concentrations of truants and delinquents. Montefiore, on the near west side of Chicago, was the first public special school. A year later (15 September 1930), Moseley Special School was established on Chicago's south side.⁶⁹

⁶⁸Chicago Public Schools, Montefiore Special School First Annual Report 1929-1930 (Chicago: Chicago Board of Education, 1930), 1.

⁶⁹Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the School Year 1937-1938, 395.

Official referral to Montefiore and Moseley began when the principal of the regular school completed a "yellow slip" of transfer. A referral described the child's behavior as unadjusted or deviant from that of children in his neighborhood classroom.⁷⁰ Principals forwarded "yellow slips" to the assistant superintendent of schools. After approving and signing the "yellow slip," the assistant superintendent then instructed the Bureau of Compulsory Education to transfer the child to a custodial school. This transfer occurred within three to four days. Rapid transfer was of value in that it removed the child from continued classroom disruption and temptation of criminal or immoral activities.⁷¹ Although transfers were swift, transfer to Montefiore and Moseley required referral procedures which indicated that local school and district resources had been exhausted.

Transfer of girls to custodial schools did not occur until 1941 when they were admitted to Montefiore. Additionally, those girls enrolled in the Juvenile Detention Home, the Chicago Home for Girls, and the Arthur J. Audy Home were also part of the custodial school population of the Chicago Board of Education, as these schools were made

⁷⁰Montefiore School Nineteenth Annual Report, 2-3.

⁷¹Herrick, A Social and Political History, 257.

branches of Montefiore and Moseley.⁷²

Data gathered by the Chicago Public School System on truant, delinquent, and classroom incorrigible boys and girls of Montefiore and Moseley indicated that these students were young, unhealthy, and uneducated. They varied in age from ten through seventeen. Most students were between twelve and sixteen years of age: median age was fourteen years and two months. Examination of their attendance records illustrated patterns of irregular school attendance and frequent transfers. An average of 3.2 schools were attended by each boy prior to his arrival at Montefiore; some boys had attended as many as fifteen city schools. Furthermore, frequency of transfers between private and public schools by custodial school students was also noted. In addition to transfers, physical defects and dental problems within this population were very prevalent.⁷³ Although, grades represented within Montefiore included second through tenth, most children were in seventh, eighth, and ninth. These custodial students were described as mentally retarded, exhibiting "irregular" mental abilities, and lacking in educational achievement.

⁷²Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the School Year 1937-1938, 392.

⁷³Montefiore Special School First Annual Report 1929-30, 3 and Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the Year Ending June 11, 1937, 257.

Their median Intelligence Quotient was approximately 80.⁷⁴ Furthermore, Montefiore students possessed social problems which curriculum developers attributed to manifestations of conflicts that involved the child's racial orientation, foreign parentage, broken home, and poverty.⁷⁵

Poverty was common in the custodial school student population. Eighty-two percent of Montefiore students were from families which required public assistance or had received it at sometime.⁷⁶ Ninety percent of Montefiore students resided in "deteriorated areas of Chicago."⁷⁷ Additionally, fifty-three percent of Montefiore's students were known by the Cook County Juvenile Court before their enrollment in the custodial school.⁷⁸ As a result of the appearance of a high frequency of poverty in the custodial school population, a positive correlation between poverty and deviant behavior was emerging in Chicago special school students.

Diminishing or eradicating deviant behavior was the goal of Chicago custodial schools. Once accomplished,

⁷⁴Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the Year Ending June 11, 1937, 257.

⁷⁵Montefiore Special School First Annual Report, 3

⁷⁶Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the School Year 1937-1938, 397.

⁷⁷Montefiore Special School First Annual Report 1929-30, 3.

⁷⁸Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the School Year 1937-1938, 397.

students were transferred back to neighborhood schools. Signs which indicated readiness for conventional classrooms were demonstrations of academic growth and acceptable behavior. When this new behavior occurred, rehabilitation was believed to have manifested itself.

Montefiore's first principal, Edward Stullken (1929-1960), explained the school's task as one of change and prevention of deviant behavior in children. Stullken explained that Montefiore

[Aimed] to meet the needs of problem boys for in doing so it [prevented] juvenile delinquency, as it [was] well known that problem boys often [became] delinquent boys. It [was] the purpose of the school to try to enrich its program to fit education to the boys' needs; and to understand his problems so well, that the boys [would] cease to be truants or behavior cases and [would] learn to conform socially to their school environment and if possible to overcome the difficulties of their home and civic environments.⁷⁹

Efforts by Chicago Public Schools to rehabilitate and later to prevent deviancy in Montefiore students' behavior were assisted by the Institute of Juvenile Research, the Mandel Clinic of Michael Reese Hospital, the North Side Child Guidance Clinic, and private psychiatrists and psychiatric services. Together these professionals utilized the methodologies and techniques of their respective fields to produce diagnostic assessments. Information gained from these assessments was used to determine which behaviors

⁷⁹Chicago Public Schools, First Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School (Chicago: Chicago Board of Education, 1929-1930), 2.

inhibited academic and social development of students enrolled in custodial schools of the Chicago Public School System. Professional assessments provided data from which "a treatment" plan for each custodial school child was developed and incorporated in the overall educational program of the school.⁸⁰

Generally, course work, texts, and instructional materials used at Montefiore were similar to those used in conventional public classrooms of the Chicago Public School System. Montefiore, elementary students focused on reading, language arts and mathematics; and high school students studied reading, mathematics, social studies, and English. Curriculum for remedial classes in reading and mathematics was written by the Bureau of Child Study which presented guides for individual units. Supplementary reading materials were provided when the school's library added seven hundred new volumes in 1939, and Weekly Readers were provided at each grade level.⁸¹ Additionally, attention to producing an effective educational program for deviant students of Chicago included preparing and selecting classroom materials which would produce positive discernable results in academics and behavior. As a result, Montefiore teachers wrote a two volume remedial reader for the purpose

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the Year 1937-1938, 398.

of adapting instruction to deviant student.⁸²

In the subject area of mathematics, remedial students utilized an instructional plan called the individual folder system. It provided diagnostic and survey tests that indicated strengths and weaknesses in computation skills. The individual folder system also stressed examination and practice in alleviating troublesome fundamental concepts and processes in elementary arithmetic. Through its use, children lacking in similar skills were grouped together.⁸³

Both homogenous grouping based on common basic academic needs and individualized instruction were used to produce demonstrations of a "fair knowledge" of basic concepts and skills in academic subjects.⁸⁴ In addition, training involving shop classes was viewed as avenues of vocational preparation and social development. Metal, electrical, woodwork, printshop, weaving, household mechanics, and crafts were believed to best prepare custodial school children for adulthood.⁸⁵

Acquisition of basic academic skills and vocational training were only two-thirds of Montefiore's educational

⁸²Ibid., 303.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the Year Ending June 11, 1937, 258.

program. As with the Parental School's educational program, specific attention to socially acceptable behavior was included in Montefiore's program of instruction. By 1939, the Chicago Board of Education had shifted from asking "Why is the child bad?" to "Why does [the child] act that way?" Answers to this question began to include examination of student's home environment. Success in modifying the behavior of custodial school students was viewed as dependent on understanding the child's home situation. Consequently, home visits by teachers were encouraged. As a result, Montefiore and Moseley administrators noted an increase in student attendance and a decline in behavior problems in those classrooms in which teachers visited the homes of their students.⁸⁶

Character building, at the core of acceptable social behavior, appeared in every subject at Montefiore and Moseley. Teachers of every subject were asked "to develop some positive character trait" within the child. For example, physical education teachers were asked to stress traits of fair play and sportsmanship; art teachers were presented with teaching an understanding of the effects of details in an artistic composition; and music teachers encouraged enjoyment of leisure time. Additionally, each

⁸⁶Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the School Year 1938-1939, 301-302.

week, a slogan was presented for discussion in English.⁸⁷

Overall, custodial school teachers used classroom activities to develop worthy character traits and socially acceptable habits and behaviors that were practiced by the larger Chicago society.

Girls at Montefiore and its branches received the same academic training as boys. However, at the Detention Home for Girls, a new educational wing, which included academic rooms, gymnasium, craft shop, home economics, and a craft laboratory was opened. Furthermore, in 1952, vocations associated with modern farming became part of girls' vocational preparation when a farm unit, located at Garden Prairie, Illinois, was added to the summer program for girls who were committed to the Chicago Home for Girls, another branch of Montefiore.⁸⁸

Students committed to Montefiore and Moseley and those enrolled at Motley, Douglas, Washington, and the Urban League School appeared to personify social ills within Chicago. Poverty levels in Chicago slums, behavior problems, and truancy referrals escalated simultaneously in the 1940s. Additionally, African Americans and Appalachian whites from southern and southeastern states began to

⁸⁷Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the School Year 1937-1938, 398.

⁸⁸Chicago Public Schools, Twenty-second Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1950-51 (Chicago: Chicago Public Schools, 1951), 38-39.

displace children of European immigrants in custodial schools.⁸⁹ A small but growing Mexican and Puerto Rican population of three and four percent, respectively, also joined Chicago's deviant student population.⁹⁰ Moreover, misbehavior as a reason for referral to custodial schools had replaced truancy.

In 1950, 5 percent of Montefiore's population were parolees from the Illinois Youth Commission. Additionally, categories of "misbehavior" and "miscellaneous" were used in conjunction with truancy as reasons for custodial school referral. Accordingly, by 1961, the population of Montefiore, which mirrored populations of all Chicago custodial schools, included 55.2 percent referral for misbehavior; 33.7 percent referral for truancy; and 11.1 percent referral for miscellaneous reasons.⁹¹

By 1960, Harry Strasburg, principal of Montefiore (1960-1964), reported that "Montefiore now [received] the most aggravated behavior and maladjusted problems within the school system."⁹² Furthermore, examination of Montefiore's

⁸⁹Chicago Public Schools, Twelfth Annual Report o the Montefiore Special School, 1940-41 (Chicago: Chicago Public Schools, 1941), 8.

⁹⁰Chicago Public Schools, Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1956-57 (Chicago: Chicago Public Schools, 1957), 9.

⁹¹Harry Strasburg, "Special Report 4: Montefiore Special School," compiled by the Principal and presented to the Chicago Board of Education, September 1961 (Mimeographed), 4.

⁹²Ibid., 1-2.

enrollment indicated that thirty-five percent of its boys were drawn from one square mile within the Lawndale district on the west side of Chicago. Within Lawndale, twenty-five percent of Montefiore's referred students were from three upper grade centers and seven elementary schools.⁹³

These delinquent and truant custodial school students of the 1960s were generally over thirteen years of age, with an average age of 13 through 14.6 years, and a median age of 13.6. Furthermore, academic achievement indicated that the majority should have been at sixth and seventh grade levels; but the range of their academic achievements encompassed third through tenth grade. Reading scores placed thirty-five students at the second grade level or below, 157 below the fifth grade level, and 4 above ninth grade. Examination of intelligence quotients (IQs) of 196 elementary boys place two-thirds with IQs ranging from 70-89, four over 110, and twelve below 59. IQs of custodial high school boys indicated that thirty ranged between 90 and 99, three between 70-79, and four at 110 or above.⁹⁴

An environment in which ninety-five percent of the students were academically retarded and in which the level of intelligence ranged from "feeble minded" to "very superior" provided a multiplicity of factors which had to be considered in determining the direction of the educational

⁹³Ibid., 3.

⁹⁴Ibid.

program that should operate at Montefiore and other custodial public schools in Chicago.

To provide effective programs which would develop social skills in custodial school pupils, the Chicago Board of Education began to rely on student instruction in social guidance. Board studies indicated that in families of institutionalized children there existed a strong conflict between children's behavior and family values. Also noted in institutionalized children was the display of behaviors indicative of confusion and powerlessness that appeared when these children were unable to understand values of their parents. Moreover, educators believed that behavior which the courts labelled as "delinquent" was an effort by the child to restore a sense of personal power to his life.⁹⁵ With these notions as guides, social guidance programs attempted to address aspects of conflict resolution and apathy in the growing African American and poor white population which had displaced children of immigrants in custodial schools of Chicago in the 1960s.

The guidance program utilized by Chicago custodial schools was founded on the concept that there existed a positive correlation between a child's ability to read and his social behavior. Montefiore personnel believed that lack of reading ability had locked custodial school students

⁹⁵Eldefonso, Law Enforcement, 130.

out of mainstream Chicago activities.⁹⁶ Montefiore's principal, Strasburg, accepted this premise: he assisted his staff in acquiring teaching methods which promoted student reading achievement. Arranging for a reading teacher to transfer from King School to Montefiore, Strasburg established a remedial reading program which provided training in teaching reading to his entire faculty. As a result, every Montefiore teacher became a teacher of reading and an advocate of acceptable social behavior. Furthermore, instructional materials used at Montefiore were those which touted socially acceptable moral values and social behavior.⁹⁷

During the 1960s, Montefiore continued to prescribe education for deviant students in Chicago custodial schools. However, assessments of custodial schools' operations and programs revealed strengths and weaknesses. Presenting his observations of Montefiore in Public Schools of Chicago: A Survey for the Board of Education of the City of Chicago (1964), Robert J. Havighurst declared that custodial schools for deviant students in Chicago were well run and administered by "surprisingly competent and effective staffs." He stated that basic skills and vocational training programs offered within these schools (Montefiore, Moseley, and

⁹⁶Montefiore Special School Twenty-eighth Annual Report 1956-57, 26.

⁹⁷Pollett, "Study of Social Adjustment in Chicago," 187.

Motley) were tapered to the needs of their students. Discipline, Havighurst observed, was firm and constructive. Moreover, chronic truancy, which was among reasons for student referral to custodial schools, declined. In fact, "records [indicating excellence in] attendance were astounding."⁹⁸ On the other hand, Havighurst reported that custodial schools lacked vital elements which promoted student socialization. Excessive emphasis on individualization in the curriculum, Havighurst suggested, diminished or eliminated opportunities for cooperation during work, learning, and play; furthermore, individualization diminished opportunities for natural exchanges which emerge during human encounters. Additionally, it was noted that custodial schools had a "large number of young children in attendance and a long waiting list." Furthermore, all custodial schools had minimal assistance from school psychologists and no professional social worker. No custodial school had research resources or hard data from which to determine the effectiveness of its guidance and academic programs. Hence, data on which to assess changes in social attitudes and behaviors or to determine curriculums' strengths and weaknesses and on which to base program changes was unavailable to individuals who wished to access or modify

⁹⁸Havighurst, A Survey for the Board of Education, 457.

special schools' programs of instruction.⁹⁹

While areas in which custodial schools needed improvement were not readily addressed, the focus of educational goals of these schools became more succinct during the administration of Raphael P. Sullivan (1964-1966). As a former principal of Moseley, Sullivan was familiar with the unique needs of custodial school children. Appointed to Montefiore by Benjamin C. Willis, General Superintendent of Chicago Schools (1953-1967), Sullivan, like Stullken and Strasburg, believed the goal of custodial schools was to return students to the regular school setting, "adjusted" to function in a conventional academic environment and "prepared" for success in society.¹⁰⁰ However, Sullivan's concept of education for custodial school students involved preparing deviant students for "survival."¹⁰¹ With this concept as Montefiore's goal, it became necessary to include survival skills in curriculums. Acquisition of survival skills involved behavior modification. However, acquisition of reading skills by custodial school students remained at the core of their academic and social development. During Sullivan's administration, a Montefiore student's reading skills had to

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Raphael P. Sullivan, "Social Adjustment Schools Offer Positive Program, a reprint from Chicago Schools Journal 45 (May, 1964): 354.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 358.

"approach the reading level of his potential classmate in regular school"; and the Montefiore student had to "learn how to talk, dress and act in order to secure, hold, and advance on a job."¹⁰²

Sullivan's new approach to behavior modification and academic development required a reorganization in classroom instruction at Montefiore. Chronological age and reading skills were used to determine academic placement. Children eight to seventeen were grouped in "non-graded" classes based on their chronological age and their reading ability, but individualized instruction in reading and mathematics remained. Course work became departmentalized, and departments of language arts, science, social studies, art, music (including drum and bugle corps and a swing band), library, physical education, shop, and remedial reading were included or continued in the school's educational program.

Additionally, Sullivan developed vocational training for students who were sixteen through eighteen years of age. As potential school dropouts, their training included "work experience" oriented toward career development. Vocational education therefore approached academics from a "functional point of view."¹⁰³ Hence, within this functional vocational training program, mathematics, language arts, science, and social studies were included in lessons that

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Strasburg, "Special Report," 13-15.

addressed issues or problems which occurred in normal daily activities of city living.¹⁰⁴

Although, efforts in developing instructional programs which prepared deviant students for adulthood were made and compulsory education laws of Illinois guaranteed these children access to public education, children enrolled in custodial schools and truant rooms continued to lag behind in acquiring reading and mathematics skills when compared to children who attended conventional schools within the city. Furthermore, custodial school children continued to leave school unprepared for life in Chicago.

Profiles of students of custodial programs in the mid-1960s revealed them as members of disorganized families. They were unable to cope with family problems of divorce, desertion, alcoholism, and unemployment. Deviant students were characterized by their inability to cope with the city's social and multi-cultural environment. Moreover, they harbored innumerable other social and economical problems which were symptomatic of Chicago and urban centers. Without the efforts of custodial schools, believed Sullivan, these children were doomed to become a human "junk

¹⁰⁴Raphael P. Sullivan, Data based on "Montefiore Fact Sheets and Organizational Charts," 23 May 1965. (From the files of the Montefiore-Moseley PTA.) and Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the School Year 1938-1939, 303.

pile."¹⁰⁵

Unfortunately, the efforts of custodial schools, such as Montefiore and the Parental School frequently occurred too late and were too inadequate to produce lasting affects on the behavior of many deviant students. However, by 1970, it was becoming an accepted notion that the solution to deviant behavior required early intervention. By 1975, the idea that early intervention affects rehabilitation and prevention of deviant behavior in children was brought to the General Assembly's attention. Concern for the care and education of maladjusted children was included in federal and state legislation. Needs, programs, and policies for truants, delinquents, and classroom incorrigibles could be addressed through federally mandated special education,. Accordingly, truant, delinquent, and incorrigible behavior became identified as aspects of Special Education in the Education of the Handicapped Act, Public Law 94-142 (P.L.94-142). As a result, under Public Law 94-142 (1975), local school districts were mandated to provide deviant students ages three through twenty-one with "a free and appropriate public education and related services designed to meet their unique needs."¹⁰⁶ "Special education" began to mean

¹⁰⁵ Raphael P. Sullivan, Moses Montefiore Social Adjustment School, (December 20, 1965) Mimeographed.

¹⁰⁶ Congress, United States Code of Congressional Administrative News, Ninety-fourth Congress-First Session 1975 Convened January 14, 1975 Adjourned December 19, 1975 vol. 1 (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Company, 1975), P.L.

Specifically designed instruction, at no cost to parents of guardians, to meet the unique needs of a handicapped child, including classroom instruction, instruction in physical education, home instruction, and instruction in hospitals and institutions.¹⁰⁷

Suddenly, deviant behaviors displayed by truants, delinquents, and classroom incorrigibles were identified as a handicapping conditions which diminished educational capabilities of deviant students. As a result, truancy, delinquency, and classroom incorrigibility were viewed as social disorders, and hence, handicapping conditions in children three through twenty-one years of age. Accordingly, through definitions and procedures described in the Illinois Rules and Regulations to Govern the Organization and Administration of Special Education, special education services were needed for social disorders which inhibited education. As a category which addressed a specific student population, special education had to be adapted to education programs in Chicago. Under special education guidelines, funding was provided to deviant children between the ages of three and twenty-one. Furthermore, name changes of custodial schools reflected custodial schools' entrance into the realm of special education. Moseley became the Special Education Center, and Montefiore entered a renaissance as a "school of special education and related services." Under Principal Griffin

94-142 [S.6] November 19, 1975, Sec.4-16.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., sec. 4-16.

(1966-1981), Montefiore's social adjustment programs pinpointed "behavior disordered children" as its area of concentration.¹⁰⁸

As members of the special education population, Montefiore usurped the Parental School's position as laboratory school for study of deviant behavior displayed by Chicago public school students. The University of Chicago's Institute for Juvenile Research initiated a two year program in 1974 which focused on enhancing the oral communications skills of a select group of Montefiore students. In addition, mental health interns and psychiatric-social workers from the university examined students and participated in staff conferences. By 1975, Montefiore had acquired a full time psychologist. He provided clinical support relative to child studies and individual student examinations, contributed to the development of intra-school placement procedures, provided assistance and guidance to staff and students, interviewed newly enrolled boys and their parents, and presented his findings at "placement conferences."¹⁰⁹ Most importantly, the psychologist developed and distributed to the staff information and guidelines related to the identification and treatment of the child's learning deficits. He also incorporated parental involvement in his program through counseling

¹⁰⁸ Pollett, "Study of Social Adjustment in Chicago," 218.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 186.

sessions which targeted families of students who exhibited severe emotional or behavior problems. Finally, all programs which had been independently attempted in each of the city's custodial schools were suddenly integrated within special education programs at Montefiore and subsidized by special education funding.

Identification of Montefiore as a school which concentrated on special education created avenues of supplemental funding and additional research. However, as Montefiore assumed the role of a special education school, it was also subjected to rules and regulations of compliance with special education laws. These regulations contributed to Montefiore's decline in enrollment. New classifications, categories, and procedures in special education prevented enrollment of many children who would have been enrolled at Montefiore before 1975. These students were now placed in neighborhood schools in special education classes which were supervised by special education teachers. Student rights and parental rights also decreased the number of students in custodial school programs. Student placement in a custodial school of Chicago required parental or guardian approval after 1975. Furthermore, financial crises experienced by the Chicago Board of Education in the 1980s prompted a reassessment of the Chicago Board of Education's policies and programs. Included in this reassessment were programs involving special education students. The result of these

new evaluations was a one-third cut in Montefiore's staff; eliminations of special programs such as reading and mathematics laboratories and small group remedial programs; curtailment of shop programs; and reinstatement of conventional classroom structures and curriculums.¹¹⁰

In the sixteen through twenty year old age group, dropout frequency flourished by the late 1970s, particularly among deviant students. Cuts in funding, special programs, and the closing of Moseley contributed to the dropout rate among deviant students. However, the Chicago Board of Education attempted to continue providing basic skills and vocational training to older deviant students. The board moved academic and vocational programs of instruction from local school settings to central locations within the city. Training programs at central locations were grouped under the Urban Youth Program. Its specific academic, vocational, and guidance programs were the Double E (Education and Employment Program), the Double T (Training and Transition Program), and the Double C (Census and Counseling Program). Additional training and counseling programs offered to Montefiore dropouts and other "at risk children" were vocational programs through the Dawson Industrial Skills

¹¹⁰General Bulletin, Chicago Public Schools, No. 2, September 3, 1980 and Casey Banas and Meg O'Connor, "23 Schools to Close Under Latest Proposal," Chicago Tribune, 14 February 1980, 6.

Center and the federally funded Job Corps Program.¹¹¹

For decades, the Chicago Board of Education attempted to provide academic, vocational, and moral training to truants, delinquents, and incorrigibles. It instituted programs of instruction and methods to develop basic reading, mathematics, and job skills in deviant students. Furthermore, the Chicago Public School System followed state directives and created and administered parental, truant, and custodial schools. Board of education administration was designed to diminish growth in the dependent and delinquent student population of Chicago.

Initially, focusing on rehabilitation, the Chicago Board of Education held policies, during the first four decades of the 1900s, which focused on rehabilitation of those boys and girls whose behavior deviated from that which was socially acceptable in conventional classrooms and society. It was hope that these children would be prepared for neighborhood schools and society through re-education. This form of rehabilitation was based on the emerging premise that deviant or pathological behavior had purposeful and logical causes. Furthermore, it was believed that deviant behavior held individual value for the child; and if examined, this behavior was quite logical and normal when the sequence of the behavior's causes was known and the

¹¹¹Chicago Public Schools, Training Programs, Bureau of Drop-out Prevention Hand-out, two pages, 1989, Mimeographed.

history of the child's behavior was studied.¹¹² Acceptance of this view is credited with beginning the Chicago Public School System's modern approach to education of dependent and delinquent children.¹¹³ By 1950, in Chicago schools prevention of deviant behavior displaced rehabilitation as the prime area of concentration. Furthermore, the Chicago Board of Education also discerned a relationship between poverty and deviancy.

As the decades rolled by and one custodial program or suspect group of custodial school students displaced another, the common factor of poverty remained prominent among parental, truant, and custodial school students. Within the emerging relationship between deviant behavior and poverty was the notion that deviant children were of limited intelligence. By 1947, social behavior demonstrated by deviant students enrolled at Montefiore and other custodial schools was labeled "symptomatic" of underlying conditions of their environments or of aspects of their physiological and psychological conditions.¹¹⁴ Poverty and poor academic success were areas of concern. Academically, custodial elementary school children exhibited a slight variation in median intelligence quotients (IQs) and

¹¹²Montefiore Special School Nineteenth Annual Report, 6-7.

¹¹³Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the School Year 1937-1938, 391.

¹¹⁴Montefiore School Nineteenth Annual Report, 6, 47.

averaged two and three years retardation in academics when compared to their age groups enrolled in conventional neighborhood schools. Additionally, custodial high school children's median intelligence quotients averaged only two points higher than elementary school children in custodial schools. On the other hand, high school custodial school children averaged two to three years behind conventional high school students. "These figures were within a few points of those found [in the preceding] year and [did] not vary significantly from the median intelligence quotients derived each year since the special school [Montefiore] was established."¹¹⁵ As a result of the Chicago Board of Education's examination of data, the Bureau of Child Study attributed maladjusted behavior in special students to "physical handicaps, low mentality, uneven intellectual development, retardation in reading, low economic standards of the home, poor social surroundings, foreign language handicaps, and personality defects."¹¹⁶

Regardless of whether rehabilitation or prevention was accepted as the correct method in eliminating deviant behavior, the Chicago Board of Education through schools such as the Parental School and Montefiore set out to impart to truants, delinquents, and incorrigibles those skills and

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 47.

¹¹⁶ Chicago Public Schools, Montefiore Special School Eleventh Annual Report, 9-12.

character traits that would send the deviant student into Chicago society with an understanding of his academic and social obligations. However, confusion over the roles of these custodial schools and fluctuating administrative policies and curriculums hampered custodial schools' educational programs.

Montefiore is the last Chicago custodial school which is designated by the Chicago School System to educate truants and delinquents. Replacement of custodial schools with Education-Vocational Centers (EVC Centers) has not decreased the number of deviant students in Chicago; and elimination of EVC centers, because they are under used, has further diminished programs for deviant students. For many truants and delinquents, gang affiliation and gang violence have become sole outlets for deviant behavior in Chicago and other urban areas.¹¹⁷

On the other hand, poverty, which has remained an element of the truant and delinquent's environments has produced a new category of truants in Chicago. Characterized by their inability to find permanent housing, this new truant has been unavoidably absent from Chicago neighborhood schools. He is unable to be found by truant officers or other Chicago public school personnel. However, like other deviant children of the decades, the new Chicago

¹¹⁷Rob Karwath, "Study Links High Dropout Rate To State Prison Overcrowding," Chicago Tribune, sec. 2, 30 July 1989, 4.

truant's poverty is a manifestation of Chicago's economic and social problems. An examination of the origin and characteristics of homeless school truants is imperative to an understanding of the growing number of compulsory education age children who are not attending Chicago public schools.

A period of luxury and excesses for some, the decade of the 1980s has been a decade of poverty, rejection, and confusion for others. Deviancy, that is, truancy, delinquency, and criminal acts by children in the 1990s, has emerged as an era in which old and new pockets of poverty in Chicago are characterized by violence, crime, desperate poverty, and frequent homelessness. From these areas, families which include children are driven from foreclosed homes and locked out of mainstream society.¹¹⁸ In Chicago, they number in the thousands; in the nation, they number in the millions. They are the new truants: homeless children and youths. They are young, uneducated, and products of change which public education in Chicago must address.

¹¹⁸Eileen Ogintz, "Young Parents Sink in Poverty, Study Says," Chicago Tribune, Sec. 1, 31 August 1989, 12.

CHAPTER V
POVERTY, TRUANCY, AND HOMELESSNESS

Chicago truants and delinquents have been members of every social, economic, ethnic, and racial group within the city; however, there has been a tendency for most to emerge from the lowest socio-economic strata of Chicago society. Citing poverty as the major cause of truancy¹, the Chicago Board of Education has found a positive correlation between poverty and truancy as families within the city have attempted to meet living expenses which are dominated by housing, food, and clothing costs. Within the truant's family, provision of living expenses necessitated employment of all able-bodied family members. For the family, this has frequently meant either employment of compulsory education age children or flirting with hunger and homeless. An examination of the impact of poverty on public school children provides a description of Chicago truants which is inherently descriptive of urban living for the lower socio-economic class of Chicago.

¹Chicago Public Schools, Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914 (Chicago: Board of Education, 1914), 419.

Early investigations by the Chicago Board of Education's Bureau of Compulsory Education listed children of early 1900 European immigrants and low-income American families as producing the greatest number of truants in Chicago. Additionally, it should be noted that European immigrants along with African Americans and Mexicans were among the poorest individuals within the city during the first forty years of the 1900s.² Accordingly, many economically poor children found themselves working along side their parents.

While the Chicago Board of Education listed poverty as the major cause of truancy in its Annual Reports, it continued to view parents as "the real culprits that cause so many boys and girls to go wrong."³ To the Chicago Board of Education, "going wrong" meant employment of children of compulsory education age. Jobs for these children were found in Chicago factories, stockyards, and mills. Signaled by newspaper ads which denoted which ethnic groups "need not apply," immigrant children, like their parents, frequently were excluded from desirable jobs and lucrative wages. However, elitist hiring practice based on prejudice did not curtail truancy in Chicago. City truant rolls swelled.

²Walter I. Tratter, From Poor Law to Welfare State: A History of Social Welfare in America, 4th ed., (New York: Free Press, A Division of MacMillan, Inc., 1989), 149.

³Chicago Public Schools, Fiftieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 1904, (Chicago: Board of Education of the City of Chicago, May 1905), 143.

Truant children (like their immigrant parent), African American, and Mexican parents sought, found, and worked the most dangerous, strenuous, disgusting, degrading, and menial of jobs in the city. Financial contributions from family children were needed in low-income homes.

The Chicago Board of Education used the term "miscellaneous" to denote thousands of jobs held by employed truant children. Furthermore, wages earned by children during the early 1900s ranged from "unknown" to \$8.00 per week.⁴ Often, girls earned less than boys. Most girls were office workers; or if employed in a factory, girls did "piece work" common to the garment industry, while boys were involved in every aspect of city labor.⁵

Generally, the truant child was a boy who was physically large but mentally "stunted."⁶ In fact, few girls were included on truant lists. On a declining scale, most truants during this period were from third, fourth, second, and first grades.⁷ Between 1901 and 1903, poverty and child labor in Chicago produced truant rolls which

⁴Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914, 416.

⁵Jane Addams, "Public School and the Immigrant Child," National Education Association, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses (1908), 100.

⁶Chicago Public Schools, Fifty-second Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30 1906 (Chicago: Board of Education of the City of Chicago, March 1907), 33.

⁷Ibid.

listed 12,934 children of compulsory education age as truants.⁸ In 1904, truant officers returned 21,848 children to Chicago schools.⁹ However, by 1908 additional truant officers, effective truant investigations, and court mandated appearances of indifferent parents whittled the number down to 3,054 documented cases of truancy.¹⁰ Annual cases of truancy averaged approximately 4,000.

Employed truant children, fourteen years of age and younger, were pursued by truant officers and city factory inspectors. Early 1900s parents and employers believed that "children [were] commercially most advantageous between fourteen and eighteen years old for most employments."¹¹ This period, fourteen through eighteen, was viewed as four years during which the child possessed "abnormal strength."¹² Families which comprised the economically poorest 20 percent of Chicago's population directed this

⁸Chicago Public Schools, Public Schools of the City of Chicago Forty-seventh Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1901 (Chicago: Chicago Board of Education of the City of Chicago, January, 1902), 46.

⁹Fiftieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 1904 (Chicago: Board of Education of the City of Chicago, May 1905), 141.

¹⁰Chicago Public Schools, Fifty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1909 (Chicago: Board of Education, 1909), 170.

¹¹Jane Addams, "Child Labor," Journal of Education 61 (16 March 1905): 1.

¹²Ibid.

abnormal strength toward employment.¹³ In fact, this notion of "abnormal strength" in childhood coupled with needs for financial contributions by school age children to their families manifested itself in the issuance of 26,886 student work certificates to Chicago children between 1900 and 1906.¹⁴ In 1917, the age for legal employment of school age children was moved from fourteen to sixteen. Regardless of the selection of fourteen or sixteen as the age for legal employment of children, employed children comprised the greatest portion of Chicago Public Schools' truant lists.¹⁵ The employed truant was usually a repeat truant offender.

Truancy rolls were scrutinized by the Bureau of Compulsory Education and the Cook County Juvenile Court. Juvenile court prosecuted indifferent parents of habitual truants, factory inspectors reported truants to county courts and fined employers, incorrigible truants were sent to Parental School, and children found guilty of crimes against person or property were sent to Illinois

¹³Jane Addams, "Foreign-Born Children in the Primary Grades," National Education Association Journal of Proceedings and Addresses (1897): 106.

¹⁴Jane Addams, "Operation of the Illinois Child Labor Law," American Academy of Political and Social Science Annals 27 (March 1906): 70.

¹⁵Chicago Public Schools, City of Chicago Sixteenth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending July 1, 1870 (Chicago: Rand, McNally and Co., Printers and Stationers, 1870), 173.

reformatories.¹⁶

Truancy became identified as the first step toward serious delinquent acts, which involved crimes against people and property. Specifically, these included burglary, mugging, and murder.¹⁷ Therefore, educators and city officials decided that names placed on the Chicago Board of Education's truant list also should be placed on the Cook County Juvenile Court petition for delinquency. However, most children on delinquents' petitions in Chicago were actually employed truants and not hardened criminals.

Raising the age of a child by two years when initially enrolling him in public school allowed parents to employ their children two years before they could be legally employed at fourteen. In neighborhoods in which truancy and delinquency flourished, early school enrollment of young children created schools in which primary grades were overcrowded with toddlers, while intermediate and upper grades witnessed a steady decline in attendance. These older children of low-income families found employment in city factories, mills, shops, and stockyards.¹⁸

School districts which produced most truants and

¹⁶Fiftieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 1904, 143.

¹⁷Chicago Public Schools, Public Schools of the City of Chicago Forty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 23, 1899 (Chicago: John F. Higgins Print, 1900), 144.

¹⁸Ibid.

delinquents during the early 1900s were on the south and west sides of Chicago. Collectively called "The Ghetto" by truant officers, by name and boundaries, south and west side districts included the following areas:

the Near West Side, bounded on the west by Talman Street (2600 west) and the Chicago and North Western Railroad, on the east by the Chicago River, on the South by Sixteenth Street, and on the north by Chicago Avenue (800 north);

North Lawndale, bounded on the west by Cicero Avenue (4800 west), on the east by Ogden Avenue (1600 west), on the north the by Taylor Street (1000 south), and on the south by Cermack Road (2200 south) and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad;

South Lawndale, bounded on the west by Cicero Avenue and the Chicago and North Western Railroad, on the east by Western Avenue (2400 west), on the north by Cermack Road, Nineteenth Street and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, and on the south by the Stevenson Expressway;

Near South Side, bounded on the north by Roosevelt Road (1200 south), on the south by Twenty-sixth Street, on the west by Federal Street (61 west), Clark Street 100 west) or the South Branch of the Chicago River, and on the east by Lake Michigan;

New City, bounded on the north by Pershing Road (3900 south), on the south by Thirty-fifth Street, on the east by Stewart Street (400 west) and on the west by Western Avenue;

Englewood bounded on the north by Thirty-fifth Street, on the south by Seventy-fifth Street, on the west by Racine and on the east by LaSalle or Stewart Streets;

West Englewood, bounded on the north by Thirty-fifth Street, on the south by Seventy-fifth Street, on the west by Western Avenue and on the east by Racine Avenue (1200 west);

Greater Grand Crossing, bounded on the north by Sixty-first through Sixty-seventh Streets, on the south by Seventy-ninth Street, on the west at an angle by Wentworth (200 south) through Wallace Street (600 west), and on the east by Kimbark Avenue (1300 east) or the

Illinois Central Railroad tracks; and

South Chicago, bounded on the north by Lake Michigan near Seventy-ninth Street, on the South by Ninety-fifth Street, on the west by South Chicago Avenue (400 east and 6700 southeast), and on the east by Lake Michigan.¹⁹

Neighborhoods within these districts showed maximum truancy, while areas settled by rather well-to-do families (Kenwood, Hyde Park, Ravenswood, Edgewater and Austin), had comparatively few truants or delinquents.²⁰

South and west side neighborhoods, which housed immigrants and other low-income Chicagoans, were characterized by unsanitary, limited, and overcrowded housing; poor or nonexistent sewer systems; high infant mortality; rampant tuberculosis and other communicable diseases; schools overcrowded in the primary grades; employment in jobs which provided minimum wages; and a disaffiliation of area inhabitants from mainstream city life.²¹

Immigrants and their children provided early 1900 Chicago employers with a ready pool from which to select cheap laborers. By 1910, the composition of Chicago's

¹⁹Chicago Fact Book Consortium, ed. Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area: Based on the 1970 and 1980 Censuses, Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1984.

²⁰Chicago Public Schools, Fifty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1909 (Chicago: Board of Education, 1909), 175.

²¹Florence Kelley and Aliza P. Stevens, "Wage-Earning Children," Hull House Maps and Papers (Cromwell, 1895), 56.

population was three-fourth foreign-born.²² As immigrants arrived in America in search of political freedom and personal safety, the urban environment in which most settled provided very little use for farming or other skills associated with agriculture which most of them held.²³ However, their desire to survive in the city made them a source for cheap industrial labor.²⁴ Accordingly, they created settlements or settled in existing South and West Side communities and areas immediately surrounding the Loop or near industrial or commercial sites, where they joined low-income white Americans and minorities.

Lacking an extensive and effective transportation network before 1920, Chicago workers sought housing near industrial or commercial enterprises. As a result, shantytowns near industrial communities evolved in Chicago as early as 1848. This was the case on the near west side. The area became a ready source of labor for a manufacturing center, lumber yards, foundries, and flour mills. Frame cottages flourished as Germans, Irish, and Scandinavians migrated from Europe to the near west side. By 1895 on the Near West Side, Hull House attempted to Americanize southern

²²Tratter, From Poor Law to Welfare State, 149.

²³Jane Addams, "Recent Immigration: A Field Neglected by the Scholar." Paper delivered on the occasion of the Fifty-third Convocation of the University of Chicago, held in the Leon Mandel Assembly Hall, 20 December 1904, 276.

²⁴Fifty-second Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1906, 33.

and eastern Europeans (Italians, Russians, and Polish Jews) who joined an established population of low-income families in the area. Among services provided by Hull House were day-care, hygiene classes, English and citizenship classes, and political awareness.²⁵

By 1930, the depression created a greater need for services which settlement houses had previously provided on the near west side. Housing and health care in the area became serious concerns of shantytown leaders and Chicago officials. Consequently, public housing appeared on the near west side of Chicago in 1938 with the establishment of Jane Addams Homes. This project provided 304 low-rise family living units.²⁶ Within three years, the Illinois General Assembly voted to establish the Medical Center District on the near west side. This medical center included Cook County Hospital, Veterans Administration Hospital, the Chicago State Tuberculosis Hospital, Presbyterian-St.Luke Hospital, and the Research Hospital and Medical School of the University of Illinois.²⁷

Similarly, the North Lawndale area, which was established in 1869, was initially settled by immigrants who

²⁵Sibylle Allendorf, "Community Area 28: Near West Side," in Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area: Based on the 1970 and 1980 Censuses, by the Chicago Fact Book Consortium, ed., (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1984) 75.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

were Russian Jews, Polish, and Czechoslovakians. These individuals were generally employed by the McCormick Reaper Company, which became International Harvester. Furthermore, by 1903, the Northwestern Electric Company was built near Cicero; it also provided employment to residents of North Lawndale.²⁸ After the Chicago Fire of 1871, residents from the southeastern section of South Lawndale also were employed at the International Harvester plant; other South Lawndale residents gravitated to the Western Electric Company's Hawthorne Works in Cicero. Harvester and Western Electric drew more settlers into South Lawndale. Czechoslovakians and Germans made up the bulk of the area's population from 1900 through the 1920s; however, by 1930, Poles were most numerous in South Lawndale.²⁹ As immigrants settled in the area, their children (German, Polish, and Czechoslovakian) comprised the greatest number of Chicago truants during the first two decades of the 1900s.³⁰

New City was established to the south of South

²⁸Winston McDowell, "Community Area 29: North Lawndale," in Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area: Based on the 1970 and 1980 Censuses, by Chicago Fact Book Consortium, ed. (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1984), 82.

²⁹Will Hogan, "Community Area 30: South Lawndale," in Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area: Based on the 1970 and 1980 Censuses, by The Chicago Fact Book Consortium (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1984), 85.

³⁰Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914, 418.

Lawndale. Frequently called "Back-of-the-Yards," New City came into existence when Phillip Armour and the Hutchinson Packing Company allowed twenty of their employees to build cottages on land at the intersection of Forty-third Street and Packers Avenue (1300 west). By 1865, the area south of Pershing Road and west of Halsted was purchased by the Union Stockyards and the Transit Company. By 1884, these companies had developed the area into a network of stockyards serviced by nine railroad companies. Irish, Germans, Bohemians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Russians, and African Americans workers filled refrigerated railroad cars with packaged meat that was shipped throughout the United States. Eventually, the name "Packingtown" became synonymous with the eclectic ethnic groups that worked in the stockyards of New City.³¹ By 1907, truants on the Bureau of Compulsory Education had begun to come from this area, the stockyard district, the most economically bustling district within the city.³²

In 1917, the stockyard area and the west side had become areas with maximum truancy. Typically, total number of truants within the city between 5 September 1917 and 28 June 1918 reached 4,506. Within this sum 4,208 were boys;

³¹Robert A. Slayton, "Community Area 61: New City," in Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area Based on the 1970 and 1980 Censuses, by The Chicago Fact Book Consortium (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1984), 156.

³²Fifth-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1909, 175.

furthermore, 1,444 of these were repeat offenders. Districts with foreign parents, "generally Polish, Bohemian, and Lithuanian" had begun to generate the majority of truants. Additionally, School Superintendent John D. Shoop (1915-1918) noted an increase in truant African American children from stockyard schools. These children were predominately boys who had come with their families from southern states "where they were not compelled to attend school."³³

By 1885, African Americans occupied two small neighborhoods on the south side within the Englewood community. However, Englewood predominantly was settled by German, Irish, and Swedish immigrants. Unlike other previously mentioned communities which evolved as shantytowns, Englewood was occupied by working class families in small homes west of Halsted and by white-collar workers in apartment buildings east of Halsted Street. The Englewood residents produced a well known shopping district around Sixty-third and Halsted Street.³⁴

Also using this shopping area were residents of West Englewood. West Englewood like Englewood was crisscrossed

³³Chicago Public Schools, Sixty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1918 (Chicago: Board of Education 1918), 174.

³⁴Annie Ruth Leslie, "Community Area 68: Englewood," in Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area: Based on the 1970 and 1980 Censuses, by The Chicago Fact Book Consortium (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1984), 174.

by a network of railroads. West Englewood, which developed after the Chicago Fire of 1871, was initially settled by Swedish and Germans. By 1907, Italians moved into the area. At the same time, a small community of African Americans inhabited the area around Loomis and Sixty-third Street. Unfortunately, they were driven out during the race riot of 1919. However, by 1920 the West Englewood community stabilized as World War I veterans built brick bungalows along Marquette Road and Garfield Boulevard. Industry expanded in the area and provided employment to neighborhood residents.³⁵

To the east of West Englewood is Washington Park. It was settled by Jews and African Americans. This community evolved as a result of its close proximity to improved city transportation during the 1890s. Here, African Americans and Jews coexisted in seething tension until the race riot of 1919, after which African Americans expanded eastward along Garfield Boulevard to Michigan Avenue. By 1930, African Americans accounted for 92 percent of the Washington Park population.³⁶

Among the latest Chicago community to evolve was the

³⁵Annie Ruth Leslie, "Community Area 67: Englewood," in Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area: Based on the 1970 and 1980 Censuses, by The Chicago Fact Book Consortium (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1984), 172.

³⁶Annie Ruth Leslie, "Community Area 40: Washington Park," in Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area: Based on the 1970 and 1980 Censuses, by The Chicago Fact Book Consortium (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1984), 109.

area called South Chicago. It was settled by Irish and Swedish immigrants during the late 1880s. The South Chicago area was home for the Northwest Fertilizing Company, a lumber industry, a grain industry, and a woodworking company. Later, South Chicago became the site for the Chicago Iron and Steel Works and the Silicon Steel Company. Eventually, the South Works of the United States Steel Corporation dominated the area in steel production and number of employees. From 1900 through 1910, English, Welsh, Irish, Swedish, Polish, and German workers gravitated to South Chicago. By 1914, the ethnic composition of South Chicago began to include Hungarians, Italians, and Croatsians, with Mexicans and African Americans living on the perimeter of the community.³⁷

Examination of the preceding communities from which truants emerged have revealed many early 1900 neighborhoods of which Chicago society was most embarrassed. Factories, stockyards, and mills within these communities belched steam, smoke, and stench which heralded each shantytown's location. Streets, strewn with garbage and crisscrossed by railroad tracks, were familiar sights. Hastily built, unsightly and poorly constructed houses and tenements sheltered thousands. Inhabitants of these communities were

³⁷James Walker, "Community Area 46: South Chicago," in Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area: Based on the 1970 and 1980 Censuses, by the Chicago Fact Book Consortium (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1984), 125.

generally low-income and unskilled. Furthermore, communities frequently contained as many as forty languages.

Regardless of which foreign language was spoken in an immigrant's home, the Chicago Board of Education learned that foreign mothers had an allegiance to the language of the European country from which they had come; moreover, the board realized that effective truant work demanded establishment of trust and cooperation with foreign speaking mothers who settled in these Chicago shantytowns.

Therefore, bilingual truant officers were dispatched to south and west side communities. The Chicago Board of Education hoped that truant officers who spoke the language of foreign parents could gain these parents' trust. To foreign-born mothers, truant officers hoped to impart an understanding of the advantages of the American school system and the necessity for compliance with the laws of education of Chicago.³⁸

Imparting an understanding of the advantages of the American school system and the necessity for compliance with the laws of education took time. Like their parents, children from low-income communities were a ready source of cheap labor for community factories, stockyards, and mills.³⁹ In many instances, both employers and parents

³⁸Fifty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1909, 170.

³⁹Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914, 419.

wanted to keep children working. Employers relied on child labor, for which they paid very little; and wages of these children were needed by their parents to sustain the family.

While the Bureau of Compulsory Education listed a few children as being employed in shops and offices, most were listed as employed in "miscellaneous vocations." Undoubtedly, many of these children were not suited in size nor age for the jobs which they held.⁴⁰ Accordingly, many employed truants of Chicago did not fare well. Hazards associated with child labor included diseases, accidents, and jobs unsuited for children. For example, in the tobacco trade, nicotine poisoning found many victims; frame gilding left youngsters with stiffened fingers and throat diseases; machine stitching work produced spinal curvatures and pelvic disorders; and metal stamping accelerated chances for accidents and deafness. Moreover, accidents such as lost fingers and lost toes or cuts and broken bones were common among employed children.⁴¹ However, regardless of job hazards, in many families employment of immigrant and low-income children took priority over their education.

"Necessary" was the term used by the 1914 Bureau of Compulsory Education to describe employment of 1,783 children. Payment of shantytown's rents and mortgages was

⁴⁰Ibid., 417-418.

⁴¹Mary Lynn McCree-Bryan and Allen F. Davis, 100 Years at Hull-House (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990), 37.

necessary in the family and a burden which all its members shared. Of the 1914 truant population, 2,181 of these families paid rent and 859 owned their own home. Food, clothing, and medical expenses were minimal or non-existent in families of truants. Situations within the homes of truant children prompted truant officers to classify nearly 1700 of these children as members of homes that were either financially "destitute" or "fair."⁴²

By 1940, America's impending involvement in World War II created more and better paying jobs. Many second and third generation immigrant and white families improved financially. Those who could moved out of shantytowns to suburbs or more desirable parts of the city. As a result, names of children with foreign-born parents gradually left truant and juvenile court records. Replacing them were the names of African Americans, Mexicans and other minority children. This displacement carried over into neighborhood housing. Competition between children of second and third generation immigrants and African Americans for available housing and jobs in areas which had been formerly populated by European immigrants changed the racial composition of truant rolls and many South and West Side neighborhoods. However, poverty continued to display its grip on these areas. However, contemporary poverty was characterized by the presence of minorities in Chicago.

⁴²Ibid., 419.

The near west side, like North and South Lawndale, Englewood, West Englewood, South Chicago, New City, the near south side, and Washington Park experienced emigration of African Americans from southern states to Chicago during the 1930s and 1940s. As they had for the European immigrant, these areas held employment and low-income housing for unskilled African Americans. Stockyards, factories, and mills of the city now employed African Americans and the remaining second and third generation immigrants. However, physical strength and endurance remained requirements for employment.

World War II was a catalyst for social change in Chicago. By 1943, newly established factories near Cicero Avenue between the 4000 and 8000 blocks provided additional jobs in factories that specialized in wartime products.⁴³ By the 1950s, African Americans and Mexicans who relocated in Chicago during the war years saturated all nine aforementioned areas of the city. Flight of whites ethnic groups was a response to racial fears and manipulation by unscrupulous realtors. As a result of this fear and manipulation, North Lawndale's black population increased from 13,000 to more than 113,000. As early as 1960, North Lawndale was 95 percent black.⁴⁴ In the meantime, by 1960 South Lawndale had become predominantly Hispanic; it reached

⁴³Annie Ruth Leslie, "Community Area 68: Englewood," 174.

⁴⁴McDowell, "Community Area 29: North Lawndale," 82.

a population of approximately 50,000 and sheltered 20 percent of Chicago's entire Mexican population.⁴⁵

Through decades of the 1900s, areas from which Chicago's truants have come have experienced population explosions; however, housing units have stabilized or declined in number and physical condition. Additionally, those commercial enterprises which were catalysts for community development and employment during the 1920s, 30s, and 40s have experienced economic decline, decreased employment, or merely vanished and left communities seeking other economic flagships. Families in identified truant areas have found themselves catapulted into every imaginable aspect of poverty. In these families, overcrowded and shortages in housing were among the first visible signs of poverty.

Situations of more than one person per room exist in South Lawndale, but housing conditions have witnessed only a two percent increase in units in the area since 1940. Public housing, the 128 units of row-houses of the 1942 Lawndale Gardens Project, are too old and too few to meet housing needs in South Lawndale. Additionally, only six hundred housing units were built in South Lawndale between 1960 and 1980. Moreover, the closing of International Harvester and other industries in the late 1960s have left

⁴⁵Hogan, "Community Area 30: South Lawndale, "84.

the Lawndale area economically stagnant.⁴⁶

Racial and housing conditions changed at a slower pace in New City than in the Lawndales, but the effect of change has taken a profound toll on the community. This area, which was virtually all white, experienced replacement of whites by Mexicans and African Americans. As of 1980, New City was 36 percent Hispanic and 22 percent African American. Housing in the area has decreased by 13 percent. New City lost the stock yards in 1971. Today no major industry has replaced the yards. Unemployment rate in the area is 12 percent; furthermore, one-fifth of the families in the area live in poverty.⁴⁷

West Englewood has grown in population. African American residents reached 98 percent in 1980, but housing construction in the community after 1930 declined tremendously. In 1960, housing deterioration and abandonment became noticeable. Competition for existing housing in the area has led to overcrowding, while signs of building abandonment and home foreclosure during the 1970s were common. In 1980, unemployment in West Englewood was 20 percent; moreover, 30 percent of all families in the area lived in poverty.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Ibid., 85.

⁴⁷Slayton, "Community Area 61: New City," 159.

⁴⁸Annie Ruth Leslie, "Community Area 67: West Englewood," 172.

Like West Englewood, Englewood steadily increased in its African American population during the 1940s. Irish, Germans, and Swedes steadily left, and African Americans reached 11 percent in 1950, 69 percent in 1960, 96 percent in 1970, and 99 percent in 1980. Although the population of Englewood reached 97,000 in the 1950s, only two percent of Englewood's housing was built after 1940. Demolition of deteriorating buildings during the 1950s for city projects such as construction of the Dan Ryan Expressway continued to decrease available housing in Englewood. In the last three decades, housing units dropped from 28,000 to 19,000. The possibilities of bank loans for home rehabilitation or insurance protection have become nearly non-existent. Additionally, the unemployment rate in Englewood reached more than 18 percent in 1990.⁴⁹

The Englewood community is also the home of a large young unemployed population. By 1990, 40 percent of its residents were younger than eighteen years of age. Furthermore, 40 percent of Englewood teenagers were unemployed. Additionally, more than half the households with children under eighteen years of age were headed by females. Median family income in Englewood remained among the lowest in Chicago; furthermore, more than 33 percent of Englewood's residents live in poverty.⁵⁰

⁴⁹Ibid., 175.

⁵⁰Ibid.

Washington Park has been 92 percent African American since 1930. By 1970, this area which had been shared with a Jewish population had become 97 percent black. Housing in the area has decreased in the last three decades by 25 percent. Thirty percent of the area's 32,000 residents live in overcrowded housing. In 1990, one-third of its population was under 18 years of age, and 70 percent of the area's homes with children under 18 were headed by females. Unemployment rate reached more than 20 percent, and median family income was slightly less than \$8,200. Almost half of the area's residents live on the poverty level.⁵¹

The southernmost community which produced city truants during the early 1900s is South Chicago. It began to experience neighborhood changes in 1930. Mortality and migration of foreign-born adults and migration of their first generation of American born children paved the way for an increase in Hispanics and African Americans residents to move into core neighborhoods of South Chicago. By 1940, foreign-born and first generation, white Americans had dropped from 11,454 to 1,169 in the area. Steadily, Hispanics occupied the area. By 1980, 39 percent or 18,229 of South Chicago's inhabitants were Hispanics. Furthermore, there were 907 African Americans in South Chicago in 1940. This number increased to 22,000 in 1980. African Americans

⁵¹Annie Ruth Leslie, "Community Area 40: Washington Park," 109.

therefore constituted 48 percent of the area's population in 1990, while whites held steady at 27 percent, and Hispanics comprised the remainder. An 80 percent cut in steel production at the South Works in the 1970s curtailed housing and commercial development in South Chicago. In fact, many South Chicago commercial enterprises dependent on workers' salaries folded, and unemployment in the area reached 35 percent.⁵²

These nine discussed areas produced African American and Hispanic truants and delinquents during the second half of the 1900s. However, like the immigrant, lives of African Americans and Hispanics from the areas were also characterized by poverty.

Englewood is typical of all nine previously cited communities on the south and west sides of Chicago. By 1990, it harbored a population in which as many as 65 percent of all households were headed by African American females, and in which 33 percent of the area's residents were under thirteen years of age.⁵³ Unfortunately, families headed by women have become most frequently situations of poverty in Chicago.⁵⁴ These mothers like

⁵²James A. Walker, "Community Area 46: South Chicago," 125.

⁵³Annie Ruth Leslie, "Community Area 68: Englewood," 173.

⁵⁴Jenny Knauss and Krista Nelson, "Homeless in Chicago: The Special Case of Pregnant Teenagers and Young Parents, Illinois Caucus on Teenage Pregnancy." Paper presented at the Annual Children's Defense Fund National Conference, the

others in Chicago and America are heads of families of approximately 15 million children who lived below the poverty line. Earning a mean income of \$11,400 which was slightly above the 1990 poverty line of \$10,989, female-headed families easily fell into situations of desperate poverty in the nation.⁵⁵

In Illinois, 13.7 percent of its population lived below the poverty line by the 1980s; many of this number lived in Illinois' urban centers.⁵⁶ From south and west side communities, many families living in poverty produced a new dependent and delinquent population emerged. These dependents and delinquents were from families which were troubled by unemployment, minimum wage, and decreased availability of low-income housing units. Furthermore, these dependents and delinquents were Chicago's new truants. In 1914, the Bureau of Compulsory Education examined its records and cited these same entities, lack of adequate wages and adequate housing, as causes of truancy. Furthermore, continued investigation by the bureau found that poverty among Chicago's low-income children was the cause of school truancy.⁵⁷ Today, the relationship between

Shelton Committee Washington, D.C. (March 11-13, 1987), 1.

⁵⁵Census Bureau, quoted in William Neikirk, "Americans Now in Poverty," Chicago Tribune (Monday, September 27, 1991), 18.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Sixtieth Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1914, 418.

poverty and truancy has not changed. However, currently poverty has not forced the low-income child into employment; it has frequently placed him among the homeless. Therefore, a new truant population of homeless children has emerged in Chicago and other urban areas.

The homeless truant is the homeless child of compulsory education age. These truant children comprise 23 percent of Chicago's homeless population. They emerge in two categories. That is, 20 percent of homeless children enter homelessness with their families; and 3 percent of homeless children are unaccompanied youth. The latter are pushed out or runaway from their home.⁵⁸ Both categories spend time living on the streets of Chicago. This homeless population of Chicago joins a national population which has been argued by federal and local agencies to extend from 368,000 to 3 million.⁵⁹ Regardless of debate over the number of homeless within the nation, Chicago Coalition for the Homeless and other local agencies argue that on any given night within the city approximately 40,000 homeless individuals may be found on Chicago's streets.⁶⁰ Composition of this homeless population is diverse, but 40

⁵⁸United States Conference of Mayors, A Status Report on Hunger and Homelessness in America's Cities: 1990, by Laura DeKoven and Lilia M. Reyes, December 1990, 26.

⁵⁹National Alliance to End Homelessness, Housing and Homelessness, Washington, June 1988, 11-26.

⁶⁰Leslie Baldacci, "One Missing Check-and Her Family Is Homeless," Chicago Sun-Times (Wednesday, 21 November 1990), 3.

percent are homeless families. Furthermore, the homeless family has usurped the single man's position as being the stereotypical example of homelessness in America.⁶¹

In Chicago, the greatest portion of the homeless population has emerged from south and west side communities, areas which are heavily populated by African Americans. From these sites, a homeless population in which three-fourths of the families are headed by single parents has appeared; furthermore, African Americans comprise 75 percent of Chicago's homeless.⁶² Homeless families are coming from the nine cited communities of the south and west sides which previously produced truants from immigrant and low-income families.

Children who are members of homeless families are included within the definition of homeless individuals. They are defined by the federal government as "unable to secure permanent shelter"; on the other hand, the Illinois General Assembly defined the homeless youth as "persons found within the State who are under the age of 21, are not in a safe and stable living situation, and cannot be reunited with their families."⁶³ Regardless of which definition is cited, homeless children are a population

⁶¹United Conference of Mayors, A Status Report on Hunger and Homelessness in America's Cities: 1990, 25.

⁶²Ibid., 26.

⁶³Illinois H. B. 3477

without permanent housing.

Acquisition of permanent housing is dependent on availability of rent and mortgage money and availability of affordable housing. This unavailability of funds and housing correlated with reasons why Chicago families lose housing.

- . 64 percent of homeless families were dependent on public aid for income;
- . 60 percent of these families lost housing as a result of a reduction or lost welfare check;
- . 30 percent left home because they were on the verge of eviction;
- . 32 percent lost housing because of rent increase; and
- . 23 percent lost housing because their buildings were condemned by the city.⁶⁴

Other situations which produced homelessness for Chicago children include family circumstances in which parents or guardians suffered from mental illness, substance abuse, unemployment, poverty or lack of adequate income, spousal abuse, and other family problems. Also noted was the fact that homeless families experienced a combination of all of the preceding problems.⁶⁵

Additional economic problems contributed to susceptibility to homelessness. Children in families

⁶⁴Chicago Institute on Urban Poverty, Travelers and Immigrants Aid, "Promises Made, Promises Broken... The Crisis and Challenge: Homeless Families in Chicago," 3.

⁶⁵United States Conference of Mayors, A Status Report on Hunger and Homelessness in America's Cities: 1990, 33.

supported solely by minimum wage, Social Security benefits of disabled or deceased parents, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) enter homelessness with their parents or guardians. Parents of these homeless families are usually single females. Profiled, these mothers were 27 years old, and they suffered from mental illness or substance abuse. They had two or three children who were generally under six years of age. Furthermore, these mothers usually had been recipients of AFDC.⁶⁶

AFDC supported 96 percent of children in female-headed families in 1988. "Section 403 (a)(1) of the Social Security Act specifies the federal matching share for AFDC benefits expenditures. The federal share varies among states, ranging from 50 percent to 79.6 percent Currently, on average, 55 percent of each AFDC benefit dollar is paid by the federal government and 45 percent is paid by the state some of which requires local government to share cost."⁶⁷ It is the most widely used public relief for children; however, it has been unable to sustain many of those families and children for which it was designed to provide shelter and other basic needs. This inability may be attributed to the ambiguous language which was used to

⁶⁶Jonathan Kozol, Rachel and Her Children: Homeless Families in America (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1988), 5.

⁶⁷Carmen D. Solomon, Cash Welfare Funds and Homeless Families with Children, Report prepared for Congress, Congressional Research Service (23 March 1988), 12.

levy monetary grants, and it may be attributed to the amount of grant which is allocated to the assisted family.

The Social Security Act of 1935 of which AFDC is a part, uses the phrase "standard of need" to provide federal cash allocations to states to aid families with dependent children. States then assign a dollar value to "standard of need." However, neither the Social Security Act nor the AFDC section contains a definition of "need" nor a definition of "standard of need". Hence, "standard of need" expressed in dollars for provision of basic food, lodging, medical care, clothing, fuel, utilities, personal care items, and household supplies is at the discretion of each state within the Union.⁶⁸ As a result, states such as Mississippi provide AFDC grants of \$60.00 per month for a family of four, while others, such as New York provide \$600.00 per month for the same number. Overall, AFDC declined in payments by 56 percent between 1969 and 1980.⁶⁹ Food stamps, a component of the consolidated needs standard, also plunged in value by 16 percent.⁷⁰ As a result of this decline, by 1990 Illinois families of four received monthly

⁶⁸Ibid., 19.

⁶⁹Ellen L. Bassuk, "Homeless Families: Single Mothers and Their Children in Boston Shelters", Paper presented at Homelessness: Critical Issues for Policy and Practice Conference, 25-27 March 1986, vi.

⁷⁰Krauss and Nelson, Homeless in Chicago, 4.

grants of \$414 in currency and \$322 in food stamps.⁷¹

These families were among those who lost housing as a result of a decline or lost welfare check.⁷²

The unemployed and the minimum wage earner also joined the publicly subsidized family in homelessness during the 1980s. These individuals also were not able to meet financial obligations associated with food, clothing and housing. In some Chicago communities, unemployment reached 35 percent. but mortgages, rents, real estate taxes, and utility fees rose at a faster pace than minimum wage (\$4.25 during the 1980s) and public assistance. In fact, between 1970 and 1980, mortgages in the United States rose by 120 percent, from \$210 to \$463 per month; and median rents rose by 30 percent. Cash grants from AFDC for housing costs did not keep pace with rents and mortgages in American cities and rural areas. For example, in 1986 New York and Michigan rents were 48 and 64 percent higher than the AFDC allocation for shelter for a family of three in these states.⁷³

Inability of public aid recipients to meet housing costs has caused lost of housing by subsidized families in America, particularly in all nine previously identified areas of Chicago. Moreover, among American renters, low-income

⁷¹Chicago Department of Human Services, AFDC Program, Attachment I: Determination of Eligibility and Level of Assistance, 1 January 1991, 2.

⁷²"Promises Made Promises Broken," 33.

⁷³Solomon, Cash Welfare Funds, 20.

individuals who could least afford to pay rents and mortgages paid most for housing. Ethnic and economic breakdown in the nation's housing picture illustrated that African Americans paid most for housing; that is, African Americans paid an average of 79 percent of their income on housing. They were followed by lower socio-economic whites and Hispanics who average 74 and 69 percent of their income on housing, respectively.⁷⁴ As a result of these statistics, America's housing picture revealed that half of the nation's renters paid nearly seventy-five percent of their annual income on housing.⁷⁵

In addition to lack of adequate funds to defray the cost of rent and mortgage, much of the lost of housing and homelessness must be attributed to a decline in the number of available low-income housing units. Between 1981 and 1986, federally supported low-income housing dropped from \$28 billion to \$9 billion.⁷⁶ Additionally, urban redevelopment and the associated decline of "flop houses" of the one room skid row hotel character decreased housing opportunities for minimum wage earners and public aid recipient.⁷⁷ In 1989, eight million low-income families

⁷⁴Knauss and Nelson, Homeless in Chicago, 4.

⁷⁵Kozol, Rachel and Her Children, 12.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷United States Conference of Mayors, A Status Report of Hunger and Homelessness in America's Cities: 1990, 33.

competed for four million housing units within the nation. "Literally no one [was] building new low-income housing units in the United States".⁷⁸

Chicago also experienced a decline in available low-income housing. Twenty low-and middle-income Chicago communities lost a total of 101,582 homes and apartments between 1970 and 1990. Areas hit most severely were concentrated in African American neighborhoods on the west and south sides.⁷⁹ Specifically, East Garfield Park (46.9 percent), Washington Park (43 percent), and Woodlawn (41 percent) lost nearly half of their housing units in the last 20 years. Other areas which have joined declining neighborhoods of the 1980s are Englewood (33 percent), West Garfield Park (39.8 percent), North Lawndale (38.1), Grand Boulevard (36.8 percent), Oakland (23.8 percent), West Town (20.4 percent), and West Englewood (19.6 percent). Moreover, by 1990 Chicago's 42,900 African American homeowners and 96,800 African American renters lived in structurally deficient housing.⁸⁰

While loss of housing has been the result of unemployment, cuts in federal grants, and mortgage and rent increases, it may also be attributed to unique situations

⁷⁸ Harold Hodgkinson, "Reform Versus Reality," Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. 73, (September 1991), 11.

⁷⁹ Patrick T. Reardon, "Housing Loss Alters Face, Future of City," Chicago Tribune, sec. 2, 2 December 1991, 1.

⁸⁰ Knauss and Nelson, Homeless in Chicago, 4.

from which families were unable to recover. These situations included displacement as a result of accidental or intentional fires; conversion of rental units to expensive condominiums; withdrawal of city services from an area to decrease area population and ready land for redevelopment; conversion of residential property to nonresidential property, such as football stadiums or convention centers; demolition of residential property and redevelopment as higher-priced residential quarters, gentrification; and government "eminent domain" action.⁸¹ As a result, in Chicago nearly half a million units of low-income housing disappeared annually from 1975 through the 1980s.⁸² Aggravated by increased recession and unemployment in the late 1970s and early 1980s, excessive housing costs and ever-decreasing housing units catapulted thousands of individuals into desperate poverty and eventual homelessness.

Complicating the situation of the homeless was a new conservatism among the American voters. Vexed by periods of recession and inflation and tax burdens during the mid-70s and 80s, middle class Americans permitted former President Ronald Reagan's "trickle down" economic theory to establish a conservatism within the nation. The notion of self-help

⁸¹Chester Hartman, Housing: Part of the Homeless Problem, Paper presented at the conference, Homeless: Critical Issues of Policy and Practice, 25-27 March 1986, 8.

⁸²Knauss and Nelson, Homeless in Chicago, 4.

entrenched itself in mainstream America. The slogan "lift yourself by your boot straps" connoted self-help to the American public. This became evident as Social Security Disability Insurance and Supplemental Security Income, which assisted the physically disabled and mentally ill, dropped approximately 350,000 from its rolls by 1985. Similarly, cutbacks in Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) coupled with "substantially reduced housing assistance programs for the poor" produced cutbacks in public assistance grants and housing allowance.⁸³

Although the 1980s was a period lauded for its excesses as described in pop music such as Madonna's "Material Girl" and designer gowns loaned and donated to former first lady Nancy Reagan, many Chicagoans did not share the creature comforts of the era. Adult unemployment rates of 12 to 18 percent and an adolescent unemployment rate of 40 percent existed in south and west Side communities when unemployment reached 7 percent nationally.⁸⁴ Moreover, to 40,000 Chicagoans the 1980s represented a period in which poverty had become feminized and more families and children were homeless than at any other time since the Depression of 1929.⁸⁵

⁸³Nancy K. Kaufman, Politics of Homelessness: Summary of Homeless Program (Massachusetts: Executive Office of Human Services, 1985), 304.

⁸⁴Annie Ruth Leslie, "Community Area 68: Englewood," 175.

⁸⁵Walker, "Community Area 46: South Chicago," 125.

Changes in family structure created opportunities for homelessness. Increases in single-parent families were due to an increase in divorce rate, to women's choice of separate households, and to a decline in marriage but an increase in births of children to unmarried women.⁸⁶ These conditions have increased single, female-headed families, and they have increased the number of children in poverty. Between 1960 and 1982, the number of African American children living with one parent rose from 30 percent to 60 percent: for whites the number rose from 7 percent to 15 percent.⁸⁷ In 1990, "20.6 percent of [American] children-- or 13.4 million--lived in poverty." This percentage may be broken down to illustrate a poverty rate in which 15.9 percent of white children, 44.8 percent of black children, and 38.4 percent of Hispanic children lived in poverty by 1990.⁸⁸ Projection to the year 2000 indicates that the number of families headed by women will be increased at five times the rate of two-parent families.⁸⁹ Also, projected

⁸⁶Henry W. Thurston, The Dependent Child: A Story of Changing Aims and Methods in the Care of Dependent Children (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), 38.

⁸⁷David Ellwood and Mary Jo Bane, "Family Structure and Living Arrangements Research Summary of Findings," Report prepared for U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, Grant No. 92A-82, found in Homelessness: Critical Issues for Policy and Practice by Ellen Bassuk, 1.

⁸⁸William Neikirk, "Americans Now in Poverty: Young Are Hit Hardest in First Drop Since '83," Chicago Tribune, (Friday, 27 September, 1991), 18.

⁸⁹Bassuk, Single Mothers and Their Children, introduction.

for the year 2000, is the notion that forty-five percent of whites and eighty-seven percent of African American children will have spent part of their life in a one parent household. That parent has been most frequently the child's mother. Unfortunately, children within female-headed families are prime candidates for homelessness and, of course, truancy.

Lacking vocational skills, mothers of female-headed families have a tendency to be low wage earners, and they spend substantially less on their children than two-parent families spend on their children. Fifteen million single mothers earned an annual salary of approximately \$11,400 in 1988, which was \$1000 above the poverty line, while the average family income of a two-parent family with children was over \$34,000 annually. Additionally, women who worked earned 52 percent of the dollar when compared to salaries of men. Furthermore, single working mothers who earned the meager salary of \$11,000 in 1988 were among those who were employed in a low-income, unskilled service jobs, jobs most frequently held by the urban homeless.⁹⁰

Current investigations into incomes and financial situations of female-headed families have produced data which indicates that poverty in America has become feminized. Chicago, like other cities, presents a profile of homelessness in which female-headed families are losing

⁹⁰ Ibid.

housing as a result of unemployment, ineffectiveness of minimum wage at paying escalating rent and mortgage costs, cuts in various forms of federal and local government assistance, and a decline in the number of low-income housing units. As a result, homeless children find themselves in precarious situations characterized by struggles for survival.

Children are devastated by homelessness. Few families are left intact. Family shelters, that is, shelters for a husband and his wife and their children, do not exist in Chicago. First, sheer luck and excellent and persistent social work by DCFS staff may produce transitional shelter space for a wife and children; however, husbands are separated from their families. Furthermore, boys eleven or older must be transferred to overnight shelters for men. For small, young boys, overnight shelters have been situations of gang rapes and drug abuse. Transitional shelters for men do not exist in Chicago.⁹¹ Those children who are of compulsory education age miss school. Homeless children who do attend school transfer to a different school after 90 or 120 days as their stay at an area shelter comes to an end, and mothers and children are told by shelter administrators that they must find housing elsewhere.

Shelters are considered emergency housing. They are

⁹¹United States Conference of Mayors, A Status Report on Hunger and Homelessness in America's Cities: 1990, 33.

designed to be and they are called transitional living situations. That is, shelters are designed with the intention of transferring families to a permanent resident and independent living. As its immediate goal, transitional shelter creates a mailing address for residents which enables the family to receive AFDC grants or General Assistance. Within three or four months, shelter residents are expected to have accumulated enough savings through cash grants and food stamps to rent an apartment and provide for themselves and their children. Unfortunately, security deposits, escalating rents and lack of available housing do not permit this ideal situation to occur in Chicago. Therefore, a move from one shelter to another after 90 or 120 days is usual for mothers with children. In fact, it is mandatory. Accordingly, it is not unusual to discover that a homeless child has passed through 10 or more foster homes or shelters during his homeless experience.⁹² These shelter children are the lucky homeless of Chicago. The unlucky homeless child lives in abandoned buildings, on back porches, or in cars.⁹³

In Chicago, a conservative estimate of the homeless

⁹²McCourt and Gwendolyn Nyden, "Interview of 258 Women at Six Chicago Shelters," June 1989 through February 1990, transcripts on file at Oakton Community College, Des Plaines, Illinois.

⁹³Congress, Congressional Research Service, Homelessness and the Federal Response, 1987-1991, by Ruth Ellen Wasem, 91-500 EPW, 4.

student population lies between 7,000 and 10,000 children.⁹⁴ Those homeless children who attend school find themselves identified and stigmatized as "shelter children." Their lives are characterized by lack of routine and the sense of security which routine creates. Their behavior is characterized by displays of regressive behavior or behavior problems which manifest themselves in "nightmares, crying, clinging" behaviors of children under stress.⁹⁵ Moreover, at an early age, violence and poverty become a part of the lives of homeless children. Thirty-one percent of Chicago's shelter mothers cite domestic violence as the immediate cause of their homelessness. Moreover, of those children who shuttle between Chicago's nineteen transitional shelters, hotel/motel facility and foster homes, violence, and physical, sexual, and emotional abuse are not strangers.⁹⁶

Absence of permanent, secure shelter in Illinois has been construed as neglect within the judicial system.⁹⁷ Hence, children whose parents cannot provide shelter are referred to the Cook County Juvenile Court by DCFS. These children are formally listed as neglected according to the

⁹⁴Chicago Public Schools, Education of Homeless Children and Youth (Chicago: Chicago Board of Education, 1991), 1.

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Rob Karwath, "Child-welfare Reforms Ok'd," Chicago Tribune, sec. 2, 30 August 1991, 7.

⁹⁷Ibid., 3.

Cook County Juvenile Court's definition of neglect. In the meantime, DCFS placement for homeless children in order of preference includes placement with relatives, in foster homes, and in shelters for children. When DCFS supervises a child, the child is financially supported by the State of Illinois although he may be placed with relatives. Adolescents are most frequently placed in motel/hotel situations under supervision of staff hired by DCFS.⁹⁸

While in the care of DCFS, neglected children are under supervision of juvenile court. Juvenile court does not permit parent-child separation for more than 18 months. Within this period, a decision on whether an abused or neglected child should be returned to the custody of his parents or remain a permanent ward of the state is mandated. Unfortunately, shortages of judges in the Cook County Juvenile Court permit DCFS to break this federal law.⁹⁹

The preceding discussion predominantly involves children who enter homelessness as members of a family. They are legally truant as a result of twenty consecutive days of absences from a city school. These previously discussed children are usually under fourteen years of age. On the other hand, equally important are homeless youths. Illinois House Bill 3477 defines homeless youth as "persons aged 20 and under who cannot be reunited with their

⁹⁸Ibid., 7.

⁹⁹Ibid.

families, are not in a permanent living situations, and lack housing and the skills to legitimately support themselves."¹⁰⁰ Children involved within this definition are those who have separated themselves from their parents, guardian, or custodian.

This second group of homeless truants are a category unto themselves. They are generally fourteen years of age and older: teenagers on city streets. Unlike shelter children, homeless teenagers are not attached to a two-parent or female-headed family, nor do they solicit the services of transitional shelters. In fact, "the homeless adolescent dislikes shelters because it is a situation [along with parents and other adult supervision] that he sees as not allowing him to grow up. He perceives shelters as 'rules' dominated."¹⁰¹

Homeless youths are identified by the circumstance which rendered them homeless. Accordingly, the Governors' Task Force on the Homeless has provided several categories and descriptions of homeless youths. Among the first is the missing child. This child is under seventeen years old; and his whereabouts are unknown to his parents, guardians, or custodian. Second is the runaway youth. He is also a child

¹⁰⁰Gordon Johnson, Final Report: Governor's Task Force on Homeless Youth, Gordon Johnson, Director, Illinois Department of Children and Family Services, 3 September 1985, 18.

¹⁰¹Robert Gatson, "Children in Poverty and Homelessness," Lecture and Discussion presented at Chicago Children's Museum, 10 December 1991, 5:30-7:00 p.m.

under seventeen; however, he is absent from home without consent of parents, guardian, or custodian. Third is the sexually exploited youth. This child is twenty and under and a victim of sexual exploitation, which includes prostitution and pornography. Fourth are thrown-away or pushed-out youths. These individuals are persons twenty and under who have no parental or institutional home. Unlike the preceding youth, the thrown-away or pushed-out child has left or been urged to leave home with the full knowledge and consent of his parents or legal guardian. Finally, the last of the homeless youth are the pregnant teenager and the teen mother. These young women are under age twenty; they are pregnant or they have children. The Governor's Task Force on Homeless Youth of 1985 estimated the number of homeless youth in Illinois at 21,535. Within this group, nearly 7900 of these children had become homeless as a result of rejection by their families. Secondly, 9000 were sexually exploited while on the streets; and 7000 girls had become pregnant or were teen mothers. Finally, 3900 were under age eighteen. Chicago streets have become homes for 4000 of Illinois' homeless youths.¹⁰²

Overall, common circumstances of homeless youths are their inability to be reunited with their families or guardians, their inability to find secure, permanent living situations, and their lack of skills which would enable them

¹⁰²Knauss and Nelson, Homeless in Chicago, 1.

to legitimately support themselves.¹⁰³ Furthermore, homeless youths like many homeless children, are not attending school.¹⁰⁴

Situations of homeless children in Chicago are the same as those of homeless children in all American cities. Family unemployment, low wages, cuts in publicly funded programs, and diminished availability of low-income housing have greatly impacted on America's poor and produce a massive homeless population. During the early 1900s, truancy for purposes of employment was the solution to poverty. Currently, employment for the homeless truant is unavailable. Economic problems and serious personal crises have catapulted low-income families into becoming the fastest growing category of the homeless in America. Unfortunately, situations of poverty unique to women and to minorities have placed female-headed families, particularly low-income, African-American female-headed families, in positions in which they are prime candidates for homelessness among the urban poor. These low-income families can be found in the same south and west side neighborhoods from which the immigrant truant came during the first fifty years of the 1900s.

Currently, Chicago's truant children are still among the economically poorest of the city. However, within this

¹⁰³ Johnson, Final Report, 18.

¹⁰⁴ Education of Homeless Children and Youths, 1.

truant population, the most dismal situations of homeless is the homeless children. Lacking an address, the homeless child is invisible to truant officers and Chicago Public Schools. Additionally, shelter, food, and clothing may be the truant child's immediate concerns; however, noted in their behavior were displays of regressive and/or aggressive behavior. In children as young as five these behaviors are believed to be their means of coping with feelings of "extreme disaffiliation and disconnection from supportive relationships and traditional systems that are designed to help [them grow into self-sufficient adults]." ¹⁰⁵

Feelings of uncertainty and insecurity within the homeless child are aggravated by environments in which respect and self-esteem are earned through violence. ¹⁰⁶

Early 1900s children met these feelings of isolation from mainstream Chicago society with truancy and delinquent acts. For the low-income immigrant and the American born child of the early 1900s, truancy from home and school was the usual first indication of disaffiliation from mainstream Chicago society. Shortly followed by petty stealing, truancy stopped when the child was apprehended by the police and returned to his home after a delinquent petition was

¹⁰⁵ Bassuk, Single Mothers and Their Children, 4.

¹⁰⁶ "Family Violence Signals Ignored," Chicago Tribune, sec. 1, 17 August 1989, 3.

filed in Juvenile Court.¹⁰⁷

Today, homeless children have replaced immigrant and low-income whites as the greater portion of Chicago's truant population; tomorrow, homeless children are nearly certain to be the greater portion of Illinois' criminal population.¹⁰⁸ If the homeless child is to become a part of mainstream Chicago society, then a program which includes multi-dimensional services involving housing, health, and education must be created. Annual escalating rates of homelessness at conservative estimates of 25 percent foreshadow escalating numbers of lives characterized by cycles of poverty, violence, and ignorance.¹⁰⁹ The homeless child will not disappear from Chicago streets; he will become a homeless adult.¹¹⁰ An educational plan which provides homeless children and youths with communication and vocational skills must emerge in Chicago schools if dependency and delinquency is to be successfully combated. Contemporary Chicago, like medieval Europe and colonial America, must acknowledge its role as civic guardian of the poor. Provision of an education with moral, economic, and

¹⁰⁷Shaw, Delinquency Areas, 55.

¹⁰⁸Rob Karwath, "Study Links High Dropout Rate to State Prison Overcrowding," Chicago Tribune, sec. 2, 30 July 1989, 4.

¹⁰⁹National Coalition on Homelessness, Comprehensive Homeless Assistance Plan (Chicago Department of Human Services, 1989), 1.

¹¹⁰Johnson, Final Report, 16.

vocational dimensions is vital to effective education of dependent and delinquent children of Chicago. Federal regulations through the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act (Title VII-B) have begun to lead the way.¹¹¹ Local programs of Chicago must supplement federal programs of housing, health, protection and education for the poor.

¹¹¹Susan Schilmoeller and Kare Spar, Homelessness: Overview of the Problem and the Federal Response. Report prepared for Congress, 24 November 1987, Library of Congress, 29.

CONCLUSION

A common school education for Chicago children whose lives and environmental conditions deviated from children found in conventional Chicago schools has emerged as the results of a series of state and local laws. Inclusion of the phrase, "all children," in Illinois laws dealing with education was a notion brought to the Illinois Territory by easterners who wished to relocate their ideas on education and religion within the area west of the Ohio River. Bringing with them the Ordinance of 1785 and mandating the Enabling Act of 1818 in the Illinois Territory, Illinois legislators set the stage for educating all Illinois children, among them, dependents and delinquents.

Finding that eighteenth century methods of apprenticeship, indenture, and binding-out exhibited grave flaws and realizing that housing dependent and delinquent children in almshouses, poor houses, houses of refuse, jails, and prisons were inadequate in molding Illinois' dependent and delinquent population into economically independent, enlightened, self-determining adults, Chicago administrators and educators gradually removed dependent and delinquent children from public warehouses and provided

common schooling to all children in institutions which were administered and supervised by civil authority.

Rising tides of European immigrants, and to a lesser extent, relocated African Americans, prompted state and city legislators within Illinois to produce mandates which indicated methods that would control an ethnically diverse population within the state. National and local civic unity facilitated national and local harmony and unity.

Recognized by legislators as the means of achieving civic unity, common schools of Illinois were called into action to provide institutionalized instruction to Illinois citizenry. If an educated citizenry were to be produced in Illinois, then state mandated education was warranted.

Initiated by the compulsory education law of 1867, school attendance eventually was extended to 180 days per year and compulsory attendance to age sixteen. As a result of compulsory education laws, child labor was curtailed and Illinois children were officially notified by civic authority, truant officers or policemen, that school attendance was mandatory.

By 1899, compulsory education and child labor laws had found a voice in social reformers who sought removal of children from hazards and life threatening conditions in Chicago factories and stockyards. Members of Chicago's Woman's Club and Chicago's judicial system utilized compulsory education and child labor laws to force dependent

and delinquent truant children into city classrooms. Other social advocates also utilized Illinois laws which guaranteed and enforced the right to an education to enroll African American and immigrant children in common schools of Chicago.

Investigations of urban crime and school attendance became instruments that indicated the direction which laws and programs of instruction should take in Chicago common schools. Educational studies, particularly those of Chicago School Board President Haven and Superintendent Lane, lent credibility to implied social rewards of educating all children of the city. Noting the probability that an uneducated population was socially dangerous, inferences made from New York City crime reports illustrated that least educated individuals were most likely to become morally corrupt, socially irresponsible, and financially dependent on society. Accordingly, a profile of Chicago truants emerged which described them as morally weak and economically poor. Followed by Superintendent Lane's examinations of school enrollment and attendance data, speculations that twenty-five to thirty-five percent of Chicago students left school by third grade was plausible. A link between lack of education and crime was made, and fear of the social and economic impact of crime on the city of Chicago prompted civic and social leaders to advocate stricter compulsory education laws and to monitor daily

attendance of Chicago school children. This association of illiteracy with crime prompted Illinois legislators and Chicago administrators and educators to action. Legislation which would impact on attendance of dependent and delinquent children in Chicago was the instrument used to curtail Chicago's truancy and to educate deviant children.

This curtailment of truancy emerged in two parts: The Juvenile Court and the Parental School Acts of 1899. Together these acts indicated the directions which Chicago Public Schools should assume in identifying, committing, and educating the city's children who required special supervision and special programs of instruction. Through the Cook County Juvenile Court, deviant children became classified as dependent, delinquent, or criminal. Through the Parental School, Chicago educators attempted to mold deviant children into self-determining, financially independent, and morally and vocationally astute urban citizens.

Within Chicago, special schools and special programs were founded to accommodate juvenile court rulings and the Parental School Act. A call for truant or custodial schools, as stipulated by the Parental School Act, mandated creation of the Chicago Parental School by the Chicago Board of Education. Proving to be an emulation of German and French reform schools, the Parental School of Chicago presented boys and girls with a course of study that touted

the redeeming qualities of nature as these qualities manifested themselves in vocations associated with farming and the domestic arts. Furthermore, all aspects of the Parental School's organization and procedures exemplified the philosophy that reform of deviant behavior was possible through supervision, christian principles, family bonding, farm work, and industrial education.

The Parental School of Chicago was only the first attempt by common school educators of Chicago to provide a structured educational environment to the city's growing deviant population. When the Chicago Parental School could not accommodate escalating numbers of Chicago truants and classroom incorrigibles, truant rooms were called into play. Fusing curriculums of vocational training and academics used in conventional common school classrooms with the Parental School's curriculum which was derived from eastern models of reformatories and training schools, Chicago educators addressed rehabilitation of deviant students.

Although cited as motivated by good intentions, the truant room curriculum was criticized by Richard T. Crane, Jane Addams, and Edwin D. Cooley. Overall, these educators and social advocates indicated that education in the early 1900s was not meeting the needs of city children. Addams saw common school curriculums as alienating immigrant children from their parents and their ethnic culture and with producing conflicts between the old culture and the new

culture, conflicts which she implied led to deviant behavior and delinquency. Crane viewed the curriculum as out of step with industrial growth in Chicago. Furthermore, Cooley concurred with Crane as he attributed the absence of sixteen through eighteen year old students from Chicago schools to curriculums which lacked meaning and realism. Cooley feared that the common school curriculum included neither needs nor interests of adolescents, particularly adolescent boys. Alienating nearly fifty percent of common school students (boys), lacking inclusion of aspects of realistic industrial skills, and unable to be of interest to Chicago children, common school curriculums of Chicago Public Schools encouraged classroom misbehavior, truancy, and school dropout in Chicago's dependent, delinquent, and classroom incorrigible population. As a result, truancy and deviant behavior flourished.

As a program which inculcated an understanding of basic industrial skills, manual training was cited as capable of preparing the child with abilities to earn a living, to respect labor, to be self-supporting, to learn that self-support was noble, and to disrespect the easy going, self seeking life of morally corrupt individuals. Furthermore, educators added an ethical aspect to manual training: students were encouraged to develop an understanding of the history and social value of their chosen vocation and its valued place in society. Work, as

perceived by Chicago educators, was a noble experience. Contributions by Crane and curriculum revisions by general superintendents produced curriculums which included basic industrial skills in common school classrooms, provided continuation schools and special programs for adolescents (sixteen through eighteen), and presented instruction in civic and practical aspects of urban life to the foreign child. As a result, a fusion of intellect with social values of work was venerated when industrial training dominated the common school curriculum of deviant children of Chicago during the first five decades of the twentieth century.

Always central to education of deviant Chicago children was the notion that they should assume a role of self-determining, morally astute, economically independent adults. However, education of deviant students did not keep pace with sophisticated technology which appeared during the mid-1950s. Noted as the Atomic and Space Age, technology of the 1950s and 1960s left hands-on manipulation of simple tools of industrial training classes in Chicago schools in the dark ages. Industrial technology which developed as a result of research during World War II and the Korean Conflict had very little in common with farm studies or domestic arts. Furthermore, social and economic changes in Chicago included growth in the city's minority population.

Always growing in Chicago was the African American and

Hispanic population. They increased in numbers as Chicago simultaneously experience white flight to the suburbs of Caucasian, increased female-headed families, scarcity of safe, affordable housing, decline in jobs requiring unskilled labor, lack of an appropriate pool of technically skilled professionals, school segregation, and racial tension.

Economic disparity between skilled and unskilled laborers, professionals and non-professionals, and whites and blacks of Chicago appeared in the socio-economic background of deviant students who were ushered by truant officers and juvenile courts into truant rooms, custodial schools, and reformatories. Most frequently offsprings of parents who belonged to the lowest socio-economic level of Chicago society, children who displayed deviant behavior continued to populate custodial schools. For example, Montefiore and Moseley Special Schools which specialized in programs of instruction designed to rehabilitate deviant behavior reflected an established pattern of attendance by economically poor students who were in need of custodial care and special programs of instruction. However, by 1950 minorities (African American and Hispanics) and poor whites displaced children of foreign-born parents in membership Chicago schools and programs which provided service to deviant students.

Settling in low income housing in Chicago areas which

previously sheltered immigrants, relocated economically poor whites, African Americans, and Hispanic families were confronted with, baffled by, and subjected to social and economic problems of the city similar to those wielded which foreigners experienced fifty years earlier. Slum areas on the south and west sides of Chicago collectively called "the Ghetto" festered with elements of poverty during the 1960s. Remaining constant in profiles of truants and delinquents, poverty was aggravated by racial prejudice in the behavior of minority children. Described as exhibiting the severest behavior problems, Chicago custodial school children were generally described as maladjusted and in need of special education. Accordingly, by 1975, custodial schools such as Montefiore and Moseley began to specialize in categories of special education. Truancy had lost its position as prime reason for referral to special schools and specials programs of Chicago Public Schools. Deviant behavior, maladjustment, labelled a multiplicity of maladies which truant officers and juvenile court assigned to Chicago schools.

Gradually appearing in Chicago schools were a new category of special children, a truant whose address was non-existent and whose whereabouts was elusive. Children who fell into this category, homeless, brought new skills to those duties and responsibilities associated with the job of truant officer. Frequently invisible in Chicago society, homeless children have forced truant officers who seek their

enrollment in school to develop skills similar to those of police detectives and psychiatrists.

Exhibiting social and economic problems that were typical of other low income neighborhoods within the city, Englewood and Lawndale have held the greatest concentration of Chicago children who are homeless truants. Characterized by abandoned and dilapidated housing, low income and unemployment, single female-headed families, and an overall population dominated by children under eighteen, Englewood and North and South Lawndale schools witnessed the emergence of truants who were members of homeless families.

Unable to channel energies into labor as a result of inadequate skills and escalating local and national unemployment, situations of desperate poverty promoted homelessness among thousands of Chicago families. According to Chicago Board of Education reports, estimates of seven to ten thousand homeless students within Chicago families is a conservative number. Moreover, guaranteed a common school education by the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act (1987),¹ education of the new truant, the homeless child and the homeless adolescent, has become a civic responsibility as the pauper and delinquent child has been since the eighteenth century. As the 1785 Ordinance and

¹Susan Schillmoeller and Karen Spar, Homelessness: Overview of the Problem and the Federal Response. Report prepared for Congress, 24 November 1987. Library of Congress, 29.

the 1818 Enabling Act of Illinois initiated civic responsibility for education of dependent and delinquent children and the 1899 Juvenile Court Act enforced access to common schooling for deviant children in Chicago, the McKinney Act authorizes state grants to implement a local plan which assures that homeless children receive access to public education.²

Emulating the medieval European and the American colonial course of action, civic responsibility designed to diminish growth of a large economically dependent population remains the position held by state and local administrators of Illinois during the decade of 1990. However, education of deviant students in Chicago has remained associated with programs of instruction which have failed to keep pace with meeting students' needs. Specific programs of instruction designed to meet psychological and social needs of truant, delinquent, and homeless children and adolescents do not exist in Chicago common schools.

If Chicago educators are serious in meeting federal guidelines which are specifically designed to alleviate truancy, dependency, and delinquency in the growing homeless population of school age children, then the following recommendations should be addressed:

.Children living in temporary shelters or other transitional housing should not become pawns in fights between neighborhood schools or districts as they

²Ibid.

determine which is responsible for the child's attendance and education.

- .Homeless children and adolescents should not be arbitrarily placed in classrooms without provision of resources to meet their special emotional and social needs.
- .Programs and tracking similar to those which are provided to special education students with perception or behavior disorders should become part of the program of instruction of homeless children and adolescents.
- .Specific teacher training designed to recognize and remediate the affects of homeless on the child should be provided to classroom teachers of homeless children.
- .Family counselling, vocational training, medical care and related support services should be provided to families of homeless children to break the family's cycle of poverty and the child's deviant behavior.
- .Programs of instruction with moral, social, and economic dimensions should be provided to homeless adolescents (runaways and throw-aways) who have become part of the street culture.
- .Services provided by truants officers, social workers, and other professionals who administer to truants and other deviant students of Chicago schools should not be among the first cut during annual disputes over budget conflicts.

Chicago cannot afford to negate or ignore the existence of its escalating truant, delinquent, and dependent population. The existence of dependent and delinquent children is not an anomaly. Nineteenth century civic administrators realized that society had a moral obligation toward the poor and the deviant, an obligation which if not met manifests itself as a multiplicity of financial burdens on society. Investigative research into various aspects of poverty has produced data which

corroborates a strong relationship between illiteracy, violence, and crime. It appears that if appropriate programs which address Chicago's dependent and delinquent population are not provided, then the city's obligation to this population will become an economic one with expensive programs involving housing the criminal and the emotionally unstable and relief or welfare subsidies.

Additional research into Chicago's history of educating deviant students and provision of appropriate programs of instruction for truants, dependents, and delinquents is needed. Furthermore, provision of support services to families of truants, dependents, delinquent, and homeless children is an area which requires further investigation.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Jacqueline J. BuFord has been read and approved by the following committee:

Professor Gerald Gutek, Co-director
Loyola University Chicago

Professor Michael Perko, S.J., Co-director
Loyola University Chicago

Professor Joan K. Smith
Loyola University Chicago

The final copies have been examined by the co-directors of the dissertation and the signature which appear below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 19, 1993
Date

18 April 1993
Date

Gerald S. Gutek
Co-Director's Signature

M. Perko
Co-Director's Signature