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A Study of Social Adjustment Education in Chicago, 1929-1981

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A STUDY OF SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT
EDUCATION IN CHICAGO,
1929-1981

by

Mary Ann Pollett

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the School of Education
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Education

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1982
This study chiefly focuses on social adjustment education as it evolved through the Montefiore Special School. In 1929, the Montefiore was established as the Chicago Public School System's first non-custodial day school designed to prevent juvenile delinquency by providing a "special education" for "problem boys," particularly truants and those considered to be incorrigible. In this study, however, social adjustment education is viewed and defined on the basis of a particular evolutionary perspective that antedates Montefiore and reflects overlapping conceptual schemes. More specifically, social adjustment education is viewed as a diverse combination of concerns, attitudes, and altruistic, as well as selfish motives, evolving from the interaction between and within social forces (i.e., social systems). In Chapter I, the contributions of Hull-House (representing social settlements, generally) and the Chicago Woman's Club to the child welfare/compulsory education and juvenile court movements are viewed as socio-historical origins of social adjustment education. These efforts resulted in the first Juvenile Court in the United States and the Chicago Parental School, a custodial/residential school established by the Chicago Board of Education for truant children. The establishment within the school system of the Departments of Compulsory Education and Child Study and Pedagogic Investigation (the latter, the first of its kind within a public school system) are also examined and viewed as a corollary of
the evolution of social adjustment education. Chapter II addresses the socio-educational forces which contributed to the establishment of Montefiore as a "special school." The roles of various individuals and the influences/factors affecting those roles are examined; particularly, the roles of superintendent of schools, William J. Bogan and Edward H. Stullken, principal of Montefiore between 1929 and 1960. In Chapter III, the Montefiore is viewed as the school system's "laboratory school" (if not "child guidance clinic") for the study and treatment of children with a variety of handicapping conditions that contributed to their maladjustment in regular schools. The theoretical influence of Henry C. Morrison to the internal organizational structure and educational program are addressed. In Chapter IV, the educational work of the school is seen as contributing to and paralleling the evolution of special programs for a wide range of exceptional children, including incarcerated youth. The establishment of branches for boys and girls, as well as the incorporation of custodial and correctional institution school programs as branches, are examined. Chapter V addresses the changes in direction and scope of social adjustment education at Montefiore under three men who served as principal between 1960 and 1981. The impact of state and federal legislation, as well as judicial decrees, on programs for socially maladjusted children and behavior disordered children is also examined. In Chapter VI, the author provides a summary of the study and concludes by examining changing public and professional perspectives on the truant, incorrigible, delinquent child.
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While innumerable individuals shared their personal histories, records and files, the author is particularly grateful to the late Edward H. Stullken; Lawrence J. Casey; Mrs. Helen Sloan; Mrs. Marcella Nell; and, Mrs. Florence Anderson, office secretary to the Chicago Woman's Club.

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Finally, the author acknowledges the late E.F., K.C., K.M., T.B., amongst others, who contributed to her understanding of the "socially maladjusted" child.
VITA

The author, Mary Ann Pollett, is the eldest of two daughters of the late Howard E. Pollett and Millicent (Micetich) Pollett. She was born December 24, 1943, in Chicago, Illinois.

Her elementary and secondary education was obtained in the public schools of Chicago. She graduated from William Rainey Harper High School in January, 1962. In February, 1962, she entered Northern Illinois University majoring in political science with a minor in history. She completed her studies in January, 1966, and received the degree of Bachelor of Science in Education in June, 1966. While attending Northern Illinois University, she was co-founder of the Young Democratic Club and served two terms as president (1962-1963). In 1964, she was elected president of the Young Democratic College Clubs of Illinois and served as chairman of the Illinois Youth at the 1964 Democratic National Convention. In 1965, she was elected president of the Political Science Club.

In February, 1970, she began graduate studies at the International Graduate School, University of Stockholm. In August, 1970, she entered Roosevelt University majoring in educational administration and supervision and in September, 1971, received the degree of Master of Arts. Accreditation for further studies in elementary education and special education was awarded in 1973 and 1974 by Northeastern Illinois University and National College of Education.
She has participated in seminars, workshops, and conferences sponsored by the Illinois Council for Exceptional Children, Phi Delta Kappa, the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, and other professional and community organizations with which she is affiliated. In 1974, she served on the Chicago Teachers Union Special Education Advisory Committee, "Socially Maladjusted - Emotionally Disturbed." In August, 1978, she was a delegate to the Third World Congress of the International Sociological Association held in Uppsala, Sweden, participating in "sociology of education," "mental health," and "deviance and social control" research committees. Over the last twelve years she has traveled to more than twenty-five countries in Europe, Asia, North and South America, where she visited various types of schools.

During the last fifteen years, she has taught regular and special classes at the kindergarten through junior college level in suburban and Chicago public schools. One of her class discussions was selected by Cook County Superintendent of Schools, Nobel J. Puffer, for broadcast on WBEZ, January 29, 1967. She has worked at the Montefiore Special School since March 27, 1972, as classroom teacher, adjustment teacher, registrar, and evaluation and placement counselor.
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INTRODUCTION

This study will chiefly focus on social adjustment education as it evolved through the Montefiore Special School. The Annual Reports that Mr. Edward H. Stullken compiled and submitted to the Chicago Board of Education during his tenure (1929-1960) as principal of Montefiore (and, subsequently, its branches and most of the custodial/correctional institution schools) will be the primary historical sources for the study during those years. However, social adjustment education will be viewed and defined on the basis of a particular evolutionary perspective that antedates Montefiore and reflects overlapping conceptual schemes. More specifically, the conceptual framework draws upon the ideas of Mary J. Herrick, George S. Counts, and Robert J. Havighurst, et al. The early reports were bound in the Crafts Laboratory; later, when a Print Shop was opened, they were printed and bound by Montefiore students. Only one report of a similar nature to Stullken's "Annual Reports" was submitted after 1960. This was a "Special Report" compiled and submitted in September, 1961 by Stullken's successor, Mr. Harry Strasburg. However, other data will be examined to trace the evolution of social adjustment education at Montefiore to the present time. See Chapter V.


Central to this study are two socio-historical sources and the concept of evolutionary social systems. Although Mary Herrick only briefly mentions Montefiore, her work illustrates the significant contribution made by individuals and groups to the evolution of the Chicago Public School System. This study will also examine the significance of "the community" in the development/evolution of social adjustment education. George Counts treats the period just prior to the establishment of Montefiore. Counts' conceptualization of "the play of social forces upon the school" is also considered as a sociological method of analysis. In developing this study, the concept of a "social system" was also employed as a method of sociological analysis. The conceptualization of "social forces" is closely associated with the concept of a "social system." As noted by Havighurst, et.al.:

A social system may be studied as it exists in a particular moment in time. But it may also be studied as it has existed through time, for what that system is today is determined not only by the conditions now influencing it but also by the characteristics it has acquired previously. Social roles and social constellations are not static; they evolve....

In this context, social adjustment education can be perceived as a special type of education transmitted through a particular type of socio-educational system. As is true for all social systems, this educational system has distinct "roles" and "constellations of roles." Social adjustment education--and more specifically, its crystallization in the Montefiore Special School--can also be perceived as a "sub-system" of a larger, more inclusive system (i.e., its "parent-body"), the Chicago Public School System. This school system, too, by its nature,

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5 Ibid., 20.
reflects yet other "roles" and "constellations of roles" which interact, and at times conflict, with those of its sub-system(s). In addition, the school system, as an institution of society, can be perceived as necessarily interactive with social systems external to itself (i.e., other socio-political institutions, civic and welfare organizations, commercial and business groups, the media, etc.). It is in this process of interaction between and within social systems (or, social forces) that the development/evolution of social adjustment education can be examined.

What is social adjustment education? At the least, it is a diverse combination of concerns, attitudes, and altruistic, as well as selfish motives. This "confluence of forces" has manifested itself in such a way, over a period of time, that it created an "institution" within the Chicago Public School System. This institution is "the Montefiore."

To people in Chicago during the last fifty-two years, the Montefiore has meant and represented various things. To some it is a "cause," to others a "hope;" and to still others a "threat;" a "punishment," a "reform school;" a "dumping ground." Why all these conflicting perspectives? What kind of a "reform school"? What kind of education? What was this "confluence of forces" that produced the Montefiore and

6 A rather poignant example of this type of conflict occurred during the 1930s when the McCahey Board of Education attempted to eliminate many school programs, including the Montefiore. See Chapter IV.
began a new "era" in social adjustment education? Why are social adjustment programs today struggling for survival and a "new" sense of purpose?

These questions will be addressed in the course of this dissertation.
CHAPTER I

THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT EDUCATION

During the last quarter of the 19th century, various reform movements began to reflect a change in the attitudes and sociological orientation of their members. Early efforts of "reform" had focused on the individual whose "sinful" activities were seen as the primary factors in producing the problems of society. Hence, rejuvenating individuals by encouraging them to repent of their evil ways was the goal of many civic and religious reformers. However, the increasing complexity of society as witnessed by industrialization, the rapid growth of city populations reflecting diverse racial, ethnic, linguistic, and religious compositions, compelled a new assessment of humanitarian efforts to correct the mounting social problems. Crime, disease, and poverty were eventually perceived as problems reflecting basic inequities in society at large, as well as, the "sinfulness" (i.e., lack of "moral adjustment") of

7Significantly, the 1870 National Congress on Penitentiary and Reformatory Discipline officially adopted "rehabilitation" as the goal for imprisonment--"restoring a person to useful life" rather than simply punishing him or trying to engender repentant feelings in him. It was a revolutionary concept reflecting the changes in moral temperament re. crime and punishment during the 19th century. See: Kathryn Watterson Burkhart, Women in Prison (New York: Doubleday, 1973), 249-258. Current research, however, indicates that attitudes regarding policies and programs of the corrections process (of which social adjustment programs in juvenile divisions are a part) have significantly reverted to a stricter retributive posture. See: Donald H. Bouma, "The Pendulum Swings from Rehabilitation to Punishment," USA Today, 109, No. 2422 (July, 1980), 54-57.
individuals. Thus, humanitarian efforts began to be directed toward changing certain institutions of society, as well as reforming or rehabilitating individuals. Significantly, Chicago—with its diverse immigrant population, struggling to rebuild after its devastating fire in 1871—provided fertile ground and gave impetus to this evolving philosophy of the reformers.

The "idea," reflecting the twin concepts of "reforming society and its institutions" and "rehabilitating individuals," was exemplified in the activities of a variety of 19th century reformers whose activities evolved, diversified, and continued into the 20th century. However, two "groups" (i.e., "social forces," "systems" reflecting the "role," "constellation of roles" conceptualization) emerged from the late 19th century that made a significant contribution to the development (evolution) of social adjustment education: Hull-House (HH), representing social settlements generally, and the Chicago Woman's Club (CWC).

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10 Mark Haller, "Urban Vice and Civic Reform: Chicago in the Early Twentieth Century," Cities in American History, ed. Kenneth T. Jackson and Stanley K. Schultz (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1972), 290-305. The application of "twin concepts" is this writer's, employing and adapting Duis' phraseology. See: Duis, op. cit., 60. (Relatedly, the twin concepts of "limited government" and "civil liberties," which evolved from the signing of the Magna Carta in 1215, could be viewed as theoretical roots.)
Hull-House and Jane Addams synonymously symbolize a type of social work which embraced education and a commitment to the democratic process. The settlement concept, "cross-bred" in the fertile ground of Chicago, evolved from a confluence of forces which, at least in part, reflected: culture shock, a search for personal identity and worth, and a desire to put theory into practice.

Jane Addams' exposure to the East London slums in 1883 left an impact on her which she poignantly reflected on some twenty-seven years later:

I carried with me for days at a time that curious surprise we experience when we first come back into the streets after days given over to sorrow and death; we are bewildered that the world should be going on as usual and unable to determine which is real, the inner pang or the outward seeming.

The experience of human despair she observed stayed with Addams during the next two years she traveled abroad; and no doubt, thereafter. She returned to Europe in December, 1887 with two friends she had known at Rockford Seminary (later to become Rockford College), Ellen Gates Starr and Sarah Anderson. In May, 1888, after a period of serious "soul-searching" during their travels, she discussed a plan with Starr which would bring them both to Chicago in January, 1889. After discussing their

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13 Anderson was an instructor at Rockford who had befriended Addams and Starr. See: Allen F. Davis and Mary Lynn McCree (ed.), Eighty Years at Hull-House (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), 18.
plans, Addams and Starr left Paris in June--Starr for Italy and Addams for a residence at Toynbee Hall. 14

Toynbee Hall, founded in 1884 and considered to be the first social settlement, was named for Arnold Toynbee, a respected British historian and noted reformer. The settlement was located in the midst of the East London slums and was operated by students from Oxford and Cambridge who lived there. Other "students," like twenty-eight year old Jane Addams, came for varying residence periods to live and learn settlement work. The residents worked with children and their families providing whatever assistance they could. They also offered their impoverished neighbors a variety of recreational activities and educational programs. 15 Rather significantly (relative to this study's "confluence of forces" conceptualization), these were the same slums that were depicted in the social novels of Charles Dickens: Oliver Twist (1838) and David Copperfield (1850). These novels helped to inspire philanthropic efforts in the East London slums by a contemporary of Dickens, a wealthy Orthodox-Jew by the name of Sir Moses Haim Montefiore. 16

14 Addams, op. cit., 85-90. Also see: Davis and McCree, op. cit., 15-23.

15 Addams, op. cit., 113-121; Davis and McCree, op. cit., 19; Duis, op. cit., 61-69.

When Jane Addams left Toynbee Hall, her plan was already evolving. In January, 1889, she and Ellen Gates Starr began their life's work in Chicago. With the advice and assistance of people from the upper socio-economic strata in Chicago, local missionaries, newspapermen, and truant officers from the Department of Compulsory Education (Chicago Public School System), Addams and Starr found a building at 335 S. Halsted Street, near the intersection of what was then Blue Island Avenue, Halsted and Harrison Streets. The house, which already had a history of its own, was leased free to Addams and Starr and eventually given to them (along with adjacent property). There they established their settlement and named it Hull-House in memory of its original owner, Charles J. Hull.  

The establishment of Hull-House in September, 1889 (and subsequent settlements, reportedly 68 providing services by 1920) drew the focus of many social reformers toward the problems of the city's congested slums. Although HH and other settlements attracted a diverse breed of reform-minded men and women, "the residents in the early

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17 Addams, op. cit., 91-94; Davis and McCree, op. cit., 19-23; Glabb and Brown, op. cit., 240-241.

18 Other notable settlements were Northwestern University Settlement (1891), the University of Chicago Settlement (1894) founded by a former resident of HH, Mary McDowell, and Chicago Commons (1894) founded by Graham R. Taylor, a Congregationalist minister from New York. Taylor and his daughter, Leah, became staunch supporters of Edward Stullken and the Montefiore. See Chapters II and III.

19 Duis, op. cit., 64.

20 A remarkable list of some HH residents of readily identifiable stature can be found in: Davis and McCree, op. cit., 6, 21-22. Also see: Frances Hackett, "Hull-House: A Souvenir," in Davis and McCree, op. cit., 71-76.
settlements were in many cases young persons, who had sought relief from the consciousness of social maladjustment in the 'anodyne of work' afforded by philanthropic and civic activities."21 The residents, or "settlement workers," provided a multitude of social services to the impoverished, largely new immigrant populations which by 1890 comprised "79 percent of Chicago's one million people." (emphasis mine)22 By 1910 Chicago's population had doubled (and by 1930 it would reach three million) and the problems of the inner-city areas simultaneously increased.23 Settlement workers aided families by going into homes where some form of assistance was required. Kindergartens were started, day-care nurseries, classes and clubs for children, young people, and adults which, over the years, expanded in variety and scope. An attempt was made to appeal to, learn from, and educate, acculturate the diverse racial, ethnic, religious, and linguistic sub-cultures which comprised the inner-city areas. Importantly, settlement workers conducted extensive surveys and studies of the problems and conditions which

21 Addams, op. cit., 177.

22 Irving Cutler, Chicago: Metropolis of the Mid-Continent (2nd ed.; Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., under the auspices of The Geographic Society of Chicago, 1976), 40. Also see Chapter 4, "People and Settlement Patterns," 39-71.

23 The problems existing in the congested inner-city areas in Chicago (and other cities) is examined in: David Ward, "The Emergence of Central Immigrant Ghettoes in American Cities, 1840-1920," Jackson and Schultz, op. cit., 164-176. Also see: Glabb and Brown, op. cit., Chapter 6, "Transformation and Complexity: The Changing City 1860-1910," 133-166; and, see Appendix I for Jane Addams' poignant description of the environment and immigrant population HH served on the Near West side (all three locations of Montefiore would be in relative proximity to HH).
existed in the areas they served. Together with other civic and social/welfare groups, they agitated for changes in the law which would compel governmental institutions to be responsive to the needs of the depressed sections of the city. Many of the settlement workers directed their attention to the employment of children in various industries. They advocated child-labor laws which would diminish, if not eliminate, industry's exploitation of children. Concomitantly, they also became the staunch supporters of legislation that would require the compulsory attendance of children to attend school.

Thus, of particular concern to the settlement workers, who were intimately aware of the cultural influences of the various immigrant groups in their neighborhoods, were the children. Immigrant children, in particular, like their parents, inevitably experienced "culture shock" upon entering a new country and settling in a city (itself undergoing the processes of urbanization). Although customs and traditions, religious teachings and beliefs, were transported along with the immigrant populations, the new social environment inevitably produced some degree

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24 Similar studies and surveys were conducted by "Field Adjustment Teachers" at the Montefiore in the 1930s. See this writer's examination of the "Delinquency Prevention Project" in Chapter IV.


26 A HH resident, Mrs. Florence Kelley, was in the forefront of this movement and became the chief inspector of the first Illinois Bureau of Factory Inspections. Another HH resident, Alzina P. Stevens, was another prominent leader in the child-labor law/compulsory education reform movement and became the first probation officer appointed by the Judge of the first Juvenile Court established in Cook County. For an intimate historical perspective see: Florence Kelley and Alzina P. Stevens, "Wage Earning Children," Davis and McCree, op. cit., 45-50.
of dysfunction in thinking and behavior. The public schools, the primary institution of the new society to which children would be exposed, were simply not prepared or equipped to afford "equal opportunity" to all of the new immigrant children (nor to those who had emigrated from the Southern states to Chicago). This factor, combined with transplanted cultural concepts of the value of "schooling" (or, the lack of it), as well as, institutional reluctance to affect the prevailing "status quo" (especially re. child-labor laws and compulsory education statutes), sustained a vacuum within which children could be readily manipulated by environmental forces over which they had no control and less understanding. The result was often manifested in truancy, incorrigibility, and delinquent associations leading to delinquent and criminal activities. Settlement houses provided an


29 A juvenile who turned to delinquency rather than HH, some of the reasons why, and shortly before Montefiore opened, is related in a semi-autobiographical story about Rocco Marcantonio (who grew up in the West Taylor Street area) in: John Landesco, "The Story of a Gang Member," Davis and McCree, op. cit., 163-169. Also see: Frederic M. Thrasher, The Gang, A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927). Rather significantly, Thrasher views delinquency as a product of environmental factors, i.e., social and economic factors contribute to decisions relative to participation in delinquent activities. See in particular pp. 409-451. Relatedly, Sutherland has postulated that "differential social organization" exists in those "ecological environments" which have traditionally been considered socially disorganized (i.e., inner-city, ghetto areas)—especially re. delinquent groups and associations. See: Edwin H. Sutherland, "Theory of Differential Association," Giallombardo, op. cit., 81-83.
alternative to the confusion, disillusionment, and hopelessness children often experienced in their neighborhoods and in the local schools. There they could learn skills, not taught in the local schools, which provided opportunities for successful accomplishment and a sense of self-worth. Those children who chose to participate in settlement activities were exposed to a "special education" that evolved out of the settlement workers' own educational backgrounds and the learned needs of the communities they endeavored to serve. In addition, many of the classes and programs that were successful (e.g., manual training programs, art classes, home-making courses) were eventually incorporated into the Chicago Public Schools through the efforts of reformers like Jane Addams—who served as a member of the Board of Education for a time, and chairman of its School Management Committee. Hull-House and other settlements may not have "socially adjusted" all those children who entered their doors, but they no doubt helped many to continue their education and aspire for a better life.

One group that included many women reformers such as Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr was the Chicago Woman's Club (CWC).

The CWC was founded in 1876 by a group of women who had participated in

Shaw and McKay also discuss "differential systems of values and organizations" in various communities in Chicago in the 1920s and present a number of case histories to illustrate why some boys chose delinquent associations over other activities (e.g., participation in settlement activities). See: Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas (1969 rev. ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), 170-189.

Jane Addams was also a member of Superintendent Bogan's School Advisory Council/Sub-Committee on Juvenile Delinquency which (combined with other "forces") formulated plans for the first non-custodial, social adjustment day school in Chicago: the Montefiore.
various literary, social, and religious organizations. Its first president, Carolyn M. Brown, had expressed the need for an organization of women in Chicago which would "take up the lively issues of the day." From its beginnings, the CWC reflected a core membership of women from the upper socio-economic strata in Chicago (e.g., doctors, lawyers, teachers, Shedd, Halsted, Henrotin, Sherman, Sears, Ward). They joined together to "secure the highest standard of individual culture and of service to the community." Significantly, the club adopted as their "motto" the words by Terrance: "Humani nihil a me alienum puto." Their early leaders were influenced by the role many women performed in England; actively participating on school and civic boards which were concerned with problems affecting children and the poor. Its leaders were also inspired by women in the forefront of American reform movements. One of the first women to address the club was Julia Ward Howe, an early abolitionist, suffragette, author ("The Battle Hymn of the Republic"), and the president of the Association for the Advancement of Women. Later, the leader of the woman-suffrage movement, Susan B. Anthony, was a guest speaker; and, Clara Barton, who gained national recognition for her service as a nurse during the Civil War and organized the American National Committee which evolved into the American branch of the Red Cross. These women and a multitude of eminent specialists (including such prominent educational

31 George Counts has referred to the CWC as "the pioneer woman's organization in the city," although (important to this study's "evolutionary systems" conceptualization) the "impetus" for the CWC came when the Fortnightly Society was founded in 1873. See: Counts, op. cit., 207; Annals of the Chicago Woman's Club (Chicago: Chicago Woman's Club, 1916), 12-15. Also, cf. n. 38 infra.

32 Ibid., 16. 33 Ibid., 15.
leaders in Chicago as William Rainey Harper and Ella Flagg Young) addressed the club membership on social, political, and educational topics and gave impetus to the direction and "work" of the club.

At its inception, the club women organized themselves into four committees (which later evolved into Departments and various subcommittees) to do their work: Home, Education, Philanthropy, and Reform. It was felt that "timid souls who feared that woman might get outside her sphere could surely not object to serving in the interest of the home. Mothers would all take a lively interest in education; all good church workers might lend a hand to philanthropy, and the unterrified would gravitate toward reform." Thus, the club endeavored to appeal to a variety of women and their diverse interests; but, more importantly, the club would offer a means by which women could acquire the skills necessary to prepare themselves for practical work in the civic life of Chicago. In fact, it became a matter of policy for CWC members to hold positions in various other organizations, agencies, and institutional bodies (some of which had their origin from within or through the activities of the CWC's committees), largely due to the influence of Mrs. Lucy L. Flower. As the club's principal benefactor and chairman of its Probation Committee (1900), Mrs. Flower "believed that philanthropic

34 "Nothing human is alien to me." 35 Annals, op. cit., 16.

36 The Probation Committee evolved into the Juvenile Court Committee in 1902 under the leadership of Julia Lathrop; and, subsequently, the JCC evolved into the Juvenile Protective Association. The JPA's leader (1918-1952), Jesse M. Binford, became a staunch supporter of the Montefiore. The evolution of the JCC will be examined later in this chapter.
agencies started by the Woman's Club should separate from it as soon as possible."\(^{37}\) In her annual address to the CWC (March 4, 1891), she reiterated the club's underlying "spirit," while prophetically,\(^{38}\) and, possibly, already cognizant of the conflict within the CWC, appears to admonish the membership:

We should be large enough, unselfish enough to be satisfied with results by whomsoever obtained, not waste our time and strength for an absolutely correct apportionment of the credit of our acts. In most cases the means by which results are obtained are so interwoven that a true division of the credit to be accorded to each would be impossible.\(^{39}\)

Symbolic of the CWC's "spirit," and as a result of its work and investigations relative to compulsory education, a Truant Aid Committee was organized in 1889. Its name was later changed to the School Children's Aid Society. The society provided services to children which would enable them to attend school (e.g., shoes, clothing, etc.). In 1894 this society became formally independent of the CWC.\(^{40}\) The evolution of this

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\(^{38}\)It would appear that Mrs. Joseph T. (Louise deKoven) Bowen became a disgruntled CWC member in the 1920s, possibly reflecting role conflict based on her activities at Hull-House and with the Women's City Club. See: Counts, op. cit., 213-214. This writer disagrees with Counts relative to his assessment of the "role" and "spirit" of the CWC. Rather than perceiving the CWC as a burned out, aristocratic knitting circle in the '20s, research for this study indicates that the CWC was very much alive well into the '30s and '40s. For example, the CWC, through such members as Mrs. William S. (Helen) Hefferan and Mrs. John L. (Margaret) Hancock, continued to make a significant contribution to the Chicago public schools and the evolution of social adjustment education. Cf., Counts, op. cit., 207-209, 212-215; Herrick, op. cit., 234-237. Also see Chapters II and IV.

\(^{39}\)Annals, op. cit., 22. \(^{40}\)Ibid., 142-144, 363; Herrick, op. cit., 65.
committee is characteristic of the way the CWC got projects going, involved others in the community, and eventually separated from those organizations.

Through the work of its various committees, the CWC initiated and supported a broad child welfare movement which resulted in compulsory attendance laws, kindergartens, school lunches, summer school programs ("vacation schools"), and a variety of special classes and programs for children and women. Many members of the CWC were particularly concerned about the dependent and delinquent children who were incarcerated in the Cook County Jail, the Bridewell (city jail), and local police stations. Often these children (some under the age of ten) were arrested for non-criminal offenses such as truancy and running away from home. Others were street-trade kids (i.e., bootblacks, newsboys, peddlers, etc.) and gang members who often became involved in illicit or, at least, socially opprobrious, activities. In February, 1892 the newly-organized Jail

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41 While some boys organized into gangs for jackrolling (i.e., robbing drunks), thievery, etc., others became prey for adult vice. As noted by Haller, op. cit., 292: "It even became the common thing for men wanting boys for homosexual practices to come to the news-alley to get them. Many boys added greatly to their income in this way as well as securing better sleeping quarters for the night. Many of these boys were not even ten or twelve years old." Also see the "story" of Stanley (a case history portrayal) in Clifford R. Shaw, The Jack-Roller, A Delinquent Boy's Own Story (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930). On pp. 184-197, Ernest W. Burgess presents an informative addendum to Shaw's work and examines the environmental and cultural factors which contribute to delinquency. Burgess (who was a professor of urban sociology at the University of Chicago) is noted for his theoretical conceptualization of the "concentric zone theory of the internal arrangement of cities" based on his studies of Chicago. For a discussion of this theoretical model see Cutler, op. cit., 69-71. Burgess' role re. the establishment of Montefiore will be examined in Chapter II.

42 Annals, op. cit., 127-128, 178.
School Committee of the Reform Department obtained permission to establish a school in the Cook County Jail. For the first time, boys between the ages of ten and sixteen were separated from the older boys and men incarcerated at the jail. One of the members of this committee, Miss Florence Haythorn, became the first teacher of these boys. Classes were conducted in the jail corridor outside the cells between 9:30 and 11:30 a.m. and between 15 and 50 boys (averaging 25 for the year) attended those early classes. In the afternoon, Miss Haythorn became a "probation officer," appearing in court with the boys (often accompanied by other members of the committee) and presenting reports based upon her home visits and the school records she kept on each boy. On the basis of the investigations and work by Miss Haythorn, in December, 1892 Mrs. Perry H. Smith (the chairman of the committee) recommended to the CWC that it "establish a manual training school for delinquent and neglected boys." Furthermore, she encouraged the CWC's efforts toward establishing a "juvenile court." These "seeds" were to combine with other forces to produce the first Juvenile Court in the United States (the Cook County Juvenile Court), the Parental School (which would be operated by the Chicago Board of Education as a "custodial institution"), and the John Worthy School (a manual training school operated by the Board of Education).  

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43 Also, one might surmise that Miss Haythorn's investigative reports led to the Board of Education's endorsement of a "citizen's committee" report in 1892, calling for changes in the compulsory education law and more appropriate educational programs for children who, because of parental neglect became incarcerated. See Herrick, op. cit., 65.

44 Annals, op. cit., 125.
Education on the grounds of the Bridewell/House of Correction). 45

After four years of work at the jail school, Miss Haythorn reported that "many people had been awakened to the conditions of unfortunate boys through the school and that the judges had never before been so interested and ready to hear the boys' cases as now." 46 In addition, the court docket had been revised and (based on the "teacher-probation officer" reports) the cases of the boys were heard first by Judge Richard H. Tuthill (who later became the first judge of the Juvenile Court and whose courtroom became known euphemistically as the "Kindergarten Court") and other judges. Two years later, in April, 1898, a joint committee from the Reform and Philanthropy Departments was organized to do probation work with children incarcerated in local police stations. Julia C. Lathrop, a staunch advocate of compulsory attendance laws and a leader in promoting reform of the juvenile justice system, was elected the chairman of this committee. 47 It was common practice for children, who were arrested on the basis of a citizen's complaint and/or police action for some alleged delinquent activity, to be incarcerated in the same jail cells as older boys and men. 48

45 All of the custodial/correctional institution schools, with the exception of the Parental School, would come under Montefiore's aegis while Edward Stullken was principal. See Chapters IV and V.

46 Annals, op. cit., 160.

47 Ibid., 176-177; Anderson, op. cit., 392. An illustration of the "constellation of roles" conceptualization applied to an individual: Miss Lathrop was also a HH resident, a state commissioner of public charities, and in 1912 she became the first director of the United States Children's Bureau.

of these children was well known to the CWC women who had earlier worked
to secure police matrons in the jails, as well as, the separation of
young girls and women from the boys and men. Miss Lathrop and her com-
mittee provided supervised probation for many of these children, often-
times combined with supervised foster placement. They "visited" the
home of the child and his teachers, to see that he was kept in school and
off the street and otherwise guarded and guided." This same method
was applied by a member of the Reform Department in her role as Public
Guardian of Cook County, Miss Mary Bartelme. The children in her care
(often 150) were not always "dependent" children; nevertheless, they
were children destined for institutions and foster homes. Significantly,
Miss Bartelme also had the help of members of a committee assigned to her
from the CWC.

As a result of all the "forces" at work in 1898, a coalition of
settlement workers, club women, and various other civic and social/wel-
fare groups was organized into The League of Cook County Clubs. This coalition agreed to lobby for a bill which would "regulate the
treatment and control of dependent, neglected and delinquent children,"

49 Ibid., 188.
50 Ibid., 193-194, 335. Bartelme served as Public Guardian until
1913, when she was appointed Assistant Judge of the Juvenile Court.
[Cf., IV, n.63.] In 1923, she became the first woman elected judge in
Illinois. For an insightful and inspiring biographical account see:
Mary Bartelme Home for Girls, Mary Bartelme: Pioneer Juvenile Court
Judge (Chicago: Mary Bartelme Home for Girls, undated). Bartelme was
Judge of the Juvenile Court when she served on Superintendent Bogan's
Juvenile Delinquency Committee and helped formulate plans for the
Montefiore. See Chapter II.

51 Anderson, op. cit., 392. 52 Annals, op. cit., 176.
i.e., a juvenile court law; a parental or truant school bill; the removal of boys under sixteen from the jail school to another location on the grounds of the House of Correction (located adjacent to the County Jail); and, the use of "reformatory methods" with juveniles, i.e., probationary services. A year later, in April, 189953 the Juvenile Court Act was passed by the Illinois General Assembly and the Cook County Juvenile Court was established and given jurisdiction over boys and girls under sixteen in the County adjudged to be dependent, neglected, or "delinquent."54 The court was empowered to take custody away from unfit parents and to place a child on probation, in a foster home, or in an institution.55 However, no provision was made for probationary personnel.

53 Illinois Laws, 1899, Sec. 4, 131.

54 The legislation defined a "delinquent" as ""any child under the age of sixteen years who has violated any law of the state or of any city or village ordinance."" (emphasis mine) Illinois Laws, 1899, Sec. 4, 137. For a socio-historical account of the Juvenile Court see: Robert G. Caldwell, "The Juvenile Court: Its Development and Some Major Problems," Giallombardo, op. cit., 355-388. Significantly, the Illinois Juvenile Law was amended in 1965 and again in 1972 and juvenile proceedings have become adversarial in nature. See: Circuit Court of Cook County--Juvenile Division, Questions and Answers About Cook County Juvenile Court (Chicago, 1979). Also see: H. Ted Rubin, "The Emerging Prosecutor Dominance of the Juvenile Court Intake Process," Crime and Delinquency, 26, No. 3 (July, 1980), 299-318; and, cf., V, n.71.

55 The fundamental characteristic of the juvenile court at its establishment was its non-punitive nature, i.e., viewing a child's mal-adjusted behavior as in need of "treatment," with the court acting in lieu of the parent." For a review of the evolution of conflicting juvenile court roles (i.e., the "social agency" and the "legalistic" models) see: H. Warren Dunham, "The Juvenile Court: Contradictory Orientations in Processing Offenders," Giallombardo, op. cit., 337-354. Importantly, the American Bar Association, at its convention in Chicago (February, 1980), again endorsed, after reportedly heated debate, the policy of bringing status offenders (i.e., juveniles who are run-aways, considered "incorrigible," etc., but who have not broken any law) into juvenile court rather than referring them to social agencies.
The CWC's joint committee from the Reform and Philanthropy Departments assumed the probation work for the juvenile court, but under the auspices of a Probation Committee in the Philanthropy Department. Julia Lathrop continued as chairman of the "new" Probation Committee and Mrs. Lucy L. Flower became the chairman of the joint committee, continuing the probation work with children in the police stations. The League of Cook County Clubs agreed to financially support a committee which would provide probationary services to the children going through the court; so, in 1902 the Probation Committee separated from the CWC and became an independent organization: the Juvenile Court Committee.

The Juvenile Court Committee (JCC) continued and expanded its probationary work, established and maintained a detention home (and school) for children awaiting court hearings, and financially supported additional projects going and eventually separated from those organizations they helped to create.

For a critical commentary on the convention and this issue see: "One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward," Institutions, Etc.: Investigative Newsletter on Institutions/Alternatives, 3, No. 3 (March, 1980), 14. Also, for an insightful (and critical) account of the "treatment" too often received by incarcerated/institutionalized children who are status offenders, or have been abused and neglected by parents and become wards of the state, see: Patrick T. Murphy, Our Kindly Parent - The State: The Juvenile Justice System and How It Works (New York: The Viking Press, 1974). Significantly, Murphy was appointed in 1979 by the juvenile court's presiding judge, William Sylvester White, to represent the children he had written about--wards of the court. He was also appointed (1979) by Governor Thompson to the position of Public Guardian of Cook County.

56 Annals., op. cit., 190-191.

57 As noted earlier, Mrs. Alzina P. Stevens (also a HH resident) became the first formally appointed probation officer of the new juvenile court; although, other members of Lathrop's committee assisted in probationary services on a volunteer basis.

58 The evolution of the JCC is another example of how the CWC got projects going and eventually separated from those organizations they helped to create.
court personnel. The JCC also joined with other "reformers" to estab-

lish a federation called the Juvenile Protective League (1906). The JPL
was organized to function as a child welfare body and assist "disorga-
nized families." In 1907, Cook County assumed the probationary
functions of the JCC and the maintenance and control of what today is the
Cook County Juvenile Temporary Detention Center administered by the Cook
County Board of Commissioners (a modern complex located at 1100 S.
Hamilton Street, which also houses the Juvenile Division of the Circuit
Court of Cook County, i.e., the Cook County Juvenile Court). At one
time, this facility was known as the Arthur J. Audy Home--named in honor
of the man who had served as superintendent and died in office. Many
people still refer to the Detention Center as "the Audy." The Detention
Center still contains a school which is operated by the Chicago Board of
Education.

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59 For an historical account of the juvenile court movement and
the functions/activities at the detention home established by the JCC
(by the woman who became chairman of the Detention Home Committee), see:
Sara L. Hart, "Working With the Juvenile Delinquent," Davis and McCree,
op. cit., 131-136. Significantly, Jane Addams was a member of this com-
mittee as was Mrs. William Dummer, the "interested citizen" (not "named"
in the Proceedings of the Board of Education) who provided the financial
means for Edward Stullken to conduct a nation-wide study of social
adjustment programs. See Chapter II.

60 Anderson, op. cit., 392-393.

61 1978 Annual Report of Juvenile Temporary Detention Center
(Cook County, Illinois).

62 See Appendix II for an organizational chart of the present
Cook County Juvenile Court structure.

63 This was the custodial school, though not in the same modern
complex, nor was the old "Audy," that came under Montefiore's aegis
while Edward Stullken was principal. It (and the correctional institu-
tion schools) will be examined further in Chapter IV.
Upon relinquishing its responsibilities to the County government, the JCC took over the functions of the JPL which was beset with organizational problems. Under the leadership of its president, Mrs. Joseph T. (Louise deKoven) Bowen, the JPL established its headquarters at Hull-House and two years later (1909) changed its name to the Juvenile Protective Association. Thus, the nature of the "work" of the JCC evolved from a "reformatory" posture to a "preventative" one. Rather than providing services of a probationary nature—endeavoring to work with children (and their families) after their behavior had brought them into conflict with the law, the JPA's work was now directed toward preventing children from having to be placed under court supervision; a significant evolutionary change which would influence the direction and nature of the work at the future Montefiore, via the "social forces" affecting all concerned.

Thus, while these historical events define the early development of social adjustment education, in a broader sociological sense they reflect the "idea," the twin concepts of "reforming society and its institutions" and "rehabilitating individuals." Both are symbolized in the activities, programs, and "spirit" of Hull-House (and the other

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64 Bowen succeeded Lathrop as chairman of the JCC. As noted earlier, she was a HH resident, as well as a member of the CWC and WCC.


66 Significantly, Jesse F. Binford, who had joined the JCC in 1906, succeeded Bowen in 1918 and served as the JPA's president until 1952. She was a member of Superintendent Bogan's Juvenile Delinquency Advisory Committee and became a strong "ally" of Edward Stullken.
settlements) and the Chicago Woman's Club. The principles and unselfish motives which motivated the settlement workers and members of the CWC gave to the concept of "social adjustment education" a humanitarian social approach in dealing with the maladjusted child. This approach would affect, and at times conflict with, the development/evolution of social adjustment education within the Chicago Public School System.

Social adjustment education in Chicago has from its earliest conceptions been inextricably interwoven with the evolution of the Chicago Public School System and, more broadly, with the evolution of public education itself. Its origins\(^67\) can be traced to the earliest ungraded classrooms, over-flowing with lively children--where a few, largely unskilled, teachers were faced with the enormous task of establishing enough order and discipline to provide a rudimentary education to those in attendance. Given the conditions prevalent in the schools of the 1800s, it is not surprising to find reported cases of physical assaults on teachers by their students, the use of corporal punishment on unruly students,\(^68\) and enormous truancy rates; owing as much to the lack of facilities to accommodate all the children of school age, as to

\(^67\) The work by Mary Herrick provided the socio-historical perspective here, although, the application of the concept of social adjustment education is this writer's. See: Herrick, *op. cit.*, Chapters 1-3 (21-70).

\(^68\) The following quote is representative of the early problems: "Some teachers became bitter tyrants in sheer self-defense. In 1836 one teacher was beaten up by the older boys in his school, and his successor was praised for keeping a stout inch-thick stick in his desk ready for use. Others by genuine good nature and a reputation for fairness won the respect of their pupils and survived....But many teachers never finished the year they started and few returned for a second." *Ibid.*, 28. Also see pp. 29-30 for other illustrations.
During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Chicago school system began to develop (if, haphazardly) policies and programs which would mitigate those problems which hampered the educational process in the schools. Separate rooms were established in schools to segregate those children who were severely disruptive and hindered the instructional programs. In addition, truants who, for a variety of reasons, did not attend school regularly (thereby, falling behind their classmates in academic work—which often led to disruptive behavior) were also assigned to these rooms. "Too often the work in these rooms was unsuited to the pupils enrolled, the teacher was usually one strong in disciplining and of the drillmaster type, and the curriculum was lacking even in the narrow range of materials then usually found in the regular schools." Yet, as early as 1876 social adjustment education was reflected in a "special" form of education for some truant and incorrigible boys. This "special education" was a departure from the traditional academic subjects taught in the regular schools and in the rooms set aside for misbehaving pupils. In the three special truant rooms established by then Superintendent Josiah Pickard, the curriculum was in "slöjd" or "manual training in woodwork." "Slöjd" was an educational idea imported from Sweden; although other European school systems were also providing instruction in manual training. There was some

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69 Herrick points out e.g., that in 1886 there were only enough seats in classes for a third of all the children of compulsory school age. Ibid., 58. The lack of sufficient classroom facilities was a persistent problem well into the 20th century.

resistance to incorporating this form of education in the school system, but the pressures from business and industrial leaders, civic and social groups (especially, e.g., Hull-House which was also providing sloj instruction) encouraged further experimentation and expansion of the "new" form of "practical education."\footnote{Herrick, op. cit., 52, 59; Counts, op. cit., 210. Both authors provide a socio-historical perspective on the "sloj" (or, in the English linguistic adaptation "sloyd"); although, the analysis by Counts deals solely with the activities of the CWC in establishing classes in mission schools. The application of the concept of "special education"/social adjustment education is this writer's. Significantly, the educational work (i.e., half the curriculum at the outset) at the Montefiore would emphasize manual training courses which would appeal to boys (thereby encouraging school attendance and diminishing truancy) and afford opportunities for successful accomplishment in "school work." This emphasis on vocationally oriented work evolved out of superintendent Bogan's interest and background as principal of Lane Vocational High School, Edward Stullken's "research," and other "forces" cited. See Chapters II and III.}

When the first compulsory education law was passed in 1883\footnote{Edith Abbott and Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, Truancy and Non-Attendance in the Chicago Schools (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917), 40-68. (Both authors were HH residents.)} a "system" for the enforcement of the law was created within the Chicago Public Schools: The Department of Compulsory Education. Yet, it would be years—after a succession of new laws raising the mandatory school age, extending the number of required attendance days in a school year, and empowering the prosecution of "indifferent parents"—before enough truant officers were assigned that were able (and willing) to enforce the law to any appreciable extent. The influx of immigrants into the city continually pushed the school enrollment up and the task for truant officers (who were generally political patronage appointees and more concerned with the enforcement aspects of the law) was an immense one.
In addition, as new compulsory education laws went into effect, even more problems were created within the schools. Those children who had seldom gone to school (if ever) and who had known the "freedom" of the streets, found it difficult to adjust to the school environment. Then too, the conditions of poverty and cultural diversity that many of them brought with them to school created problems in the classrooms that teachers were not prepared to understand, or cope.\textsuperscript{73}

The Harper Commission Report (1898), an extensive study of the Chicago schools conducted by a commission under the leadership of William Rainey Harper, the president of the University of Chicago, stressed the need for a more adequate compulsory education law and better means to enforce the law.\textsuperscript{74} Significantly, it also recommended the establishment of ungraded classrooms for children who had problems in the regular classes and had fallen behind in their academic work. In addition, the report recommended that a parental school be established for the segregation and detention of those children who created serious behavior problems.\textsuperscript{75}

By 1899, those socio-educational forces promoting the welfare of children helped bring about two events which made a significant contribution to the development/evolution of social adjustment education:

\textsuperscript{73}Krug, op. cit., Chapter 5 - "Public Schools and the Upward Mobility of Immigrant Children," 79-104.

\textsuperscript{74}It is significant to note (re. this study's confluence of forces conceptualization) that Mrs. Harper was an active member of the CWC--which was in the forefront of the compulsory education/child-labor reform movement at the time.

\textsuperscript{75}Herrick, op. cit., 83-87.
the creation of yet another "sub-system" within the Chicago school system, the Department of Child Study, and a mandate to establish a residential school for truant and incorrigible children. The Department of Child Study and Pedagogic Investigation was established by the Chicago Board of Education to conduct research which would assess the nature of individual differences in children and make assignments to the special, ungraded classrooms recommended by the Harper commission. In its early years, the department's research primarily involved the physical measurements of children including strength and endurance tests, as these were perceived to be related to mental ability. Normative charts and tables were developed on the basis of instruments which measured sensory discrimination (i.e., color, sound, weights of objects, etc.) and the physical abilities of children at different ages. Eventually, psychological tests and normative academic instruments were developed and these were then used as a criterion for determining the assignment of children to special classes (and, eventually, to special schools).

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76 Proceedings of the Chicago Board of Education, 1899-1900 (Chicago, Illinois), 77. Significantly, this was the first department of its kind in the country.

77 As one writer observed: "If you were a 'troubled' child in Chicago's public schools at the turn of the century your head would have been measured and the bumps on it counted—and then, most likely, some stern remedial measures would have been prescribed." Ronald Kotulak, "Schools Child Study Bureau Assists More Than 55,000 a Year," Chicago Sunday Tribune, April 22, 1962, 17. While early tests may appear to be an anachronism today, they did provide much useful information on the developmental growth of children.

78 Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools 1940-1941 (Chicago, Illinois), 391. The Departments of Child Study and Compulsory Education were to become very significant "systems" to the Montefiore.
When the Illinois General Assembly passed the Juvenile Court Act (April, 1899), it also passed the Parental School Act requiring the Chicago Board of Education to provide "a place of confinement, discipline, instruction and maintenance of children of compulsory school age." The compulsory school law (of 1889), in effect at the time, required children between the ages of seven and fourteen to attend sixteen weeks of school—with at least eight consecutive weeks of attendance. By 1903, children in the same age range were required to attend the entire school year which, by law, was set at a minimum of 110 days. Thus, children in Chicago who refused to go to school, or created serious behavior problems when they did attend, were to be committed to a parental or truant school. In January, 1902 the Chicago Parental School was opened by the Board of Education and thirteen boys between the ages of twelve and fourteen were committed. The grounds of the school (which was located at 3600 W. Foster Avenue on the Northwest side of Chicago) encompassed an area of between 60 and 78 acres. By 1906 most of the construction had been completed. There were "cottage homes" (one of


81 Ibid., 86-87; Special Education in the Chicago Public Schools: The Socially Maladjusted (Chicago: Chicago Board of Education, October, 1951), 81-85. Once committed to the Parental School by the Juvenile Court, the length of "sentence" became an administrative decision by the superintendent. In the school's early history, the minimum period was established at four weeks. By the 1913-1914 school year, 58% of the boys remained 4-6 months and 25% remained over six months. Sixteenth Annual Report of the Chicago Board of Education, 1913-1914 (Chicago, Illinois), 382. Comparable figures for 1962-1963 showed a much shorter stay, the median being less than two months. Program for Handicapped and Socially Maladjusted Children Study Report No. 9, 1964 Series (Chicago Public Schools, August, 1964), 144-145.
which would be occupied by girls for a period of time in the Parental School's early history, a hospital facility, a swimming pool, a house for the superintendent, an administration and school building, a five-acre recreational park, and a variety of other buildings. Commitment to the Parental School was made by the judge of the Juvenile Court (Tuthill's "Kindergarten Court") on the basis of a truancy petition filed by truant officers from the Department of Compulsory Education. However, those children of school age who were arrested by the police for various infractions of the law and/or status offenses could also be cited for truancy on an "amended petition." Thus, they too, could be committed to the Parental School. In fact, the first thirteen boys may have come from the Jail School.

As early as December, 1896 the Jail School Committee (CWC) had requested county officials to support two sessions of the jail school

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82 Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools 1938-1939 (Chicago, Illinois), 306. Girls would be committed to the Parental School at varying times during the school's history. The Parental School evolved into the Residential Schools for Boys and Girls and in 1973 came under the control and management of the State Board of Higher Education and Northeastern Illinois University (which purchased the grounds of the school). The residential schools were eliminated in 1975 amidst socio-political/educational controversy and confusion about programs and policies affecting truants, incorrigibles, and delinquents. See: Commission on Truancy and Alternative Education. A report of deliberations, findings, and recommendations. Chicago: June 13, 1975. Also see: Educational Services for Children Task Force. Minutes of the meeting held at the Juvenile Court of Cook County. January 16, 1976. (Mimeographed.)


84 Annals, op. cit., 161, 180.
(which was named the John Worthy School in honor of the husband of a CWC member): one in the morning for boys under fourteen (the mandatory school age) and one in the afternoon for boys between fourteen and sixteen. The county refused due to budgetary considerations (although, in fact, they were saving money with the jail school operation). While the jail school had been restricted to boys under the age of sixteen, after the Juvenile Court Law was enacted (1899) boys under twelve were required to be sent somewhere other than the county jail. This enabled boys over sixteen to enter the school. After the Parental School was opened (January, 1902), later that year, the John Worthy School was opened on the grounds of the House of Correction (the Bridewell/city jail, located adjacent to the Cook County Jail compound). That is, the "name" was shifted from the Cook County Jail (which retained its school and began serving boys over sixteen and, eventually, men) to the new manual training facility established on the grounds of the House of Correction. The John Worthy School/House of Correction school thus became a school for boys too old for Parental, i.e., between the ages of fourteen and sixteen. Therefore, it seems possible that some boys under fourteen at the Cook County Jail School may have been shifted to Parental when it opened in January. 85

When the compulsory education law was amended in 1907, raising the compulsory school age to sixteen, 86 both the John Worthy School and the Cook County Jail School would continue their school programs; but, of

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85 Both the Cook County Jail School and the House of Correction School would come under Montefiore's aegis. See Chapters IV and V.

86 Abbott and Breckinridge, op. cit., 317.
course, now both served boys (and men) over sixteen. The responsibilities of the Parental School were thereby enlarged and soon the facility's capacity of about 200 was reached. The Chicago Public School System was again faced with the problem of what to do with the ever-increasing number of truants and behavior problems. In addition, the school system was faced with growing criticism of its failure to provide adequate opportunities for pre-delinquent children to make a satisfactory adjustment in a normal school environment prior to commitment to the Parental School (and the attendant problems associated with "institutionalization"). Thus, in 1911, the Board of Education established special classes for truants in certain regular schools. 87

Various schools over the next eighteen years were assigned the responsibility for providing a special class (or classes) for truant or mis-behaving children who could not adjust to a regular classroom situation. 88 These special classes were conducted in regular classrooms and at different times referred to as "Industrial Divisions," "Rooms for Truants and Ill-Behaved," "Special Divisions for Boys," and "Truant Rooms." They were ungraded to accommodate the various age groups assigned and they had smaller enrollments than the regular classes. In 1924, the Dante School, located at 840 S. DesPlaines St. (near Roosevelt Road and Halsted Street), became the center for all special classes--


88 Antoinette J. Faucher, "Follow-Up Study of the Social Adjustment of Students Enrolled at Montefiore School During the Period From July 1, 1930 to June 20, 1934," (unpublished Master's thesis, Loyola University, 1936), 4-5. (The author presents a historical perspective on the classes which preceded the establishment of Montefiore.)
except those organized in the Pullman and Thorpe schools, located on the far South side of the city. However, since the Dante was located in an inner-city area (near West side) which had one of the highest rates of juvenile delinquency in the city, many objections were raised relative to sending truants and pre-delinquents to that facility. Thus, in 1927, truant divisions were again dispersed and organized in various schools. As a result of the various social forces operating during the next two years, this policy would be altered in September, 1929 when ten truant divisions were combined to become the nucleus for the first non-custodial day school for truant and incorrigible boys: the Montefiore Special School. Thus began a new "era" in social adjustment education in Chicago.

Rather ironically, however, all three future locations of Montefiore would be in close proximity to the Dante (the current building, constructed in 1960, is located at 1310 S. Ashland Avenue one block from Roosevelt Road). Yet, as will be examined, the sights for Montefiore were rationalized on the basis of providing a facility in the demographic area of greatest need. See, e.g., Shaw and McKay's maps illustrating the distribution of juvenile delinquents in Chicago and the areas ranking highest in juvenile delinquency, Appendixes III and IV. Also see Appendix V for the number of truants who became delinquents during the same period (1917-1923).

These will be examined in Chapter II.
CHAPTER II

A "NEW ERA" IN SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT EDUCATION

To understand, more specifically, the nature of the confluence of forces which produced the "new era" in social adjustment education, we must identify the forces which contributed to the establishment and organization of the Montefiore Special School. These forces are represented in the roles of various individuals and the influences/factors affecting those roles.

William Bogan was always "personally interested" in maladjusted, handicapped children. He and his wife raised three children in Chicago: two girls and a boy. As all parents, they were concerned about the type of education available to their children. Bogan's concern and interest in "problem children" evolved from his role as a father and as an educator.\(^1\) Seven years before his death, he would significantly contribute to

\(^1\) In an interview with this writer, Edward Stullken related that he got to know Bogan quite well (and, one of Bogan's daughters, who he indicated was an Adjustment Teacher at DuSable High School for many years). Stullken disclosed that Bogan's son was mentally handicapped, a "problem" boy. As noted by Morrison: "In a very true sense, every pupil is always a problem, but we commonly restrict the term "problem pupil" to the persistent nonlearner. To analyze his case and find out why he does not learn is also systematic teaching, even though in the end it is disclosed that the pupil is in truth subnormal and cannot learn cultural material." Henry C. Morrison, American Schools: A Critical Study of Our School System (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), 173. Stullken used the word "problem" in this context relative to Bogan's son; and, as will be examined in this chapter (and Chapter III), Morrison's early educational work and writing would influence Stullken and the program for "socially maladjusted, problem boys" at Montefiore.
the establishment of a "special school" for problem boys. The Montefiore managed to survive (and, grow) when--under the political and economic impact of the Depression--many of the other innovative programs he inaugurated in the Chicago Public School System were eliminated as superfluous projects during the 1930s.

A rather ironic interplay of political, religious, and educational factors brought Bogan into the role of superintendent of the school system. Bogan was a Roman Catholic--in fact, he would be the first Roman Catholic superintendent--and that worried a lot of Protestants, especially Masonic people. Yet, his reputation as a fair and just man as well as an outstanding school administrator led some members of the Board of Education to support him for superintendent in 1924. However, William McAndrew was selected and Bogan became the assistant superintendent in charge of high schools. Then, in August of 1927, Bogan was made acting-superintendent in the midst of a controversy surrounding McAndrew--which was largely promulgated by "Big Bill" Thompson, who had recently won a second term as Mayor of Chicago. Due to a technicality regarding McAndrew's contract with the Board, Bogan would not formally hold the position of superintendent until June of 1928. Yet, soon after his appointment, he enlisted the aid and support of innumerable experts from diverse fields to serve on an Advisory Council which would help him

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2 Personal interview with Edward Stullken. Also see, Nelli, op. cit., 193. For an examination of the significant role of religion relative to the Chicago school system (particularly in the 1920s), see: Counts, op. cit., 229-246.
chart a new direction for the school system and for social adjustment education.³

William Bogan was no neophyte to the machinations of the system to which he would devote his professional career. He was a politically astute reformer. Prior to becoming superintendent, he had already established an exemplary reputation as an educator.⁴ He had been a "grass-roots" teacher, then principal, in the inner-city (West side); a principal in the system for twenty-four years; and, an assistant superintendent. He had served as president of the Illinois State Teachers Association and by the time he assumed the superintendency he was well known throughout the system, even by the children. Bogan had also served as president of the Chicago Conference of Community Centers; a role "external" to the school system, but an influential factor which would manifest itself when he became superintendent and established local community-school advisory committees. Early in his career as a principal, Bogan was selected to conduct a study of "special schools" which had been established in other cities for students who had reached the mandatory school age. After he submitted his report, then—

³The political climate in Chicago often had a significant impact on the school system. George Counts' work (undertaken during 1926-27) provides an illuminating socio-historical perspective on the politics of the McAndrew period; see Counts, op. cit. Also see Herrick, op. cit., 166-173, 226, for an examination of the McAndrew controversy which brought Bogan into the superintendency. For an intimate recollection of this period by Edward Stullken, see Appendix VI.

⁴For illustrations of Bogan's various "educational" roles, see: Nelli, op. cit., 192-193; Havighurst, et.al., op. cit., 40-41; Herrick, op. cit., 226.
Superintendent Cooley established the first continuation school in Chicago. Bogan's educational philosophy, influenced by Col. Francis Parker and Ella Flagg Young, was especially embodied in the Lane Technical High School—where he served as principal for many years. Lane's reputation for high standards in vocationally-oriented programs is still recognized. In promoting the academic and vocational programs at Lane, Bogan was adept at not only enlisting support from within the school system, but also from the media. As one individual so candidly phrased it: "We used to say at Austin, you can't pull a toilet chain in the Lane High School without it making the newspapers." Reflective of yet another "role," while he was the principal of Lane, Bogan also found time to supervise over a hundred public school teachers who taught Sunday school classes at Guardian Angel, Santa Maria Incoronata Church.

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5 Cf., I, 11. The child labor/compulsory education law of 1903 required children up to age fourteen to attend school. Those between the ages of 14 and 16 who couldn't read or write were expected to attend a "day or evening school," even if a "work permit" had been issued. In 1907, the compulsory school age was extended to sixteen (unless sixth grade had been completed), with attendance at a "continuation school" required until age 17. The continuation school was intended to prepare those students who chose to leave school with the necessary skills for employment. In 1909, Superintendent Cooley established the first continuation school in Chicago. Subsequently, (part-time) attendance at a continuation school became compulsory for all non-high school graduates under eighteen years of age, if such schools were provided by the local school system. With the evolution of educational programs in Chicago, continuation schools (as such) were phased out. See: Herrick, op. cit., 113, 119, 178; Abbott and Breckinridge, op. cit., 317. In a related context, to be examined later in this chapter, Bogan would appoint Edward Stullken to also make a study of "special schools" which led to the establishment of Montefiore.

6 Personal interview with Edward Stullken. Stullken would learn from (and emulate) Bogan's role as a "good press agent," as will be examined in Chapters III and IV. Also see Appendix XIV.

7 These teachers (presumably all Roman Catholics) volunteered to help provide religious instruction, as well as, acculturate immigrant children. See Nelli, op. cit., 192-193.
Thus, Bogan assumed the superintendency with a diverse educational and administrative background. He was well aware of the diverse forces which impinge upon the operation of any organization or "system." At the final stage in his "life's work," he sought to mobilize and utilize those forces through an Advisory Council whose members reflected many of his own personal and professional concerns.

The Advisory Council appointed by Superintendent Bogan reflected a broad range of civic and social/welfare interests. Many of the members, and the organizations and institutions they represented, had been active participants in ever-evolving public school problems and issues. In fact, some had served on the Board of Education in years past and others had also served in various advisory capacities. A somewhat indirect, though evolutionary line, can be traced from the early League of Cook County Clubs (the coalition organized in 1898, mentioned in the last chapter) to the 1922 Joint Committee on Public School affairs. It was from this Joint Committee that Bogan largely drew his Advisory Council.8

(This Joint Committee would evolve and merge with the Citizens School Committee which, under the leadership of Mrs. John L. (Margaret) Hancock, defended the Montefiore during a crisis period in the 1930s.9 Mrs. Hancock was also the chairman of the CWC Educational Committee which organized and developed the "foster-PTA" idea for the Montefiore--a unique

8 An examination of the Joint Committee can be found in Herrick, op. cit., 233-257; Havighurst, et.al., op. cit., 48. Also cf., p.8, nn.51, 52.

9 Herrick, op. cit., 234, 236. Telephone interview with Margaret Hancock. This issue, reflecting the roles of Hancock, Graham Taylor (founder of Chicago Commons), the media, and the Citizens School Committee will be examined in Chapter IV.
organizational concept in PTA structures. Rather significantly, the Joint Committee included such organizations as the Chicago Woman's Club, the Women's City Club, the Chicago Woman's Aid, the City Club (of which Bogan had been a long time member), the Union League Club, the League of Women Voter's (which had evolved from the suffrage movement), the Settlement House Board, and others. By the 1930s, the Joint Committee's base would broaden to include the Urban League, which would support the first special school for pregnant "colored girls" that opened the same year (1929) as Montefiore, the Association of Colored Women's Clubs, the Church Federation, the Chicago Dental Society, the Conference of Jewish Women's Organizations, the Women's Trade Union League, and others. The Joint Committee functioned in much the same way as the old League in agreeing to promote and support certain common interests; but, of course, those members that agreed to participate on Bogan's Advisory Council had yet other "roles" to perform.

In the Fall of 1928, a critical report of the Parental School and other "corrective institutions" for boys and girls in the state was

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10 The founding of the Montefiore PTA, the nature of its "uniqueness," and its significant role to the evolution of Montefiore and social adjustment education will be examined in Chapter IV and V.

11 This "special school" was a branch of the Douglas School. After eight years of operation, reportedly 222 had attended. See: Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools 1936-1937, op. cit., 263. Today there are four "alternative schools" for pregnant girls (or girls that have become mothers) of all races and nationalities who are of compulsory school-age. One school alone had an enrollment of 632 girls during the 1980-1981 school year. See Chapter V. Personal interview with Mrs. Jean Herron, principal, Theolene Simpson Alternative School for Pregnant Girls. (Herron had been a teacher at the Moseley Social Adjustment School.)
brought into a meeting of the Advisory Council. 12 The "Shaw-Meyers Report" 13 became a focal point of controversy and discussion regarding the role of the school system in dealing with the problem of juvenile delinquency. Bogan appointed a sub-committee of the Advisory Council to study the report and submit recommendations.

The sub-committee, the Juvenile Delinquency Advisory Committee, had as its chairman the Director of the Council of Social Agencies, Wilfred Reynolds. 14 The Council was the clearing-house for the social/welfare and health organizations in the city. It represented a cooperative coalition of groups that were accountable for specific social services. One of the operations that the Council sponsored was the Social Service Exchange. 15 The Council evolved into the Welfare Council of

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12 Personal interview with Edward Stullken.

13 Stullken cited the report and subsequent research led to publications by Shaw (in collaboration with others) with innumerable socio-educational ramifications for this study. The report was incorporated the following year into: Clifford R. Shaw and Earl D. Meyers, "The Juvenile Delinquent," The Illinois Crime Survey, ed. John H. Wigmore (Chicago: Blakely Printing, The Illinois Association for Criminal Justice; 1929), Chapter 14 (645-761). Published the same year and establishing the theoretical basis for later research studies was: Clifford R. Shaw, Frederick M. Zorbaugh, Henry D. McKay and Leonard S. Cottrell, Delinquency Areas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929). Significantly, this work examined the geographic distribution of school truants and male juvenile delinquents in Chicago, as would Shaw and McKay's "expanded" 1942 publication (cf., I, n. 29).

14 Proceedings of the Chicago Board of Education, July 10, 1929 (Chicago, Illinois), 20. Faucher, op. cit., 5, also cites "Director of Council of Social Agencies" but without naming Reynolds. However, it should be noted that her source (here and in other citations to be noted, relative to the composition of the Committee) was a personal interview with Edward Stullken. Stullken did not cite Reynolds in interviews with this writer.

15 The Exchange would be of significant importance to the Field Adjustment Teachers at Montefiore—in their role as "liaison" between the home, school, community and court. See Chapter IV.
Metropolitan Chicago and into, what is today, the Council for Community Services in Metropolitan Chicago. Some of the other members of the Juvenile Delinquency Advisory Committee were:

Isabella Dolton - the Assistant Superintendent of Schools; her family name is still reflected in the name of a South suburban Chicago community; she fought for the establishment of a social adjustment school in the "black-belt" of Chicago's South side: the Moseley (established in 1930); she was demoted to Principal of Farragut High School when the politicians got control of the Board of Education in the 1930s (Kelly-Nash/McCahey-Johnson period).

Jane Addams - the Director and co-Founder of Hull-House; active member of the Chicago Woman's Club; she had been a Board of Education member and had long given service to the school system.

Mary Bartelme - the Judge former Public Guardian of Cook County; an active member of the Chicago Woman's Club; the first woman judge in Illinois.

Charles Hubbard Judd - the Chairman of the Department of Graduate Education, Dean of the Undergraduate College of Education, University of Chicago; a man who made a significant contribution in voluntary service to the Chicago public schools.

See: Council for Community Services in Metropolitan Chicago, Social Services Directory - Metropolitan Chicago, 1972-1973. (This thick, "loose-leaf" directory is updated annually with supplemental information sheets.)

Personal interview with Edward Stullken. Faucher, op. cit., 5, cites "Assistant Superintendent of Schools."

Personal interview with Edward Stullken. Faucher, op. cit., 6, cites "Representative of Settlement Houses." Cf., n.22 infra.

Personal interview with Edward Stullken. Faucher, op. cit., 5, cites "Judge of the Juvenile Court."

Personal interview with Edward Stullken. Faucher, op. cit., 5, cites "Members of the Staff of Northwestern University, Loyola University of Chicago." Cf., n.27 infra. ("Mr." Judd, who insisted on that appellative rather than "Dr." or "Professor" according to Stullken, was a significant influence on the man who was to become the first Principal of the Montefiore--and who had been a graduate student in Judd's Department.) Illustrations of Judd's involvement with the school system can be found in Herrick, op. cit., 119, 132, 145, 167, 171, 242, 245, 275.
Jesse Binford - the Director of the Juvenile Protective Association;\(^{21}\) she would direct the activities of the JPA (until 1952) from Hull-House in assisting those families which other organizations had avoided (some of whom would become "Montefiore families").

Leah Taylor - Chicago Commons Settlement House; daughter of Graham Taylor, the founder of Chicago Commons; Graham Taylor was also periodically involved with the committee;\(^{22}\) he had long been active in school affairs.

Joe Moss - the Director of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare; former Chief Probation Officer of the Juvenile Court of Cook County.\(^{23}\)

Ferris Lawn - the Director of the Wieboldt Foundation.\(^{24}\)

\(^{21}\)Personal interview with Edward Stullken. Faucher, op. cit., 6, cites "Director of Juvenile Protective Association." Also in Binford's own words: ""I had the privilege of serving on Mr. Bogan's (Superintendent of Schools) Committee in 1929, which considered the special problems of children in our schools."" Jesse F. Binford, in "Discussion," in Edward H. Stullken, "The Schools and the Delinquency Problem," The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, Vol.43, No.5 (January-February, 1953), 9-10. A mimeographed reprint of a speech by Edward Stullken, followed by a discussion session in which Binford participated, presented to the Illinois Academy of Criminology on March 24, 1952 and subsequently published. (Available at the Chicago Board of Education Library.)

\(^{22}\)Personal interview with Edward Stullken. Cf., n.18 supra. Illustrations of Leah Taylor's involvement with the school system can be found in Herrick, op. cit., 237, 256, 283. Graham Taylor, who was also associated with the Chicago Daily News in addition to directing the activities at Chicago Commons, played a significant role in enlisting media support for the Montefiore. See Chapter IV. Illustrations of his involvement with the school system can be found in Herrick, op. cit., 109, 116, 143, 237.

\(^{23}\)Edward Stullken cited a ""Joe Moss, the head of some legal body,"" as a member of the Committee. Faucher, op. cit., 6, cites ""Director of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare."" In Sara L. Hart, "Working with the Juvenile Delinquent," Davis and McCree, op. cit., 132 (cf., I, n.59), Joe Moss is cited as having been the Chief Probation Officer in the Juvenile Court until 1918, when he became the Director of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare.

\(^{24}\)Personal interview with Edward Stullken.
Dr. Herman M. Adler - Director of the Institute for Juvenile Research.\(^{25}\)

Chief Probation Officer of the Juvenile Court.\(^{26}\)

Members of the Staff of Northwestern University, Loyola University, and the University of Chicago.\(^{27}\)

The responsibility of the Advisory Committee on Juvenile Delinquency was to devise a school system program which would supplement and alleviate the program already in operation at the Parental School,\(^{28}\) as well as the program designed for truants and incorrigibles established in various special truant divisions in regular schools. In short, they were to devise a plan for dealing with the problem of juvenile delinquency. At the outset, these other programs had been successful in reducing the number of school-age youngsters brought into Juvenile Court and adjudged delinquent with subsequent commitment to the House of Correction, Cook County Jail, the Chicago Home for Girls.\(^{29}\) state

\(^{25}\) Faucher, op. cit., 5, cites the "Director of the Institute for Juvenile Research." Dr. Herman M. Adler served in this position between 1917 and 1930. See: Catharine Twohig, "A Qualitative Comparative Analysis of the Type of Child, Family, and Problem Known to the Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, Illinois, in 1923 and in 1933" (unpublished Master's degree, Loyola University, 1937), 1. Also see Appendix VIII.

\(^{26}\) Faucher, op. cit., 6.

\(^{27}\) Faucher, op. cit., 6. Cf., n.20 supra.

\(^{28}\) As evidence of some of the "economic forces" at work, the "cost per capita" of maintaining a truant, incorrigible child at the Parental School which provided 24-hour custodial care was cited at $612.67. However, the "liberal estimate" for maintaining a truant, incorrigible child at a "Truant School," i.e., a day school, was projected at under $200.00. Proceedings of the Chicago Board of Education, July 10, 1929, op. cit., 20.

\(^{29}\) This was one of the "custodial schools" that came under Montefiore's aegis when Edward Stullken was principal. See Chapter IV.
reformatory and penal schools at St. Charles, Geneva, and Sheridan. Yet, those committed on truancy petitions (or petitions "amended" to include truancy to avoid commitment to the correctional institutions cited) to the Parental School had filled that institution. Furthermore, the special truant rooms (particularly those in certain densely populated areas) were considered inadequate in dealing with truancy and school-related behavior problems which often led to more serious delinquent activities. In 1928-29 for example, 2,008 Parental School petitions (city-wide) had been filed with the Department of Compulsory Education and an estimated 100-200 boys were on the Juvenile Court docket awaiting a formal hearing. Thus, the first recommendation of the advisory committee was to suggest that a study be conducted of juvenile delinquency prevention programs in other "systems." Another sub-committee was formed to select an individual to conduct this study. The members of this committee were Ernest W. Burgess, Professor of Urban Sociology at the University of Chicago, Isabella Dolton, the assistant superintendent of schools, and another individual from the superintendent's office. They interviewed about a half-dozen people, including a thirty-three year old elementary school principal by the name of Edward H. Stullken.

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31 Personal interview with Edward Stullken. He identified the members.

32 According to Stullken, ""Burgess was familiar with my work at the University of Chicago."" Subsequent research revealed the significance and ramification of this "association" and the important socio-educational work (and influence) of Burgess. Cf., I,n.41 and n.38 infra.
Edward Stullken was born August 24, 1895 on a farm in southern Illinois. He graduated from Edwardsville High School in 1913 and received a classical, liberal arts education (which included four years of Latin and two years of Greek) at Central Wesleyan College in Missouri. After earning his baccalaureate in 1917, he became a teacher in schools in Nashville, Mt. Carmel, and Sullivan, Illinois. He also coached in the extra-curricular program and was appointed as assistant principal while at Sullivan High School. By 1922, he and his wife decided to move to Chicago with their two children. In December of 1922, Stullken took the Chicago teacher's examination and in January, 1923 he was assigned to Austin High School on a Physics certificate. However, he was only assigned to teach one class because his administrative background in downstate Illinois led to his appointment as Attendance and Discipline Counselor.  

*Personal interview with Edward Stullken. Subsequent research also disclosed that Stullken participated in the White House conferences on Child Welfare in 1930, 1940, and 1950. He also served two terms as President of the International Council for Exceptional Children (1937-1939); Chairman of the Advisory Committee, Division of Delinquency Prevention, Illinois Department of Public Welfare (1939-1940); President of the Illinois Education Association (1944-1945); President of the Illinois Academy of Criminology (1954-1955); a member of the Board of Managers of the Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers for seventeen years. He was also a member of the Illinois Commission for Handicapped Children (1939-1957) and a member of the Board of the Illinois Youth Commission (1936-1974). All of these "roles" complimented that of Principal of the Montefiore Special School from 1929-1960; some will be developed in the context of this study. For a biographical sketch of Stullken's "constellation of roles" see: The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, Vol. 46, No. 6 (March-April, 1956), 833. Also see: Salt Creek Civil War Round Table Newsletter, XII, No. 4 (March, 1974). (Stullken was a member of this organization. A student of the life of Lincoln and the Civil War for over fifty years, he amassed a personal collection of nearly 250 volumes on these two subjects.*
Stullken's imposing physical stature, no doubt, also contributed to his appointment.) During his four and a half years at Austin, Stullken would learn a great deal about the operation of the school system—which would undergo controversial reform with the appointment of William McAndrew as superintendent in February, 1924.

When McAndrew assumed office, as previously mentioned, William Bogan became the assistant superintendent in charge of high schools. Stullken's first contact with "Bill" Bogan came after he had suspended a student at Austin. The father of the boy was a local politician and he attempted to pressure Stullken to re-admit his son, but Stullken refused. The father gave Stullken a note with a phone number on it and asked Stullken to call the number. The man who answered the phone was the assistant superintendent who directed Stullken to re-admit the boy.  

Stullken enrolled in the Department of Education at the University of Chicago and was influenced by such leading educators as Charles Hubbard Judd.

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34 Personal interview with Edward Stullken. Stullken pointed out that Bogan issued the directive accepting responsibility for the boy's future conduct. Nevertheless, (if true, and this writer believes it is "reasonable" to assume so since Stullken held Bogan in high regard) it is a revealing side of Bogan, particularly in light of McAndrew's stance relative to "political interference" in the schools. Cf., n.39 infra.

35 Cf., n.20 supra. Judd wrote extensively in the field of education and there is no question of his personal and professional influence on the youthful scholar, Edward Stullken. Judd's name was often mentioned in the three interviews this writer had with Stullken, and shortly after the Montefiore opened, it was Judd to whom Stullken went for advice to "'see if I'm on the right track.'" (According to Stullken, Judd sent "'Mr. Buswell, the Secretary of the Department of Education'" to Montefiore to investigate and provide an unbiased report of the school's operation.) Anecdotes about Judd, related to this writer by Stullken (which are also revealing of Stullken), are noted in Appendix VII.
Henry C. Morrison, William C. Reavis, and Ernest W. Burgess

36 There is no doubt (cf., n.40 infra.) that Stullken was thoroughly familiar with Henry C. Morrison's first major work: The Practice of Teaching in the Secondary School (1931 rev. ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926). This publication, reflecting the "progressive," "scientific spirit" in educational philosophy and methodology, won national acclaim for its author when it was published. As Director of the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools (1919-1928), Morrison had the opportunity to put many of his theories into practice. That Stullken was familiar with the work going on at the laboratory schools seems obvious (cf., n.37 infra.). Morrison's emphasis on "mastery teaching and learning" made a significant contribution to educational thought and practice (e.g., the Chicago school system's "mastery learning," emphasis today reflects many key components of Morrison's educational views). As will be examined later in this chapter, Morrison's emphasis on the study and treatment of "conduct" problems by the individualized "case method" was an inherent part of the methodology employed at Montefiore. For an insightful examination of Morrison's works, see: Joan M. Ferris, "An Analysis of the Educational Ideas of Henry Clinton Morrison" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Department of Education, Loyola University, February, 1975).

37 Stullken had noted that he had studied under Reavis, who was a professor of educational supervision and administration (the field in which Stullken earned his Master's degree). Subsequent research revealed that Reavis was also associated with Morrison and the work going on in the laboratory schools. Significantly, Reavis was the author of a publication on the adjustment problems of students and the methods employed at the laboratory schools; see, William C. Reavis, Pupil Adjustment in the Junior and Senior High Schools (Boston: D.C. Heath and Co., 1926). See in particular pp.114-119. Also, Stullken collaborated with Reavis (and Paul R. Pierce, who was the principal of Wells High School at the time) on a publication; see, William C. Reavis, Paul R. Pierce, and Edward H. Stullken, The Elementary School: Its Organization and Administration (1938 rev. ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931). Chapter X (217-239), "The Administration of Special Groups," is particularly relevant and identifies "types" of maladjusted children and suggests educational procedures.

38 If Burgess was familiar with the graduate work of the young scholar, Edward Stullken (cf., n.32 supra.), no doubt, Stullken was familiar with the work of the eminent professor of Urban Sociology. In the 1920s, Burgess collaborated with Robert E. Park (cf., I, n.27) in a work examining the development/urbanization of cities. They postulated that the process of urbanization created disparate areas which could be identified predictions made relative to aspects of growth and change. Furthermore, these areas reflected varying dimensions of social disorganization--one manifestation of which was juvenile delinquency. See: Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, The City (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925).
(although, as mentioned, Burgess was a member of the Sociology Depart-
ment). These men (and others) provided Stullken with yet other
perspectives and insights into the operation of the Chicago school
system and public education in general. He would eventually meet many of
the school system's key administrators, including the "eccentric Mr. Mac,
pink whiskers and all." 39 Stullken took the written portion of the prin-
cipal's examination in the Spring of 1927 and prepared to take the summer
oral exam, which was conducted by McAndrew, Bogan and a few others. He
was quizzed extensively on "Morrison's views on mastery teaching and

Also, cf., I, n.41. Burgess also assisted Clifford Shaw (cf., n.13
supra) in the early organization and establishment of the Chicago Area
Project--an organization that sponsored an amalgamation of juvenile
delinquency prevention, community-oriented programs combined with on-
going sociological research. See Appendix VIII. Significantly, after
the Montefiore was established, Burgess conducted research work at the
school which was included in his committee's report on juvenile delin-
quency presented to the 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and
Protection. See: Second Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School,
1930-1931, op. cit., 33.

39 In an animated recollection of McAndrew's idiosyncrasies,
Stullken indicated that McAndrew was "'an odd one'" who "'went his own
merry way.'" (Cf., Appendix VI) Yet, his personal respect for him was
also evident when he stated: "'McAndrew was one of the best educators
we ever had in the Chicago schools....He was a fighter against political
influence in the schools.'" Rather significantly, Counts also discussed
McAndrew's mode of operation and noted that "'one of the cardinal
principles of his theory of administration was that professional
decisions should not be subservient to politics.'" Counts, op. cit., 82.
Stullken had his own battles with politicians and a judge (cf.,
Appendix XVII) who attempted to interfere with the operation of
Montefiore.
During the examination, McAndrew passed a note "surreptitiously"\textsuperscript{41} to Stullken. After leaving the examination room, Stullken opened the note and read: "I liked your defense of Morrison. When you become a principal this Fall, I'd like to have you address some of the older principals who need that kind of speech."\textsuperscript{42}

Stullken had done his "homework" and would continue to study the system to which he would devote the next thirty-five years of his professional career. He became the principal of the Longfellow Elementary School, 1900 W. 35th St. (one of the oldest school buildings still standing in Chicago, erected in 1894), and began to expand his contacts and relationships with other administrators and personnel in the school system. He completed his Master's degree in educational supervision and administration at the time of the exam; cf., n.37 \textit{supra}.

\textsuperscript{40} Stullken vividly recalled this important milestone in his professional career. He noted that McAndrew led the questioning on Morrison's work (cf., n.36 \textit{supra}), although Bogan and others participated in the general examination. Given McAndrew's notorious reputation for emphasizing "the thorough mastery of the tools of knowledge" (Counts, op. cit., 74), one can assume that the candidate Stullken approached the examination well prepared. Then too, it should be remembered that Stullken was also a graduate student in educational supervision and administration at the time of the exam; cf., n.37 \textit{supra}.

\textsuperscript{41} This was Stullken's term as he recalled McAndrew "tapping me on the knee" and slipping the note to him under the conference table, unbeknownst to anyone else. (An example of McAndrew's odd way of doing things, according to Stullken.)

\textsuperscript{42} Of course, that "presentation" to the principals never materialized because McAndrew was suspended by the Board in August and Bogan became "acting-superintendent." Cf., II, n.3 and Appendix VI.
administration and transferred to the Goethe Elementary School (2236 N. Rockwell St.). In the Fall of 1928, he was interviewed by the sub-committee of the Juvenile Delinquency Advisory Committee and selected as their nominee to conduct the special study that had been under discussion. Then, in a report to the Board of Education on February 27, 1929, Superintendent Bogan formally recommended that Stullken be assigned to conduct a four-month study of "departments dealing with juvenile delinquency in this and other cities." Significantly, Bogan indicated that his intention was to direct the school system's efforts toward "preventing" juvenile delinquency rather than pursuing "corrective" measures. He also


44 Rather significantly, relative to the interplay of forces, Stullken told this writer that he had been encouraged to continue in doctoral studies at the University of Chicago. It was suggested to him that he make the "study trip" on a sabbatical leave and use the data for the development of a dissertation. However, with a wife and children to support, he rejected this idea. Furthermore, before accepting the study assignment, he stipulated that he would have to receive his full salary as principal (and he was also principal of the night school program at Goethe) and all his travel expenses would have to be paid. Also, Binford (the head of the Juvenile Protective Association) notes: "We selected Mr. Stullken to visit schools in many different states and cities."

noted that an "interested citizen" had contributed $1,000 to help finance the study. Two weeks later, on March 13, 1929, the Board approved Bogan's proposal and Stullken took leave of his responsibilities at Goethe and prepared the itinerary for his study-trip.

Edward Stullken would draw upon his broad academic training and education, as well as his pragmatic administrative style and expertise during the following months. It is considered important to this study to identify some of the diverse social forces which affected Stullken during his trip (i.e., the schools/institutions he chose to visit, the people he met, and so on) because they contributed to his understanding of the truant, incorrigible, delinquent child. They thus provided a theoretical framework for the formulation of a school system program ("social adjustment education") which was to be symbolized, if not embodied, in the Montefiore Special School. And, too, it is significant that in spite of political, socio-educational controversies affecting changes in the composition of the Board of Education, the Superintendency, and the organizational structure of the school system, the administration of the

46 Edward Stullken identified a "'Mrs. Dummer'" (cf., I, n.59, and n.51 infra.) as the "interested citizen" who provided most of the funding for his study trip—which, he indicated, cost considerably more than the $1,000 cited in the Proceedings. Stullken also noted that Bogan had a special fund, contributed by various individuals and groups, which he could draw upon for special project funding independent of Board appropriations. This was, no doubt, necessary (and reflective of Bogan's political acumen) in light of the fact that the politically-dominated Boards controlled and "rigged" budget expenditures with little input from Bogan. (E.g., initially the Republicans: Mayor "Big Bill" Thompson and Board president "Iron-Handed Jack" Coath—the latter earning his moniker, according to Stullken, because he was an ex-prize fighter!; and, later, the Kelly/Nash Democratic "machine" and Board president James B. McCahey.) For a socio-historical perspective on the politics of patronage affecting the school system see: Herrick, op. cit., 170-175, 227-228.

program at Montefiore (and, eventually, five other social adjustment "schools") remained under the direction of Edward Stullken for thirty-one years, until his retirement from the Chicago school system. Actually, Stullken's "trip" was a combination of three study-tours. 48

My first trip took about two weeks. I traveled to Minneapolis, Los Angeles, Austin, Tulsa, and St. Louis before returning to Chicago. In Minneapolis, I visited the head of the Attendance and Truant Division of the school system. I also visited the Psychology Department and the head of the Department of School Administration at the University of Minnesota, Dr. Koos. 49 I was interested to learn what the schools were doing for problem kids and what help they were getting from the university. In Los Angeles, one of the most interesting places I visited was the Juvenile Court. The judge of the court was Miss Miriam Van Waters, who was a great woman. She had written in the field in the 1920s. 50 She never allowed visitors in her court

48 Unfortunately, the 375 page report that Stullken said he compiled on his trip(s) could not be located at the offices of the Board of Education or its library. However, reference to his "findings" can be found in: White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, Special Education: The Handicapped and the Gifted, A Report by the Committee on Special Classes, Charles Scott Berry, Chairman (New York: The Century Co., 1931), 494-495. (The reference here was in the context of the report on "Behavior Problem Children," pp. 489-534. Cf., n.56 infra.)

49 Research revealed that Koos wrote a book, published two years earlier (when Stullken was a graduate student in educational supervision and administration): L.V. Koos, The Junior High School (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1927). Also, Minneapolis maintained a child guidance clinic and research had been conducted on problem children who were known to the Juvenile Court. Significantly, it was found, e.g., that "behavior difficulties among school children started most frequently between the ages of thirteen to fifteen years, but that many of these difficulties could be noted in earlier years, even in the kindergarten and primary grades." White House Conference, op. cit., 496, 498.

50 Stullken was obviously familiar with Van Water's work in the field of juvenile delinquency. By the time he met her, she had already established a national reputation and had written a "classic" book in the field. She proscribed any basic theory of delinquency, insisting on individual case-work methods to determine the actual cause(s) underlying maladjusted/delinquent behavior. See: Miriam Van Waters, Youth in Conflict (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1970; reprinted from the edition of 1925, New York). For an engrossing biography of Van Waters and her inspiring life's work, see: Burton J. Rowles, The Lady at Box 99 (Greenwich, Conn.: The Seabury Press, Inc., 1962). Van Waters' work is also cited in: Fifth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1933-1934 (Chicago Public Schools), 24.
room, but since I had letters of introduction from Bogan and Mrs. Dummer, 51 who was a personal friend of Judge Van Waters, I was permitted to observe and take notes. But, I was admonished by her "to be silent and neither by word nor deed communicate anything to anyone in the court room." She ran the tightest Juvenile Court I've ever seen. I had the opportunity to discuss court procedures and the purpose of my trip with her over lunch. I also visited the Attendance Department of the School system and a special school in the heart of the Mexican neighborhood. The principal of the school was an immensely wealthy woman who ran the school just as she damned well pleased--the superintendent, the board of education, and everybody else to the contrary notwithstanding. For example, she thought it was important for the girls to learn how to launder and use laundry machines. The Board didn't furnish such things, so she bought the machines herself and had them installed! She also bought twenty-five acres of land in the mountains, thirty miles away, and erected a camp for the boys. She did these things without any Board money or sanction and just got away with murder! In Austin I had a conference with Dr. Koch, who taught about problem kids in school at the University of Texas. She taught a similar course the summer before [1928] at the University of Chicago. After taking a side-trip to San Antonio and the Alamo, I visited a special school for truants in Tulsa. The head man was hard-boiled, a typical Southerner. There were colored and Indians in the school and I wondered how they were

51 As was noted (cf., n.46 supra.), Mrs. Dummer was the individual who provided philanthropic support of Bogan's Juvenile Delinquency Advisory Committee, financing Stullken's trip. Research disclosed that Mrs. William F. (Ethel Sturges) Dummer made a significant contribution to the development/evolution of social adjustment education in Chicago; and, she was a notable influence on the personal and professional lives of others who worked with the maladjusted, delinquent child. A member of the CWC, she was active on its Juvenile Court Committee (cf., I, n.59); and after the responsibilities for the Juvenile Detention Home were taken over (1907) by Cook County, she collaborated with Julia Lathrop in formulating plans for the first "child-guidance clinic." The Juvenile Psychopathic Institute (which was to evolve into the Institute for Juvenile Research--see Chapter III and Appendix VIII) was established in 1909 adjacent to the Juvenile Court and Dummer and Lathrop persuaded Dr. William Healy to become its first director. Dummer became a personal friend and supporter of Miriam Van Waters. As in Stullken's case, in 1921 she financed a study-tour that Van Water's made of reform schools in the U.S. and to centers working with problem children. (In 1931, Van Waters became the Superintendent of the State Reformatory for Women in Framingham, Mass.--a position she held for twenty-five, often "stormy" years. In 1929, Stullken became the Principal of the Montefiore, and, eventually, five other social adjustment "schools".) Significantly, Dummer was the "motivating spirit" behind Van Water's Youth in Conflict and wrote the introduction to the book. Dummer was also a supporter of the Montefiore PTA, as was her daughter, Kathryn Fisher. See Chapter IV and V.
handled. He told me, "I give them an officer of their own, and their own kind, and tell him to go do what he can and the hell with the rest of it." 52 Well, it left someone free to do something. Before returning to Chicago, I stopped in St. Louis and visited a couple of special schools there.

After a period of time at home, I went to Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Philadelphia, Newark, New Haven, Boston, New York, and Buffalo. In Baltimore I visited John Hopkins University and had a conference with Dr. Esther Richards who had written in the field. 53 In Philadelphia I visited their special school and some of their special classes. Newark had a special school administered by the sister-in-law of Emily Post. I'll never forget that, although I've forgotten her name. In New York I visited its Parental School and the famous

52 As will be examined in Chapter III (relative to the situation in Chicago), oftentimes the psychological effect of assigning truant officers who were indigenous to the communities they served was very positive.

53 Esther L. Richards was an associate professor of psychiatry at the John Hopkins School of Medicine when Stullken met her. She was also a research colleague of Adolf Meyer (who wrote the introduction to her book noted below) at the Henry Phipps Psychiatric Clinic operated by the John Hopkins Hospital. (Van Waters had visited Meyer at the clinic in 1921 when she was on her study-tour.) Reflecting her medical background, Richards stressed the importance of diagnosing and treating the "causal factors" which contributed to the maladjusted behavior exhibited by children. In her book (based on her work at the clinic and a series of lectures she presented to various groups in 1929), she noted that these factors included: "Physical conditions affecting nutrition, locomotion, eyesight, hearing, speech, consciousness, etc.; discrepancy between the intellectual endowment and the environmental expectations of home and school; a poor start in habit training during pre-school years; unwholesome social conditions (economic strains, over-crowded living arrangements, broken homes, parental disharmonies); recreational programs inadequate to the needs of emotional outlets; academic and vocational misplacement at variance with individual abilities, tastes, and aptitudes; constitutional endowment of biological and personality equipment predisposing the individual to varying degrees of poor mental health."

Little Red Schoolhouse. I also had a lengthy conference with Olive Jones, the Assistant Superintendent of Special Education, who was quite an innovator. I learned a lot from her.

On my last trip I went to Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Toronto, and Montreal. In Cincinnati I visited the court of Judge White, another great juvenile court judge in America at that time. The special school there was operated under court supervision. In Cleveland I visited the Thomas Edison School, a special school set up there for problem boys. In Detroit I met Dr. Harry Baker, the head of the Psychology Department of the Detroit schools. He conducted research in the special schools. Baker's boss was Dr. Charles Berry, who was the Assistant Superintendent of the Detroit public schools at that time. He had been appointed to prepare the report on special education in U.S. schools for the 1930 White House Conference on Children. Baker encouraged me to submit

54 The "Little Red Schoolhouse" began as special classes within a few public schools in New York City, designed to meet the "special needs" of a wide-range of children. In 1921, these special classes were centralized into a red building and, hence, the appellation. The curriculum, reflecting "progressive education" methodology, was a broad amalgam of courses offered to students homogeneously and chronologically grouped. A record of the early work in these classes can be found in: Elisabeth Irwin and Louis A. Marks, Fitting the School to the Child (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925). It could be said that the Little Red Schoolhouse educational experiment was a prototype of "alternative education" conducted within a large, public school system. When the "special program" was eliminated in 1932, many of those who had been involved established a privately supported Little Red Schoolhouse. For a historical account and an examination of the underlying educational philosophy and methodology (to which John Dewey, who wrote the Introduction, contributed) see: Agnes DeLima and The Staff of The Little Red Schoolhouse, The Little Red Schoolhouse (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1942). Significantly, Florence N. Beaman, who taught a "special class" at Montefiore from 1929 to 1933, joined the Little Red Schoolhouse staff in 1933. She established a special class for socially mal-adjusted children at the "new" Little Red Schoolhouse. An account of her work is in "Detours in Education," Ibid., 119-134. Her work and research study, conducted at Montefiore, will be examined in Chapter III.

55 Stullken would establish a life-long friendship with Baker, who Stullken mentioned was ""considerably older than I."" (They were still corresponding in 1979 when Stullken was approaching his 84th birthday!)
a report of my investigation which became a part of Berry's report. The Toronto school system was a finer example of education in North America, I think as a whole, than I found in any city in the United States at the time. The ethnic groups, the English, Irish, and Scots, were distinctly Protestant and the non-conforming type—which meant they could do some innovation. They had a special school for boys and the Toronto schools allowed corporal punishment. There weren't any behavior problems, I can tell you that.

Upon returning to Chicago, Stullken completed his report. Shortly thereafter, on July 10, 1929, the Board adopted "that a Truant

56 When the report was published (1931), Berry was cited as the "Director of the Bureau of Special Education, College of Education, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio." Baker was the Chairman of the sub-committee on Behavior Problem Children. The members of his committee were: "Bronson Crothers, M.D., Assistant Professor of Pediatrics, Harvard University Medical School; Neurologist to Children's Hospital Boston; Clinton P. McCord, M.D., Psychiatrist to Children's Hospital and Consulting Neuro-Psychiatrist and Psychoanalyst, Albany, New York; Edward H. Stullken, Principal, Montefiore Special School, Chicago Board of Education, Chicago." White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, op. cit., xi, xvi. It is significant that the Committee, referring to the "scientific study and treatment of behavior disorders in school children," recommended that "special behavior schools should be known by the name of some specific school such as "Montefiore".... [Furthermore] the term adjustment class is suggested as one that be uniformly applied to all special classes for behavior adjustment groups....which carries the suggestion of therapy rather than punishment." Ibid., 512-513, 527, 532. Hence, children with "behavior disorders" were to be "studied" and "treated" in adjustment schools and/or classes; and, the apppellative "social adjustment school" became applied to the Montefiore Special School. Yet, as will be examined, the impact of evolutionary forces over the last fifty-two years has resulted in a legalistic/educational nomenclature confusion about the nature and purpose of the Montefiore.

57 The Chicago Board of Education then, as now, disavowed the use of corporal punishment. Yet, as will be examined, instances of its use at Montefiore created yet another "image" of the school and its mode of operation that persists controversially today.
School be opened in the Montefiore School Building, which is now vacant."  

Significantly, the Montefiore School was located at 461 N. Sangamon Street (near Halsted Street and Grand Avenue) on the near Northwest side of Chicago. Thus, it was situated in close proximity to Hull-House (and other settlements), the Juvenile Court, and the Detention Home/School. (See Illustration I for a map indicating the original location of Montefiore and its subsequent locations.) It was also located in an area with one of the highest rates of truancy and delinquency in the city. A comparison of Illustration II (i.e., rates of male school truants, 1927-1933) and Illustration III (i.e., rates of male juvenile delinquents, 1927-1933) reveals a significant similarity in variations of rates.  

The relationship between truancy and delinquency is more clearly demonstrated in Table I. Without doubt, similar data was known to the Juvenile Delinquency Advisory Committee (since it is based on Clifford Shaw's research work) and it appears certain that such data provided a rationale for the Board of Education to open a "truant school." The fact that the Montefiore School was "vacant" and close to major public transportation lines also contributed to its selection as the site for the new special program. It is also interesting that the special school was to remain "Montefiore." For the school had been named in honor of a man whose "good works"


59 Also, cf., Appendixes III, IV, and V for related illustrations of the period 1917-1923.
ORIGINAL AND SUBSEQUENT LOCATIONS OF THE MONTEFIORE SPECIAL SCHOOL

Original location of Montefiore (1929-1934)
461 N. Sangamon St.

2nd location of Montefiore (1934-1960)
655 W. 14th St.

Current Location of Montefiore (1960-present)
1310 S. Ashland Ave.
ILLUSTRATION II

RATES OF SCHOOL TRUANTS (MALE), CHICAGO, 1927-1933

MAP OF CHICAGO
SHOWING
RATES OF SCHOOL TRUANTS
BASED ON 3,663 BOYS
TAKEN TO JUVENILE
COURT ON TRUANCY
PETITION DURING THE
YEARS — 1927-1933

Shaw and McKay, op. cit., 92.
ILLUSTRATION III

RATES OF MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS, CHICAGO, 1927-1933

MAP OF CHICAGO
Showing rates of delinquents based upon 8,412 male juvenile delinquents in the juvenile court during the years 1927-1933

Shaw and McKay, op. cit., 54.
### TABLE I

**TRUANTS WHO BECAME DELINQUENT, 1927-33 JUVENILE COURT TRUANCY SERIES**

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<th>AREA RATES OF DELINQUENTS</th>
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<td>157</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,653</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,566</strong></td>
<td><strong>42.9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Value plotted at mid-point of class interval, Fig. 5.
†Value on the regression line at mid-point of class interval, Fig. 5.

Shaw and McKay, op. cit., 113; also see p. 112.
amongst the "socially maladjusted" had left its historical mark.  

Thus, a confluence of forces had produced the Montefiore; or, at least, assigned to it a new purpose at this point in time. Yet, what was so different, "new," or unique about establishing a truant school? As was noted in the previous chapter, the Dante School had become a center (albeit for a short period of time) for most truant divisions in 1924. What, then, was "special" about this school for truant boys (besides the fact that it would later encompass girls branches and branches in correctional/custodial institutions)? Again, we must identify some of the forces operating at the time, particularly as they are reflected in the roles played by Bogan, Stullken, and Jacob Houck.

After submitting his report, the administration of the Montefiore was offered to Stullken by Bogan. However, before accepting the new position, Stullken solicited the advice of "Jake" Houck, his

Stullken pointed out to this writer that when the site for the new educational program for truants and incorrigibles was chosen some individuals had recommended that the school be named in honor of Mary Bartelme or Jesse Binford. However, he had wondered "'who the hell was Moses Montefiore?'" After researching the history of the Montefiore family and discovering that the wealthy Moses Montefiore had engaged in philanthropic work amongst the poor in the East London slums, he recommended that the name be retained. (Which, probably, was also a good "political" solution, based on an equally good rationale.) Cf., I, n.16. Interestingly enough, he met a descendant of Montefiore at a luncheon at Hull-House in the early 1950s. Personal interview with Edward Stullken.

Significantly, on August 16th the Board approved Bogan's recommendation that Stullken be transferred from Goethe "'to the principalship of the Montefiore Special School for Boys.'" (emphasis mine) See: Proceedings of the Chicago Board of Education, August 16, 1929 (Chicago, Illinois), 81.
district superintendent. Together they developed a number of stipulations under which Stullken would agree to take on the new position.

Two of the major conditions Bogan agreed to were:

1. Montefiore would be, in fact, a "special school" and Stullken would have control over his staff; i.e., he would have input relative to teachers assigned to Montefiore and could have teachers transferred out who he felt were not successful in the special school environment.62

2. The Montefiore would contain various clinical/social facilities and staff, in addition to special academic and shop teachers; i.e., a medical doctor, nurse, dentist, psychiatrist, psychologist, and social workers.63

Significantly, none of the special schools for truants and incorrigibles that Stullken visited had all these special services, which he had come to believe were essential to a program designed to socially adjust children and prevent juvenile delinquency. In addition, the members of the Juvenile Delinquency Advisory Committee (reflecting 19th-20th century reformatory/preventative concerns and attitudes) also supported the inclusion of these child-welfare oriented, clinical and social services.

On September 16, 1929, a month before the infamous stock market crash that signaled the beginning of a nation-wide economic depression, the doors of the newly renovated Montefiore school building

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62 According to Stullken, "'That's how I got so much freedom in running the Montefiore. Some superintendents tried to take it away from me, but they burned their fingers.'" How he was able to maintain his "control" will be examined in Chapters III and IV.

63 The Montefiore did contain and/or utilize these clinical and social staff personnel during its early years. However, as will be examined in the following chapters, the impact of evolutionary forces (i.e., the economic depression, post-depression political, socio-educational developments) significantly curtailed their crucial role in providing social adjustment education.
were opened. Ninety boys from ten truant divisions on the North and West sides of Chicago, eight specially selected teachers, and a variety of other educational and medical professionals, formally commenced a new era in social adjustment education. The aims and purposes of the Montefiore Special School were outlined by its new principal: Edward Stullken:

The school aims to meet the needs of problem boys for in doing so it will prevent juvenile delinquency, as it is well known that problem boys often become delinquent boys. It is the purpose of the school to try to enrich its program to fit education to the boys' needs; and to understand its [sic] problems so well, that the boys will cease to be truants or behavior cases and will learn to conform socially to their school environment and if possible overcome the difficulties of their home and civic environments.64

To accomplish these goals, the Montefiore was "operated on a six-hour day and twelve school month basis."65 Car fare was provided to boys who lived more than a mile away from school. The boys, who ranged in age

64 First Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1929-1930 (Chicago Public Schools), 2.

65 Proceedings of the Chicago Board of Education, September 25, 1929 (Chicago, Illinois), 668. Significantly, Stullken was paid on "his regular scheduled rate as principal plus $40.00 per school month."" Ibid. And, the "special teachers" (some of whom were two-year Chicago Normal Teachers College graduates, while others held bachelor's degrees) were paid on the scheduled rate for teachers with Master's degrees. Personal interview with Edward Stullken. Significantly, the "across-the-board" standardization of teacher salary rates (as a result of joint Union-Board agreements), substantially eliminated the "battle-pay" for Montefiore teachers; although, the summer program with its remuneration has survived to the present day.
from 7 to 17,\(^6\) were homogeneously grouped\(^7\) into a curriculum program which was "roughly divided" between academic courses (i.e., Mathematics, English, History, etc.) and practical-arts/manual training "activities." For example, on the basis of their assignment to special academic groups (or divisions), a boy's educational program could also include: shop activities (i.e., woodworking, electrical and metal), general science, mechanical drawing, art, reed and rug weaving.\(^8\)

Furthermore, a "laboratory situation" was established within the school building utilizing the expertise of a variety of specialists who would augment the work of the classroom teachers. Through cooperation with the Chicago Board of Health, the services of a doctor, nurse, and dentist were provided to the school. All boys were given a thorough physical examination and corrective dental work was made possible in a "fully equipped" dental office.\(^9\) Likewise, through cooperation with the Institute for Juvenile Research, the Mandel Clinic of the Michael

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\(^6\) During its first year of operation Montefiore enrolled five seventeen year olds and in the fifth year a boy of seven was enrolled. However, the median age of the student population during the first five years (1929-1934) was 13.96 or 14 years. See Chapter III.


\(^8\) These rooms had been specially equipped (Ibid., 5-6; Proceedings of the Chicago Board of Education, July 10, 1929, op. cit., 20) and other "activities" or course offerings would be established in subsequent years.

\(^9\) Significantly, the physical examinations revealed "an average of more than four physical defects per boy and the dentist's survey showed that 95% of the boys were in need of dental correction." First Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1929-1930, op. cit., 3.
Reese Hospital, the North Side Child Guidance Clinic, and private psychiatrists, psychiatric services were provided. (In September of 1930, the Board of Education assigned a psychiatrist on a part-time basis to Montefiore.) The Board, through the Department of Compulsory Education, Bureau of Child Study, and the Division of Special Education, furnished truant officers, a psychologist, a special speech teacher, and "visiting teachers" (i.e., social workers). These individuals, employing the techniques and methodologies of their respective fields, provided a diagnostic assessment of the "problems" exhibited by the boys. Working together with the "educational specialists" (i.e., classroom teachers), they would develop a treatment plan for the boys which was incorporated in the over-all educational work of the school.

Abbott and Breckinridge, op. cit., 226-244, discussed the social and economic factors which contributed to truancy and had recommended that social workers be utilized as "visiting teachers"—who would provide assistance to children and their families. Such "visiting teachers" would play a crucial role at Montefiore during its early years and, as will be examined, this role would evolve into related activities of "Field Adjustment Teachers."
A confluence of forces, manifested in and by "social forces" (or, "social systems"), contributed to the establishment of Montefiore. Thus, from its inception, the special school was a diverse embodiment of concerns, attitudes, altruistic and selfish motives under the rubric "social adjustment education." While the "macro" sociological problem was juvenile delinquency, i.e., juvenile social maladjustment, at the "micro" or school system level the problem was manifested in truancy (a violation of compulsory attendance law) and "incorrigible" behavior in a school's socio-educational environment. The juvenile who was alienated from his school's environment (itself, an institution/system of society), for whatever reasons, became alienated from certain societal standards, norms, and/or laws. But what were these reasons for

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1 Truancy, as a violation of compulsory attendance law, was a "problem" for other institutions of society, in addition to the public school system, which compelled interaction between "systems." Although, as will be examined, the impact of social forces, i.e., changes in public and professional interest has led to a redefinition of "problems" and created institutional confusion over responsibility for mandatory school attendance enforcement.
"alienation?" Who or what was an "incorrigible?"²

In much the same way that the University of Chicago Laboratory School reflected progressive educational methodology (i.e., the influences of Parker, Harper, Dewey, Morrison, Reavis) with its emphasis on the mental, emotional, and physical development of the "whole child," the Montefiore was envisioned³ as the Chicago Public School System's "laboratory school" (if not, "child guidance clinic") for the study and treatment of truant and incorrigible children. The diversely specialized Montefiore staff (reflecting a constellation of roles, as well as, illustrative of interaction between and within social systems) was to study the problems of its problem boys, and the educational work of the school was directed toward remediating those problems. Who, then, were these problem boys and where did they come from? What were their problems? How did the Montefiore staff "treat" these problems? Examining the answers to these questions provides some insight into the early years at Montefiore.

Boys were transferred to the Montefiore from Senior and Junior High Schools, Elementary Schools, the Chicago and Cook County School,:

² An "incorrigible," by definition, is one that cannot be corrected or reformed; one set in bad habits. Yet, there were those who felt that the Montefiore could "socially adjust" (i.e., "rehabilitate") the problem boy. Then, too, as a reflection of society and one of its fundamental institutions, did the school system contribute to "alienation," "incorrigliity?" Certainly there were those who felt that the school system should alter/expand its educational role.

³ Certain "social forces," i.e., the "systems" within and a part of the collective society, were in the process of "reforming" society and its institutions" (e.g., the schools) and "rehabilitating individuals."
and private (i.e., parochial) schools. At the outset, the Montefiore special school district encompassed a total of 171 public schools located on the North and West sides of the city. By 1934, this district would encompass and service 191 schools. In the years afterward (as will be examined), the Montefiore district would be gradually enlarged until it and the Chicago Public School System became essentially one

4 First Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1929-1930, op. cit., 15-18. The Annual Reports, 1931-1934 also revealed that 138 boys were transferred ("paroled") to the Montefiore from the Parental School—which was maintained and operated by the Chicago Board of Education, but to which "truant children" were committed by the Juvenile Court (Also cf., IV, n.8.)

5 This special school district essentially made Montefiore a "clearing house" for all "truancy petitions" (i.e., Parental School petitions) filed on boys, and later girls, from the North and West sides of Chicago. Thus, social adjustment education, as will be examined, reflected the interaction of the Chicago Health Department, the Juvenile Court and the Chicago Board of Education (i.e., through the Department of Compulsory Education, Bureau of Child Study, Division of Special Education), as well as Montefiore and the public and private schools from whom it received transfer "truants." Suffice to mention here, while the Annual Reports (1929-1934) report the growth in number of "public" schools comprising the special district, a significant number of private/parochial schools referred their problem boys to Montefiore, too. For example, it was reported that 133 schools transferred boys to the Montefiore during the 1931-32 school year; 15% (or 19) of these schools were parochial schools. Third Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1931-1932 (Chicago Public Schools), 13, 15-16.
and the same, demographically. The ethnic (or "nationality") and racial composition of the student population at Montefiore during its early years is presented in Table II. As can be seen, the major ethnic and racial groups were the Poles, the Italians, and Negroes, comprising over 60% of the student population. Negroes comprised slightly over 10% of the Montefiore school population during its first five years. A comparison of Illustration IV (i.e., "predominant nationality and race of family heads by nativity areas") with attention directed to Montefiore's special school district, and Table II clearly indicates that the major nationality/ethnic and racial groups of the district were reflected in the Montefiore student population. Furthermore (and, significant in

6 Significantly, a year after the Montefiore was opened, the Flavel L. Moseley School was designated as a second "social adjustment school." According to Edward Stullken, Isabella Dolton (the assistant superintendent of schools), promoted the establishment of additional social adjustment schools, "but the politicians got control of the system in 1933 and controlled the budget. They also bounced her out, demoting her to principal of Farragut High School." However, she (and other "forces") was successful in getting the Board to establish a special school in the heart of Chicago's "black belt" (the original site of the Moseley was 2348 S. Michigan Ave.; refer to Illustration IV.) In fact, with the establishment of Moseley as a second social adjustment school, a rough dividing line was initially drawn: Montefiore receiving transfer students from those schools North and West of the Chicago River and Moseley receiving transfer students from schools South and East of the river at Cermak Avenue. Personal interview with Lawrence J. Casey. (Casey retired from the Chicago Public School System in 1976, having spent 45 years in the system, 40 of those years at Montefiore.) However, even in its first year of operation as a special school, the Moseley transferred students to (and received from) the Montefiore; as it would continue to do, until the Fall of 1980. See Chapter V.
TABLE IIa

ETHNIC AND RACIAL COMPOSITION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1929-30</th>
<th>1930-31</th>
<th>1931-32</th>
<th>1932-33</th>
<th>1933-34</th>
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<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
<td>25.75%</td>
<td>26.90%</td>
<td>23.40%</td>
<td>22.54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>24.5%</td>
<td>24.25%</td>
<td>21.06%</td>
<td>26.80%</td>
<td>21.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>10.50%</td>
<td>10.65%</td>
<td>11.70%</td>
<td>9.01%</td>
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<td>6.25%</td>
<td>7.41%</td>
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<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>7.50%</td>
<td>7.86%</td>
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<td>8.60%</td>
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<td>American</td>
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<td>3.25%</td>
<td>3.29%</td>
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<td>4.00%</td>
<td>4.82%</td>
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<td>.50%</td>
<td>.00%</td>
<td>.00%</td>
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<td>.68%</td>
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<td>1.00%</td>
<td>.76%</td>
<td>1.30%</td>
<td>.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>.9%</td>
<td>.75%</td>
<td>.50%</td>
<td>.00%</td>
<td>.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>.9%</td>
<td>1.25%</td>
<td>1.77%</td>
<td>2.60%</td>
<td>2.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>.7%</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
<td>1.52%</td>
<td>.68%</td>
<td>2.09%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>.7%</td>
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<td>.25%</td>
<td>.00%</td>
<td>.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
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<td>1.00%</td>
<td>2.53%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>1.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Croatian</td>
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<td>.76%</td>
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<td>.40%</td>
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<td>Scotch</td>
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<td>.50%</td>
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<td>.81%</td>
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<td>.00%</td>
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</tr>
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<td>.25%</td>
<td>.68%</td>
<td>.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>.75%</td>
<td>.76%</td>
<td>.68%</td>
<td>.81%</td>
</tr>
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<td>.00%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>1.25%</td>
<td>.76%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
<td>1.22%</td>
</tr>
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<td>.00%</td>
<td>.76%</td>
<td>.68%</td>
<td>.00%</td>
</tr>
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<td>.00%</td>
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<td>.00%</td>
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<td>.00%</td>
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<td>Japanese</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>.00%</td>
<td>.00%</td>
<td>.68%</td>
<td>.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>.00%</td>
<td>.00%</td>
<td>.00%</td>
<td>.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>.0%</td>
<td>.00%</td>
<td>.00%</td>
<td>.00%</td>
<td>.40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PREDOMINANT NATIONALITY AND RACE OF FAMILY HEADS
BY NATIVITY AREAS, CHICAGO, 1930

OUTLINE MAP OF
CHICAGO
AREAS IN WHICH HEADS OF FAMILIES ARE PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO OR FOREIGN-BORN, BY CENSUS TRACTS

LEGEND

- Areas in which more than one-half of heads of families are Negro
- Areas in which more than one-half of white heads of families are foreign-born, numerically largest nationality in each tract shaded as follows:
   A - AUSTRIAN
   C - CZECHOSLOVAKIAN
   G - GIAPPANESE
   Q - GREEK
   M - MACEDONIAN
   I - ITALIAN
   E - ENGLISH
   L - LITHUANIAN
   P - POLISH
   B - BALTIC
   S - SCANDINAVIAN
   Y - YUGOSLOVIAN
   M - MIXED

a Shaw and McKay, op. cit., 41.
demographic terms), in 1930 Chicago's population was 3,376,000.  

92.3% of the population were white, 6.9% were Negro, and .8% were categorized as "other races." Immigrant children and children of immigrants comprised 69.8% of the total white population of the city.  

The degree to which Montefiore's student population reflected the general population in the city (as well as, the immediate population of the North and West sides) is indicated in Table III.  

Although there is no doubt as to the correlation between truancy and school adjustment problems, as well as truancy and

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Havighurst, et.al., op. cit., 30. Significantly, in 1930 twenty-six elementary schools were reportedly 85% or more Negro; and, by June of 1931, the total enrollment of children in the public schools reached a peak of 547,057. Ibid., 14. An analysis of Illustration IV (i.e., predominant nationality and race of family heads by nativity areas, 1930) reveals the "probable" location of the twenty-six, 85% Negro, elementary schools.

Shaw and McKay, op. cit., 40. Thus, the larger city population reflected both those of immigrant-status and those Negro emigrants from Southern-U.S. states. These two "groups" shared similar rural backgrounds and had "social adjustment problems" in their new urban environment; although, the Negro emigree often became more "alienated" due to racial prejudice/rascism. A comparison (Table III) of the Negro population of Chicago (reported as 6.9% in 1930) and the Negro student population of the Montefiore (reported as 12.6% for the 1929-1934 period) indicates the probable effect on Negro students.
TABLE III

COMPARISON OF MONTEFIORE'S STUDENT POPULATION AND CHICAGO'S POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality/ Racial Group</th>
<th>% of Montefiore pop. 1929-1930a</th>
<th>% of Chicago pop. 1930b</th>
<th>% total pop. Montefiore 1929-1934c</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>23.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech/Slovakd</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>5.8d</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian &amp; Lithuanian(e)</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(a\) Fifth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1933-1934, \textit{op. cit.}, 8.

\(b\) Data adapted from Shaw and McKay, Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas, \textit{op. cit.}, 40.

\(c\) Data extrapolated from Fifth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1933-1934, \textit{op. cit.}, 8.

\(d\) Shaw and McKay, \textit{op. cit.}, cite this group as "Bohemian."

\(e\) These groups are combined here to afford comparison with data so combined by Shaw and McKay.
delinquency, an examination of the "causes for transfer" between 1929-1934 reveals (see Table IV) that the majority of boys were referred to Montefiore because of "truancy." This is not surprising in light of the "truant density" in the Montefiore special school district (see Illustration V). This pattern of "truancy" referrals would not substantially change until 1960 when Montefiore was relocated to its third (and current) location. It is significant to note, however, that although the majority of boys were referred to the Montefiore because of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1929-30</th>
<th>1930-31</th>
<th>1931-32</th>
<th>1932-33</th>
<th>1933-34</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Truancy</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misbehavior</td>
<td>30.7%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL TRUANTS (MALE), CHICAGO, 1927-1933

Shaw and McKay, op. cit., 91.
"truancy," a study conducted during the 1933-1934 school year revealed that 53% of the boys were known to the Juvenile Court before they enrolled at Montefiore.\(^9\) (A confluence of the "macro" and "micro" problem.) This study also revealed other problems/characteristics of the Montefiore student population:

1. There were large numbers of broken homes and irregular family situations.
2. The economic problem was a major one. 80% of the families were at some time known to a relief agency and the majority of these families were active with the agencies.
3. An average of 3.2 schools had been attended by each boy prior to his transfer to the Montefiore and the range of schools attended numbered from one to fifteen. The median educational achievement level was 6B grade. There was also a frequency of transfer between private and public schools.
4. There was a high percentage of physical defects--most of them not corrected.
5. It was the exception when Social Service Exchange had not registered on the family. Only 4% of all cases enrolled were independent of help from social agency.\(^11\)

Thus, certain socio-economic factors ("forces") help identify the problems, broad in their consequence for "social adjustment education," facing Montefiore students and staff. Further insight into the Montefiore student population, as well as those problems which mitigate

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\(^9\) Fifth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1933-1934, \textit{op. cit.}, 23. As will be examined, the Montefiore has always reflected a student population which contained students known to the Juvenile Court and "on probation" for a variety of delinquent offenses (e.g., burglary, assault, etc.).

\(^11\) \textit{Ibid.}; adapted by this writer. These problems/characteristics (with some alterations) serve as a relatively appropriate classification model for the Montefiore student population up to the present day. See Chapters IV and V.
educational experiences (if not, contribute to delinquency)\textsuperscript{12} is revealed in another study examining SES data; see Table V.

While the socially maladjusted boys at Montefiore (with some exceptions) exhibited those characteristics associated with the "poor" and "culturally disadvantaged," they also had serious educational problems. Many boys had language and reading disabilities\textsuperscript{13} and 76\% of the boys were "academically retarded," i.e., their educational age was one to three+ years less their chronological age; see Table VI. As the boys at Montefiore reflected a cross-section of the larger population (in demographic terms), they also reflected a broad range of

\textsuperscript{12}Cf., II, n.53 relative to Dr. Richard's psychiatric assessment of the "causal factors" which contribute to maladjusted behavior. Also, early research indicated that socio-education, SES factors produce varying effects on educational achievement and behavior; e.g., "defective home conditions," were found to be a significant causative factor of delinquency. See: William Healy, \textit{The Individual Delinquent} (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1915), 130. A more recent study found that "boys with disabled and ill mothers appear to be a conforming group... [However,] when they become delinquent, they are likely to commit serious offenses. This is a group to be watched...Poor home supervision leads to delinquent behavior." See: Richard S. Sterne, \textit{Delinquent Conduct and Broken Homes} (New Haven, Conn.: College and University Press, 1964), 95. Current research has found that serious behavioral problems and poor academic achievement are related to students from "one parent" or "no natural parent" homes. See: B. Frank Brown, "The School Needs of Children from One-Parent Families," \textit{Phi Delta Kappan}, LXI (April, 1980), 537-540. Rather significantly, this same study was also reported as a front-page, "head-line" banner story; see: "1-Parent Children Fare Worse in School, Study Shows," \textit{Chicago Tribune}, June 17, 1980.

\textsuperscript{13}Given the high percentage of students from "immigrant status" backgrounds, it is not surprising that many boys had language problems and reading disabilities. In fact, as will be examined, the finding that 20\% of the student population had a reading disability continued and expanded the organization of special reading groups at Montefiore. See: \textit{Fourth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1932-1933} (Chicago Public Schools), 26. Furthermore, these early groups were the prototype for what would evolve into tutorial/remedial, "learning-disabilities" instruction. See Chapter V.
SURVEY OF HOME CONDITIONS

The following information was gathered from a study of 435 Montefiore boys.

Parental status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father dead</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother dead</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both parents dead</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents separated</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents divorced</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father deserted</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother deserted</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent insane</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent blind</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent crippled</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent--suicide</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father ill</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father in penitentiary</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father unemployed</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother only employed</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both parents employed</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both parents unemployed</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Economic status of the home

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very poor</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comfortable</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very comfortable</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This study was reportedly made by a student at a local university as part of the work for his doctor's dissertation and cited in the Second Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1930-1931, *op. cit.*, 19; adapted by this writer.*
TABLE VI<sup>a</sup>

ACCELERATION AND RETARDATION OF STUDENTS ENROLLED AT MONTEFIORE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Years</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 year acceleration</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal Grade Placement</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>23.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 year retarded</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>57.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 years retarded</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years retarded</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Division</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,250</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Faucher, <i>op. cit.</i>, 23. (Faucher's study was conducted on 1,250 boys enrolled at Montefiore between July 1, 1930 and June 30, 1964.)
abilities (in educational terms). The measured "intelligence distribution" of 766 boys enrolled at Montefiore ranged from "very superior" to "feebleminded," and the median I.Q. was found to be approximately 80. Compare Table VII and Illustration VI. Although the Montefiore student population reflected a broad academic range, a comparison of the data in Table VII and Illustration VI clearly indicates that the majority of the boys could be expected to have problems in a regular class of the school system. A further perspective on the educational problems exhibited by the Montefiore student population is revealed by a comparison of the median age and median grade placement; see Table VIII. A graphic representation of the age and grade placement of students enrolled at Montefiore between July 1, 1930 and June 30, 1934 is presented in Illustration VII.

The "treatment" (i.e., educational work of the school) by the "educational specialists" and the other members of the Montefiore staff would, necessarily be affected by the socio-educational "realities" facing their "problem boys." These realities/factors would influence, if not, direct the development and evolution of the broadly conceived curriculum. An examination of this curriculum, as it evolved through the interaction of "roles" (i.e., the Montefiore staff and the student population) and between "systems" (i.e., the Chicago Board of Health, various public and private agencies and the Chicago Public School System--with its various "sub-systems"), provides some understanding of the educational work of the school.

Once it was determined that a boy should be transferred to the Montefiore, the local school principal formally initiated the transfer
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>No. of Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very superior</td>
<td>130-over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very bright</td>
<td>120-129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bright</td>
<td>110-119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal</td>
<td>90-109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Backward</td>
<td>80-89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borderline</td>
<td>70-79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feebleminded</td>
<td>0-69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(a\) Faucher, op. cit., 19; adapted by this writer.

\(b\) Based on Rudolph Pinter, *Intelligence Testing* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1923), 77, and applied by Faucher.
ILLUSTRATION VI

INTELLIGENCE DISTRIBUTION OF 766 STUDENTS OF THE MONTEFIORE SPECIAL SCHOOL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Range of Intelligence Quotient</th>
<th>Number of Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50 - 54</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 - 59</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 64</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 - 69</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 - 74</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 - 79</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 - 84</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85 - 89</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 - 94</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95 - 99</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 - 104</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105 - 109</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110 - 114</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115 - 119</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120 - 124</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125 - 129</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130 - 134</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135 - 139</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140 - 144</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145 - 149</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150 - 155</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ibid., 20.
### TABLE VIII<sup>a</sup>

**MEDIAN AGE AND MEDIAN GRADE PLACEMENT, 1929-1934**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Median Age</th>
<th>Median Grade Placement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929-30</td>
<td>13.9 yrs.</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-31</td>
<td>14.3 yrs.</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-32</td>
<td>14 yrs.</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-33</td>
<td>13.9 yrs.</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-34</td>
<td>13.7 yrs.</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>Fifth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1933-1934, *op. cit.*, 7.
AGE AND GRADE PLACEMENT OF 1,250 MONTEFIORE STUDENTS

The age and grade placement of students enrolled at Montefiore from July 1, 1930 to June 30, 1934 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>S.D.@</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>107</td>
<td></td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>1,250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Heavy lines indicate normal grade placement.

@indicates "Special Division."

\(^{a}\text{Faucher, op. cit., 22.}\)
request and, after approval by the local District Superintendent and the Director of Special Education, the local school truant officer (a "representative" of the Department of Compulsory Education) was responsible for ensuring enrollment at Montefiore. Upon enrollment, the boy was interviewed by a social worker (i.e., "visiting teacher") who made an initial assessment of his problems. This assessment, or "case-study," incorporated a "family history," cumulative school records, psychological and psychiatric reports, and court-related data. Additional information was added after the medical and dental examinations had been completed and after the boy's family

14 This procedure would be altered (though not significantly until 1979) as a result of the bureaucratic growth/evolution of the Board of Education's administrative organizational structure. For example, when the Bureau of Socially Maladjusted Children was created within the Department of Special Education, transfer requests were processed through the Director of the Bureau. See Appendixes IX and X for illustrations of the structural organization of the school system's bureaucratic apparatus and the Department of Special Education (1951). Also see Chapter V.

15 In addition to information obtained from the student, the truant officer was also interviewed (and, the parent, if present) since he was responsible for delivering the cumulative school records, which included a report on the boy's truancy/behavior problems and the family's home conditions.

16 The inclusion in the educational system of "visiting teachers," who had been trained as social workers, was a controversial issue among many educators (and still is). However, the role of such personnel was considered essential to "social adjustment education" so they were assigned to the Montefiore. Yet, as will be examined, the controversial debate (which incorporated many diverse attitudes, concerns, and motives) continued affecting the status of visiting teachers, though not the role of such personnel at the Montefiore in ameliorating problems of socially maladjusted children.

17 It should be remembered that Morrison (cf., II, n.26) had stressed the importance of the individualized "case method" for the study and treatment of "conduct" problems. In addition, Stullken's work with Reavis (as a student and later a collaborator), also reinforced the application of this methodology at Montefiore (cf., II, n.37).
had been cleared through the Social Service Exchange. The Exchange, a
function of the Council of Social Agencies, provided (to "accredited"
agencies) a listing of families known to various social and welfare
agencies. This information would provide for cooperative efforts by
school personnel at Montefiore. Thus, the accumulated data, incor-
porated into an individual case-study evaluation, served as the basis
for coordinating the "personnel work" of the school.

The personnel work was, therefore, primarily aimed at remedi-
ating the social and health problems of the students referred to
Montefiore and the role of the visiting teacher was that of liaison
between the home, school, community agencies/organizations, and the
Juvenile Court. The personnel work was directed by the social worker
who had been assigned to Montefiore on a full-time basis when it was
established. She had the responsibility for coordinating the activi-
ties of other social workers (see Table IX for a "summary of visiting
teacher activities"), issuing work permits, and directing the prepara-
tion of truancy petitions and case-work evaluations for Juvenile

The Exchange was a significant and important vehicle for
cooordinating the efforts of the various social and welfare agencies
which provided specific services to children and their families. The
families and agencies to which they were known were listed with the
Exchange (identified, cross-indexed, etc.) and this information pro-
vided a basis for cooperative intervention, especially by school
personnel at Montefiore. Today, the Social Service Director, pub-
lished by the Council for Community Services in Metropolitan Chicago
(cf., II, nn.15,16), provides an important informational function by
listing community organizations (generally incorporated, non-profit
groups) and public agencies which provide specific types of services.
In addition, the Council's Community Referral Service provides an
important "telephone directory" of available services.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Problems Referred</th>
<th>1929-1930</th>
<th>1930-1931</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavior</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home Conditions</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Adjustment</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment (working certificates)</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relief</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholarship</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,397</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,506</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Visits Made By Visiting Teachers</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kinds of Visits</strong></td>
<td>1929-1930</td>
<td>1930-1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperating Agency</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dispensaries</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>764</strong></td>
<td><strong>692</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total number of types of problems referred is greater than the total case load because many cases are listed under two or three different headings. The number of cases listed as School Adjustment is considered as the total case load because all boys referred to the Montefiore were considered cases for school adjustment.


Also see Appendix XI for a list of the agencies and organizations used by visiting teachers in their work.
She also engaged in "field work" (i.e., making home visits, contacting appropriate social-welfare agencies/organizations, etc.) on a limited number of cases. The bulk of the field work, however, was done by the other social workers—or, "visiting teachers."

Significantly, when Montefiore was established, it became a training center for social workers new to the school system. During the first year, six were assigned to Montefiore who were later transferred to other schools in the system. In subsequent years, this

The first Juvenile Court Judge with whom Stullken and his staff would work was Mary Bartelme, who had employed social "case-work" techniques (then equated with "probationary methods") in her earlier work as Public Guardian of Cook County (cf., I, n.50). It should also be remembered that Dr. Miriam Van Waters had stressed the importance of such evaluations in her role as Juvenile Judge in Los Angeles (cf., II, n.50). Thus, Stullken knew that such a case-study (in addition to the required legal "petition") could provide significant information and influence the outcome of a court-hearing. Montefiore's work in relation to the Juvenile Court will be examined later in this chapter.

First Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1929-1930, op. cit., 23. Mary Herrick (cf., I, n.2), in a telephone interview, suggested that this writer contact Mrs. Marcella Nell, who had been an early vocational guidance counselor in the public school system. Subsequent personal interviews with Mrs. Nell revealed that when the Vocational Guidance Bureau was established (1922), its staff was originally comprised of graduates from schools of social work and they were given the title of "visiting teachers." The director of the Bureau, e.g., was Ann Davis, who (like Nell) had worked under Abbott and Breckinridge at the University of Chicago. (Abbott was the Dean of the School of Social Work; also, cf., I, n.72, II, n.70.) Nell pointed out that under Bogan the staff grew until visiting teacher service was provided to all of the high schools. She also noted that when Montefiore was established, a group of visiting teachers were assigned to the special school under the supervision of Isabella Dolton, the assistant superintendent. According to Nell, Dolton "didn't know anything about visiting teachers, but she got Florence Clark who did, who was one of our original vocational guidance people." Thus, in the early Annual Reports the un-named acting supervisor of visiting teachers was Florence Clark. After case-loads had been delegated to the visiting teachers by the social worker assigned to Montefiore, it was Clark who supervised their work in the field.
number was reduced; although, two were assigned on a full-time basis between 1930-1933 and others continued to be assigned on a part-time basis. In the summer of 1933, as a result of economy-measures prompted by the Depression, as well as controversy regarding the school system's role in providing welfare-oriented services, the Board of Education eliminated "visiting teacher" positions.\textsuperscript{21} However, since this role was considered so vital to the program at Montefiore, a regularly assigned teacher who had "visiting teacher experience and training"\textsuperscript{22} was delegated this social work responsibility.

After a boy had been enrolled at Montefiore and interviewed by the social worker, he was directed to a "receiving" or orientation room where he would spend a week to ten days. During this period, the school psychologist (who was assigned to the school on a full-time basis by the Bureau of Child Study\textsuperscript{23}) would administer a battery of

\textsuperscript{21} According to Marcella Nell, "'the social work era stopped in 1933 with 'the great clean-out.' Although, in 1936 when the guidance people came back, the adjustment service always retained some of its social work aura.'"

\textsuperscript{22} Fifth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1933-1934, op. cit., 4. As will be examined in the next chapter, a "Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Project" led to the creation of the Field Adjustment Teacher role which supplanted (but paralleled) that of the visiting teacher and has continued to the present day.

\textsuperscript{23} Extensive budget reductions by the Board of Education in 1933 reduced the Bureau of Child Study to six. Hence, psychological services were curtailed throughout the school system. Personal interview with Marcella Nell. However, the services of a psychologist, whose role was considered so essential to "social adjustment education," were still made available to Montefiore but on a part-time basis. As will be examined, Montefiore's history reflects a continual struggle to retain those key services incorporated at its establishment. Services were provided full-time during some periods and part-time at others.
tests 24 to determine his academic achievement levels, I.Q., interests and aptitudes. A teacher assigned to the receiving room would also give the boy a selected amount of academic work. During this period, both the teacher and the psychologist would ascertain a variety of physical, emotional, and personality characteristics of the boy (e.g., size, "social" age or maturity, etc.). Thus, an educational and mental assessment was made of each boy while he was in the receiving room which became another facet of the case-study evaluation. On the basis of this assessment, the psychologist would assign the boy to a room (or "group") with boys of approximately the same age, ability, and with similar physical/personality characteristics. Illustration VIII provides a representative example of the "rationale" employed in the homogeneous grouping of students. In addition to having the responsibility for the examination and placement of students (and, thereby, the structural organization of homogeneous groups within the school25), the psychologist conducted an on-going testing program. This testing procedure was used as a basis for the evaluation of student progress and it also provided a basis for evaluating the effectiveness of the groups structured to remediate the educational deficiencies. Thus, it was an essential component for evaluating "social adjustment education" and re-structuring groups when it was deemed necessary and feasible.

24 See Appendix XII for a listing of the types of instruments generally used in the testing, classifying, and assignment of students to various groups.

25 These groups were, of course, limited by such factors as the number of available teachers and the physical facilities of the school, i.e., the number of classrooms and rooms that could be potentially used for tutorial and/or small group instruction.
ILLUSTRATION VIII

HOMOGENEOUS GROUPINGS: FIRST SEMESTER 1934-1935

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ROOM</th>
<th>MED. I.Q.</th>
<th>MEDIAN CHRON. AGE</th>
<th>MEDIAN MENTAL AGE</th>
<th>MEDIAN AGE EDUCATIONAL</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>12 - 7</td>
<td>11 - 7</td>
<td>10 - 2</td>
<td>Young, bright, educationally retarded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>12 - 2</td>
<td>11 - 10</td>
<td>10 - 0</td>
<td>Young, medium bright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>14 - 1</td>
<td>10 - 5</td>
<td>9 - 8</td>
<td>Dull. Fair mechanical ability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>12 - 0</td>
<td>9 - 1</td>
<td>8 - 7</td>
<td>Youngest boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>15 - 8</td>
<td>10 - 9</td>
<td>9 - 7</td>
<td>Oldest, dullest and with personality difficulties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>14 - 2</td>
<td>10 - 8</td>
<td>10 - 0</td>
<td>Dull, medium young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>14 - 1</td>
<td>13 - 0</td>
<td>12 - 6</td>
<td>Bright, but physically and socially immature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>14 - 2</td>
<td>12 - 11</td>
<td>12 - 5</td>
<td>Bright, but physically more mature than 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>15 - 1</td>
<td>13 - 10</td>
<td>13 - 7</td>
<td>8th graders with ed. handicaps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>92.6</td>
<td>15 - 2</td>
<td>13 - 11</td>
<td>12 - 8</td>
<td>8th graders with personality handicaps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>13 - 6</td>
<td>10 - 5</td>
<td>10 - 0</td>
<td>Dull, slightly younger than 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>15 - 2</td>
<td>11 - 7</td>
<td>11 - 2</td>
<td>Dull with ability in mech. drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>12 - 0</td>
<td>8 - 3</td>
<td>7 - 5</td>
<td>Major reading disability cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>14 - 9</td>
<td>10 - 3</td>
<td>9 - 3</td>
<td>Physically mature dull boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>15 - 7</td>
<td>12 - 6</td>
<td>11 - 7</td>
<td>Older boys in upper grades with highest mech. ability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>14 - 11</td>
<td>12 - 1</td>
<td>10 - 6</td>
<td>Dull older boys interested in science--personality difficulties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>15 - 0</td>
<td>11 - 4</td>
<td>11 - 4</td>
<td>Medium old with high mech. ability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>15 - 1</td>
<td>10 - 1</td>
<td>8 - 10</td>
<td>Dull, older, physically less mature than 17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\*Fifth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1933-1934, op. cit., 52

See Appendix XIII for a complete description.
During the early years, the psychologist had the assistance of Dr. Marion Monroe of the Institute for Juvenile Research in structuring certain groups. Her "Monroe Diagnostic Reading Examination" was used as a basis for identifying and placing students in special "reading disabilities" groups. Dr. Monroe worked in conjunction with the psychologist and the special teachers assigned to these groups in developing the curriculum and methodologies that were employed. One group was comprised of students who had been assigned to various rooms/divisions in the school. They were individually programmed to receive tutorial and/or small group instruction for 20-40 minutes a day, everyday. Essentially, then, this group was comprised of a number of different groups, each organized on the basis of the types of disabilities exhibited by the boys. Significantly, one group alone had a measured average gain in achievement of 400%, i.e., twelve months gain.

26 If a student's reading achievement score was two or more years below that of his arithmetic score, he was considered a candidate for a reading disabilities group. He was then given Dr. Monroe's test (which identified specific reading problems) and on that basis assigned to a special group. Third Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1931-1932, op. cit., 67. Although this procedure is no longer followed at Montefiore, some school psychologists still employ Monroe's tests in their "child-study" examinations. Personal interview with Frederick Reis. (Reis is the psychologist currently assigned to Montefiore; see Chapter V.)
in three months. Another group was organized within a classroom situation and a variety of visual educational devices were employed to remediate selected reading problems (e.g., stereoscopes and lantern slides). The success of these early groups brought 150 teachers and principals from the school system to Montefiore to observe the methodology employed and the curriculum materials which were developed.

Thus, in effect, Dr. Monroe became an "auxiliary" member of Montefiore's staff, and she contributed to the development of the early curriculum which served as a basis for expansion in later years.

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27 This particular group was one of those who received special instruction for reading disabilities from Margaret M. Payne. For an examination of the methodology employed and the curriculum materials utilized, see her "Special Reading Project" report in Second Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1930-1931, 35-36. Also see the psychologist's report and statistical findings on Payne's work: Ibid., 75-77. Significantly, Payne gave a presentation of her work at the Chicago Normal School, the teacher training college which supplied many (if not, most) teachers to the Chicago Public school system at the time; see, Ibid., 69. Edward Stullken provided this writer with a bound volume by Margaret M. Payne entitled A Method of Teaching Reading to Slow Learning Pupils. Although it is undated, it was obviously developed on the basis of her early work with the reading disabilities groups, since the methodology is similar to that presented in the Annual Reports relative to the special groups. Also, an individual "case-study report" on a pupil enrolled in a special group during the 1935-1936 school year would indicate that the volume was printed after that time; see, Ibid., 15-16.

28 This group received special instruction from Stella Ray. Her report on the work undertaken in her class can be found in: Second Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1930-1931, op. cit., 37. Also see: Third Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1931-1932, op. cit., 37.

Other "auxiliary" members of the staff were the doctor, nurse, and dentist assigned to Montefiore by the Chicago Board of Health. During the "orientation period" each boy was given a medical examination and the findings were reported to the social worker who would endeavor to secure appropriate medical corrections. Table X provides a representative example of the work of the doctor and nurse, and the types of defects found upon examining Montefiore's boys. The dentist, assigned on a full-time basis, was able to do both "educational work" (i.e., instruction in the appropriate care of teeth and its importance) and correctional work,\(^{30}\) since the Board of Education had provided a fully-equipped dental office. Table XI provides a representative example of the work of the dentist. These services were considered important to "adjusting" the problems exhibited by the boys (particularly those health problems which could interfere with learning, as well as, contribute to school absence) and "educating" them to prevent future problems, when possible. Besides these auxiliary members of the staff, the Board of Education assigned personnel who were concerned with other aspects of health and education. A special teach-

\(^{30}\) In a telephone interview with this writer, Dr. Alvin Spiro, the Assistant Director of the Dental Division, Chicago Health Department, pointed out that "'motivational-educational programs'" designed to inculcate appropriate health habits evolved from free clinics established in 1910 by the Chicago Dental Society (one clinic was established at Hull-House). Dr. Spiro also noted that this was a fundamental aspect of the dental program developed at Montefiore, in conjunction with the corrective work. "'It was a part of the very special, wholistic curriculum which was developed around a clearly conceived central purpose by people like Stullken, who understood types of organization.'" The role of Montefiore's current dentist, Dr. Irvin Stein, and his assessment of the dental program will be examined in Chapter V.
TABLE Xa
REPORT OF PHYSICAL EXAMINATIONS AND MEDICAL FOLLOWUP, 1933-1934

Examinations...........................................261 boys

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEFECTS</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malnutrition</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anemia</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlarged Lymph Glands</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enlarged Thyroid</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nervous Diseases</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardiac Disease</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defective Speech</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suspect Tuberculosis</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respiratory Disease</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skin Disease</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rachitic Type</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthopaedic Defects</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdominal Defects</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. U. Disease</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defect of Vision</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Diseases of Eye</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defect of Hearing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ear Disease</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defect of Nasal Breathing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defect of Teeth</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypertrophied Tonsils</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adenoids</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1,207</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Column 1                         | Correction not needed |
| Column 2                         | Correction needed     |
| Column 3                         | Correction urgent     |

Reinspections followup 1933-34..................133
Conferences with mothers...................... 47
Corrections of defects....................... 185
Vaccinations........................................52
Vaccinal Status....................................261
Vaccinal Certificates issued................. 225
Emergency Treatments.......................... 74

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Molars Saved</td>
<td>722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children Attended</td>
<td>1,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Cases</td>
<td>506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-Visit Cases</td>
<td>918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emergency Cases</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referred Cases</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completed Cases</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prophylaxis</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analgesic &amp; Counter</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abscess Opened</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulp Cap</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fillings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amalgam</td>
<td>2,299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxyphosphate of Zinc</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxyphosphate of Copper</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper Amalgam</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silicate</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extractions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deciduous Teeth</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanent Teeth</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Anesthetic</td>
<td>633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Examinations</td>
<td>502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Operations</td>
<td>5,483</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( ^a \)Fifth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1933-1934, op. cit., 15.
er was assigned who worked with boys exhibiting serious speech problems. A bath-attendant was responsible for supervising at least fifty boys a day, who were referred for personal "uncleanliness." And mental hygiene was incorporated into the Montefiore program through the services of a psychiatrist assigned to the school on a part-time basis in September, 1930.

This special speech teacher was assigned to Montefiore from the Division of Special Education on a part-time basis. During the "orientation period," each boy was given a speech examination. If a speech defect was diagnosed, he was assigned to a special group for remediation of that defect (or a combination of defects) by the speech teacher. The Annual Reports, 1929-1934, indicate that "stuttering" and "lisping" (i.e., S defect) were the major problems identified; although, many boys reflected problems in "letter substitution," "indistinct speech," and "nasability."

This was considered an important aspect of the daily program due to the absence of proper facilities in some homes and the lack of proper hygiene training. Also, some boys had a enuresis problem.

As has been noted, during the first year psychiatric services were secured from public and private sources. However, in September of 1930, the Board of Education assigned a psychiatrist to Montefiore one day per week. The psychiatrist, Catherine Brannick, engaged in therapy with boys referred to her by other members of the staff. She also cooperated with psychiatric clinics who were already active on cases. In a report entitled "Mental Hygiene in the Montefiore School," Dr. Brannick stated: ""In the treatment of any form of delinquency, there are two main principles: the first to make it worthwhile for the delinquent to give up his delinquency by offering constructive counter-activities or by convincing him of the desirability of conforming; and the second to make it unpleasant for him to remain in delinquency. In the case of these difficult boys the more constructive form of treatment will become the more difficult as the schools are compelled to cut activities and crowd the classrooms, and the social agencies of the community are curtailed. Manipulation of the environment of the difficult child must be kept within practicable limits, if we are to avoid an excess of the less constructive form of treatment."" Third Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1931-1932, op. cit., 29. As has been examined, the "activities" program at Montefiore comprised about half of the curriculum while Stullken was principal; and, in relationship to regular classes, Montefiore generally reflected smaller class enrollments.
Another component of Montefiore's program was the role of the truant officer. In fact, an examination of the relationship between Montefiore and the Department of Compulsory Education (both "systems" within the Chicago Public School System) and those "systems" and the Juvenile Court (a "system"/institution of society) provides an essential perspective on the role of the special school. As has been examined, the Chicago Board of Education had been criticized for its failure to deal with the problem of juvenile delinquency which was linked to truancy and incorrigible student behavior. Prior to the establishment of Montefiore, truant and incorrigible children were brought into Juvenile Court on the basis of petitions filed by truant officers from schools throughout the city. As representatives of the Department of Compulsory Education, truant officers were primarily responsible for enforcing the compulsory attendance law. Thus, their

34 It is significant to note that during the 1928-1929 school year, 2,008 parental school petitions (city-wide) were filed with the Department of Compulsory Education. During Montefiore's first year of operation (1929-1930), this number was reduced to 754—a decrease of 1,254 petitions. First Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1929-1930, op. cit., 30.

35 Cf., I, nn.72,73. In 1889, when the first compulsory attendance law (of 1883) was amended by the Illinois General Assembly, Boards of Education were statutorily mandated to provide a truant officer. However, the Chicago Board of Education had appointed truant officers when it created the Department of Compulsory Education (1883). See: Herrick, op. cit., 63-65. As a result of a court decision in 1927 (based on a 1898 dictum of the Illinois Supreme Court), all non-teaching employees of the Board of Education came under the jurisdiction of the City Civil Service Commissioners. Although examinations for positions were introduced, the practice of using ""temporary political appointees instead of persons who had passed any examination"" continued. Ibid. 165; also see 178. Early truant officers were issued "stars" which were later replaced by "badges."
role was basically equated with a legalistic, potentially "punitive" effect on school children; and, in some cases, their parents.\(^{36}\) An alternative to the prosecution and resultant (potential) commitment of truant and incorrigible children to the Parental School, state reformatories for juveniles, or other "institutional" facilities, was created with the establishment of Montefiore. Children from schools within Montefiore's special school district could now be transferred to this special "day school" without Court action. Although, in spite of the combined efforts of personnel at Montefiore, some children would still have to be brought into Juvenile Court on a variety of petitions; see, e.g., Table XII. Truant officers from this special district were relieved of all court work; although, they became responsible for insuring enrollment of students transferred to Montefiore. However, their generally perceived role as "law enforcement officials" did not substantially change with the establishment of Montefiore;

While truant officers have traditionally been examined and certified to their position, ""no threshold of educational preparation is required and no definitive survey of educational preparation is possible under Civil Service regulations."

\(^{36}\) As was examined in Chapter I, early compulsory attendance laws and child labor laws were linked together in the child-welfare movement of the late 19th century. Parents who, for various reasons, kept their children out of school came under attack for contributing to truancy. Thus, in 1897 the compulsory attendance law was again amended by the Illinois General Assembly enabling "indifferent parents" to be prosecuted under the law in Municipal Courts. See: Abbott and Breckinridge, op. cit., 57.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enrollment July 1, 1933</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transferred to Montefiore from regular Public and Private Elementary Schools</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transferred to Montefiore from Parental School</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Returned to Montefiore from regular schools because of failure to adjust</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received at Montefiore from various miscellaneous sources</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overage. Left school to go to work</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transferred to schools out of town</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transferred to Chicago Public Schools</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transferred to Chicago Private Schools</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transferred to the Spalding School</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transferred to the Moseley Special School</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transferred to Glenwood Manual Training School</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transferred to Arden Shore Camp</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committed to St. Charles</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committed to Dixon by Juvenile Court</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committed to The Oaks</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committed to Lincoln State School</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committed to Parental School on Parental School Petitions (7 ordered by Court)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committed to Parental School on other petitions</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Returned to Parental School - Parole Violation</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deceased</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduated (Eighth Grade Graduation)</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number leaving during the year</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number remaining enrolled on July 1, 1934</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of individual boys enrolled during 1933-1934 (Total case load)</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---


bIt should be remembered that when the Juvenile Court Act was adopted, the Court was empowered to take custody away from unfit parents and place a child in a foster home or in an institution. (This author.)
instead of the threat of custodial confinement, the punishment for truancy and/or misbehavior was transfer to the Montefiore—"a special school for the 'socially maladjusted'."\textsuperscript{37}

Yet, those truant officers assigned to Montefiore became a part of the interrelated program designed to remediate the socio-educational problems that resulted in truancy, tardiness, and misbehavior. Similar to the "visiting teachers," truant officers worked from the "social service point of view"\textsuperscript{38} and their investigative reports became an integral part of the case-study evaluations developed on Montefiore boys. Thus, the attendance of the students became a joint endeavor of teachers, social workers, and truant officers. Recalling that the majority of boys were referred to Montefiore because of "truancy," it

\textsuperscript{37} Anthony Sorrentino, Organizing Against Crime: Redeveloping the Community (New York: Human Sciences Press, Inc., 1977), 109. Chapter 4, "The Child and the School," is particularly relevant to this study. Sorrentino examines the role of the truant officer, as well as practices and attitudes of the 1930s and 1940s which contributed to truancy and behavioral/delinquency problems. Significantly, Sorrentino's family immigrated from Italy when he was six years old. They settled on the Near West Side of Chicago in an area still referred to as "Little Italy." His, largely autobiographical, work poignantly describes what life was like in the Halsted-Taylor Street area and provides insight into early efforts of juvenile delinquency prevention (especially by the Chicago Area Project; see Appendix VIII). He was sixteen years old when Montefiore was established; and, he, like many over the last fifty-two years was often threatened with being sent to Montefiore.

\textsuperscript{38} This phrase was used in the Annual Reports to describe the role of the truant officers assigned to Montefiore. Thus, an intended purpose of their work was to provide any "social service" necessary to correct student absences. (It should be remembered that their activities were coordinated by the social worker assigned to direct the "personnel" work.) During the first year, one truant officer was assigned, but in subsequent years two were assigned on a full-time basis. Importantly, one truant officer was provided with transportation.
is significant to observe the average per cent of attendance during the early years; see Table XIII. It is also significant to note that reports of the Department of Compulsory Education (1926-1929) indicated that approximately 300 boys per year were brought into Juvenile Court on parental school petitions from (what would become) the Montefiore special school district. Table XIV reflects the substantial over-all decrease in such petitions from this district during Montefiore's early years. Thus, while Montefiore's truant officers still retained a "law enforcement" status, as they were responsible for serving court summons and assisting in court-related work, the theoretical intent of their role was that of a field social worker. As part of the special type of socio-educational work at Montefiore, where the study and treatment of the school system's problem cases was undertaken, this role reflected changing public and professional attitudes. These changing perspectives were given prominence in the 1932 Strayer Report.

George D. Strayer, the Director of the Division of Field Studies of Columbia University, had been commissioned by the Board of Education to conduct a survey of the Chicago Public School System.

39 The reports were cited in the First Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1929-1930, op. cit., 30.

40 The role of Montefiore's current truant officer, Joseph C. Guido, and the tenuous status of truant officers in the school system today will be examined in Chapter V.
TABLE XIII<sup>a</sup>

ATTENDANCE OF THE PUPILS IN THE MONTEFIORE SCHOOL

The table given below gives a summary of the percent of attendance of boys at the Montefiore School from September 16, 1929 to July 1, 1934.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MONTHS</th>
<th>1929-30</th>
<th>1930-31</th>
<th>1931-32</th>
<th>1932-33</th>
<th>1933-34</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>87.2</td>
<td>88.46</td>
<td>91.38</td>
<td>92.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>89.07</td>
<td>90.92</td>
<td>95.06</td>
<td>93.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>92.1</td>
<td>86.12</td>
<td>88.99</td>
<td>91.89</td>
<td>86.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>88.7</td>
<td>89.02</td>
<td>91.2</td>
<td>93.55</td>
<td>90.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>90.58</td>
<td>90.96</td>
<td>94.20</td>
<td>91.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>85.1</td>
<td>92.93</td>
<td>92.3</td>
<td>94.99</td>
<td>92.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>91.13</td>
<td>90.87</td>
<td>94.44</td>
<td>90.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>88.8</td>
<td>91.51</td>
<td>88.66</td>
<td>94.13</td>
<td>92.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>89.9</td>
<td>90.33</td>
<td>90.70</td>
<td>94.11</td>
<td>92.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>84.3</td>
<td>86.75</td>
<td>91.124</td>
<td>93.95</td>
<td>90.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>86.5</td>
<td>88.22</td>
<td>92.02</td>
<td>92.75</td>
<td>90.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>87.9</td>
<td>90.02</td>
<td>91.97</td>
<td>90.45</td>
<td>89.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average percent of attendance for 1929-30 --- 87.5  
Average percent of attendance for 1930-31 --- 89.38
Average percent of attendance for 1931-32 --- 90.68
Average percent of attendance for 1932-33 --- 93.33
Average percent of attendance for 1933-34 --- 91.18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Boys Taken to Court</th>
<th>No. of Boys Committed to Parental School</th>
<th>Total Enrollment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929-30</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-31</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-32</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-33</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-34</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>671</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[^{a}\text{Fifth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1933-1934, op. cit., 19.}\]
The findings and controversial recommendations of Strayer and his field staff were published in June of 1932 as the Strayer Report. Significantly, two of the "sub-systems" the report examined were the Department of Compulsory Education and the Bureau of Child Study. As regards the role of truant officers, the report stated: "Emphasis on enforcement is one stage in the evolution of attendance service but not on the level of the 'best thought in the field'." It also pointed out that "modern attendance service recognizes the interrelationship between truancy, misbehavior, and maladjustment at school and in the areas in which social economists and social workers were engaged. Attendance work is now (1932) recognized as an educational function, i.e., social case work which can only be carried on by properly qualified persons." The report recommended:

1. That attendance officers should have the same level of training as teachers and should have background in education, psychology and social work.
2. They should be selected by the board of examiners and be a part of the professional personnel rather than civil service employees selected by the Civil Service Commission.
3. That there was no reason why the position of attendance officer and visiting teacher should be separate.
4. That the name of the department should be changed from the Bureau of Compulsory Education to Bureau of Pupil Accounting and the title "truant officer" should be changed to a more appropriate title.

The Strayer Report presents interesting (if not, striking) parallels to contemporary controversies, as well as the financial situation facing the Chicago Public School System. See, e.g., Herrick, op. cit., 200-201, 204-206. Relatedly, the first comprehensive study of the system was by Harper in 1898 (cf., I).

Report of Survey of the Chicago Public Schools, Division of Field Studies, Columbia University, George D. Strayer, Director, 1932, 338-343, as quoted in Marcella Nell and Robert J. Havighurst, The Welfare and Health Systems and the Chicago School System, Project on Society and Education, Department of Education, University of Chicago (Chicago: By the authors, February, 1968), 9-10. (Nell and Herrick collaborated with Havighurst on a federally funded project; cf., I, n.4.)
Providing a double-edged rationale for psychological services, the report pointed out that a "narrow conception of function of the Bureau as a center for the administration of intelligence and achievement tests existed and because of the inadequate recognition of health and social problems, interests, abilities, and disabilities, the recommendations of the psychologists are inadequate." These findings and recommendations not only illustrate the evolving socio-educational climate, but they point to the significance of the type of work carried on during the early years at Montefiore—the school system's "laboratory school."

As we have seen, a variety of roles (i.e., social forces, "systems" external, as well as, internal to the school system) contributed to the educational work and the development of its broadly conceived curriculum. The primary focus of this inter-related curriculum was "the boy." Regardless of the special teacher (i.e., "group") to which he was assigned, the educational work was directed toward remediating, if not eradicating, the boy's problems. A boy's

43 Although the Strayer Report was obviously "critical" of the limited role of the school psychologist (indicating the need for a broader conceptualization of their role), since this was the period of the Depression and a highly politicized Board of Education, it served as a rationale for the curtailing of psychological services in 1933. Cf., n.23 supra.


45 As noted by Alma May Stewart, who became the director of the personnel work at Montefiore when the "visiting teacher"/social worker position was eliminated in the school system (1933): "The boy is the job." Fifth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1933-1934, op. cit., 25.
school day was roughly divided between academic work and shop "activities." Groups to which boys were assigned were part of an ongoing assessment and development of the curricula (which was interrelated to various roles). Significantly, one special group served as a pilot project for the development of curriculum materials and methodologies especially suited to boys who were severely mentally retarded, in addition to being behavior problems. During the early years, needs and problems made a tailor shop (where boys learned how to refurbish clothing) and a cobbler shop part of the curriculum; even though, short-lived, because of lack of funding. Boys learned how to "play" together through a recreation (and "health") program and through "game room" activities, where many of the games were constructed by the boys. The intent of all shop and play activities, including metal, wood, rug-weaving, mechanical drawing, art, music, elementary science, and library work, was to provide opportunities for growth to a "socially acceptable" "

46 This was the special class taught by the woman who left Montefiore in 1933 to join the Little Red Schoolhouse staff (cf., II, n.44). For a thorough examination of her four years work at Montefiore see: Florence N. Beaman, Special Class Experiment in Social Adjustment: Montefiore Special School, 1929-1933 (Chicago: By the author, 1933). Also, a "Report of Special Class Experiment" by Beaman is presented in Third Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1931-1932, op. cit., 40-47.
Recalling the "macro" and "micro" problems which contributed to the establishment of Montefiore, Clifford Shaw's perspective on this social level (or, more properly, social "limit") is significant:

Children reflect rather accurately the values and conduct of those with whom they have been associated. Our society as a whole tolerates among adults a great deal of non-conforming and lawless behavior. It is only natural for children and young people to be delinquent to about the same degree. From this point of view delinquency appears to be not accidental or marginal but, rather, an integral and almost necessary part of our whole social life. Stated realistically, the problem of prevention becomes one of keeping the conduct of young people within tolerable limits. The diversely specialized staff defined these "social levels" and "tolerable limits" in their daily program of providing social adjustment education at the Montefiore. It was inevitable that a degree of "labelling" would accrue to a school to which truants and behavior problem students would be sent for special education. This is one fun-

47 While many boys showed significant progress as measured by their academic achievement levels, another measure of "social growth" contributes to an understanding of the work of the school. As noted by the school psychologist: "An analysis of the so-called residue reveals not only truants who do not make academic gain because they are not in school but many neurotic or even psychopathic cases who stay with us year after year because they cannot adjust in a school environment that holds them down to a routine that they cannot endure. The academic work in these cases takes a secondary place to the activities or freedom from scholastic strings which these boys require for the development of stability and rationality. Although these boys show little or no progress in scholastic work from one examination to another we nevertheless feel that their perceptible growth of stability is a real triumph for the school." 47

48 Clifford R. Shaw, The Delinquent and His Neighbor, A reprint mimeographed and distributed by the Illinois Commission on Delinquency Prevention, Anthony Sorrentino, Executive Director (Chicago: June, 1976). As noted by Sorrentino (cf., n.37 supra.) in this reprint, this was a speech presented by Shaw which was representative of many he gave while Administrative Director of the Chicago Area Project and Head of the Department of Sociology at the Institute of Juvenile Research.
damental reason that Montefiore, from its inception, came to represent different things to different people; i.e., "social adjustment education" reflected diverse concerns, attitudes, and motives. However, Illustration IX reflects the significant theoretical influence of Morrison (i.e., mastery learning and the role of case work in treating the "problem pupil") and provides a graphic summary of the socio-educational program that was crystallized in the Montefiore.

Thus, the Montefiore became the Chicago Public School System's laboratory school for the study and treatment of children who, for various reasons, could not adjust to a regular school environment. To some, this laboratory school became equated with a positively conceived "reform school" which would rehabilitate truant and incorrigible children, functioning similar to a child guidance clinic. To others, the Montefiore represented a retributive or punitive solution, i.e., a place where non-conforming, problem children could be sent. This perceptual dichotomy of the special school contributed to socio-educational/political struggles to maintain those services and auxiliary personnel considered essential in providing "social adjustment education." Yet, the Montefiore was "born in lean years and thrived in lean years." As all social systems, it would be affected by social forces and "evolve." Then, too, the Montefiore's growth and expansion would contribute to and parallel the evolution of various special education programs within the Chicago Public School System.

49 Personal interview with Lawrence J. Casey (Cf., n.6. supra.)
Remedial teacher for correction of defective experiential background with subassignments to various members of the staff

Medical specialists for physical and psycho-physical defects

Specially adapted members of the staff for emotional and volitional inabilities and, in extreme cases, the clinic

Custodial care in special rooms or institutions for mental defectives

Social-service agencies for home reconstruction and general out-of-school correction

Visiting teacher

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CHAPTER IV

THE YEARS OF EXPANSION, 1934-1960

The growth and development of Montefiore's special program for socially maladjusted children reflects the evolution of programs (within the Chicago Public School System and in public education, generally) for a diverse range of "problem children," or, more appropriately, for "children with problems." It is important to recall that prior to the establishment of Montefiore, the ungraded classes in various schools contained the system's misfits—not only truants and incorrigibles, but children variously retarded and/or handicapped. With the establish-

1 This theme, reflecting a socio-cultural change in public attitudes, is developed in a historical perspective on school social work services; see, Geraldine Tosby, "School Social Work in Illinois," Illinois Journal of Education, Vol. 59, No. 4 (April, 1968), 78-81. (at the time, Tosby was the supervisor of School Social Work Services, Department of Pupil Personnel Services, Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction.) The theme's application to Montefiore and the evolution of social adjustment education is this writer's; although it is a socio-legal, historical parallel. (See Chapter V.)

2 By the turn of the century, "ungraded divisions" were formally established within the school system (in addition to those de facto ungraded rooms established by local school principals) and the Department of Child-Study and Pedagogic Investigation was responsible for assigning children to these special classes. Subsequently, blind and crippled "centers" were established and a custodial school for truants and incorrigibles (i.e., the Parental School). In 1911, "centers" for truants were created and in 1929, the Montefiore Special School. Cf., I, nn.78, 80,87,88. Significantly, by 1922, nation-wide, socio-educational forces had established the Council for Exceptional Children (C.E.C.). This organization, largely through a "small cadre of CEC pioneers" including Dr. Charles S. Berry, contributed to the 1930 White House Conference on Children, focusing attention on the "exceptional child."

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ment of Montefiore, the school system's educational resources, particularly reflected in its two primary "sub-systems," the Department of Compulsory Education and the Bureau of Child Study, were enlisted along with external "systems" (e.g., the Board of Health, the Institute for Juvenile Research, Juvenile Court) to focus on these children. While the Montefiore was ostensibly established to provide a "special education" for problem boys (i.e., truants, incorrigibles, delinquents) with the ultimate aim of changing their behavior by "meeting their needs," its correlative task was to study these children and develop a treatment or educational plan based on case-study findings. These studies revealed that although truancy and incorrigibility were cited as the reasons for referral to Montefiore, they were only "symptoms" of underlying problems. 3 Many of the children were "problems" for the regular

(see, e.g., Francis E. Lord, ed., "The CEC Story," Exceptional Children, Vol. 47, No. 7 (April, 1981), 527-553; and, especially, 527, 537.)

Edward Stullken's nation-wide study not only contributed to the establishment of Montefiore (1929), but it was included in the 1930 White House Conference reports. (Cf., II, n.56.) As will be examined, Edward Stullken served as president of the Council between 1937 and 1939.

3 This was a basic philosophic tenet of social adjustment education often expressed by Stullken, reflecting a "scientific" approach which incorporated the child-study and mental hygiene movements (i.e., their principles, techniques, and methodologies). The following quote is representative: ""Truancy, misbehavior, delinquency and other bad behavior of children are only symptoms and not diseases. These manifestations of maladjustment are only the symptom pictures of underlying conditions which are found in the family life, the school situation, the child's social environment and somewhat less frequently in the physiological and psychological makeup of the individual problem case.""

classroom because of mental retardation, physical handicaps (i.e., physical abnormalities, epilepsy, visual and/or auditory problems, speech impediments), social and emotional problems with which the classroom teacher (and, oftentimes, the student's peer group) was not prepared to understand or cope. Thus, the Montefiore not only became the school system's "laboratory school" where these "exceptional children" could be studied and provided an education, but it also served as the system's primary special education center where techniques and methodologies were developed which were gradually extended to other schools in the system. 

During the early years, the fundamental educational philosophy of the Montefiore was established, as was its basic internal organizational structure which crystallized its philosophy. While some seeds were planted during those years (e.g., the "visiting teacher" program, social and health services for children; "remedial" reading and mathematics, programs for the "feebleminded" to the "academically retarded"; psychological and psychiatric services in the school; shop activities for elementary students), the expansion of programs for the socially

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4 After 1929, social adjustment education, particularly crystallized in the Montefiore, contributed to the identification of variously handicapped children (i.e., speech defectives, deaf and hard of hearing, limited sight/blind, physically impaired/orthopedically handicapped); and, in particular, the development of educational programs for mentally handicapped children. Rather significantly, during its first six years, Montefiore hosted 1,277 visitors from outside of Chicago, including people from Canada, Germany, Bulgaria, Poland, South Africa, England, Japan, China, India, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, etc. Sixth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1934-1935 (Chicago Public Schools), 38.
maladjusted/exceptional child gained impetus when Montefiore, itself, expanded into new quarters.

After five years at its original location (Sangamon and Grand), the Montefiore was re-located in September, 1934 at 655 W. 14th St. (14th and Union) into what had been the Washburne Trade School building. The "new" Montefiore had 60% more space, more shop and laboratory facilities, and more equipment. Stanford Park was located across the street and boys had access to the park and the swimming pool as part of their recreation program. This cooperation between park district officials and the Montefiore affords another example of "systems interaction." With its relocation, Montefiore's special school district was enlarged to incorporate the Southwest side of the city, raising the number of schools served to 235. In addition, three truant rooms at the McClellan School (3527 S. Wallace St.) were closed and their students transferred to the Montefiore. By the following Fall, the special school program had been extended to accommodate 9th

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5 The Washburne Trade School was re-located into what had been the Lane Technical High School building. Chicago Board of Education, "Montefiore Special," School Biographies. (An undated, alphabetically organized, loose-leaf publication available at the Chicago Board of Education library.) It would appear obvious that Superintendent Bogan was involved in these re-locations; and, perhaps, instrumental, given his personal and professional interests and concerns.

6 Sixth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1934-1935, op. cit., 1. According to Lawrence J. Casey, who had joined the Chicago Public School System in 1931 as a shop teacher and was assigned to the Montefiore in 1936, the "new" structure was a ""massive, strong building"" and ""a good plant."" Personal interview with Lawrence J. Casey. (Cf., III, n.6.) At the time, it was undoubtedly an improvement over its original facilities/site.

and 10th grade transfers from high schools, again raising the number of schools served (to 327). A curriculum for the high school boys was developed under the direction of Frank L. Beals, assistant superintendent.

This was a significant development. Although Montefiore had ostensibly received boys from Senior and Junior High Schools since its establishment (Cf., III, n.4), this early population had come from "ungraded classes" in branches of those schools. Then too, elementary school graduates of Montefiore who were ineligible to return to regular schools remained and had been specially programmed. However, social adjustment education was significantly expanded when it was broadened to incorporate regular high school transferees.

Frank L. Beals, a former Major in the U.S. Army, had been in charge of the city-wide R.O.T.C. program. According to Stullken, he was a ""politician"" and a part of the "1933 cabal."" When Isabella Dolton was demoted from her role as assistant superintendent, Beals assumed many of her duties, including "supervision" over the Montefiore. Evidence suggests that Bogan and Stullken found an ally in Beals, however questionable. He was one of four men who temporarily ran the school system after Bogan's death in March, 1936. (See, "Board Picks Committee to Run Chicago Schools," Chicago Daily News, March 31, 1936, 1.) As Assistant Superintendent under Bogan, he contributed to the development of special education programs (including those at the Montefiore), working within the "system" controlled by a socio-political, educational machine (i.e., Kelly-Nash/McCahey-Johnson forces). Rather significantly, he was a member of the Advisory Board, Council for Exceptional Children, as were Charles S. Berry, Samuel R. Laycock, and J. E. Wallace Wallin (amongst others). (The latter two, along with Harry J. Baker, were also members of the Council's Board of Directors.) Journal of Exceptional Children, Vol. 3, No. 5 (June, 1937). After Bogan's death, he was formally put in charge of Special Education. During the 1936-1937 school year, he was instrumental in establishing high school classes for deaf children in three schools: ""one at the Parker High School, which is purely academic; one at the Lane Technical High School, which is giving deaf students full advantage of the opportunities and facilities of that school; and a class at the Washburne Trade School."" Journal of Exceptional Children, Vol. 4, No. 3 (December, 1937), 71. (Cf., I, n.123.)
tendent of schools. A Print Shop was opened and a drum and bugle corps was organized. Significantly, during the 1935-1936 school year, the Montefiore also began serving as a "training school" for practice teachers from Chicago Normal College who were interested in "special division" work and remedial reading. After years of petitioning the Board of Education, funding was secured and in January, 1936 a free lunch program was instituted. In May, 1936 an influential and concerned group of women obtained a charter from the Illinois Congress P.T.A. for a rather unique organization: the Montefiore Special School P.T.A.

The establishment of the Montefiore School Association reflected a dimension of social adjustment education that had been evolving in Chicago since the late nineteenth century. The Association had ideological roots to the early social settlements, where the seeds

10 In 1936, Stullken's account of the "Montefiore Special School for Problem Boys, Chicago," was published in a book (by a prestigious couple engaged in criminology); see, Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, Preventing Crime: A Symposium (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1936), 197-212. Also during 1936, an adjustment service program was re-instituted in the Chicago school system for elementary students. The following year a similar program was extended to high school students. For a historical perspective on the evolution of the Bureau of Child Study (and its "sub-systems") into what is today a part of the Department of Pupil Personnel Services and Special Education Program Development, see: Pupil Personnel Services, op. cit., 6, 69-71, 75. (However, this account only provides a historical record up to 1966.)

11 This policy of providing free lunches was eventually extended to all special schools and was a precursor to federally-funded programs which, today, provide free breakfasts and lunches to needy school children.

for parent-teacher organizations were planted. "There fostered the
development of Mother's Clubs, composed of the mothers of the children
who found almost their only safe and guided play within the settlement
environs." Significantly, in 1897 the First National Congress of
Mothers was convened and one of the women who addressed this congress
was Miss Amalie Hofer, a member of the Chicago Woman's Club. By 1900,
plans had evolved to organize various parent groups and mothers' clubs
into a state-wide congress. In 1902, Mrs. William S. (Helen M.)
Hefferan became the President of the Illinois Congress, a position she
held until 1906. Helen Hefferan had studied under Col. Francis Parker

13 Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers, Strong Is the
Current, History of the Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers 1900-
1947 by Dorothy Sparks (Chicago: I.C.P.T.A., 1948), 2. This publica-
tion is the ICPTA's official historical record. It was made available
to this writer (along with other documents) by Mrs. Ruth Grobe, a past
state president and current office manager of the Chicago Region-ICPTA
headquarters.

14 Ibid., 75.

15 Amalie Hofer (Jerome) was one of the two women who compiled
the records of the Chicago Woman's Club into its (first forty years)
historical publication: the Annals.

16 Hefferan also held the following positions on the state board:
"Chairman: Education 1906, 1920-1923; Legislation 1906-1908; Extens-
ion 1908; Parent-Teacher Organizations for Child Study 1910; Chicago
Extension 1910, 1916-1918; Child Labor 1912; Women's Club Affiliation
1914; Council of Parent-Teacher Associations of Chicago and Vicinity
1915-1918; Americanization 1918-1920; Vice President 1910-1912.""Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers, op. cit., 133. According
to Herrick, op. cit., 235, Hefferan "'had been the first president and
the effective organizer of the ICPTA.'" However, the ICPTA's official
historical record (p. 133) cites Mrs. Roger B. McMullen as "'organ-
izer'" and first president (1900-1902). Herrick, op. cit., 126, also
cites Hefferan as "'President of the PTA of the State'" in 1916. How-
ever, at that time Hefferan was Chairman of the Council of PTAs of
Chicago and Vicinity.
at the Chicago Normal School and was a "disciple" of Ella Flagg Young. Remaining active in P.T.A. work, she also became an active member of the C.W.C. in 1916.\(^{17}\) In 1923 she was appointed by Mayor William E. Dever to the Chicago Board of Education, a role she held for nearly twenty years. In addition, "she had been president of the Illinois Catholic Women's Association and her husband was the personal attorney of the Cardinal. She was a 'public school Catholic' and had sent her children to public schools. Moreover, she had been active in Democratic politics and had been president of the Illinois Democratic Woman's Club."\(^{18}\) The same year that Helen Hefferan became President of the Illinois Congress, the Chicago Parental School was established.

As we have seen,\(^{19}\) the Parental School had evolved from the child-welfare/compulsory education and juvenile court movements of the late nineteenth century. The C.W.C. had made a significant contribution to the establishment of this first custodial school for "truant" children, operated and maintained by the Chicago Board of Education. After the school was established, the C.W.C. provided "friendly supervision" over its operation through its Parental School Committee (an

\(^{17}\) Although the official historical record of the ICPTA notes that Hefferan joined the CWC in 1914, according to the 1939-1940 Yearbook of the Chicago Woman's Club she became a member in May, 1916. (Yearbook and other data made available to this writer by Mrs. Victor Arrigo, president. Data available at CWC office, 8 S. Michigan Avenue.)

\(^{18}\) Herrick, op. cit., 235; also see pp. 143, 234, 280 for biographical data.

\(^{19}\) Cf., I.
outgrowth of its Juvenile Court Committee). By 1929, C.W.C. women such as Miss Jane Addams, Miss Mary Bartelme, Mrs. Joseph T. (Louise deKoven) Bowen, Mrs. William F. (Ethel Sturgess) Dummer, and Mrs. William S. (Helen M.) Hefferan had made significant contributions to the evolution of social adjustment education in Chicago. All but one of them contributed directly to the establishment of the Montefiore Special School, the first non-custodial, day-school for truant, incorrigible, delinquent boys.

After the Montefiore was established, and in the years that followed, the C.W.C. provided clothing and shoes to needy boys and sponsored an annual Christmas party, providing a luncheon, Christmas gifts, and entertainment. (The Central Lions Club later joined the C.W.C. in hosting this event.) Another member of the C.W.C., who had been chairman of its Education Committee, also played a significant role in the evolution of social adjustment education: Mrs. John L.

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20 Annals, op. cit., 221. This "friendly supervision" would eventually evolve into a "foster PTA" group which provided support for programs at the Parental School. Reference to this PTA group and its work can be found in Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools 1938-1939, op. cit., 307. Also, cf., n.27 infra.

21 Second Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, op. cit., 33. The Central Lions Club was a staunch supporter of the Montefiore from its earliest years through the early 1950s. The club provided speakers for special assemblies, gave the school media publicity through its "Lions International Magazine," and joined with the CWC in sponsoring holiday luncheons and programs. During the 1934-1935 school year, the club began to sponsor a program wherein once each month four Montefiore boys attended club luncheon meetings. (Sixth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1934-1935, op. cit., 6.) Also cf., n.32 infra.
(Margaret Campbell) Hancock. She had been the C.W.C.'s liaison between the state legislature and the C.W.C. on legislation which was of interest to the Chicago Public Schools. She had also been secretary to the Joint Committee on Public School Affairs, the broad-based community organization which provided the leadership of Superintendent Bogan's Advisory Council. In 1933, Margaret Hancock staunchly opposed cut-backs in educational programs such as the elimination of the Chicago Parental School and the Montefiore Special School. She worked

Mrs. Jack (Helen) Sloan, a long-time activist in PTA work who held many positions on the Montefiore Association Executive Board (including innumerable terms as president; see Chapter V), directed this writer to Margaret Hancock, "who organized the Montefiore Association." The widow of Dr. John L. Hancock, dean of Crane Junior College until 1933, lived in a "country home" in White Pidgeon, Michigan, which she and her husband had originally purchased as a retreat from the busy civic life of Chicago. At age 89, she was still an active member of the Retired Teachers Association Committee and a contributor to the R.T.A. Bulletin; although, an illness in late 1979 had compelled her to curtail her activities. She had joined the CWC in February, 1933. Her death in June, 1980, approximately five weeks after that of her sister's ("the only living member of my generation of my family"), came as a shock to her friends and those who had sought her counsel. Yet, Margaret Hancock passed on a legacy of dedicated, humanitarian commitment to democratic principles and she made a significant contribution to social adjustment education in Chicago. (For a biographical sketch of Margaret Hancock, see Herrick, op. cit., 236; also see, p. 280.)

In March, 1933 Mayor Anton Cermak died in Miami as a result of an assassin's bullet meant for President Roosevelt. Edward J. Kelly, supported by the Chairman of the Cook County Democratic Central Committee, Patrick N. Nash, was elected Mayor by the City Council. The Kelly/Nash Machine dominated the political life of Chicago until 1947 (although, after Nash's death in 1943 the machine was significantly weakened). Kelly appointed a close friend and political ally to the Chicago Board of Education, James B. McCahey, who subsequently became president. In the "depression politics" of the time, heavily dosed with patronage concerns, McCahey supported the budget-cut recommendations of a group of businessmen known as the Sargent Committee. While many innovative programs started by Bogan were eliminated (especially welfare-oriented services), he and others were successful in defending the Parental School, Montefiore and "budding" special education programs.
actively within the Citizens School Committee and with its head (between 1933 and 1937), William C. Reavis. After Superintendent Bogan's death in March, 1936, there were renewed attacks on the Montefiore which rallied opposition by the Citizen's School Committee; and, particularly, through two of its "sub-system" member organizations: The Union League Club and the C.W.C. Mrs. George (Ethel) Ryan, a

Until Bogan's death in March, 1936, McCahey's power over the instructional program was counterbalanced, albeit to a limited degree. However, between 1936 and 1946 the school system was under the control of McCahey and Bogan's ultimate successor, William H. Johnson. Cf., n.35 infra.

The Citizen's Schools Committee (formally chartered in 1934) was an outgrowth of the Citizen's Save Our Schools Committee; itself, an amalgam of organizations, including many of those which had comprised the Joint Committee on Public School Affairs and Bogan's Advisory Council. Reflecting a "reform spirit," the various forces comprising the Citizens Schools Committee worked to ameliorate the school system after its "destruction" in 1933. For a socio-historical perspective of the CSC see Herrick, op. cit.; also see, Citizens School Committee, The Citizens Schools Committee: A Brief Description. Undated, mimeographed sheet published by the Committee and distributed from its headquarters at 67 E. Madison Street. Based upon personal interviews, it appears that a "Catholic conspiracy" was perceived as an attendant, social force. Kelly/Nash, McCahey/Johnson, and innumerable Irish-Catholics, held positions of power and/or patronage. Yet, there were "public school-Catholics" like William Bogan and Helen Hefferan. Also significant to recall at this juncture is the role interaction between William C. Reavis and Edward Stullken (cf., II n.37).

In 1936 the Union League Club became "vitaly interested" in the work of the Montefiore. The Club began to publicize the special education for socially maladjusted boys in its club magazine, "Men and Events," and the club's Education and Public Relations Committee held its meetings at Montefiore. The Club provided speakers for different events, including graduation. Eighth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1936-1937 (Chicago Public Schools), 8.
long-time activist in P.T.A. work (including the Montefiore), offers a perspective on the events that followed:

The Chicago Woman's Club got together a group of its people, and Margaret Hancock was one of them, and they decided to establish the P.T.A. because, you know, in Chicago what you've got in the budget you sometimes get; but, if it isn't in the budget, God help you. The Board was planning to eliminate funds for the social adjustment work in Chicago. The women decided that if they could establish a city-wide P.T.A. to sponsor the work in the social adjustment field then they would have a grass-roots connection and they could help to keep the Montefiore open. They developed the idea that they could have a city-wide P.T.A. by sending a letter to all the P.T.A.s in the city and asking them to have one person assigned in each P.T.A. go to the Montefiore. They'd pay a membership and that P.T.A. would be a member of Montefiore's P.T.A. It's the first time it's ever been done and I doubt it's ever been done anywhere else in the country in P.T.A. circles. The representative of the Montefiore P.T.A. would go to the Board hearings on the budget and plead for money for the Montefiore and so forth. That is one of the things that the P.T.A. has always done in the years ever since; they appear at the budget hearings and present a paper.26

In May, 1936, a charter was issued to the Montefiore P.T.A., "a foster P.T.A. similar to that of the Chicago Parental School."27 The officers during the 1936-1937 school year were: Mrs. O. P. Hennig, President; Mrs. M. McCausland, First Vice-President; Mrs. Benjamin Greenebaum, Second Vice-President; Miss Mary O'Brien, Secretary; and, Mrs. A. G. Hoadley, Treasurer. As will be examined, the composition of the Montefiore P.T.A. would broaden and incorporate "public spirited men and women"; however, its ties to local P.T.A. groups not only contributed to the evolution of social adjustment programs, but paralleled and, in this writer's judgment, contributed to socio-educational, political

26 Personal interview with Mrs. George (Ethel) Ryan.

forces which resulted ten years later in the establishment of the Chicago Region - I.C.P.T.A.; another, rather unique, association in p.T.A. circles. 28

During the 1936-1937 school year, the first published spot map of Montefiore's student population reflected the city-wide distribution of its boys, as well as, the areas in which many were concentrated. (See Illustration X.) A work program was started at the school through funding by the federal government's National Youth Administration. Boys from needy families were put to work as shop assistants, lunch-

28 Reflective of the CWC's "spirit" (cf., I), it helped get the Montefiore Association started, continued to support it through personnel and co-operative activities at the school, and enlisted others to the cause of social adjustment education. One of those was Mrs. Abraham (Esther) Saperstein, who was "enlisted" by Ethel Dummer (cf., I, n.59; II, nn.46,51). Personal interview(s) with Esther Saperstein. After a classic political power struggle within the Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers, an essentially "autonomous sub-system," the Chicago Region-ICPTA, crystallized in May, 1946. (Cf., e.g., the official history of the ICPTA published in 1948, ICPTA, op. cit., and Chicago Region History, An undated, ten-age mimeographed publication available from the Chicago Region-PTA headquarters, 127 N. Dearborn Ave.; and, also, Herrick, op. cit., 253.) Rather significantly, ""the first Regional Director was president during the years of 1946-1947 and 1947-1948 of the Montefiore Association."" Nineteenth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1947-1948, op. cit., 46. The first Director (later to be called "President") of the Chicago Region was Esther Saperstein, not Mrs. Harry M. (Catherine) Mulberry (contrast Herrick, op. cit., 275). Approximately ten years later, Esther Saperstein would be elected to the Illinois General Assembly where she would serve for nearly twenty years; followed by an aldermanic term in the Chicago City Council (until April, 1979). Significantly, she was the first Democratic woman elected to the Illinois Senate and she became the chairman of that body's Committee on Mental Health and of the Committee on the Status of Women. In 1972, Esther Saperstein introduced the first E.R.A. bill to the Illinois Senate.
ILLUSTRATION X

Spot Map: Population of the Montefiore Special School, March 25, 1937

POPULATION OF THE MONTEFIORIE SPECIAL SCHOOL OF CHICAGO, ILLINOIS as of March 25, 1937
Number of Pupils - 602

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room helpers, messengers, and some assisted with clerical work. The educational program of Montefiore's "joint clinic" (i.e., its psychological and personnel/social work staff) was expanded with the assignment of two trained W.P.A. workers. An Auto Shop was opened and through the co-operation with the Chicago Police Department two automobiles were made available to the school. Remedial work in mathematics was expanded and a special social science project (funded by the Union League Club) was conducted during the Spring term. A Student Council and various clubs were organized, including a Boy

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This program was a part of a federal school aid program designed to assist youth (16-25 years of age) to continue their education. Eighth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1936-1937, op. cit., 9. A somewhat similar, contemporary counterpart is the federal C.E.T.A. program (i.e., Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) through which needy Montefiore boys are employed part-time at the school during the summer session.

Reflecting the Montefiore's approach to the problems of its boys (and their families), the first floor of the school had been dubbed "Welfare Alley." "Eviction notices, relief checks, applications for CCC camp, medical referral slips, insurance papers, court summons, etc., are brought in by the boys and their parents for interpretation and solution." Ibid., 22.

This project, entitled "Hero Worship as an Aid to Citizenship Training," was conducted by five teachers at the Montefiore. For a report on the course curriculum, methodology, etc., see Ibid., 30-36. Also see Herrick, op. cit., 234.
Scout Troop sponsored by the Central Lions Club. On May 18, 1937 the Montefiore P.T.A. sponsored its first Open House to publicize the educational program of the school. The Montefiore continued to serve as a demonstration center, providing inservice programs to principals, and teachers, of "ungraded divisions," as well as, Chicago Normal "practice-teachers." The work program in the Print Shop received national publicity at the Convention of the International Council for Exceptional Children, held in Buffalo, New York in February, 1938: the badges and programs having been made by Montefiore boys. Rather significantly, Edward Stullken was elected to his second term as President

32 Teacher Arthur R. Anklam became Scout Master for Montefiore Boy Scout Troop 263 and innumerable boys had the opportunity to participate in a variety of scouting activities, including "pow-wows" and camping trips. The Central Lions Club was instrumental in providing sponsorship—not only moral support, but financial assistance ($900 to $1,000/year). Eighth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1936-1937, op. cit., 8; Eighteenth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1946-1947 (Chicago Public Schools), 41. Anklam served as Scout Master until the early 1950s, when Harry A. Ruyter (physical education teacher) assumed that role. Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1952-1953 (Chicago Public Schools), 21. Ruyter would become the co-ordinator of a unique "branch" of the Montefiore, a federally-funded program still in operation today (albeit tenuously): the Family Guidance Center. See Chapter V.

33 Through the years, the Montefiore PTA has been largely responsible for coordinating plans for Open House Programs. Through these programs the educational work of the school was publicized to a wide audience of civic-minded people, as well as educators within the system. In October, 1979, a Golden-Jubilee Program was held and all four principals of Montefiore were in attendance. See Chapter V.

34 Ninth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1937-1938 (Chicago Public Schools), 36. Rather significantly, Major Frank L. Beals, Assistant Superintendent of Schools of Chicago was the banquet speaker at this convention. (Cf., n.9 supra.) Two "notables" chairing different sessions at the convention were Dr. Harry J. Baker of Detroit (one of Stullken's early mentors, cf., II, nn.55,56.) and Mr. Roy J. Gossman, Principal of the Juvenile Detention Home, Chicago (see n.56 infra).
of the Council at this convention. In October, 1938 two "field adjustment teachers" (i.e., visiting teachers) were assigned to the Montefiore. The Chicago Normal College, now referred to as Chicago Teachers College, continued to use the Montefiore as a "training center" for its various classes. In addition to learning the techniques and methodologies employed in Montefiore's special classes, practice teachers gained experience in case-study work by examining case records and visiting first-hand the communities of Montefiore's boys.

There was also a study conducted in co-operation with the Institute of Juvenile Research. Boys were given neurological examinations and a

In addition, two of those presenting papers were Mrs. Florence Beaman Bock of the Little Red Schoolhouse, New York (cf., II, n.44; III, n.46) and Miss Ida Dushek, Supervisor, Ungraded Divisions, Chicago. Journal of Exceptional Children, Vol. 4, No. 5 (February, 1938), 116-119. (Beals was featured on the front cover of this issue.)

35 Journal of Exceptional Children, Vol. 4, No. 7 (April, 1938), 167. Also significant is the fact that "'Dr. William H. Johnson, superintendent of schools, Chicago, Illinois, attended several sessions of the convention and was a guest of honor at the banquet.'" Ibid., 168

In this writer's judgment, this convention (less than two years after Superintendent Bogan's death) exemplifies the socio-educational, political acumen of Stullken. (As did his use of the media after Bogan's death; see Appendix XIV) In an early interview with this writer, Stullken had pointed out that he and Johnson had been principals in the same district. He also noted, "'I had trouble several times with Johnson, but we remained friends.'" After the Buffalo Convention, the Montefiore program began to expand in significant directions, as did Edward Stullken's socio-educational power-base, and the Montefiore "aegis" (i.e., by definition, deriving from the Greek word 'aegis' or shield of Zeus, protection, sponsorship) was established; and, thus, an institution "crystallized."

36 Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools, 1938-1939, op. cit., 301. Actually, two teachers at Montefiore were assigned as field adjustment teachers, Victoria Moody and William Just. Moody was largely assigned health service responsibilities and Just the welfare-relief work. Their assignment brought the number of people engaged in social case-work to five (personnel director, two WPA workers, and Just and Moody).
team of anthropologists also conducted examinations. In May, 1939 the Board of Education authorized Superintendent Johnson to conduct a Juvenile Delinquency Project under the Montefiore's auspices. Eight specially selected teachers (four men and four women) were assigned to the Montefiore to receive extensive social work training as "field adjustment teachers." While their work initially involved Montefiore students, it was subsequently broadened to provide services to other schools within a designated area of Montefiore's special school district. (This "project" also contributed to the expansion of the Montefiore program due to the fact that two of the trainees were subsequently assigned to the Montefiore.) Further impetus to the expansion of the Montefiore program (and, social adjustment education) was also provided in May, 1939 when the "truant rooms" for boys at the


38 In light of McCahey's domination over the Chicago Board of Education, the political significance of the funding of this project is important. For a well-documented and insightful record of this project see: Field Adjustment Teachers, Report on Delinquency Prevention Project, A research project funded by the Board of Education, City of Chicago, 1939. Also see: Tenth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1938-1939, op. cit., 6; Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools, 1938-1939, op. cit., 300-301; Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools, 1939-1940, op. cit., 274-275. Ten years later, the visiting teacher/field adjustment teacher role, reflecting the significant influence of the Montefiore program, gained socio-legal status in Illinois with programs eligible for reimbursement by the state. See: Illinois, Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, The Illinois Plan for Special Education of Exceptional Children: The Maladjusted (Visiting Social Counselor Program), Circular Series "F," No. 12, compiled by Ray Graham, Assistant Superintendent, Director, Education of Exceptional Children (Springfield, 1949). Rather significantly, Ray Graham is recognized as "the first and pioneer Director of Special Education for the State of Illinois." (Nell and Havighurst, op. cit., 1.) According to Edward Stullken, Graham "was kind of one of my pupils." And, according to Lawrence J. Casey and Chester J. Wilkinson, Stullken "was very close to Ray Graham." See n.116 infra and Chapter V.
pullman and J.N. Thorp schools, located on the far, southeastern side
of the city, were made branches of the Montefiore. 39 The incorporation
of these truant rooms as branches set the stage for the expansion of
Montefiore's aegis over other branches, including (as will be exam-
ined) those in custodial/correctional institutions.

After ten years of operation, the Montefiore student popula-
tion remained strikingly similar in over-all composition. A study of
608 families of Montefiore boys showed that 90.5% were registered with
the Social Service Exchange, with an average of 4.7 agencies per family. 40

39 The George M. Pullman School (11311 S. Forrestville Avenue)
contained one truant room for boys, and the J.N. Thorp School
(8914 S. Buffalo Avenue) contained two. Tenth Annual Report of the
Montefiore Special School, 1938-1939, op. cit., 1. The truant room at
the Pullman Branch was subsequently transferred to the Perry School
(9128 S. University Avenue). Eleventh Annual Report of the Montefiore
Special School, 1939-1940 (Chicago Public Schools), 4. Rather inter-
estingly, in 1915 the Board of Education established a room for "sub-
normals" or an "auxiliary room" in the J.N. Thorp School; and, the
Chicago Woman's Club provided free lunches to these children. Annals,
op. cit., 348. Although the political (and racial) implications are
beyond the purview of this study, it is significant to note that
during 1939, the Urban League Branch (cf., II, n.11) of the Douglas
School (3200 S. Calumet Ave.) was transferred to the Moseley (cf., III,
n.6). In addition, three truant rooms for girls at the Colman
(4655 S. Dearborn St.) and Farren (5055 S. State St.) were transferred
to the Haven (1472 S. Wabash Ave.) and the Haven became a branch of
Moseley in May, 1939. Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools,
1939-1940, op. cit., 274. (Research revealed a publication by the first
principal of Moseley, see: Herold H. Postel, "The Special School
Versus the Special Class," Journal of Exceptional Children, Vol. 4, No. 1
(October, 1937), 12-13, 18.)

40 Twelfth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1940-
1941, op. cit., 39. Ten years later, a study of 990 Montefiore boys/
families were known to Family Court and the ""average child had been
known to twelve social agencies."" Twenty-third Annual Report of the
Montefiore Special School, 1951-1952 (Chicago Public Schools), 39.
See Illustration XI. Between 1929 and 1939, there was only a slight variation in the median intelligence quotients of the elementary boys, and they reflected an average academic retardation of between two and three years. The high school boys, with median intelligence quotients approximately ten points higher, reflected an average academic retardation of between one and two years. See Table XV. An otorhinolaryngological survey of 702 boys, conducted by a physician (ostensibly to examine the relationship of health problems to behavior), revealed innumerable ear, nose and throat defects.\textsuperscript{41} Besides referral for corrections of those problems, 577 boys were referred to clinics for the treatment of these and other physical problems; e.g., "general medicine (157), surgery (20), ear (23), eye (72), nose and throat (62), skin (113), orthopedic (46), neurology (9), cardiac (3), suspected T-B (17), dermatology (10), dental (42), glandular (3)."\textsuperscript{42} In addition, twenty-three tonsillectomies were performed, two appendectomies, and a herniotomy. One boy had operations upon both club feet. There was one broken leg and there were three broken arms. In all of these cases the Personnel Department was in close touch with the clinic and the home. In many cases follow-up visits were made. Twenty-one pairs of glasses were secured and twelve pairs were repaired.\textsuperscript{43}

\footnotetext{41}{Eleventh Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1939-1940, op. cit., 25-26. Research studies have indicated that ""bio-chemical abnormalities, as yet not commonly considered, may be underlying a great deal of learning and behavioral disorders."" Arilee Schanuel, "Nutrition and Behavior," Practical Applications of Research, Newsletter of Phi Delta Kappa's Center on Evaluation, Development and Research, Vol. 2, No. 1 (September, 1979), 1-2.}

\footnotetext{42}{Twelfth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1940-1941, op. cit., 40.}

\footnotetext{43}{Ibid.}
### SOCIAL AGENCIES KNOWN TO MONTEFIORE'S STUDENT POPULATION, 1940-1941

#### Relief and Family Service Agencies

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<td>Cook County Public Welfare</td>
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<td>Salvation Army</td>
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#### CHILD GUIDANCE AND CHILD PLACING

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\(^a\)Twelfth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1940-1941, *op. cit.*, 39.
### TABLE XV

**Summary of Results**

Entrance Examinations ------ 1929-1939

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yr. Mo.</th>
<th>Chron. Age</th>
<th>Mental Age</th>
<th>Intelligence Quotient</th>
<th>Reading</th>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Arithmetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929-30</td>
<td>13-6</td>
<td>10-4</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-31</td>
<td>13-10</td>
<td>11-3</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931-32</td>
<td>13-9</td>
<td>11-5</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-33</td>
<td>14-0</td>
<td>10-11</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-34</td>
<td>13-5</td>
<td>10-10</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934-35</td>
<td>14-3</td>
<td>12-0</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-36</td>
<td>14-6</td>
<td>11-10</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-37</td>
<td>13-11</td>
<td>11-2</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937-38</td>
<td>13-9</td>
<td>11-1</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938-39</td>
<td>13-8</td>
<td>11-3</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yr. Mo.</th>
<th>Chron. Age</th>
<th>Mental Age</th>
<th>Intelligence Quotient</th>
<th>Reading</th>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Arithmetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1935-36</td>
<td>15-4</td>
<td>14-6</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936-37</td>
<td>15-6</td>
<td>14-6</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>7.5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937-38</td>
<td>15-4</td>
<td>14-8</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>7.6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938-39</td>
<td>15-5</td>
<td>14-9</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---


*(See Appendix XV for a summary of intelligence quotients and educational achievement levels for the 1929-1949 period.)*
Although the average percent of attendance for the school remained high (nearly 90%), a new procedure was instituted to promote an early pattern of school attendance: "attendance books" were issued to newly enrolled boys in the receiving room which their parents were required to sign every evening. Relief work continued in an attempt to remediate the problems of poverty which prevented some boys from attending school. (Tables XVI and XVII illustrate the type of relief work conducted at the Montefiore.) In February, 1942 two additional field adjustment teachers were assigned to the Montefiore, raising the number engaged in social work services from three to five. (Two women, they had received their training at the Montefiore nearly three years earlier as participants in the Juvenile Delinquency Project.) Telephone calls to parents during evening hours initiated and found to be effective in promoting attendance and remediating behavior problems.

44 Ibid., 9. Also see Appendix XVI for later attendance data.

45 By the end of the 1930s, a Division for Delinquency Prevention was established within the Illinois Department of Public Welfare. The Advisory Board of the Division and its Community Relations Committee developed programs suggesting ways that communities could mobilize their forces to help prevent juvenile delinquency. Edward Stullken became the Chairman of this Advisory Board (Cf., II, n.33 and Edward H. Stullken, "The School's Responsibility for Preventing Delinquency," in The Report of the Sessions of the Eighth Annual Round-Up of School Administrators of Central Illinois, Illinois State Normal Bulletin, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 165 (November, 1940), 5-16.) Cook County Juvenile Court Judge, Frank H. Bicek, was a member of this committee. For an intimate recollection of their relationship and the Montefiore, see Appendix XVII.

46 Thirteenth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1941-1942 (Chicago Public Schools), 1, 24-25. Thelma Menzer and Helen Hynes had worked in the Juvenile Delinquency Project of 1939 (cf., n.38 supra.) and joined William Just, Victoria Moody, and Alma May Stewart, in providing field adjustment services to Montefiore boys. (Presumably, after the two W.P.A. workers were withdrawn, Stullken was successful in getting Menzer and Hynes assigned in their place.)
### TABLE XVI

**Montefiore Special School -- Clothing Report**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>June</th>
<th>July</th>
<th>August</th>
<th>September</th>
<th>October</th>
<th>November</th>
<th>December</th>
<th>January</th>
<th>February</th>
<th>March</th>
<th>April</th>
<th><strong>Totals</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>New Clothing Issued</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>School Children's Aid</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweaters</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shirts</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>74</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underwear</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE XVII\textsuperscript{a}

MONTEFIORE SPECIAL SCHOOL -- SHOE REPORT

6/13/40 to 4/24/41

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shoes Issued (Used)</th>
<th>June</th>
<th>July</th>
<th>August</th>
<th>September</th>
<th>October</th>
<th>November</th>
<th>December</th>
<th>January</th>
<th>February</th>
<th>March</th>
<th>April</th>
<th>T O T A L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>W.P.A. repaired (Material by School)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.P.A. repaired (Material by C.R.A.)</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not repaired (In good condition)</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gym Shoes</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Shoess Issued (New)                         |      |      |        |           |         |          |          |         |          |       |       | 244       |
| Gym Shoes (Bought by School)                | 0    | 7    | 1      | 1         | 1       | 1        | 1        | 0       | 0        | 0     | 1     | 13        |
| Shoes (Bought by School)                    | 0    | 2    | 0      | 1         | 2       | 1        | 0        | 0       | 3        | 3     | 3     | 15        |
| School Children's Aid                       | 0    | 0    | 13     | 1         | 18      | 15       | 4        | 15      | 2        | 0     | 0     | 68        |
| Mayor's Christmas Fund                      | 0    | 0    | 0      | 0         | 15      | 0        | 0        | 0       | 0        | 0     | 0     | 15        |

| Shoes Repaired (Boy's own)                  |      |      |        |           |         |          |          |         |          |       |       | 111       |
| W.P.A. (Material by School)                 | 0    | 0    | 0      | 0         | 0       | 24       | 27       | 64      | 37       | 27    |       | 179       |
| W.P.A. (Material by C.R.A.)                 | 1    | 0    | 0      | 0         | 9       | 18       | 40       | 38      | 37       | 36    |       | 178       |
| By Boys themselves (Material by School)      | 4    | 0    | 0      | 1         | 4       | 0        | 0        | 0       | 0        | 0     | 0     | 9         |
| *Professional (Cost paid by School)         | 0    | 1    | 0      | 1         | 6       | 1        | 2        | 1       | 3        | 2     | 1     | 18        |

| Total                                       |      |      |        |           |         |          |          |         |          |       |       | 384       |

| Total                                       |      |      |        |           |         |          |          |         |          |       |       | 739       |

Figures represent pairs of shoes.

From 12/3/40 to 4/2/41 shoe repairs were made in the school by a W.P.A. cobbler.

*Because of a cash gift by a friend of the school, it was possible to have shoes repaired by a professional cobbler when such repairs could not be made at the school.

\textsuperscript{a}Twelfth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1940-1941, op. cit., 43.
Special attention was given to encouraging parents to visit the Montefiore to allay any negative pre-conceptions about the school; and, to learn first-hand, of the "opportunities for adjustment the city cannot afford to provide in every school." During the same school year (1941-1942), social adjustment education was significantly expanded (if not, "reborn through synthesis") when Montefiore's aegis was extended to boys and girls in custodial institutions.

In 1941, "schools located in the Juvenile Detention Home and in the Chicago Home for Girls were made branches of the Montefiore." These custodial institutions (reflecting "systems" and "systems interaction") evolved from the social reform movements of the 19th century; particularly, the child-welfare/compulsory education and juvenile court movements of the latter part of the century. The former (J.D.H.)

47 Ibid., 12. Some would argue that that is still true today; see Chapter V.

48 Significantly, during the 1941-1942 school year, local PTA units were encouraged to cooperate in the formation of some type of community coordinating council for concentrated attacks on juvenile delinquency, and to utilize all available governmental agencies. In 1941 special juvenile protection committees were organized in five Chicago high schools, consisting in each case of the school principal and truant officer, the local unit juvenile protection chairman, and two other members appointed by local presidents. A special training school was held in Chicago in 1942." Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers, Strong Is the Current, op. cit., 70. Research strongly suggests that this "special training school" was the Montefiore, particularly since the Montefiore PTA was responsible for organizing and conducting such a bi-monthly program for an average of 25-30 local PTA groups in the city. See: Twentieth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1948-1949 (Chicago Public Schools), 40-42; also, cf., n.45 supra.

has historical roots evolving from the C.W.C. and settlement workers to the Juvenile Court Committee, which was responsible for establishing the first Detention Home and "school." The latter (C.H.G.) evolved from the activities of various 19th century social reformers, including the C.W.C. Both institutions have ideological roots in the twin concepts of "rehabilitating individuals" and "reforming society and its institutions."

Even prior to becoming branches of the Montefiore, both institutions reflected a dimension of social adjustment education that was evolving in Chicago. As we have seen, the historic Juvenile Court Act (1899) established the first court which focused on the socio-legal problems of children. The court reflected those forces in society promoting public responsibility (i.e., governmental/statutory) for the protection and care of children. 50 Prior to the establishment of the Juvenile Court of Cook County, the C.W.C. had been actively engaged in probationary work with children incarcerated in local police stations, the Bridewell (House of Correction), and Cook County Jail. These extra-legal services were similar to those provided to the children ("wards") under the care of the Public Guardian of Cook County, Miss Mary Bartelme. Investigations were conducted and recommendations were made relative to a child's

50 "It was the first law to create a juvenile court, thereby introducing a new concept, delinquency, and a new procedure in treating juvenile offenders of the law....It was acclaimed by sociologists as the embodiment of a new principle that law violators; the anti-social and maladjusted, especially among children, should be treated individually through social and legislative processes, for their own protection and that of society." Brother Francis Tenore F.S.C., "The Family Court of Cook County Illinois Structure and Function," (unpublished Master's thesis, Loyola University, February, 1958), 12-13. In 1949, Governor Adlai E. Stevenson signed into law a bill changing the name of Juvenile Court to Family Court. Ibid., 11. Also, see Chapter V.
supervision and/or placement. After the Juvenile Court was established the C.W.C. continued its probationary work in the police stations and with the new court, providing part of the necessary, extralegal apparatus to enable it to function.\textsuperscript{51} The C.W.C. also continued to provide supportive services to Public Guardian Bartelme.

In 1902, the Juvenile Court Committee (the C.W.C.'s off-spring, but now encompassing other community forces) assumed the philanthropic funding to support probationary personnel to the court. A year later, the J.C.C. established a Detention Home and "school" as an alternative to the detention of boys in police stations, the Bridewell, and Cook County Jail. Thus, the Home was a place where male, "non-status offenders" (i.e., truants, run-away's, dependents) and alleged delinquents were provided custodial care until the Juvenile Court determined their disposition. The Detention Home Committee (of the J.C.C.) provided a variety of activities and programs for the boys; and, in

\textsuperscript{51}Citing Timothy D. Hurley (first Chief Probation Officer of the Court), First Annual Report of the Cook County Juvenile Court, p. 1 (1900), Platt notes that among the early court personnel were ""twenty-one truant officers paid by and responsible to the Board of Education;"" Anthony M. Platt, The Child Savers, The Invention of Delinquency (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 140. (As the work's title implies, Platt reflects a radical social-historian's account, or as he phrases it ""a new genre of critical sociological theory.""") The role of Board truant officers may be the basis for the claim that ""for forty years the Board of Education has provided education opportunities for the delinquent and dependent children housed at the Juvenile Detention Home."" Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools, 1938-39, \textit{op. cit.}, 305. Even though the Home wasn't established until 1903.
1906, they secured the services of a teacher for "instruction." The following year, the J.C.C. was successful in getting the Cook County Board of Commissioners (i.e., the county governmental "system") and the City of Chicago (i.e., the municipal governmental "system") to cooperate in establishing a building which would house both the Juvenile Court and detention facilities.

By the 1920s, a new Juvenile Court building had been constructed, as well as, a new Juvenile Detention Home. The Detention Home now accommodated boys and girls, and it also contained a school operated by the Chicago Board of Education. Although the Home facilities had been substantially enlarged with its new location, in 1925 one of the early child-welfare advocates, Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, critically noted that it had "every appearance of being a jail, with its barred windows and locked doors....The children have fewer comforts

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52 Annals, op. cit., 252. Significantly, Jane Addams was a member of the Detention Home Committee (cf., I, n.59). Also significant is the fact that in 1905 she was appointed a member of the Board of Education (Herrick, op. cit., 105) and by 1907 she was Chairman of its School Management Committee (Ibid., 110; Counts, op. cit., 112); cf., I, n.30.

53 "It also secured the passage of a law which established the probation officer system as part of the Juvenile Court system, to be maintained forever by the county authority." Annals, op. cit., 193. Not surprisingly, the first Juvenile Court was located across from Hull-House. (Cf., Sorrentino, op. cit., 16 and Duis, op. cit., 70.) In 1909, the Institute for Psychopathic Research was established next to the Juvenile Court. (Sorrentino, op. cit., 16.) This institute evolved into the Institute for Juvenile Research; see Appendix VIII.

54 The Detention Home was located at 2240 W. Roosevelt Road, about twenty-five yards from the Juvenile Court building. Its near West side location was a part of the (then) Italian ghetto. In 1973, a new complex was constructed housing the Juvenile Court, detention facilities, and a school operated by the Board of Education. (Cf., I; Murphy, op. cit., 6-7, 108; Duis, op. cit., 70.)
than do criminals confined in the county jail. They are not kept sufficiently occupied and have very little fresh air." By 1929, a confluence of forces (i.e., the evolution of social adjustment education) had resulted in new attention being focused on the truant, incorrigible, delinquent child. Under the supervision of Superintendent Bogan and two of his important aides, Assistant Superintendent Isabella Dolton and Dr. Frank G. Bruner, Director of Special Schools, and with the advice and support of powerful community forces (i.e., the Advisory Council appointed by Bogan), many innovative programs were started in the school system. By the early 1930s, the Principal of the Juvenile Detention Home, Roy J. Gossman, and his ten teachers were receiving the auxiliary staff support of the Institute for Juvenile Research, the foremost child-guidance clinic in the city. During the 1934-1935 school year, a policy of sending a notice to the home-school, notifying them of a student's detention, was cited as contributing to the decrease in enrollment/detention the following


56 Roy J. Gossman, "Adjustment of Juvenile Delinquent Boys," Journal of Exceptional Children (June, 1937), op. cit., 148-150. Also, cf., Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools, 1936-1937, op. cit., 261-262. For a pertinent research study of the Institute for Juvenile Research see: Twohig, op. cit. It should be remembered that Drs. Monroe and Gibbons from IJR were working with the Montefiore staff, developing "remedial" programs in reading and arithmetic; which, combined with Beaman and Ray's work, were precursors to EMH/TMH, multi-handicapped special education programs.
year. According to Gossman, many children got a "new lease of life" when they discovered that their principals had concern for their welfare.\textsuperscript{57} In 1936, the Detention Home School became a branch of the Gladstone School and, subsequently, the ten members of the staff were placed under the direction of the principal of Gladstone.\textsuperscript{58} Five years later, the Detention Home School became a branch of the Montefiore Special School.

Although custodial care for girls was eventually provided at the Detention Home, at the outset "no provision was made for the detention of delinquent girls, except that afforded by the so-called annex to the Harrison Street Police Station, where women of all degrees of degradation were also confined."\textsuperscript{59} However, by 1914\textsuperscript{60} the Chicago Home for Girls had evolved, providing custodial care (i.e., social adjustment education) to dependent and/or delinquent adolescent girls.

\textsuperscript{57} Gossman, \textit{op. cit.}, 150. Such notices are still sent to a child's local school; and, at least at Montefiore, the child receives "credit" for having been enrolled in the Juvenile Detention Home School program.

\textsuperscript{58} Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools, 1936-1937, \textit{op. cit.}, 261-262. The Gladstone is located at 1231 S. Damen Avenue.

\textsuperscript{59} Henry W. Thurston, "Ten Years of the Juvenile Court of Chicago," \textit{Survey}, 23 (February, 1910), 662-663, as quoted in Platt, \textit{op. cit.}, 148. (Thurston had been a Chief Probation Officer of the Cook County Juvenile Court.)

\textsuperscript{60} Mary Bartelme Home for Girls, "Chicago Homes for Girls," in \textit{Some Notes On History} (Chicago: Mary Bartelme Home for Girls, undated). A four-page mimeographed publication available at the Mary Bartelme Homes headquarters: 542 S. Dearborn St., Chicago. Also see: \textit{Annals}, \textit{op. cit.}, 337, 376.
Reflecting the change in attitudes and sociological orientation of civic and religious social reformers during the 19th century, the C.H.G. had historical roots in the Chicago Erring Women's Refuge founded in 1863. Chartered in 1865, its first Board of Trustees included such prominent individuals as William B. Ogden, Jonathan Y. Scammon, and Philo Carpenter, amongst others. Through philanthropic funding, a seven room frame house was established for girls and young women. In 1890, a new building was constructed at 50th and Indiana Avenue providing services to 100 girls and women. Now known simply as the Women's Refuge, the direction and scope of its "social adjustment" program would be affected by the child welfare/compulsory education and juvenile court movements. The Women's Refuge became the Chicago Refuge for Girls; and, in 1914, the Chicago Home for Girls. Significantly, the Chicago Woman's Club had been among those providing philanthropic funding to the Refuge for Girls; and, in 1915, the C.W.C. voted to send a delegate to serve on the Home's Board. By the 1936-1937 school year, the Chicago Home for Girls contained a school program provided by a high school teacher and two elementary school teachers, assigned by the Chicago Board of Education. It was still maintained by a "philanthropic organization for the rehabilitation of delinquent girls," although the county contributed to its maintenance. Two years later, it was made a branch of the Ross School. In 1941,


62 Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools, 1938-1939, op. cit., 304-305. (The Betsy Ross School is located at 6059 S. Wabash Avenue.)
the Chicago Home for Girls became a branch of the Montefiore Special School.

By the following school year, plans were evolving to expand social adjustment programs and offer more opportunities to the truant, incorrigible, delinquent girl. A girls branch of the Montefiore was established in January, 1943 on the third floor of the Washington School, 1000 W. Grand Avenue (near the original Montefiore School site). This branch was the seed that would grow into a non-custodial  

Of historical relevance (and significant relative to this study's "evolutionary systems" conceptualization), by 1914, it had been the practice for girls paroled by the Juvenile Court to report to their probation officer once a week at City Hall. Assistant Judge Bartelme saw the need to "instruct" and "entertain" these girls. Enlisting the support of a committee from the C.W.C.'s Philanthropy Department, a plan and program for some of these girls was developed (i.e., a "social adjustment program"). Instead of City Hall, girls so directed ("committed") by the Juvenile Court would report to their probation officers at a "home" once a week. There they would learn about "personal cleanliness" and "household duties" and some would be placed in domestic service. C.W.C. members of the Home Committee taught sewing and provided instruction in areas that were "advantageous to the girls." Thus, the first "Mary Club" was a "flat" maintained in Garfield Park for the purpose of socially adjusting delinquent girls. Between 1914 and 1933, other "Mary Clubs" served girls referred by Juvenile Court. The homes became known as the Mary Bartelme Club and by 1935 services were extended to girls referred from various sources. Thus, after 1936, the Mary Bartelme Club and the Chicago Home for Girls would share a similar evolutionary growth; and, by 1960, would merge and become the Mary Bartelme Home for Girls. See: Annals, op. cit., 340-341; Mary Bartelme Home for Girls, Some Notes on History.


The Washington Branch was officially opened February 1, 1943 with seven girls enrolled and one in attendance. The personnel department was, in reality, the first department opened for the teacher through telephone calls to the home school and personal calls at the homes of the girls, acquainted the parents with the project.67

Two months later a second division was added because the number of girls had increased to sixty-one. By June, the branch had grown to three divisions, with 109 girls attending daily. With the help of the Assistant Superintendent of Special Education, Frank Beals, and the Montefiore staff, equipment for the branch was secured, as were work materials and specialized units in various subjects. Miss Marie McCarthy, Supervisor of Special Schools, procured visual education equipment and four "priceless" typewriters for the branch. Due to the increasing enrollment, the branch acquired the entire third floor of the Washington School; and, by June, 1944 consisted of six divisions of 224 girls, seven teachers, a truant officer, and a "health attendant." The grade placements of the girls ranged from "ungraded" to eleventh grade and special reading and math groups were organized on the basis

66 A school program had begun as early as 1929 (the Urban League Branch of the Douglas School) for girls considered "socially maladjusted" because of their unwed, pregnant status; and by 1939 there were a few truant rooms for girls established in some schools, some of which may also have contained pregnant girls. However, the Washington Branch was designed to provide a special education of the type offered boys at Montefiore. Many of these girls, like their male counterparts, were known to Juvenile Court prior to their transfer to the Washington Branch. Yet, the intent of the school program was to discover the problems underlying their behavior, attempt to meet their needs, and thereby "socially adjust" them. (Cf., nn.61,62 supra.)

67 Sixteenth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1944-1945 (Chicago Public Schools), 44.
of diagnostic tests. Various social agencies were contacted in an attempt to remediate health and welfare problems, but some problems required court action. 68 (See Illustration XII.)

Meanwhile, at the main building, organizational changes were taking place. During the 1944-1945 school year, 69 William G. Just, a former Field Adjustment Teacher who had directed most of the relief work at Montefiore was made Assistant Principal and placed in charge of the personnel work. Field Adjustment Teachers were now assigned to one of four districts that were created by geographically dividing the city relative to the concentration of Montefiore's student population. The following year, Chester J. Wilkinson, who had been in charge of the Crafts Laboratory, succeeded Just as Assistant Principal. Marie O'Connell, who had started the Washington Branch as head teacher and directed the personnel work, became a Field Adjustment Teacher at the main building. Montefiore now had five Field Adjustment Teachers working under the direction of the Assistant Principal. 70

68 Fifteenth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1943-1944 (Chicago Public Schools), 59, 65, 64.
69 Also during the 1944-1945 school year, Eleanor Halligan (the library teacher at Montefiore) became Chairman of the Chicago Developmental Reading Program; and, it was reported that the total enrollment of Montefiore had more than doubled over the last ten years (from 625 in 1933 to 1,794 in 1943). Sixteenth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1944-1945, op. cit., 18, 17.
70 Vittoria Moody, Catherine W. Cotter, Loretto McKirchy, and Michael Petrula had worked as field adjustment teachers under the supervision of William Just, assistant principal. Ibid., 27. The following year, O'Connell joined a personnel staff that included Moody and McKirchy, as well as Thelma Menzer (earlier cited as field adjustment teacher) and Herman Kahn.
ILLUSTRATION XIIa

SUMMARY OF ENROLLMENTS, TRANSFERS, WITHDRAWALS--
WASHINGTON BRANCH, 1943-1944

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. enrolled in Washington Branch September 1943</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. transferred to Washington Branch, 1943-1944</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. returned to high school</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. returned to elementary school</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. returned to private schools</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. graduated</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. sent to other special schools</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. committed to Chicago Parental School</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. transferred to schools outside of city</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. committed to institutions</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. excluded from school</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. leaving school to go to work</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of transfers cancelled after enrollment</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total withdrawals</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total remaining</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. returned to Washington Branch after withdrawal</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total enrollment - June 23, 1944</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and a branch for boys in the Goethe School (2236 N. Rockwell St.). The Chicago Home for Girls Branch was closed in February, 1946, as a result of the Home itself closing (although, it would re-locate and re-open three years later). The J.N. Thorp Branch was closed in June, 1946. During the 1946-1947 school year, more boys were being enrolled at

Seventeenth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1945-1946, op. cit., 13. Just left Montefiore for a position at Chicago Vocational High School. (Personal interview with Mrs. Chester J. (Alice) Wilkinson.) Later, he became the first "certificated" (teacher) head of truant officers, i.e., Division of School Attendance. (Personal interview with Joseph C. Guido.) Chester J. Wilkinson had been assigned to Montefiore in 1938; he retired in 1967. (Personal interview with Chester J. Wilkinson.) In 1964, Wilkinson was awarded the Kate Maremont Dedicated Teacher Citation by the Citizens Schools Committee. (The citation is displayed in the guidance and counseling office at Montefiore.) On October 30, 1979, he was one of those celebrating Montefiore's Golden Jubilee. Chester Wilkinson died on December 1, 1979, having made a significant contribution to social adjustment education in Chicago. For a study of the effects of ethnic backgrounds on the maladjustment of Montefiore boys, see: Chester J. Wilkinson, "The Ethnic Backgrounds of Boys Enrolled at the Montefiore Special School" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Education, DePaul University, 1945).


72 Also during the 1946-1947 school year, Mrs. Abraham (Esther) Saperstein was elected to her first term as President of the Montefiore PTA (cf., n.28 supra). After a complex series of socio-educational events (i.e., William H. Johnson's expulsion from the National Educational Association and his subsequent resignation from the school superintendency, the effects of the Heald Committee, the end of the Kelly political era, and the amending of the Otis Law, Herold C. Hunt became the General Superintendent of schools. Hunt had been the superintendent of schools in Kansas City and at one time had studied under William C. Reavis. (See Herrick, op. cit., Chapter 14; especially, pp.273-278.) Although Stullken considered Hunt ""a glad-hander"" and ""never trusted him too much,"" he and the Montefiore had strong allies in Reavis and the Citizens Schools Committee, as well as, Saperstein and the Chicago Region-ICPTA, all of whom had a significant relationship with Hunt. Also during the year, Grace Munson became Assistant Superintendent in charge of Special Education (succeeding Frank L. Beals) and Director of the Bureau of Child Study.
Montefiore who had had previous psychological examinations. Yet, it was reported that "in general there has been no significant change in mental ability, educational achievement or retardation of these maladjusted pupils during the eighteen years of the school's existence." 73 In September, 1947 two branches were opened on the far southside: a branch for girls in the Scanlon School (11725 S. Perry Avenue) and a branch for high school boys in the Burnside School (650 E. 91st St.), which operated "in cooperation with the Burnside Branch of the Fenger High School." 74 Also, impetus to the expansion of the Washington Branch was provided in September with the appointment of Catherine W. Stullken as Assistant Principal.

The former "Catherine Cotter," a widow with a young daughter, had "graciously agreed" to become the second wife of Edward Stullken, a widower with three children, a son and two daughters. (Their brood would increase to five with the birth of a son and their marriage would span thirty years, four months—to Catherine Stullken's death.) Since school system policy prohibited husbands and wives from working together in the same building, when "Mrs. Cotter" agreed to become "Mrs. Stullken" she transferred to the Washington Branch. 75 Rather significantly, she had been a classroom teacher and subsequently was selected to serve as a Field Adjustment Teacher. Thus, she worked with various agencies and


75 Personal interview with Edward H. Stullken.
organizations; and, became intimately familiar with the problems of a quarter of Montefiore's student population assigned to her. When Catherine Stullken became Assistant Principal of the Washington Branch, she brought experienced, "well-schooled" insight into programs evolving for the socially maladjusted.

During the 1948-1949 school year, these plans included merging three of Montefiore's seven branches (see Illustration XIII). The Perry, Blaine and Burnside branches were to be consolidated in the Scanlon building and two new divisions, one for boys and one for girls, were to be added. The rationale being to "make it possible to give better care and an enriched program for the boys and girls who live on the far southside and are unable to make the long trip to the main building." After being closed for three years, the Chicago Home for Girls re-opened in June, 1949 in a "small two-story apartment building

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76 Catherine (Cotter) Stullken had joined the Montefiore staff in 1938 and was assigned to the "receiving room." In 1944 she became a field adjustment teacher. (Cf., Tenth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1938-1939, op. cit., 22-23 and Sixteenth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1944-1945, op. cit., 27.)

77 During the school year, Mary E. Courtenay became Assistant Superintendent in charge of Special Education, succeeding Grace Munson. According to Stullken, Courtenay had been a teacher at Lindbloom Technical High School: "'She was the best dramatic teacher the Chicago high schools ever had, but she had about as much conception of special education as a mule has about Sunday.'" As will be examined, Stullken had problems with Miss Courtenay.

78 Twentieth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1948-1949, op. cit., 2. This (apparently) was the first time plans were made to provide a social adjustment program for boys and girls in the same building (i.e., in a non-custodial, day-school setting). Today, controversial plans have been proposed to provide a similar co-educational program at the Montefiore. See Chapter V.
ILLUSTRATION XIII\textsuperscript{a}

SUMMARY OF ENROLLMENTS, MONTEFIORE BRANCHES, 1947-1949

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branch</th>
<th>Total No. Enrolled During Yr. 1947-1948</th>
<th>Total No. Enrolled During Yr. 1948-1949</th>
<th>6/24/49 Total No. Enrolled on the last day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blaine Branch - Girls</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnside Branch - Boys</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goethe - Boys</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile Detention home Branch - Boys &amp; Girls</td>
<td>2,839</td>
<td>3,942</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perry Branch - Boys</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scanlon Branch - Girls</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington Branch - Girls</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,350</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,376</strong></td>
<td><strong>431</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A teacher was subsequently assigned to provide an educational program for the fourteen girls committed there by the court. In September, 1949 the Home again became a branch of the Montefiore. Rather significantly, during the 1950-1951 school year, the Bureau of Curriculum Development began using the Montefiore as a "pilot school." Under the direction of Mrs. Frances Ferrell of the Bureau, a committee comprised of faculty members, P.T.A. representatives, and central office personnel, developed a multi-disciplinary curriculum which focused on aspects of various subjects which could be directed toward "wholesome, leisure" activities for boys after school hours. In addition, "case-conferences" were initiated which were designed to promote better understanding and cooperation between the

79 Thus, the Home was re-located from the South to the West side of Chicago. For an interesting report on the social adjustment program at the Home by the assigned teacher (Mrs. Marie Senechal) see "Report of Two Year's Program," in Twenty-second Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1950-1951 (Chicago Public Schools), 60-64.


81 Twenty-second Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1950-1951, op. cit., 3-8. Significantly, this pilot program was expanded the following year with the Division of Visual Education providing assistance. Montefiore students participated in a public radio broadcast on WBEZ and information on the pilot program was disseminated through publications ("Educational Progress" and "Fair Exchange"). In addition, an assembly program on the project was shown on television ("The Chicago Public Schools in Action"). Teaching units for various courses of study were developed to reach "the greatest number of teachers in Chicago schools." Twenty-third Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1951-1952, op. cit., 4-9. By the 1954-1955 school year, representatives of the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago were participating in the pilot program (which was directed toward "student's use of recreational facilities offered by community agencies" and curriculum development). Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1954-1955 (Chicago Public Schools), 4-5.
home and school. Parents, students, teachers, field adjustment teachers, and the assistant principal (and/or principal) met to review a boy's progress. By the following school year, most of the elementary boys transferred to Montefiore had had previous psychological examinations; although, this was not true of the high school boys. In recognition of the development of policies, procedures, and the increased facilities of the school system, it was reported that:

Many slow-learning pupils with minor behavior difficulties are now transferred to Ungraded Centers. Thus, at present, it is probable that the average elementary pupil now entering Montefiore Special School is slightly brighter than the average pupil of the first years of the school. Certainly the present day pupils have received much more study and attention before their transfer to this school. Present day pupils still present serious educational

82 Twenty-second Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1950-1951, op. cit., 39. Conferences such as these were a precursor to what today are called (and "mandated") "multi-disciplinary staffings," or, "MDS conferences." See Chapter V. Significantly, earlier case conferences had been initiated by Supt. Bogan to review any potential referral of a Montefiore boy to Juvenile Court or his parents to Municipal Court on an "indifferent parent petition". "At these conferences, presided over by the Superintendent or Assistant Superintendent of Schools, the boy's record was thoroughly investigated, including consideration of social history, school record, psychological examinations and any other pertinent facts. The boy's parents and he, himself, were also interviewed. Recommendations in regard to changes in the school program, recreational or work program, were made and later followed by the special school." Sixth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1934-1935, op. cit., 23.

83 By the 1951-1952 school year, the expansion, consolidation, and re-organization of social adjustment and special education programs had resulted in the formation of a formal, bureaucratic structure (cf., Appendixes IX and X) and Henry J. Woessner became the Director of the New Bureau of Socially Maladjusted Children. Twenty-third Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1951-1952, op. cit., frontispiece.
problems but it is probable that the basic difficulties are more likely to be due to emotional disturbance than mental retardation.\(^4\) Rather significantly, it was also noted that "the weakest point in most special-school programs is the lack of proper placement procedures and adequate follow-up of the pupils after they leave the school."\(^5\) Also during the 1951-1952 school year, a farm unit (located at Garden Prairie, Illinois) was added to the summer program of the Chicago Home for Girls,\(^6\) and a new educational wing was opened in the Detention Home building. The new school contained eight academic rooms, a new gymnasium, a boys' craft shop, a girls' home economics and crafts laboratory, and new offices for the assistant principal, counselor, and clerical staff.\(^7\) The following school year, the Juvenile Detention Home became the "Arthur J. Audy Home." Raymond E. Essig, the Assistant Principal of the school branch, reported that nearly 4,000 had been enrolled during the year with an average monthly enrollment of approximately 165 boys and 87 girls. Rather significantly, the average "stay"

\(^4\) Ibid., 4. Montefiore, today, contains pupils who are mentally retarded, variously physically handicapped, i.e., oversize for age, visually, linguistically and/or speech impaired, in need of medical and dental correction/instruction (including periodic hospitalization for physical, psychological, and/or psychiatric problems, as well as, medication to enable "normal functioning"). Then too, there are those known to Juvenile Court on petitions alleging murder, assault, burglary, and innumerable other offences. See Chapter V.

\(^5\) (Ibid., 3) This experienced, pragmatic assessment (reflective of Stullken's educational philosophy) offers some insight into emerging problems. See Chapter V.

\(^6\) Ibid., 30.

of seventeen days per child required "organizing each day's work as a complete lesson." 88

The expansion, consolidation and re-organization of social adjustment programs up to 1952 had contributed to re-structuring "ungraded divisions" into social adjustment rooms, mentally retarded groups/divisions, and speech correction programs. It had also contributed to the development of individualized, mastery-learning techniques and methodologies. A new period of expansion began with the extension of Montefiore's aegis over evolving social adjustment plans/programs in the city's two major correctional institutions: Cook County Jail and the House of Correction (Bridewell). These institutions, like the Juvenile Detention Home (i.e., "the Audy") and the Chicago Home for Girls, reflected a dimension of social adjustment education that had been evolving in Chicago.

As we have seen, as early as 1892 the Chicago Woman's Club had provided a teacher for a "school" in the Cook County Jail. Even after they (and other community forces) were successful in getting the City of Chicago to construct and maintain a "manual training school" for incarcerated school-age boys (i.e., the John Worthy School 89), they continued their efforts to provide an education for older boys and men at the Jail. In 1906, 90 the C.W.C.'s Reform Department initiated plans

88 Ibid., 3, 62-69. One of the teachers at the Audy was Robert J. Brasch, who became Principal of the Audy/Juvenile Detention Home School and the correctional schools. See Chapter V.

89 For historical clarity, it is important to remember that the John Worthy School began at the Cook County Jail and was shifted to new facilities on the grounds of the House of Correction. Cf., I.

90 Annals, op. cit., 252.
to provide equipment at the Jail and secure a manual training teacher. The next year, they were successful in getting the County Board to appropriate funds for school supplies (which the C.W.C. had largely supplied previously). By 1908 the Jail School was in session eleven months of the year, with an average daily attendance of 30 boys/men. "The special work had been to cut down the sentences, and this had had the cooperation of the judges." In addition, the C.W.C.'s Prison Reform Committee "secured the appointment of a resident physician from 5 to 8 p.m. daily; medical examination of all incoming prisoners; baths for prisoners and speedy trials for the boys [and] proper caring for defective eyes."92 In 1914, Jane Adams, addressing the C.W.C.'s Philanthropy Department,

gave a brief account of cases in Judge Olson's court, stating that a record had been made there, proving that 70% of the commitments for crime were made where the offender was not responsible and should be a charge of the state, not a criminal. She said the study of the subject of subnormals and their care was comparatively new, and public interest must be aroused and co-operation of people in authority secured, in order to hasten the day when subnormals would be treated with understanding. Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen supplemented this appeal.93

As a result of subsequent C.W.C. activities, a teacher was secured for men in the Breidwell and club members proposed "the establishment of a home for such delinquent boys and girls as would be a menace to the

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91 Ibid., 277.
92 Ibid., 277-278
93 Ibid., 341. In 1905 the General Assembly passed a court reform act and a "Municipal Court" was established in Chicago which was responsible for all civil and criminal cases. Various "branches" of the Court were established, e.g., Domestic Relations, Automobile, Morals. Harry Olson was Chief Judge over this system between 1906 and 1920. Duis, op. cit., 70-71.
In 1915, the John Worthy School (i.e., the House of Correction School) "was closed and replaced outside the city by the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys." By the 1936-1937 school year, the Cook County Jail School was a branch of the Spry School and an educational program was provided to adult men by a principal and four men teachers. The total enrollment for the year was reported as 200, with an average membership of 160 men. In 1952 the House of Correction and Cook County Jail became branches of the Montefiore Special School, signalling a renewed concern for social adjustment education (i.e., "rehabilitation" programs) in correctional institutions in Chicago.

In September, 1952, two new divisions for girls were opened in the Women's Department at the House of Correction. Two women teachers were assigned to develop the educational program under the supervision of Hugh McGuire, Assistant Principal. By February, 1953 two new divisions were also opened in the Men's Department for boys 17-20 years of age. Among the nine teachers working at the branch were Raphael Sullivan and Daniel G. Griffin (both men would come to serve as Principal of the Montefiore). At the Cook County Jail Branch, the head

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94 Annals, op. cit., 342; also see pp. 331, 341.

95 "This reformatory, used for 'minor' offenders, essentially provided a short, sharp punishment for the least troublesome delinquents." Platt, op. cit., 150. Platt refers to a study (beyond the purview of this study) of potential interest: Elizabeth Francis Hirsch, "A Study of the Chicago and Cook County School for Boys" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1926).


teacher, George C. Richter, noted that a new classroom had been established in September which "was the first improvement in our school plant for several years....At present, 50% of each academic teacher's time is spent teaching in the inmate's day room." Among the six teachers working at the Jail Branch was Harry Strasburg (who would succeed Stullken as Principal of the Montefiore). Thus, by the end of the 1952-1953 school year, Montefiore had five major branches, four of them in custodial/correctional institutions (i.e., the Audy Home, the Chicago Home for Girls, the House of Correction, the Cook County Jail) and one in the Washington School.

By the following school year, plans for the expansion of programs in the branches were well underway. At the Washington Branch two new divisions were opened to accommodate the largest student population ever enrolled and future plans called for expanding the social adjustment program in a "new" school: the Dante. A new "boy's dormitory" was under construction at the House of Correction and in

98 Ibid., 78. (In 1892 the classes were held in the jail corridor of Cook County Jail!)

99 Also teaching at the Jail Branch was Henry F. Tessmer (Ibid., 79) who became the Principal of the Parental School.

100 Benjamin C. Willis became General Superintendent in 1953. According to Stullken, Willis "'took a dislike to me....He staged a conference with me [in 1958]; he always staged his conferences.'" Yet, Stullken maintained his ties to the school system's administrative, bureaucratic hierarchy and was successful in promoting the development and expansion of social adjustment programs until his retirement. See Chapter V, especially nn.3, 5.

101 Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1953-1954 (Chicago Public Schools), 3. The Dante was located at 840 S. Desplaines St., near Roosevelt Road and Halsted St. (cf., I).

102 Ibid., 77.
May, 1955 the school branch was moved into the new "Youth Center."  

The Assistant Principal (McGuire) reported:

There continues to be constant appraisal of the work in this branch. Objectives as to the learner have been re-examined, and still continues to be those that fill the needs of the boys....Emphasis is placed on overcoming the educational lag in the achievement of the pupils....But the task of modifying behavior is a very difficult one, and one that challenges all our resources....Yet, we feel that we are making a worthwhile contribution to special education.

Statistics compiled on 681 of the male inmates enrolled at the House of Correction Branch reflect the nature of the "task" (i.e., socio-educational problems) facing teachers there, as well as, their students. See Illustration XIV.

In December, 1954 the Chicago Home for Girls moved into a larger building at 509 Wellington St. The new Home could accommodate nineteen girls instead of fourteen and was now referred to as a "treatment center for emotionally disturbed girls." A psychologist from the Bureau of Child Study was assigned to augment the work of the teacher.

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103 Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1954-1955, op. cit., 80. As reported by one teacher: ""This year has seen the faculty and student body move from the old school building that entailed a cell block 'home' for the boys to the new Million Dollar Youth Center with dormitories, classrooms and shops in the same building....While there was and continues to be some experimentation with schedule and subject matter by each teacher, there is an undeniable feeling that the move was a tremendous improvement. To be a member of the Youth Center and the school organization is considered a highly desirable assignment by the inmates."" Ibid., 81.

104 Ibid., 77.

105 Ibid., 65. According to Lawrence J. Casey, the new Home was inconspicuously located in a large, old mansion on Wellington just off Broadway and many of the girls were un-wed, pregnant juveniles.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statistics (Boys Only) for 1955-1956, House of Correction Branch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number in Study ... 681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native of Chicago ... 422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born Elsewhere ... 259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident of Chicago ... 599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident Elsewhere ... 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug Addiction:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narcotics ... 175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol ... 210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None ... 296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status of Residence:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With mother only ... 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With father only ... 53</td>
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<tr>
<td>With both parents ... 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alone or with others ... 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ages:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 17 ... 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 ... 120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 ... 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 ... 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous Records:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None other than present conviction ... 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile Only ... 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other than present conviction ... 367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fines:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$420 ... 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>$349 ... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$320 ... 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>$306 ... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$245 ... 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>$216 ... 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$319 ... 1</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>$210 ... 38</td>
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<tr>
<td>$206 ... 8</td>
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<tr>
<td>$206 ... 1</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>$145 ... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian ... 289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro ... 392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addicts:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian ... 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro ... 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status of Parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Together ... 291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced or Separated ... 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Deceased ... 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Deceased ... 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades Completed:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 7th ... 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th ... 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th ... 134</td>
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<tr>
<td>9th ... 187</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ages:</td>
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<td>Under 17 ... 25</td>
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<td>None other than present conviction ... 220</td>
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<td>Other than present conviction ... 367</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fines:</td>
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<td>$420 ... 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>$182 ... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$145 ... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian ... 289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro ... 392</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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in developing the school program. In the summer of 1955, the Washington Branch was moved to the Dante School building, becoming the "Dante Branch." Newly equipped laboratory facilities at the Dante gave impetus to the expansion of courses in personal grooming, hairdressing, sewing, foods, and art. Rather significantly, during the 1955-1956 school year, two trends were reported: an increase in elementary girls over high school girls, and, an increase in behavior problems over truancy referrals. In September, 1955 a girls division was opened at the Cook County Jail Branch and plans were made to organize four classrooms in the inmate's dining hall. However, these were only temporary arrangements because an agreement had been worked out between school officials and the county jail administration to construct new school facilities. By March, 1956 four new classrooms, a testing room, storage and office facilities had been constructed. The participants in

In addition to the services provided by the Board of Education, a full-time Art and Music teacher was employed by the Home and a volunteer taught a Home Management course. Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1955-1956 (Chicago Public Schools), 82.

Ibid., 49, 54.


Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1955-1956, op. cit., 92. For the first time the services of a full-time psychologist were made available to the jail school. Besides inaugurating an educational testing program, the psychologist conducted individual and group counseling sessions with inmates under twenty years of age "with the idea of fostering better adjustment to the jail environment and formulating post-release goals." Ibid., 93.
the dedication ceremony, held March 12, 1956, reflected the "systems"
which had co-operated in bringing about the new school: R. Sargent
Shriver, President of the Chicago Board of Education, Joseph D. Loman,
Sheriff of Cook County, Dr. Benjamin Willis, General Superintendent of
Schools, and Edward H. Stullken, Principal of the Montefiore Special
School. Yet, while these developments were taking place in the various
branches, the educational program in the main building was showing signs
of strain and emerging problems were contributing to a conflict in
"theory" and "practice." 

By the early 1950s, special education programs were provided at
the local school level, as well as, in other "special schools" (e.g.,
the orthopedically handicapped) for children with a variety of prob­
lems. However, the Montefiore continued to receive the truant,
incorrigible "problem boy," particularly those with socio-emotional
and educational problems. An increasing number of these boys had well-
established, delinquency patterns/status. (See e.g., the "commitment
statistics" in Illustration XV.) While the majority of boys were still
"technically" referred to Montefiore for truancy, a growing number were
being referred because of incorrigibility (i.e., "misbehavior") and
more serious delinquencies (i.e., the "miscellaneous" category); see
Illustration XVI. Then too, the Montefiore student population con­
tinued to reflect the changing demographic characteristics of the city.
European immigrant children and "rag-tag Americans" had been gradually
replaced by children from mixed nationality families (a social process/
SUMMARY OF ENROLLMENTS, TRANSFERS, AND WITHDRAWALS, MONTEFIORE, 1950-51

Enrollment - June 23, 1950 (date of last report)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Type</th>
<th>Enrolled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary School</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 565

Transferred to Montefiore from regular Public and Private Schools: 402

Transferred to Montefiore from Parental School: 5

Transferred to Montefiore from Illinois State Training School; St. Charles, Illinois: 2

Returned to Montefiore from regular schools because of failure to make good: 37

Returned to Montefiore from Parental School: 47

Total: 493

Overage, left school for Continuation School and to go to work: 248

Transferred to schools out of town: 53

Transferred to Chicago Public Schools: 63

Transferred to Chicago Private Schools: 6

Transferred to Gibault School, Terre Haute, Indiana: 1

Enlisted in Military Service: Air Force -- 1

U.S. Army -- 3: 4

Committed to Illinois State Training School; St. Charles, Illinois: 44

Committed to Illinois State Reformatory, Sheridan, Illinois: 1

Committed to Stateville Prison: 2

Tuberculosis Hospital, Oak Forest, Illinois: 1

Committed to Chicago Parental School, Parental Petition: 76

Committed to Chicago Parental School on other Petitions: 47

Committed to Chicago Parental School, violation of parole: 24

TOTAL NUMBER LEAVING DURING THE YEAR: 570

TOTAL NUMBER REMAINING ENROLLED JUNE 25, 1951

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Type</th>
<th>Enrolled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary School</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 488

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ILLUSTRATION XVI

CAUSES FOR TRANSFER, MONTEFIORE, 1929-1959

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Truancy Problems</th>
<th>Misbehavior Problems</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929 - 1930</td>
<td>61 %</td>
<td>31 %</td>
<td>8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930 - 1931</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931 - 1932</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932 - 1933</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933 - 1934</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934 - 1935</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935 - 1936</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936 - 1937</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937 - 1938</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938 - 1939</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939 - 1940</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940 - 1941</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941 - 1942</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942 - 1943</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943 - 1944</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944 - 1945</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>20</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945 - 1946</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>1946 - 1947</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947 - 1948</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948 - 1949</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949 - 1950</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950 - 1951</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951 - 1952</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952 - 1953</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953 - 1954</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954 - 1955</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955 - 1956</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956 - 1957</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957 - 1958</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958 - 1959</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

interaction of some consequence, itself). As Chicago's population reflected increasing numbers of emigrees from the southern states, i.e., Negroes and Appalachian whites, (and a small, but growing, Mexican and Puerto Rican population), Montefiore's student population reflected the problems these groups were experiencing in "socially adjusting" to their new urban environment. Like the Italians, Poles, Germans, Slovaks, Irish, and other immigrant groups, Negroes moving from the rural south to industrial Chicago experienced culture shock and many became socially maladjusted. To a significant degree, the socio-emotional/educational problems of Negro children (no doubt exacerbated by rascism) were reflected by their increasing population at the Montefiore (as well as its branches). Between 1929 and 1940, Negro children comprised 12% of the population at Montefiore; and, by the end of the 1940-1941 school year, the number had risen to 21%.

110 The Montefiore population, "medians" relative to it notwithstanding, contained "'all types of kids.'" Businessmen's sons, many teachers' sons, a grandson of a judge, a senator's nephew, former alumni's sons (often by request), all contributed to the population at different times. Personal interviews with Edward H. Stullken, Lawrence J. Casey, Chester J. Wilkinson. Besides containing boys from mixed nationality backgrounds, the Montefiore population would also reflect a few boys from racially-mixed backgrounds; which, in some cases, had contributed to socio-emotional problems.

111 The first citation of boys with Puerto Rican backgrounds appeared during the 1956-1957 school year when they comprised 3% of Montefiore's student population. Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1956-1957 (Chicago Public Schools), 9. Boys with Mexican backgrounds comprised 3.3% of the population during its first twenty-five years (1929-1954); and, by the 1958-1959 school year, this figure grew to 5.8%. (Thirtieth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1958-1959 (Chicago Public Schools), 9. Today, boys from Hispanic families comprise nearly 20% of Montefiore's student population. See Chapter V.

That number doubled by 1950\textsuperscript{113} and by 1956 Negro children comprised 50\% of Montefiore's student population. \textsuperscript{114} Essential components of Montefiore's program had been the shops and other "activities" (comprising over half of the "curriculum"), smaller class sizes, special remedial work undertaken in even smaller groups, and social-welfare, mental/physical health services. However, psychological and health services in the school were limited; \textsuperscript{115} some shop activity programs were gradually eliminated (due to changes in personnel, retirements, etc.); and, Edward Stullken had problems convincing central office personnel (especially Mary E. Courtenay, Assistant Superintendent in charge of Special Education) of the need to maintain

\textsuperscript{113} Twenty-first Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1949-1950, \textit{op. cit.}, 10. By 1950, the Negro population of Chicago was 492,265 and Negro children comprised 13.6\% of the school population. Havighurst, et.al., \textit{op. cit.}, 10.

\textsuperscript{114} Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1955-1956, \textit{op. cit.}, 11.

\textsuperscript{115} Paradoxically, the Montefiore had provided fertile experimental soil for the inclusion of health and welfare services in the public school system, yet as these services (and resultant bureaucratic structures) were extended in the system, concentrated effectiveness was diminished at Montefiore. (For an insightful study of the roles of "systems" which contributed to the evolution of health and welfare programs for the children of the Chicago school system see: Nell and Havighurst, \textit{op. cit.}) Although the Chicago Health Department continued to provide a dentist (generally on a full-time basis for ten months of Montefiore's twelve month school year), it no longer provided the services of a doctor and nurse. Then too, the services of a psychiatrist were no longer provided at the school; although, seriously emotionally-disturbed children (within the school system) could be referred to the central office for services. Thus, the role of the field adjustment teacher became critically important, particularly relative to referrals and "follow-up" to medical/mental health facilities.
programs for small group instruction. Complaints from teachers began to arise regarding increasing class sizes and the increase in serious behavior problems. Two teachers, "reporting" in the early 1950s, had this to say:

Alice Nuerenberg:

This year brought a new group of the most erratic, undisci­plined, uninhibited, anti-social, emotionally unstable children

116 Cf., n.77 supra. As Stullken related to this writer, he became involved in a dispute with Courtenay because she didn't want him to have a teacher with (only) twelve kids. As he pointed out: "That's what the state wants and I oughta know because I wrote the rules and regulations when Ray Graham became Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State of Illinois." (Cf., n.38 supra.) Reflecting "systems interaction," a classic power struggle within which Stullken served as a fulcrum for social adjustment education, Courtenay (Assistant Superintendent in Charge of Special Education) was "pitched against" Ed Keener, who had been appointed the previous year to head a new Department of Personnel. This department included the entire instructional force and non-teaching, "civil service" employees (many of whom, had been patronage employees). Both Keener and his "director" Paul Lahan (and, no doubt, others) agreed with Stullken; thus, Stullken continued to exercise a degree (albeit, di­minished due to the evolution of socio-educational forces/systems) of control over his staff. Not surprisingly, Keener was a friend of Stullken's who had had an interesting role-history within the system (see, e.g., Herrick, op. cit., 250, 253, 257, 269, 271-272, 281). Personal interviews with Edward Stullken and Ethel Ryan.

117 Even though Stullken won some technical battles over staff and class size, as early as 1938-1939 complaints began to arise relative to class size. One of the pioneer teachers at Montefiore, Norinne Broderick, reported (e.g.): "The classes were much smaller ten years ago, fifteen to twenty was the number each teacher was required to teach. The classes have increased each year until some of the rooms have thirty-five. With this type of boy the classes should be small if teachers are to accomplish anything worthwhile." Tenth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1938-1939, op. cit., 30. Yet, the theoretical basis for social adjustment education (as postulated in Stullken's educational philosophy) was in contrast to and conflict with what was happening at Montefiore. E.g., "The school should be considered as a kind of hospital or clinic where school mal­adjustments can be corrected." Twenty-first Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1949-1950, op. cit., 2.
I have ever worked with. They threw chairs, tore loom strings, threw paste, crayolas, erasers, and books, and cursed, used obscene language and fought. They ran from the room, obeyed no one. They watered the plants with boiling water. They tore their own and others clothing. They used sharp nails to carve initials and insignia on their own arms until the blood flowed. They tore exhibits from the walls. They spat on each other. They knew neither law nor order. They did little or no class work. They laughed at, cursed at and even ran from their own parents when the parents came for interview.118

Then we have a child whose appearance is striking because he is without a nose. He had been mutilated by rats when he was a baby. His behavior is often rat-like. He bites, snaps, kicks and claws.

The entire group is unreliable, treacherous and ready to attack at the least incident.

Sixteen such mentally young and really bad boys lacking judgment, endowed with too much fight instinct, and always carrying a chip on their shoulders, constitute a hazzard few people, except those in constant contact with them can appreciate.119

Albert C. Boe:

A difficult age, an unsettled and unreliable student membership, the unappreciative and almost demanding student is our problem today.

To follow the usual practice of introductions, assignments and routines in a normal class of thirty youngsters at the beginning of a semester is a large chore. To practice the same procedure sixty times in one semester, is no aid in teaching time necessary for individual needs.

To maintain an interest for a group of forty membership, care for forty projects in a shop designed to accommodate eighteen students, certainly leads to many different problems in teaching. While at times we have only eighteen students in attendance, yet each member contributes to the difficulty of trying to satisfy individual needs.120

118 Twenty-third Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1951-1952, op. cit., 30. Neurenberg was one of the Montefiore pioneers and had worked with such children since 1926.


Although, theoretically,\textsuperscript{121} its use was not condoned, in practice "the paddle" (often constructed in the school) also appeared on some teachers' desks; and, in some instances, "licks" for truancy, tardiness, and misbehavior were not uncommon. Yet, in Nuerenberg's, Boe's and many classes, there were innumerable "success stories";\textsuperscript{122} and, Field-Adjustment Teachers continued to play a significant role (e.g., in securing plastic surgery for the child without a nose). Nevertheless, societal problems, and their impact on youth, were increasingly reflected in the Montefiore and its branches.

\textsuperscript{121} There seems to be no doubt that Edward Stullken was aware of the fact that some of his teachers used corporal punishment. E.g., in an interview with this writer, he noted that he had "'hired the first black man to work in the main building.'" This teacher gave a (white) student a "licking" and the boy's parents filed a petition against the teacher. Admonishing the teacher to "'tell the truth about the matter in court,'" Stullken acknowledged that he risked possible contempt of court charges himself by interceding in the matter. Unbeknownst to the teacher, Stullken telephoned the judge and informed him of the situation as he knew it. When the case was heard in court, it was the parents and their son who were reproved by the judge, not the teacher. According to Stullken, "'The teacher shouldn't have given the kid a licking, but I'd rather support him in giving a licking when he was doing it in the right direction than not. He was trying to make a man out of this ornery kid.'"

\textsuperscript{122} While the Annual Reports of this period contain various illustrations of the type of educational work conducted at Montefiore and the successes of different groups, the following quote (by Nuerenberg) offers a general perspective: "'What, then, has been accomplished with the group in 1952-1953? Much! We've kept them out of their home and neighborhood environment for at least seven hours a day. We subjected them to class routine, hall routine, and lunchroom routine. We gave them a good well-balanced meal at noon, notified parents of absences and tardinesses. We sent them to showers, sought aid from their case workers, assistant principal and probation officers, taught neatness of dress, taught economical use of paper, pencil and other school supplies. We taught care of their classroom, gave especial attention to teaching manners which cost nothing but which add to personality and help when getting and holding a job. Reading, writing, arithmetic, social studies, arts and crafts, each has its period and, on the whole, the boys have reacted better here than ever before.'" Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1952-1953, op. cit., 19.
By 1957, Judge Wendell Green, presiding Judge of Cook County Family Court, reported that court records showed an increase of 54% in offenses committed by boys and 89% by girls since 1950. They also reflected an increase in more serious offenses between 1940 and 1950. Relatedly, the records of the Bureau of Socially Maladjusted Children (Department of Special Education) reflected an increase in referrals for special school placement from 1,490 in 1952 to 1,518 in 1957. The increasing daily enrollment at the Audy (prompted by a statutory change of the legal age of delinquency for boys to include seventeen year olds) led to two teachers being transferred from the Montefiore to staff new divisions. "Record-breaking turnovers" at Cook County

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124 Mr. Joseph Flemming and Miss Mary McGuire transferred from the main building to the Audy. Also, during the school year, Arthur C. Anderson (who had been a teacher there) became Assistant Principal at the Audy when Raymond G. Essig retired. Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1957-1958 (Chicago Public Schools), 66. In subsequent years, other teachers would put their names on a transfer list for the Audy and Jail schools. These facilities operate on a thirteen month school year basis (with adjusted remuneration) rather than the twelve month basis at Montefiore. (One of the teachers at the Audy Home was Edward Donald Brady. Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1955-1956, op. cit., 72. Brady would become the Director of the Bureau of Socially Maladjusted Children. See Chapter V.)
Jail also contributed to the addition of faculty at that branch; and, offenders from Boy's Court continued to add to the rolls at the House of Correction. Meanwhile, the John L. Motley School building (739 N. Ada Street) was renovated and in November, 1957 the girls at the Dante Branch were shifted to the "new" facility. Although the Motley would remain a branch of the Montefiore until Edward Stullken's retirement in August, 1960, the "seed" (i.e., one teacher at the Washington School Branch) had evolved into the school system's non-custodial, day-school for socially maladjusted girls. Then, too, other social forces were having their effect on evolving social adjustment.

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125 By 1958, many teachers at the Jail School were struggling with 100% monthly class turn-overs; the enrollment of boys alone had jumped from 800 in 1956 to 2,100 in 1958. Enrollment statistics for the period 6/30/57 to 6/26/58 revealed an average monthly membership of 211 boys and 20 girls for an average membership per teacher of 23. Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1957-1958, op. cit., 87. Plans had been developed (with Sheriff Joseph D. Loman's co-operation) to convert part of the basement area of the jail into new quarters for the print shop and wood shop, as well as for two new shop programs, shoe repair and crafts. Ibid.; also see Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1956-1957, op. cit., 85.

126 In March of 1914, a "Boy's Court" was established as a branch of the Municipal Court. (Annals, op. cit., 318.) The court was given jurisdiction over male offenders 17-20 years of age. (Shaw and McKay, op. cit., 93.) In March, 1956 it became the official policy to send most offenders from Boy's Court to the House of Correction, resulting in two new divisions being opened in the school. Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1955-1956, op. cit., 83.) One of the teachers at the House of Corrections was Dennis O'Brien. (Ibid., 80.) O'Brien would become Principal of the Moseley Social Adjustment School in 1964.

127 Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Montefiore Special School, 1957-1958, op. cit., 46-47. The Motley School building is one of the oldest school structures still in use. It was constructed in 1884 and an addition was constructed in 1898. It was renovated to accommodate the social adjustment program for girls in 1957; and, in subsequent years, it was refurbished. See Chapter V.
plans and programs. A "Southwest superhighway," later to be named the Stevenson expressway, was under construction which would provide a main arterial link between Chicago, its southwest side, and south-western suburban communities (as well as, tie in with the federal interstate expressway system). However, its route incorporated the area at 14th and Union Streets: the Montefiore Special School.

Various social forces, including the Montefiore P.T.A. (which had an active and influential leadership, and a general membership of 700), supported "new experiments to help these children." In 1959, the budget approved by the Chicago Board of Education included a proposal to construct a new Montefiore school building at 13th and Ashland Streets. The new school was to contain 23 classrooms and specially equipped shops (including an "electric laboratory equipped like an engineering school's") special rooms for counseling and health services, a library, a gymnasium, a multi-purpose meeting room, and a lunchroom. Ground-breaking began on December 11, 1959, and one newspaper banner (i.e., the Chicago Daily News) reflected "inside information"/a mirror to prevailing, albeit "hardened," societal


129 As noted by Herrick, op. cit., 308, some of these "experiments" included two new facilities for socially maladjusted children, as well as, the establishment of rooms for trainable mentally handicapped children.

130 Relatedly, in February, 1959, a new Moseley Social Adjustment School was opened at 5700 S. Lafayette, replacing its original site at 24th and Michigan which was razed.

131 Personal interview with Lawrence J. Casey. Casey (cf., n.6 supra), an experienced "shop man" who had worked at Montefiore (by then) for over twenty years, served as the educational "overseer" during the construction of the new Montefiore.
attitudes concerning those socially maladjusted: "New Hope to Rise With New School." In the interview with the reporter, Helen Fleming ("a friend to the school system; faithful and thoughtful of the teacher")\textsuperscript{132}, the Principal of the Montefiore Special School and its five branches commented: "I look for quite an upswing in the feelings of our boys about school, and in their conduct....You bring about subtle changes in any human beings when you put them in better surroundings."\textsuperscript{133} Thus, after twenty-six years at 14th and Union Streets, the Montefiore would be re-located in "a new building especially designed for educating maladjusted boys" at 13th and Ashland Streets, in "a location nearer to the homes of a majority of the boys."\textsuperscript{134}

(See Illustration XVII.)

The planned construction of the new Montefiore reflected the expansion of social adjustment education up to the 1959-1960 school year. During its first two decades, the Montefiore had served as the Chicago public school system's "laboratory school" and primary special education center. The growth of social adjustment programs at

\textsuperscript{132}As noted by Lawrence Casey, most people (and, particularly, reporters) gave attention to the problems of children in the system often neglecting the significant problems teachers faced. However, Fleming was one of those reporters who also provided journalistic insight into the difficult role of a teacher. (Stullken had similarly praised Graham Taylor, who wrote a column for the Chicago Daily News in addition to directing the activities at the settlement he founded, Chicago Commons. Cf., I, n.18.)


ILLUSTRATION XVIIa

SPOT MAP: STUDENT POPULATION OF THE MONTEFIORE SPECIAL SCHOOL, JUNE 26, 1959

STUDENT POPULATION of the MONTEFIORE SPECIAL SCHOOL
Chicago, Illinois
As of June 26, 1959
Number of Pupils - 842
X - Location of School

Montefiore and its branches contributed to, and paralleled, the development of a broad range of programs for "exceptional children" in need of "special education." As the school system's bureaucratic structure evolved in response to "needs" and "pressures" (i.e., from socio-political-educational forces), the Montefiore, during its third decade, ceased to be the school system's primary special education center. However, it continued as a center for truant, incorrigible, and delinquent "exceptional" boys, as well as, a training school for student-teachers and a pilot school for the Department of Instruction and Guidance. As a "sub-system" of the public school system, the Montefiore was inextricably effected by (and affected) the socio/political-educational milieu in Chicago. The Montefiore's survival and expansion, particularly insofar as its incorporation/establishment of "branches," was substantially due to Edward Stullken, who made a significant contribution to public/collective consciousness relative to social adjustment education. Then too, the Montefiore from its inception reflected those humanitarian forces promoting the "rehabilitation of individuals" and the "reforming of society and its institutions." As Montefiore began its fourth decade, significant changes in the organization and administration of social adjustment programs were planned which signalled the end of an era under Edward Stullken's tutelage.

135 As noted by Lawrence J. Casey, "'It was based on the man, Edward Stullken. He was the authority on it.'"
CHAPTER V


The organization and administration of social adjustment programs changed significantly upon Edward Stullken's retirement from the Chicago Public School system, but he left an indelible influence on their direction and scope. Stullken had contributed to the confluence of forces which resulted in the establishment of an "institution" within the school system. The Montefiore symbolized the school system's commitment (albeit, tenuous at times) to provide a "special education" for those socially maladjusted in their school, and often their civic environments. Stullken had the support of powerful community groups and an active (and influential) PTA, whose link to the Chicago Region-ICPTA leadership became increasingly significant to the evolution of the Montefiore. Together with key individuals in the school system's central office hierarchy, they were able to expand and "protect" programs for the socially maladjusted; and, particularly, those programs consolidated under Montefiore's aegis. Until his retirement on August 24, 1960, Stullken was responsible for the administration of

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1 After his retirement from the Chicago Public School System, Stullken joined the staff of DePaul University as Associate Professor. He subsequently became director of teacher placement (which is not surprising in light of the fact that "at one time I knew all the principals in Chicago and many state superintendents."). He retired in 1970 on his 75th birthday; although he remained a member of the Illinois Youth Commission until 1974. Personal interview with Edward Stullken.
social adjustment (i.e., educational/rehabilitative) programs in six "schools." He had "grown up" with social adjustment education; he was a recognized authority on it and its champion in the school system. With varying degrees of success, he promoted the inclusion of special services as an essential part of the educational/"treatment" plan in the Montefiore and its branch for girls (Motley), as well as the educational/"rehabilitative" plan in its branches in the Juvenile Detention Home (the Audy), Cook County Jail, the House of Correction, and the Mary Bartelme Home for Girls.

Significantly, the consolidation of social adjustment programs under Stullken's administration had paralleled the evolution of a bureaucracy within the school system's central office administration. From two primary "sub-systems," the Department of Compulsory Education and the Department of Child Study and Pedagogic Investigation, an increasingly complex "line" and "staff" socio-political/educational organizational structure evolved. Stullken was able to maintain supportive ties to individuals with significant roles in the bureaucratic structure which enabled him to promote and consolidate many social adjustment programs under his administration. However, by the late 1950s, his power and control were waning. Nevertheless, his counsel was still sought; and, no doubt, anticipating the re-organization that

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2 The organizational structure of the school system in 1951 is presented in Appendix IX. Compare with that of 1975 in Appendix XVIII. Superintendent Willis significantly influenced the school system structure; see: Board of Education Report 72331-D, June 22, 1964, A special report on special education, with recommendations, by Benjamin C. Willis, General Superintendent of Schools (Chicago); Handbook of Policies and Procedures (Chicago Public Schools, 1958).
would take place upon his retirement, he advised Superintendent Willis to separate the Montefiore and its branches. Thus, the social adjustment programs at the Montefiore, Motley, and the custodial/correctional "schools" were placed under the administration of three independent principals.

Although a degree of decentralization of social adjustment programs had been an inherent part of the expansion of such programs generally (e.g., there were social adjustment rooms in nine schools and districts by 1960), a new period of decentralization/expansion inevitably accompanied the dissolution of the "Montefiore Empire." Even the new facility to house the Montefiore was a part of long-range plans to establish other social adjustment schools in various sections of the city.  

3 In 1958, Superintendent Willis wanted to transfer Stullken to the "notorious Englewood High School to straighten it out." However, Stullken only had two years to go until retirement and he would have incurred a cut in salary. Then too, he thought Willis may have been out to get him. (Which is interesting because he also thought that Willis was a "darn good school administrator; he was fearless. A sly one." Stullken had Lester Schloerb, "a very fine man, but a goody-goody fellow," [cf., Herrick, op. cit., 256] talk to Willis. He had no further contact with Willis until February, 1960, when they met at a conference of 20,000 school administrators held in Atlantic City, at the Traymor Hotel. (Stullken's eldest son, Donald, who was in charge of Recovery Operations for NASA, made a presentation about the first monkeys--"Able" and "Baker"--who had recently been in space.) It was here that Stullken advised Willis and his deputy, James H. "Jimmy" Smith to separate the branches from the main building. Personal interview with Edward Stullken. (Cf., IV, n.100.) (Smith's brother, Howard B. Smith, had succeeded Postel as principal of Moseley. He also retired in 1960.)

4 Upon Smith's retirement, Moseley's two branches for girls, the Haven School and branch for pregnant girls were also re-organized. The Haven School became a branch of the Motley under the administration of Evelyn Sansone. Robert J. Braasch, who had been a teacher at the Audy Home, became principal and in charge of the correctional branches.

5 "It was an empire. He had more schools than any other man, principal in the city." Personal interview with Lawrence Casey. (This writer would suggest a system within a system.) Also, cf., Board of Education, City of Chicago, 1960 Directory of the Chicago Public Schools.
city. While Montefiore would continue to be inextricably tied to the evolution of social adjustment programs in the school system, the direction and scope of its educational program would be affected by the men who succeeded Stullken as principal. All three men had worked under Stullken at the "correctional schools": Harry Strasburg at the Cook County Jail Branch and Raphael Sullivan and Daniel Griffin at the House of Correction Branch. Each man felt that the role of the principal of Montefiore was a desirous one. Each had the active support of the Montefiore-Motley PTA and, especially, its executive board leadership. The PTA's presentations at budget hearings of the Board kept that body informed of the needs of the Montefiore program and of social adjustment needs, generally. The leadership-ties between the Montefiore-Motley PTA executive board and the Chicago-Region ICPTA provided a significant power-base from which to articulate juvenile delinquency

6 These plans included establishing 5-6 social adjustment schools or centers. (See: Montefiore-Motley PTA Budget Hearing Statement to the Chicago Board of Education, December 13, 1965.) However, school officials in targeted areas were not consulted and some communities were vehemently opposed to bringing socially maladjusted boys into their communities. (See: Betty Flynn, "Truant Centers Plan a 'Surprise' - School Principals Not Informed in Advance of Willis Proposal," Chicago Daily News, June 15, 1962, 21; "Willis Wants New Help for Maladjusted," Chicago Sun-Times, June 28, 1962, 56.) After three years of "systems interaction," in August, 1963, a social adjustment program known as Impact (i.e., Improvement of Attendance and Curtailment of Truancy) was presented to the Board and subsequently implemented. (See: Pupil Personnel Services Study Report No. 2, 1964 Series, op. cit., 71-74.) Cf., n.36 infra.

7 With the re-organization of programs in 1960, the Montefiore PTA extended its association to Motley and would, in years to follow, promote social adjustment programs for girls, as well as boys, including the establishment of schools for pregnant girls. Kathryn Fisher, the daughter of Mrs. Ethel Dummer, was a member of the PTA; as was a niece of Jane Addams. Personal interviews with Ethel Ryan and Harry Strasburg.
prevention programs, including social adjustment education. Yet, the Montefiore (as well as a diverse range of "special programs") was also affected by those forces in society compelling a re-assessment of programs for the "exceptional child," particularly in light of judicial and legislative mandates. In fact, while our "date-line" extends back to the 19th century, when Edward Stullken retired and the Montefiore was re-located to its third and current location a "new" confluence of forces began to affect the Montefiore.

In December of 1960,\(^8\) nearly a year after ground-breaking had begun, "three hundred and sixty problem schoolboys said goodbye to a drab and barnlike schoolhouse"\(^9\) at 14th and Union Streets and were transported to a "new" Montefiore at 13th and Ashland Avenue. The L-shaped, two-story school was one of the most modern and well-equipped facilities erected at the time (although it had three fewer academic rooms than the old building, but one additional shop). Yet, less than ten years later, a front-page headline in the Chicago Sun-Times would refer to Montefiore as a "School of Violence." Later, the media would variously refer to the school (and social adjustment/special education programs, generally) as a "dumping ground," a "Blackboard Jungle," a "bland school," and even a sort of "special magnet school in the Board


\(^9\) Helen Flemming, "Shiny New Montefiore School Makes Good Impression on 360 Problem Boys," Chicago Daily News (undated). (Clipping from the files of Lawrence Casey.)
of Education's 'Access to Excellence' smorgasbord.” How did Harry Strasburg perceive the Montefiore and how did he affect its educational program?

Harry Strasburg worked as a teacher at the Cook County Jail School Branch for seven years, 1947-1954. After the jail school became a branch of the Montefiore (1952), he went to the main building every "records day." He passed the principal's examination and was assigned to the King Elementary School in 1955. In 1960, Superintendent Willis selected him to succeed Stullken as principal of the Montefiore. He began working at the Montefiore in July, 1960, in a transitional period before Stullken's retirement. Although his shift to the Montefiore was only a "lateral move," Strasburg had ambitious plans. He felt the Montefiore had the reputation of being "the black hole of Calcutta" and he was determined to make some significant changes. In the old building he found "embittered men who had long given up trying to teach" and who simply tried to "keep the kids in a reasonable mood." Most teachers had "sticks" and corporal punishment was willfully employed. Some teachers even gave students carfare to go home, but not to return. Students went unaccounted for in the building and some terrorized the neighborhood. Strasburg believed that "some kids got raw deals" when they were sent to Montefiore; particularly when they were assigned to a room with nothing to do that's meaningful." He felt that "there really was no

program" at the old Montefiore and in the new building teachers "were going to get rid of paddles and abusive language" and "do something, not sit."\(^{11}\)

Strasburg had five months to study the operation of the Montefiore and develop plans for the changes he intended to institute in the new building. These changes would be predicated on his personal (socio-educational) philosophy, his understanding of the students and the nature of their problems, and the educational program required to provide for their needs. According to Strasburg:

> Virtually our entire population represents gross deviate behavior—behavior with which the neighborhood schools have indicated they can no longer cope....These children have failed in one or more schools; their transfer to Montefiore is a traumatic experience associated with many unpleasant occurrences. They come to Montefiore bewildered, antagonistic, and completely demoralized....It seems to them that they have been rejected by the school, parents, and community alike.\(^{12}\)

Thus, Montefiore's first responsibility was to "accept the child." Boys were transferred to Montefiore from schools throughout the city, as well as from EMH (EMR) rooms and social adjustment centers; 5% of the student population were paroles from the Illinois Youth Commission. While the "misbehavior" and "miscellaneous" (i.e., combination truancy-behavior and/or more serious problems) referrals had been increasing, during the 1960-1961 school year "misbehavior" replaced "truancy" as the primary cause for transfer to Montefiore. 55.2% were referred because of misbehavior, 33.7% because of truancy, and 11.1% for miscellaneous reasons.

\(^{11}\)Personal interview with Harry Strasburg.

\(^{12}\)Strasburg, Special Report, 4.
After six months in the new building Strasburg reported: "Montefiore is now receiving the most aggravated behavior and maladjustment problems within the school system." During the school year, 35% of the student population was drawn from one square mile within the Lawndale district and 25% were referred from three Upper Grade Centers and seven elementary schools (two of which contained social adjustment centers).

Other demographic characteristics of the student population revealed:

1. That upon entering the majority were over thirteen years of age with the greatest number at 13.0 to 13.6 and 14.0 to 14.6. Six children ranged in age from 8.7 to 9.11, and there were twenty children who were enrolled after reaching 15.7 years. The median age was 13.6.

2. That the majority of boys who entered were at the sixth and seventh grade level. Thirty-five boys came from EMH classes and nine boys came from Social Adjustment Centers. Boys were entered as low as the third and as high as the tenth grade level.

3. That with respect to averageness, only one child was under age and ninety-two were at their proper grade placement. Eleven were one semester overage, twenty-eight were two semesters average, and the remainder were three to as many as eleven semesters overage. In the 4B grade five children were six semesters overage, and two children were eleven semesters overage.

4. That with respect to the intelligence quotients of 196 elementary boys, two-thirds of them ranged in scores from 70-89. Four boys had I.Q.'s of over 110, while twelve boys had I.Q.'s below 59. Intelligence quotients for high school boys: thirty boys fell in the range between 90-99, three ranged between 70-79, and four had I.Q.'s of 110 and above.

5. That with respect to reading achievement of the elementary school boys, thirty-five were reading at the second grade level and below; 157 were achieving scores below the fifth grade; and five were reading above the ninth grade level.

These factors (and others) contributed to defining the educational program, operating within the organizational structure which Strasburg utilized.

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13 Ibid., 1-2, Chart 1.
14 Ibid., 3.
The educational work of the school was to emphasize two basic components: guidance and instruction. The guidance program was divided into three operations: 1) orientation, testing, and placement, 2) counseling, and 3) field adjustment service. Upon enrollment, a boy was assigned to the orientation room where he was given intelligence and achievement tests and apprised of the rules and regulations of the school. During this time he was given a dental examination and his medical history was reviewed with the school nurse. He was assigned a counselor and a field adjustment teacher, and he was introduced to the principal (Strasburg) and the assistant principal (Chester Wilkinson). Subsequently, a staffing was held to determine the boy's placement, including the principal, assistant principal, counselor, orientation teacher, and field adjustment teacher. The teacher to whom the boy was assigned was then invited to participate to enable him to gain insight into the nature of the boy's background and problems. The role of the three counselors included counseling, disciplining, placing pupil personnel, and maintaining pupil personnel records. They were to coordinate their work with the field-adjustment teachers, whose role was to work with parents, social agencies, and the courts. Each of the five field adjustment teachers was assigned to a designated section of the city, incorporating certain case-loads. Besides their field work, they were also responsible for enrolling new students (i.e., interviewing the child, his parent and/or sending school personnel, and obtaining necessary information) and visiting the school to which a boy would be returned.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., 7-8.
The instruction component in the social adjustment program reflected Strasburg's belief in the correlation between a child's inability to read and his resultant social maladjustment in school. Thus, the Montefiore program emphasized reading and a student was "homogeneously grouped" on the basis of his reading achievement score. Theoretically, every classroom was to be a "remedial reading laboratory." However, there was a problem; as Strasburg observed: "For the most part teachers at Montefiore have little or no experience in the techniques of reading as required by the new emphasis we are giving it."\footnote{Ibid., 11.} He arranged for a former teacher of his at the King School to transfer to Montefiore to set up a remedial reading program and provide in-service to the teachers.\footnote{In an interview with this writer, Strasburg identified the teacher as Mrs. Beatrice Dubnow. (Interviews with a number of individuals, not surprisingly, reflected diverse perceptions of Dubnow's role.)} After eight months in the new building, there were three major groups: four high school divisions, two EMH divisions, and fourteen elementary divisions. The average range in reading level within each division was .9 of a year. Besides providing in-service instruction to the faculty, the remedial reading teacher provided instruction to three experimental groups who were considered most likely to profit from intensive, group instruction; as well as, instruction to those most in need of tutorial instruction. In addition to emphasizing reading, Strasburg planned to re-assess the science curriculum (two modern science laboratories were now available, having been completed in May, 1961) and the social...
studies curriculum. The physical education program was re-organized to provide for intramural competition and funding was secured from the Board for gym clothes and shoes—which were laundered in the building. A Drum and Bugle Corps was organized (and funding was secured for fifty uniforms), as was a "Swing Band." Strasburg felt that the shop program had proven "effective and rehabilitative." Although he questioned the vocational nature of the shop curriculums, he believed that they were of "great value with respect to therapy." An academically-oriented vocational curriculum, operating from a "functional point of view," was initiated with a select group of potential drop-outs. It had a strong practical-mathematical component, and other academic areas (i.e., language arts, science and social studies) also focused on developing a lesson-plan which took "its cue from normal daily activities." Strasburg would have preferred to have more academically-oriented vocational type classes, but by the Fall of 1961 he was facing a number of problems.

Strasburg acceded that as a "special school" Montefiore's educational program should emphasize the practical arts, fine arts and physical education. However, eight of Montefiore's twenty-three classrooms were shops and he felt the shop program was over-emphasized.

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18 Strasburg, Special Report, 11-12. A different perspective was reflected by his "inherited" assistant principal and the field adjustment teacher who was the "educational overseer" during the construction of the new Montefiore: "Strasburg was not mechanically minded, he wanted the shops done away with." Personal interview with Chester Wilkinson. "Strasburg was academic to the core, not realizing the vocational needs of the boys." Personal interview with Lawrence Casey. Yet, it is important to remember that both were "shop men;" and, too, they (and others interviewed) acknowledged the problem relative to getting qualified shop teachers. Also, cf., n.28 infra.

35% of the educational work of the school was "vocational"/practical arts-oriented. He wanted to bring the number of shops down to 25% of a student's program by adding academic divisions. Strasburg also faced other problems. Montefiore's 1961 budget allotment was reduced by more than half; and, by September there were seven staff vacancies. In addition, fourteen teachers had their names on the transfer list for the custodial/correctional schools. He requested a full-time psychologist (without success) to direct the guidance program, since the psychologist who came two days per week had the responsibility of developing a "child-study" on those enrolled without one. As Strasburg pointed out, "out of 422 transfers, we received only ninety cumulative record cards...[and] only 205 psychologials had been administered."

20 Ibid., 17-18.

21 Ibid., 18, 21. The correctional schools operated on a 13-month school year and were "economically attractive" to many teachers. Then too, the requirements for teachers to transfer to the social adjustment schools may have appeared rather complex; see, e.g., Personnel Bulletin No. 9, August 30, 1963 (Chicago Public Schools). In 1964, new qualifications, in light of OSPI guidelines were issued superceding the 1961 requirements; see: Personnel Bulletin No. 102, June 18, 1964 (Chicago Public Schools). The "Qualifications for Teachers in Social Adjustment Schools and Centers" issued by the Department of Personnel in 1961 were reprinted in this bulletin.

22 Strasburg, Special Report, 21-22. Relatedly, the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Child Psychiatry Services, Illinois Department of Mental Health and Medical Director of the Child Therapy Program, Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis pointed out (1965): "In the opinion of many child psychiatrists, there is a continuing increase in both the rate and the gravity of emotional disorders in children and adolescents. There seems to be a high incidence of these emotional problems in childhood, and they seem to be becoming more serious. We see this reflected, for example, in the rising rate of overt emotional difficulties, learning problems, school drop-outs, unwed pregnancies, suicides and overt violence in some of our adolescents...."
He also noted that there was no clear policy regarding the age of students transferred to Montefiore, nor was there a policy relating to the information that sending schools were to provide. He felt that psychological exams should be the responsibility of the sending school. 23 To promote the educational program at Montefiore and establish "better communication" with other schools, Strasburg often hosted luncheons for District Superintendents and principals. He left the Montefiore in April, 1964, to become the principal of Crane High School and, subsequently, the superintendent of district 27, with a belief that he had helped change the reputation of the Montefiore. 24

Strasburg's successor was aware of the "bad image" of the social adjustment schools, and he attributed it to those who used the special

In summary, it is my impression that our Chicago public schools are sadly and seriously lacking in adequate mental health services. It seems to me that this is due primarily to the lack of recognition by our current public school administration that our schools require mental health services."

23 b. l. Strasburg, Special Report, 22. Also see: Lois Wille, "Explosive Youth--Just Names on a Waiting List," Chicago Daily News, February 18, 1965. In 1964, new guidelines were established re. the placement of socially maladjusted children (particularly those under the age of twelve) in special programs, class sizes, etc. See: General Bulletin No. 15, December 10, 1964 (Chicago Public Schools).

24 Strasburg felt that when he left the Montefiore was perceived as "a country club." Personal interview with Harry Strasburg. There is no doubt that he set a "tone" in the building, particularly with the rules and regulations he established. Strasburg subsequently became the Assistant Superintendent of the Department of Systems Analysis and Data Processing; and, in 1978, the Assistant Superintendent of the Department of Management Development and Long Range Planning. Today, he is the Deputy of the Office of Financial Administration.
schools as a threat or punishment. As principal of the Moseley Social Adjustment School, Raphael P. Sullivan experienced many of the same problems that faced Strasburg at Montefiore. He, too, was opposed to corporal punishment and felt that "if you have a program, you don't need a stick." 25 After two years (1962-1964) at Moseley, Sullivan had formulated some basic perspectives on the socially maladjusted child and the educational program needed to provide for him. Who was labeled "socially maladjusted" and referred to special schools?

...the child who is a chronic truant, who threatens, swears at, or even strikes teachers, refuses to follow directions, fights and bullies other children, and generally disrupts the routine of the regular school. At home such a child is sometimes as much a problem as he is at school, for he may threaten, hit, and steal from his parents and brothers and sisters. Such children frequently run away from home and remain away for long periods of time....Frequently they feel rejected and unwanted so that they either lack confidence in their abilities or grossly exaggerate their capacities or achievements. Culturally, the largest segment of the student enrollment comes from a deprived background. 26

At Moseley (which did not contain high school students, but innumerable over-age elementary students), Sullivan found that most of the boys shared two characteristics: academically, they were low-achievers and they were socially immature. Since the goal of the special schools was to return a student to a regular school "adjusted," as well as to prepare the potential drop-out, Sullivan felt that social adjustment

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25 Personal interview with Raphael P. Sullivan. Prior to becoming principal of Moseley, Sullivan had served as principal of the Whistler Elementary School.

education was education for "survival." To survive in a school it was necessary that a student "approach the reading level of his potential classmates in the regular school;" to survive in society it was necessary that a student learn "how to talk, dress, and act in order to secure, hold, and advance on a job." Sullivan carried this educational philosophy with him when he transferred to the Montefiore.

Sullivan served as principal of the Montefiore for two years, leaving in May, 1966 to become principal of the newly erected Westinghouse Vocational High School. (He also took some Montefiore teachers with him.) He had trouble keeping staff members. There were often twenty or more students assigned to classes, which made remedial work difficult. Although corporal punishment was a problem relative to some teachers, Sullivan found that a reprimand would bring its use to a halt; at least, temporarily. He empathized with those dedicated teachers who had to contend with the realization that a "lot of input" often brought "little results." Sullivan developed a proposal--intended as an aid to Montefiore--which evolved into the Family Guidance Center, a

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27 Ibid., 358.

28 Personal interview with Raphael P. Sullivan. As principal of Montefiore, Sullivan faced many of the same problems that Strasburg encountered. By the summer of 1964, there were vacancies in six classrooms and four shops due to retirements and experienced teachers transferring to the custodial/corrections schools. Then too, it was difficult attracting qualified teachers with the necessary skills to work with Montefiore's boys. See: Letter from Mrs. Emanuel Stavish, Teacher Recruitment Chairman, Montefiore School PTA to Benjamin C. Willis, General Superintendent of Schools, August 11, 1964. (From the files of the Montefiore-Motley PTA.)
federally funded project sponsored by the Board of Education. The proposal reflects some of the problems and needs relative to social adjustment education in 1965.

The Saturday research project\(^{29}\) envisioned by Sullivan was to take place in the Montefiore school building, although he thought other social adjustment schools (i.e., Moseley, Motley) could also institute such projects. The project had four major goals: 1) the intensive counseling of current Montefiore students, 2) a follow-up study and program with former students, 3) counseling of students (and their parents) awaiting social adjustment placement, and 4) in-service training of staff personnel. Over a third of Montefiore's student population was under supervision, probation and/or parole from Family/Juvenile Court, the Illinois Youth Commission, and mental health institutions. Out of 422 students enrolled (at the time the proposal was written), 322 of them lived within the geographic area of 2400 North to 2200 South and from the lake to Cicero Avenue (4800 West). Sullivan thought these children should receive intensive counseling and related services on a non-school day (nor, a regular "work-day"). Various agencies were to be enlisted to provide counseling services: the Chicago Board of Education (i.e., the selected members of the Montefiore staff, psychologists, psychiatrists, and personnel from departments, bureaus, etc.), the Chicago Board of Health - Mental Health

\(^{29}\)The original proposal was entitled: "Research Project to Improve Understanding and Procedures in Development of Mental Health of Socially Maladjusted Children From Economically Deprived Backgrounds," a proposal developed by Raphael P. Sullivan, Principal of the Montefiore Social Adjustment School. (Undated; presumed date, 1965. Mimeo-graphed. From the files of the Montefiore-Motley PTA.)
Clinic, Chicago Police Department - Youth Division, Mayor's Commission on Youth, Family Court Branch of the Cook County Circuit Court, Illinois Youth Commission, and the Institute for Juvenile Research. The follow-up study component was intended to ascertain whether boys who left Montefiore were adjusting to their school/social environments and provide a counseling service to those who needed supportive guidance. The third phase (which was eventually funded under Title I, ESEA, incorporating a different population) was intended to provide counseling/guidance to students on Montefiore's waiting-list in an attempt to remediate the need for special school placement. The last component of the proposal (i.e., phase of the day's project operation) was to provide in-service training in techniques and methodologies relative to counseling adults—with the parents of Montefiore students as a target-clientele. The Montefiore-Motley PTA supported Sullivan's proposal and they continued to lobby for aspects of it, as well as other social adjustment needs, during the following years.

30 The proposal was re-drafted and submitted as: Chicago Board of Education, "Demonstration Project to Improve Understanding and Procedures in the Development of Mental Health of Socially Maladjusted Children and Seriously Emotionally Disturbed Children," A Demonstration Proposal Submitted to the U.S. Commissioner of Education Under the Provisions of Title III, Section 302 of Public Law 88-164, Raphael P. Sullivan, Principal, Montefiore Social Adjustment School for Boys, Principal Investigator (Chicago Public Schools: undated; presumed date, 1965). After two years (1966-1968) as a Saturday pilot project involving a number of the Montefiore staff, the Family Guidance Center was established in February, 1969, as an ESEA Title I program operating five days per week. Thus, it became a "branch" of the Montefiore with an independent staff. Harry A. Ruyter [cf., IV, n.32] became coordinator; and, upon his retirement in July, 1976, was succeeded by Thomas J. Corcoran. (In 1978, Corcoran was appointed Administrator of the Center for Urban Education; and, in 1981, Secretary to the Board of Education.) Today, the Family Guidance Center hangs tenuously to life. Personal interview with Victor Zapatka, head teacher/coordinator.
By May, 1965, Sullivan had defined the organizational structure of the Montefiore. See Illustration XVIII. The full-time auxiliary staff included two attendance officers, a dentist and a shower attendant. The part-time staff included a teacher-nurse one and a half days per week, a speech therapist one-half day per week, and a psychologist one day a week and one and a half days every other week. The role of the field adjustment teachers continued to be focused on frequent home-visits and inter-agency communication; and, the role of the counselors reflected specific areas of responsibility which were still inter-related to the work of the field adjustment teachers. In addition, a teacher was assigned the discipline/attendance function and a master teacher was delegated certain other responsibilities. Students, who ranged in age from eight to seventeen, were grouped into "non-graded" classes on the basis of their chronological age and reading ability. The educational program emphasized individual instruction in reading and arithmetic skill areas, and counseling. It was departmentalized, providing classes in shops, art, music, library, physical education, and remedial reading. A "work experience" (career-oriented) program was also provided. Students and their families were referred to various agencies for special services. Quite often they included the following: 1) Children's Memorial Hospital; 2) Northwestern University Clinic; 3) Church Federation of Greater Chicago; 4) Mental Health Clinic of Chicago Board of Health; 5) Illinois

31 Data based on "Montefiore Fact Sheets and Organizational Charts," developed by Raphael P. Sullivan, Principal, May 23, 1965. (From the files of the Montefiore-Motley PTA.)
ILLUSTRATION XVIII

ORGANIZATION

MONTEFIORE SCHOOL

PRINCIPAL

ATTENDANCE OFFICERS

FIELD ADJUSTMENT TEACHERS

DISCIPLINE ATTENDANCE

TEACHER

ASSISTANT PRINCIPAL

MASTER TEACHER

Lesson Plans
Report Cards
In-Service
Remedial

GUIDANCE
Counseling-pupil and parent
Careers Program
Testing
Group Guidance
Graduation
Tours

COUNSELOR

PROFESSIONAL SERVICES
Dentist
Nurse
Speech Therapist
Psychologist
Psychiatric
Vision

COUNSELOR

RECORDS
Transcripts
Transfer procedures
Photostating
Cardex
Correspondence
Registration
Court petitions
Enrollment procedures

EMH
Shops
Academic
Music-Art
Library
Physical
Education
Orientation
Room
Special
Service

aRaphael P. Sullivan
Principal 5-23-65
State Employment Service; 6) School Children's Aid Society; 7) Family Court Workers; 8) Illinois Youth Commission Officers; 9) Loyola Child Guidance Clinic; 10) Salvation Army Clinic; and 11) Cook County Hospital.

Once enrolled at Montefiore, a student had to remain a minimum of fifteen weeks before he was potentially eligible for return to a "conventional" elementary or high school. If he was not found to be "rehabilitated" he could be retained, transferred to a continuation school (i.e., Tilden or Logan), or referred to Family Court. See Illustrations XIX and XX.

These organizational structures reflected Sullivan's educational philosophy and his adaptations/modifications to the evolving social adjustment program at the Montefiore; and, articulation with other programs evolving within the school system. It also reflected the concept of systems interaction between (and within) the public school system and other systems; e.g., Family Court, Illinois Youth Commission,

32 In 1961 and 1962, a number of programs, i.e., Double E, Education and Employment; Double T, Training and Transition; Double C, Census and Counseling, were initiated under the Urban Youth Program for drop-outs between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. Also, in 1962, Education and Vocational Guidance Centers were established. See: Pupil Personnel Services Study Report No. 2, 1964 Series, op. cit., 79-84, 87-88. The continuation schools were closed in June, 1973. However, the Industrial Skills Center had evolved, providing a program for boys which enabled them to earn their GED (i.e., General Equivalency Diploma). The fact that no similar program had been introduced for girls was brought to the attention of the Board; see: Montefiore-Motley Public Hearing Statement to the Board of Education, December 10, 1973, presented by Ardell E. Nickels, President. During the early and mid-1970s, a number of Montefiore drop-outs were referred to the Double E and T programs. Today, they are encouraged to enroll at the Industrial Skills Center; although, entrance requirements prohibit many from doing so. Then, too, a number of Montefiore's "drop-outs" apply for the Job Corps Program, a federally-funded program which trains young people for employable occupations (often in out-of-state locations). However, this program also has entrance requirements, specifically eliminating students previously classified as E.M.H. students.
ILLUSTRATION XIXa

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE
SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

Regular Elementary School  Regular High School

- Report of Teacher
- Case History Report by Truant Officer
- School Case Report
- Principal's Letter
- Child Study

District Superintendent

Bureau of Socially Maladjusted Children

MONTEFIORE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT SCHOOL

- Return to Regular Schol.
- Continuation School
- Family Court Br. of Circuit Court

Chicago Parental School  Illinois Youth Commission

- Regular School
- Montefiore

Trainign School St. Charles  Industrial School Sheridan

a RAPHAEL P. SULLIVAN, Principal
Montefiore Social Adjustment School
5-23-65
ILLUSTRATION XX

HOW A PUBLIC SCHOOL TRUANT OR UNRULY STUDENT MAY BE PROCESSED THRU (sic) THE CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS, THE CHICAGO POLICE DEP'T., (sic) FAMILY COURT OF COOK COUNTY, AND THE ILLINOIS YOUTH COMMISSION

--- Diagram Begins ---

**UNRULY STUDENT** (Regular School)

- Problem Report to Bureau of Socially Maladjusted
  - Parental Petition Filed
    - Transferred to Social Adjustment School
      - Police Youth Division
        - Station Adjustment
          - Parole Violator
            - Family Court Disposition Hearing
              - Dismissal
                - Commitment to Ill. Youth Comm.
                  - Family Court Probation
                    - Release to Parent or Guardian
                      - Foster Home
                        - Parole
                          - Parents Home
                            - Discharge
                              - Foster Home
      - Family Court Complaint
        - Ill. Youth Comm. Parole Hearing
          - Finding of Delinquency
            - Dismissal
              - Parole Officer
                - Social Investigation by Probation Officer
                  - Dismissal
                    - Commitment to Ill. Youth Comm.
                      - Family Court Probation
                        - Release to Parent or Guardian
                          - Foster Home
                            - Parole
                              - Parents Home
                                - Discharge
                                  - Foster Home

--- Diagram Ends ---

**TRUANT STUDENT** (Regular School)

- Problem Report to Bureau of Socially Maladjusted
  - Parental Petition Filed
    - Parole Violator
      - Family Court Adjudication
          - Short Term Continuance
            - Pending Satisfactory Att.
              - Committed Chicago Parental School
                - Family Court Re-Hearing
                  - Petition Dismissed
                    - Released (Overage)
                      - Reception and Diagnostic Ctr.
                        - Long Term Continuance
                          - Ill. Youth Comm. Parental School
                            - Metd. Regular School
                              - Metd Soc. Adj. School
                                - Commited Chi. Parent. Sch.
                                  - Division of Correctional Services
                                    - Transferred Reg. School
                                      - Transferred Continuation Sch. (Overage)
                                        - Family Court Hearing
                                          - Returned Social Adjustment School
                                            - Returned Reg. School
                                              - Discharged (Overage)

--- Additional Information ---

a Montefiore Social Adjustment School
Raphael P. Sullivan, Principal 5-23-65
and mental health/hospital institutions. This systems interaction held problems, as well as promise, for social adjustment education.

While diverse SES/cultural factors contributed to defining the socially maladjusted child, in Sullivan's observation, the majority were drawn from "disorganized families." These families had trouble coping with the (often "new") urban, socio-cultural environment and exhibited problems associated with divorce/desertion, alcoholism, unemployment, and innumerable other social disorders. These disorders often manifested themselves in behavior-problem children whose parent(s) were "unresponsive." According to Sullivan, these parents were "...so disturbed themselves or so socially inadequate that they do not recognize their own contribution to the children's behavior." 33 This problem combined with "restrictive treatment qualifications" (i.e., intelligence and responsiveness criteria) of health, education and welfare agencies contributed to defining the needs of the Montefiore student-familial population. These were the kids doomed to the "junk pile" unless special personnel and facilities were made available to Montefiore (as well as, Motley and Moseley) "that would financially be difficult to duplicate in large numbers." 34 Yet, the impact of social forces had compelled the Board of Education and its administrative leadership to extend social

33 Raphael P. Sullivan, Moses Montefiore Social Adjustment School (By the author, December 20, 1965). (Mimeographed.) This has historically been a problem facing the Montefiore staff and, particularly, its field adjustment teachers who engage in familial counseling. Today, it is a significant factor which, combined with evolving special education rules and regulations re. placement procedures (complex and unfamiliar to most local schools), significantly encumbers the referral of boys to Montefiore. Cf., n.42 infra.

34 Ibid. Cf., IV, n.47.
adjustment education to 51 rooms throughout the city by the Fall of 1965. 35 Then too, while they did not duplicate the Montefiore they certainly bore the stamp of its ancestry; i.e., in March of 1966, 36 the Director of the Bureau of Socially Maladjusted Children, Edward D. Brady, reported that there were nine Social Adjustment Impact Centers in six schools, forty-nine divisions (i.e., Social Adjustment Primary Centers) in thirty-five schools, sixteen Emotionally Disturbed Classes in Private Institutions, and six Social Adjustment Schools with five branches and one resource room. So when Sullivan left Montefiore, decentralization of social adjustment programs was well under-way. Sullivan's successor as principal of Montefiore would inherit the legacy of social adjustment education, and its growing problems, but since he was "sort of in the business of it," 37 he welcomed the challenge.

Like Sullivan, Daniel G. Griffin had been a teacher at the House of Correction. Unlike either of his immediate predecessors, he came to stay with the "culled and choice-drawn cavaliers" at Montefiore. He knew that the Montefiore would be anything but tedious, and he was convinced that the special school had an important role in the school system. Griffin had had eight years of administrative experience as principal before accepting that position at Montefiore. His first assignment in April, 1958, had been to the Pershing Elementary School, 

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35 Cf., n.6 supra, "Budget Hearing Statement."

36 "Fact Sheet," issued by Edward D. Brady, Director of the Bureau of Socially Maladjusted Children, Chicago Public Schools, March 8, 1966. (From the files of the Montefiore-Motley PTA.) Brady had been a teacher at the Audy Home; cf., IV, n.124.

37 Personal interview with Daniel G. Griffin.
a new school erected in the Lake Meadows/Prairie Shores area. He gained experience working with diverse community groups during his three years at Pershing. When he transferred to the Skinner School there were a number of EMH divisions in operation. Soon a program for blind children was implemented—as part of a "mainstreaming" objective—which required Griffin to develop organizational strategies for the educational program. By 1966, so many exceptional children had been assigned to the Skinner that it was extensively a special education school. However, another special school with a unique population and a challenging reputation had been on Griffin's mind for some time. 38

Griffin recalled going to the old Montefiore for the payroll. He had heard some gossip about what went on there. He also remembered the big old building, over-crowded with students, and knew that it had to be difficult to maintain order. Yet, when he entered the new Montefiore he felt that he was entering a school not substantially different than other schools, an environment where even "bad-boys" would think of themselves as "students." 39 Yet, during the fifteen years he served as

38 Ibid. Griffin had applied for the principal's position in 1964, but Sullivan had been selected. On the basis of a number of interviews, it appears that Sullivan had well-placed familial ties, as well as exceptional credentials. The expression re. "cavaliers" is Griffin's.

principal of the Montefiore, he still encountered many people who associated the school with "disruptive students" and "disorder." However, he had the strong support of the Montefiore-Motley PTA whose tireless efforts kept humanitarian social forces focused on the needs of the special schools. With roots extending back to Esther Saperstein and the Chicago Region-ICPTA, Margaret Hancock and the struggles of the 1930s, and the Chicago Woman's Club, those on the PTA's Executive Board had a special reputation to uphold. That they did it admirably is succinctly noted by Griffin:

It's possible that without the PTA we wouldn't have the school today because the Board always knew there was this intelligent, articulate, public-spirited group of people who were on our side, interested in our program and promoting it. It wasn't a self-serving sort of interest.40

Griffin appeared before many school-community organizations and the PTA's "Speaker's Bureau" was well-advertised throughout the Chicago Region membership. Yet, the reputation persisted. Griffin's perception of the problem is insightful:

I suppose it has a good use for a teacher who has a student who is misbehaving in class. He can say, "Well, if you don't behave I'll send you to Montefiore." If you can maintain the respect of the school, it's served that purpose. So maybe it's good in some cases. [You know,] it still exists.41

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40 Personal interview with Daniel G. Griffin. Although the records of the Montefiore-Motley PTA reflect the role of many members, the presidents—as evidenced by their budget/public policy hearing statements and the resultant programs established in the system—made a significant contribution to social adjustment education. Between 1965 and 1980 they were: Mrs. William C. Bentley, Mrs. Milton Robin, Mrs. Jack H. (Helen) Sloan, Mrs. Charles G. (Ardell) Nickels, and Mrs. Irvan Galvin. Some served more than once.

41 Personal interview with Daniel Griffin.
What happened when the threat was realized? Who were the "culled and choice drawn cavaliers" referred to Montefiore? What was the nature of the social adjustment program at Montefiore after June 27, 1966 when Daniel Griffin was assigned principal?

Referral procedures necessitated that the resources of a local school and available district resources be exhausted before a boy, particularly under twelve years old, was referred to the Montefiore. Placement was authorized by the Director of the Bureau of Socially Maladjusted Children on the basis of a School Case Report submitted by principals (i.e., elementary or high school) and approved by district superintendents. A School Case Report detailed the nature of specific violations of school rules and included a Case History Report by the truant officer, as well as a principal's letter. The truant officer's report contained a family history, a description of the boy's home conditions, his attendance and/or truancy record, Juvenile Court record, and social agency affiliation(s). This data, as well as a boy's cumulative scholastic record, health folder, child study (psychological), and, if available, a psychiatric report, were transferred to the Montefiore when placement was authorized. Students were transferred from public (and, oftentimes, parochial) schools throughout the city, as well as from other social adjustment programs (i.e., rooms, centers in various schools and Moseley).

42 Before a child under twelve was placed outside his district, both the receiving and sending district superintendent had to agree. Cf., nn.23,2 supra. These procedures would be significantly altered in 1979 with the implementation of new special education guidelines. An IEP ("Individualized Education Program"), developed at the local school level and (generally) requiring parental/guardian approval, became the basis for referral.
Griffin established the policy (generally adhered to) that Montefiore would limit its enrollment to boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen. Since the purpose of the school was to return students to their regular schools when they had developed appropriate behavior habits and learned how to function within a group/class, he felt that the resources of the school should be focused on students under fifteen years, six months. Those beyond that age were quite often potential drop-outs, and they presented a role-model problem relative to the younger students. Then too, they were more difficult to manage. Griffin also directed his staff not to enroll boys paroled/released from

Griffin obviously had the implicit endorsement of his district superintendent, Miss Bernice Boye, in establishing this policy. However, by the Spring of 1979, anticipating the effect of new rules and regulations for special education, Griffin expressed his concern and opposition to the placement of boys over sixteen at Montefiore. Subsequently, he was embroiled in a controversy over this issue with then-Director of Special Education, Martin D. Gabriel (who had succeeded Elberta E. Pruitt). Refusing to accede on this issue without a directive from someone in "line authority," in September of 1980, he was so ordered by his district superintendent, Dr. Herbert J. Schiff. (Schiff became superintendent of district nine in 1978 when Albert A. Briggs was promoted to Assistant Superintendent of the Department of Pupil Personnel Services and Special Education Program Development, succeeding Mrs./Dr. Louise G. Daugherty). See: Letter to Martin D. Gabriel, Director, Bureau of Special Education from Daniel G. Griffin, Principal, Montefiore School for Social Adjustment, March 6, 1979; Letter to Martin D. Gabriel, Director, Bureau of Special Education from Daniel G. Griffin, September 3, 1980; Letter from Herbert J. Schiff, District Nine Superintendent to Daniel G. Griffin, Principal, Montefiore School for Social Adjustment, September 9, 1980. The first boy to be admitted under this new policy was a sixteen year old, who accidentally shot his friend in head while a social case history was being developed on him by the Juvenile Court. (He had been brought before the court on school-related extortion charges which were being investigated.) He subsequently was brought before the court and placed on probation for involuntary manslaughter. Approximately four months later, he was shot in the head. He recovered, returned to Montefiore and, after fulfilling the requirements, he was returned to his high school--which refused to admit him. He subsequently applied to the Industrial Skills Center.
the Parental School or the Illinois Youth Commission (e.g., St. Charles School for Boys). He did not believe in "partial maladjustment" and reasoned that boys committed to juvenile correctional facilities should be "adjusted" when they were released. 44 However, students detained at the Audy Home/Juvenile Detention Center were re-enrolled.

During Griffin's early years, students were transferred to Montefiore because of a variety of behaviors that made them difficult to manage. Generally, he did not consider them to be very serious. However, as rules and regulations governing the operation of special education programs evolved 45 only those exhibiting more severe behaviors were transferred to Montefiore. Those were "violent, physical behaviors actual or verbal." 46 In many instances these behaviors warranted—or should have, in Griffin's opinion—the boy's arrest. However, they were transferred to Montefiore because of "school behavior." Many of the students were mentally retarded, emotionally disturbed, and/or on probation from Juvenile Court. 47 In fact, often up to a third of the

44 In 1963, the IYC (Illinois Youth Commission) established the Chicago Program Center (2551 N. Clark St.) as a half-way house for paroled young men. In 1971, the Center school was established as a branch of the Audy Home School. By 1977, under federal funding, the Bureau of Socially Maladjusted Children established "reception centers" in three Chicago public high schools for a select group of parolees from the Program Center. In 1981 the Program Center was closed due to lack of budgetary appropriations.

45 As will be examined, as Montefiore entered its fifth decade, HB 1407 mandating special education in Illinois went into effect.

46 Personal interview with Daniel G. Griffin.

47 Montefiore-Motley PTA Public Policy Hearing Statement to the Board of Education, November 3, 1969, presented by Mrs. Jack H. Sloan, President. (This is true of the Montefiore student population today.)
student population was on probation. The Early Remediation Approach to Self-Discipline, i.e., ERA social adjustment rooms for children under twelve which began in 1968, temporarily enhanced Griffin's focus on boys between twelve and sixteen. In later years, however, the Montefiore would receive many referred from that program.

Then too, the student population would reflect numerous boys who had "been through the mill" (or were on their way through it): Ridgeway Hospital, McCormick House, Pritzker Children's Hospital and Center, Counterpoint Drug Abuse Program, Gateway, Lawrence Hall, U.D.I.S.-I.C.U., Chapin Hall, Maryville Academy, and so forth. A number of students would be committed to Parental School (i.e., until 1975 when it was closed in the midst of controversy with forces reflecting "anachronism" perspectives and politics in action—in education); some would be committed to St. Charles through the Illinois Youth Commission, after 1970, the Illinois Department of Corrections—Juvenile Division. Others would

48 Letter to Mrs. Sloan from Daniel Griffin, February 3, 1971. (This is true of the Montefiore student population today.)

49 See: Bureau of Socially Maladjusted Children, The Early Remediation Approach Plan of Programs for Disruptive Students (Chicago Public Schools: August 5, 1974). Also see: Letter to Mrs. Louise G. Daugherty, Director, Pupil Personnel Services and Special Education from James Wm. Doheny, Assistant Principal, Montefiore School for Social Adjustment, March 11, 1969. (Doheny referred to this program as E.R.A.S.E.) Nancy Giesecke, "Staff Shortage Snags Setting Up City Special Education Program," Chicago Tribune, May 1, 1969. Doheny is quoted in this article relative to the problem of staffing the ERA program with qualified teachers.

50 For a description of some of these programs (related to the Bureau) see: Programs for Pupils With Special Needs, prepared by Gilbert S. Derr, Administrator, Bureau of Socially Maladjusted Children (Chicago Public Schools: February, 1977).
drop out--some to return after extended periods of truancy; those reaching sixteen, permanently. Most were returned to their "home schools" (often to fight the battle of acceptance); although, a few made their way back. Many years witnessed the death of a Montefiore boy--somewhere; yet, there were success stories, too. These were at least some of Montefiore's cavaliers between 1966 and 1981.

Griffin perceived Montefiore as a school, not a penal institution; its socially maladjusted boys were students, not patients. They were there to learn how to behave and study school subjects. Yet, as he would point out:

Our students require a lot of special help and the more we can give to them the better.

You can't go through procedures to cull a special population and give them the same services available in a regular school. It doesn't make sense.51

The educational work of the Montefiore had contributed to (as was affected by) the evolution of special services for all children, throughout the school system. However, as these services became more widely distributed they were only available to Montefiore on an intermittent basis, like a regular school. Instead of a full-time psychologist with responsibility for developing ongoing guidance and counseling programs, including evaluations to assess student progress, part-time psychologists were generally relegated to testing (i.e., "child-studies"). Thus, Montefiore teachers (i.e., "educational specialists") were assigned many

51 Personal interview with Daniel G. Griffin.
of these responsibilities; and, the role of the orientation teacher became increasingly significant relative to student testing and placement. Speech therapists could only work with those exhibiting the most severe problems; limited time translated into a limited program, especially for the problem boy who used truancy and misbehavior to hide his problem(s). Medical services were limited to a teacher-nurse who could only perform cursory examinations and had limited time for follow-up, consultation with staff, or assistance when needed in the building. Then too, the Montefiore's role in relationship to "external systems" (i.e., especially the Juvenile Court and the Board of Health) evolved in the midst of the socio-political milieu in Chicago. However, Griffin's

52 The orientation teacher, Mrs. Evelyn Kiesow, had been assigned to the Montefiore as a substitute in 1943. As noted by Edward Stullken: "'I got her quite by accident.'" (Personal interview with Edward Stullken.) Kiesow was assigned to assist in the orientation room when Lawrence Casey joined the navy. (Personal interview with Evelyn Kiesow.) Of the "old school" in the best sense, she was trained by Esther Baker and has provided a sense of continuity in the "psychological department" to the present day. In 1966, Daniel Griffin appointed her "adjustment teacher" with full orientation room responsibility. Amongst her many duties, she is responsible for the "in house" testing and placement of students into the homogeneous groups intended to promote their social and educational growth. In addition, she conducts an ongoing testing program which provides an assessment of students' academic progress.

53 Personal interviews with John Robinson, Montefiore speech-teacher, and Mrs. Rita Bartlett, Montefiore teacher-nurse. The closing of the Parental School in 1975, significantly affected the role of truant officers and, today, "'there is no clear enforcement function. No one seems to care about truants or what happens to them.'" Personal interview with Joseph C. Guido, Montefiore truant officer. (Since 1975, Guido has served as functional vice-president of the Chicago Teachers Union, representing truant officers.) The Board of Health has suffered from loss of personnel and lack of budgetary appropriations; and, as a result, the public school program has been severely hampered. Personal interview with Dr. Irvin Stein, Montefiore dentist. (Retired in 1981.)
conception of "special services" was significantly influenced by the organizational structure which he, like his predecessors, inherited and adapted to their leadership styles.

The organizational structure, conceptualized by Morrison and implemented by Stullken (influenced by innumerable social forces), defined the theoretical intent of the educational work of the school in terms of "roles" and curricular programs. Then too, the physical structure of the new Montefiore building was specially designed to provide for the needs of its problem boys. Theoretically, over half of a student's social adjustment program would have included various "activities." Eleven of the twenty-three classrooms were originally equipped as shops (8), science laboratories (2), and a music room. In addition, there was a modern gym and a library, as well as a cafeteria that could be used as a recreation room. However, teacher attrition took its toll on Montefiore during its fourth decade. 54

54 By the Fall of 1966, only 22 out of 44 Montefiore teachers were temporarily certified. Out of 30 classroom teachers, only 9 were regularly assigned and only 4 provisional teachers (two less than needed for vacancies) had been assigned by the Personnel Department. As noted by Griffin: "'On every day we have been without teachers for some of our classrooms. Obviously the continual organizational changes which must be made when there are no substitutes for absent teachers upset established routines and plans. If there is any place where regular, carefully planned procedures are important, it is a social adjustment school.'" Letter to Mrs. Louise G. Daugherty, Assistant Superintendent in Charge of Special Education from Daniel G. Griffin, Principal, Montefiore School for Social Adjustment, October 27, 1966. Also cf., Montefiore-Motley PTA Policy Hearing Statement, April, 1967, presented by Mrs. William Bentley, President; Vernon F. Frazee, Report to the Ninth School Problems Commission, by the Director of the Department of Special Education (Springfield, Illinois: Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1967). Then too, even after three summer practicum sessions for special education graduates from Northeastern Illinois State College (today, Northeastern Illinois University; the same university that took over management and control of the Chicago Parental School and, subsequently, ownership of its grounds when Parental was closed in 1975), only
were sympathetic to the need for special personnel, little was done by
the school system to recruit "exceptionally capable teachers" or
assign full-time, specially trained auxiliary personnel. However, with
a built-in "joint clinic" and "training school" the educational work of
the school was assured growth.

Griffin retained the "joint clinic," i.e., the psychological and
personnel departments. The psychological department included the orien-
tation teacher ("adjustment teacher," "counselor"), counselors (teachers,
whose roles evolved by prescribed responsibilities and personality inter-
action), and, when one was available a school-psychologist. The personnel
department, responsible for focusing on the social, health, and welfare
problems of Montefiore boys, included an assistant principal (two, for
one teacher stayed on. While others were interested bureaucratic red-
tape interfered. See: Letter to Mrs. Daugherty, Assistant Superinten-
dent, Special Education from Daniel G. Griffin, Principal, Montefiore
School for Social Adjustment, January 8, 1968.

55 See: Montefiore-Motley PTA Policy Statement, April 22, 1971,
presented by Mrs. Jack H. Sloan, President.

56 When Chester J. Wilkinson retired in 1967, James Wm. "Bill"
Doheny, who had joined the Montefiore staff in 1956, was appointed and
would significantly contribute to program development at Montefiore
until his death on August 1, 1976. Doheny completed his M.A. degree in
1964 at DePaul University, where he had studied under John N. O'Neil.
O'Neil became Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction (later
Associate Superintendent-OSPI) and would help keep his former student
abreast of state-wide programs for the socially maladjusted. In 1965,
Doheny encouraged the Chicago Teachers Union to organize a committee on
special education. (See: Letter to John E. Fewkes, President, Chicago
Teachers' Union from James Wm. Doheny, Representative, Montefiore Special
School, January 22, 1965.) In subsequent years, he served on and directed
various Union committees affecting social adjustment programs and col-
lective bargaining agreements. He also served as a functional vice-
president of the union. Two years before his death, Doheny would be
recognized as one of "Those Who Excel in School Administration" in a
statewide competition sponsored by the Superintendent of Public Instruction.
a period of time during Griffin's tenure), four field adjustment teachers, two full-time truant officers, a bath attendant, and, when they were available, a speech-teacher ("therapist"), teacher-nurse, and a dentist. (Then too, for a period of time, the special school had six teacher-aides and four clerks assigned to it.) An important service was performed by the field adjustment teachers, who provided the liaison between the home, school, community (health and welfare) organizations, and, until 1975, the court. According to Griffin:

They are the people through whom all our activities are focused in dealing with the family. They are familiar with the student's background and his home situation, his current school situation, with him personally and his teachers. They coordinate everything we do by counseling the student and dealing with his family. Yet, the impact of social forces during the late 1960s affected the role of field adjustment teachers; and, as Montefiore entered its fifth decade, these forces, combined with the impact of state and federal legislation affecting special education, contributed to changes in direction and scope of the educational work of the school.

As it became more difficult to work with certain families, particularly those in the predominantly Negro housing projects or hostile white communities, the role of the field adjustment teacher was somewhat

57 For four years, Montefiore had two assistant principals assigned to it. Arthur Hudson, who had been a teacher and attendance and discipline counselor, served as assistant principal until 1972 when he transferred to the Libby School.

58 Personal interview with Daniel G. Griffin. After 1972, the field adjustment teachers were: Lawrence J. Casey, James Pickens, Stanley McCloskey, and Charles E. Cashaw. Lewis B. Winston was still engaged in case-work, but since it primarily involved court-related work, his role evolved into that of registrar. When Casey retired in 1976, Wardell Jackson was appointed.
altered. He increasingly became responsible for counseling and disciplining the students in his "cluster group," i.e., the number of students/classes for which he was responsible. No longer assigned to geographical sections of the city, a field adjustment teacher's caseload could take him all over the city. He often became a surrogate father figure; and, role model, even to the newer members of the staff (i.e., reflecting philosophy and applied methodologies).

Significantly, the Montefiore traditionally had extra teaching personnel assigned to it, i.e., more than the number of classrooms, shops, gym and library. These were the "floaters," the special class teachers who could be utilized in a variety of ways within the organizational structure. Those day-to-day substitutes who came to Montefiore often became special class teachers and, by the early 1970s, they comprised a third of the staff. As Griffin pointed out:

It was almost impossible to get substitutes for the day-to-day absences because people didn't want to come to Montefiore. They knew it was a special adjustment school, rough kids, it had that

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59 Personal interview with Charles E. Cashaw. Cashaw was a "floater" who could be relied upon to manage any class to which he was assigned. He felt his experience as a counselor in a correctional facility before coming to Chicago contributed to his assignment (FTB) to the Montefiore. He began working at the Montefiore during the 1961-1962 school year. After leaving the school system for a short time, he returned to Montefiore and was assigned to various rooms by Sullivan. Succeeding Arthur Hudson, Cashaw became attendance and discipline counselor. Subsequently, he was appointed field adjustment teacher, a position he held until August, 1976, when (upon the death of Doheny) he was appointed assistant principal. Cashaw (like his predecessor) was given substantial latitude in supervisory responsibilities by Griffin. However, by early 1980, both would be caught in the throes of low teacher morale, increasing gang activities of Montefiore students, and uncertainty about the future course of the educational program.
reputation; and there were plenty of other places to go. When we did have a substitute come who was good and showed ability, we did our best to keep him. Eventually, when the FTB program (full-time basis substitute) started, these people would become FTBs and then would be assigned. We really didn't have much of a selection. There weren't a lot of people lined up outside; so you didn't have much of a choice. That's how we obtained the people we got.60

Some of the FTBs left after a period of time, others remained and secured the required courses for certification and permanent assignment at Montefiore. Very few met the requirements which had evolved. However, with a built-in "training school" the over-all educational program was assured growth.

By the early 1970s, many teachers who had come to Montefiore filled significant roles in the organizational structure, affecting the scope and direction of the educational work. (Innumerable others, "trained" at Montefiore and/or in other early social adjustment programs, are today contributing in significant ways to the school system.) Up to 1970,61 the educational program had reflected a curriculum patterned on that of the school system's. Emphasis was on language arts and mathematics in the elementary grades and high school students studied four to five basic subjects in a departmentalized program. All students had a shop class and physical education; some had library instruction and music. Classroom enrollment was limited to twenty students; ten in EMH rooms (which by 1971 comprised slightly less than half of the elementary

60 Personal interview with Daniel G. Griffin.

61 Cf., "Montefiore Social Adjustment School, School Program," by Daniel G. Griffin, principal (December 19, 1968); and the revisions made in July, 1970. (Both two-page, fact-sheets are in the files of the Montefiore-Motley PTA.)
divisions); and six in a special class for emotionally-disturbed boys. However, the impact of state and federal legislation compelled a re-assessment of needs, programs, and policies in special education; including the needs of the Montefiore program.

Attention was again focused on the school system's "laboratory school" and the Montefiore entered a renaissance period. In 1971, two qualified industrial arts teachers were assigned to the school and the elementary wood shop program was significantly enhanced. Special funds were allocated and, by 1972, a new educational focus was introduced: reading and mathematics laboratories. The Random House High Intensity Learning Program was implemented and special class teachers were assigned to manage the "systems operation" within the laboratories. The success of pilot programs in the elementary grades extended the laboratory operation into the high school program. Other special class teachers (including two who would obtain "learning disabilities" credentials) were assigned to tutorial and small group instructional programs, utilizing materials from Scientific Research Associates and Borg-Warner's "Systems 80" program. In 1974, "intra-school placement staffing conferences" were implemented. While theoretically similar to the conferences employed periodically over the years (particularly under Strasburg), these conferences reflected the impact of evolving special

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62 The death of a student at Montefiore in January, 1970 [cf. n.10 supra], and the media's blistering account of controversial "educational practices" (i.e., corporal punishment), contributed to attention being focused on the special school. While the 1970s brought a renaissance in educational programs, they also reflected a period of "reformation" (i.e., re. attitudes, approaches, concerns).
education guidelines requiring educational strategies to be based on "priorities of needs." An interdisciplinary review of the data contained in a boy's folder when he enrolled provided a focus to the efforts of field adjustment teachers, counselors, the teacher-nurse, and teachers assigned to remedial-tutorial/small group programs. Also, in 1974, the Institute for Juvenile Research began a two-year project which focused on enhancing the oral communication skills of a select group of students. Mental health specialists from IJR and psychiatric-social worker interns from the University of Chicago worked with students and participated in staff conferences (i.e., "cluster groups" of teachers met on a regularly scheduled basis to evaluate the progress of students in their groups).

A full-time psychologist was assigned in 1975, 63 which significantly enhanced "in house" special services. The psychologist provided clinical support relative to child-studies and special examinations; contributed to the development of intra-school placement procedures; and, provided assistance and guidance to the staff and students. All newly enrolled boys and their parents were interviewed by the psychologist and his findings were presented at the "placement conferences." Information and guidelines relative to the identification and treatment of learning disabilities were developed and distributed to the staff. Family guidance

63 Frederick A. Reis, who had been a counselor at the Family Guidance Center [cf., n.30 supra], served as Montefiore's psychologist full-time until 1980, when his services to Montefiore were reduced to one day a week and relegated to child-studies. "If that's how they perceive our role, so be it." Personal interview with Frederick A. Reis. The impact of socio-educational forces, particularly reflected by suits brought before the courts questioning potentially discriminatory testing and evaluation procedures (e.g., the P.A.S.E., Parents in Action on Special Education, suit), has significantly encumbered the role of psychologists. See: Vicki Kemper, "Schools Drop IQ Tests for Special Education," Chicago Tribune, June 25, 1981, Sec. 1, 4; Dave Schneidman, "Controversy Over IQ Tests Ending Here," Chicago Tribune, June 29, 1981, Sec. 1, 9.
and counseling sessions were developed with target populations. Special
counseling was afforded to students exhibiting severe emotional/behavior
problems. On January 30, 1976, Superintendent Joseph P. Hannon, speak-
ing at Montefiore's Open House (accompanied by Board members Mrs. Louise
Malis and Mrs. William L. Rohter, both long-time activists in the
Chicago Region), gave warm endorsement to the Montefiore program. How-
ever, as the Montefiore approached its sixth (and current) decade, the
impact of socio-educational forces began to dramatically affect the
direction and scope of its educational work.

On October 30, 1979, the Montefiore-Motley PTA hosted a Golden
Jubilee Open House. Edward Stullken gave the keynote address and his
successors, as well as a number of retired members of the staff, members
of the Board of Education, leaders in the Chicago Region, and many of
those who were instrumental in the evolution of social adjustment pro-
grams, all joined in the celebration. Within two months, the school
system was in the midst of a financial crisis and leadership dilemma; which, relative to special education had begun in 1978, with major

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64 The Mayor of Chicago, Jane M. Byrne, re-defined the "old"
purpose of the Montefiore in a proclamation (dated October 15, 1979)
observing the school's Golden Jubilee:

"Whereas, the school aims to care for boys who have been truant
and considered incorrigible, as well as to teach boys who have
fallen behind due to poor attendance; and
Whereas, the endeavor is to prevent juvenile delinquency by caring
for problem youngsters, and to fit the educational program to
special needs..."

65 See: Casey Banas, "The Chicago School Finance Catastrophe,"
Phi Delta Kappan, 61, 8 (April, 1980), 519-522.
changes in key roles in the bureaucratic structure. Shortly thereafter, (temporarily) declining student enrollments in social adjustment programs, substantially the effect of new evaluation and placement procedures, combined with the impact of the financial crisis, compelled the (changing) bureaucratic structure to reassess policy, programs, and needs. The Montefiore staff was cut by a third and special programs were eliminated (e.g., the laboratories, tutorial/small group remedial programs). Shop programs were drastically curtailed due to lack of funding and a traditional classroom structure and curriculum was reinstated. By September, 1980, "name changes" reflected the evolving direction of programs: Moseley was now South Special Education Center; "alternative schools" supplanted some social adjustment programs, while other programs (e.g., EVG centers--Educational and Vocational Guidance Centers) took on special education labels. While Griffin insisted on referring to the Montefiore as a "social adjustment school," its program was designated for "behavior disordered" children by the Department of Pupil Personnel Services and Special Education Program Development.

66 General Bulletin, Chicago Public Schools, No. 2, September 3, 1980. Also see: Casey Banas and Meg O'Connor, "23 Schools To Close Under Latest Proposal," Chicago Tribune, February 14, 1980. The media--often used to float "trial balloons"--publicized the anticipated changes as well as planned programs; e.g., then interim-superintendent Angeline P. Caruso proposed a new social adjustment program for children with attendance and behavioral problems entitled "ABC;" i.e., attendance/behavior counselling centers. This proposal suggested placing students in special classes for up to 30 days ""to get at the root of their problems."" See: Casey Banas, "Schools Told: Cut Costs $203 million," Chicago Tribune, March 1, 1980.
Plans were developed to make Montefiore's program co-educational and "retrenchment of services" became a matter of policy. Internal problems at Montefiore, complicated by the impact of external forces affecting the school, reflected a serious loss of morale and confusion about its future. Then too, the loss of most of Montefiore-Motley PTA's "old guard" left a vacuum of effective and influential voices addressing the needs of social adjustment programs. This was, at least in part, the nature of the social adjustment program at Montefiore up to September 11, 1981, when Daniel G. Griffin retired from the Chicago Board of Education Report 80-38-17, February 13, 1980. Personal interview with Martin D. Gabriel, Director, Bureau of Special Education. Reflecting the impact of socio-educational/political forces, Gabriel was re-assigned as principal in 1981. Theodore H. Lewis, who had been superintendent of district 27 (Strasburg's old district), was appointed as Director of Special Education. Commenting on the serious problems related to putting behavior disordered boys and girls in the same environment, the President of the Illinois Council for Exceptional Children noted that "it's difficult enough to get some kids to the point where they can function in small therapeutic groups." Personal interview with Beverly Johns. (Johns is a co-ordinator for LD-BD programs in southern Illinois.)

Personal interview with Herbert J. Schiff. It would be conjecture to predict what impact Montefiore's district superintendent will have on the direction and scope of its educational program. He, too, is caught in the throes of the rapidly changing socio-educational/political milieu. However, he has already affected its course; and, for whatever reasons, he has expressed many reservations about "special services," particularly as they are (and have been) reflected in Montefiore's organizational structure; e.g., "Jobs are not cast in concrete. Everyone at Montefiore, except the principal, is classified as a teacher. The family teacher[sic.] is just a figment of someone's administrative imagination. I don't think Montefiore's program is out-dated; but, maybe, peoples' perception of the program is outdated. In general, people will assume that Montefiore still exists, or that kind of program, and they'll be looking for places to send kids." Herbert Schiff will be a significant force helping to define (or, re-define) "that kind of program."
Thus, a diverse combination of concerns, attitudes, altruistic as well as selfish motives affected (and was reflected in) the program for "social adjustment" which evolved at the Montefiore between 1960 and 1981. While Edward Stullken left an indelible influence, the direction and scope of the special school's educational work was significantly affected by his successors: Harry Strasburg, Raphael P. Sullivan, and Daniel G. Griffin. As was true for Stullken, the personality, leadership style, and socio-educational philosophy of his successors served to motivate (and inspire) some and dishearten (if not alienate) others. While each man contributed to the evolution of social adjustment education, as is true for all social roles, their roles were variously measured and appraised by those with whom they interacted, on the basis of perceived and/or shared concerns and attitudes, as well as perceptions and/or understandings of motives. It was through this interaction of "roles" (and between and within "systems") that they and other social forces affected the development of the social adjustment program at Montefiore, as well as the special school's reputation and perceived role.

However, to understand more clearly the nature of the social forces which affected the development of the social adjustment program at the Montefiore, it is important to examine the evolution of state and federal legislation, as well as judicial decrees, pertaining to special education; particularly in light of the fact that those humanitarian forces promoting programs for "exceptional children" had early historic roots in Chicago.

An implicit "power" reserved to the states by the Tenth Amend-
ment of the U.S. Constitution is the education of its citizens. Legally, this power or "right" can only be restricted or limited if it conflicts with other rights guaranteed to all U.S. citizens, regardless of the state where they reside. By the late nineteenth century, most states adopted constitutions and legislative statutes guaranteeing a free, public education for children. Subsequently, states began to mandate school attendance through a combination of child-welfare and compulsory education laws. However, these early laws granted exceptions to some children to leave school to work and allowed exclusion of variously handicapped and/or more "troublesome" children. Some states

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70 Chapter VI, Sec.6-8 ("exclusion of pupils-cause") of the Rules of the Chicago Board of Education, Revised to December 1, 1974, permitted the exclusion of children who were "a distinct detrimental influence to the conduct of the school" or were "unable to profit or benefit from further experience." However, it did permit such a child's transfer to special education facilities. Board of Education Report 75-477-1, May 28, 1975, amended Sec.6-8. Citing Supreme Court decisions, "exclusion" was replaced by "expulsion" standards and references to special education placement--which were in violation of state regulations governing special education placement procedures--were eliminated. Also, Board of Education Report 75-477-2, May 28, 1975, amended Sec.6-9 ("suspension of pupils-cause") in light of judicial decrees affecting due process procedures. (The media publicized the proposed plans of the new procedures; see, e.g., Andy Shaw, "Strict Rules Set for Ousting Pupils," Chicago Sun-Times, April 29, 1975.) Today, children in Illinois may be excluded from public schools because of non-compliance with the immunization and/or physical examination regulations of the Illinois Department of Public Health, pursuant to Illinois Revised Statutes, Chapter 122, paragraph 27-8.1 (also, cf., n.85 infra).
began to assume responsibility for the latter two categories of children by establishing custodial institutions, often supplanting and/or supplementing those which had evolved from charitable and philanthropic groups and organizations. By the end of the nineteenth century, democratic and humanitarian social forces within the state of Illinois—and, more specifically, within its most populous city, Chicago—had set in motion the initial stages of "special education" for these children.

In this study, the legislative history of special education in Illinois is seen as beginning with the Juvenile Court Act of 1899. This law mandated that school-age children who were dependent, neglected, or delinquent were to be treated "specially," i.e., via a judicial process different from that of adults. The Parental School Act, enacted at the same time, guaranteed a "special education" to those adjudged truant.

71 Cf., I, nn.55,56; IV, n.50. Socio-political forces would significantly affect the evolution of legislation pertaining to juveniles during the twentieth century. Today, minors over the age of thirteen may be prosecuted under the criminal laws and transferred from the jurisdiction of the Juvenile Court. Minors essentially have the procedural due process rights assured to adults. See: Juvenile Court Act, Including Amendments Through October, 1975, A brochure printed and distributed by the Department of Children and Family Services (State of Illinois: January, 1976); Circuit Court of Cook County--Juvenile Division, Juvenile Court of Cook County, Information Booklet (Chicago: July, 1980). In 1980 a new state law requiring mandatory jail sentences for "habitual delinquents" went into effect significantly changing the Juvenile Court's "rehabilitative" role to a more punitive nature. The constitutionality of the law and its effect on juvenile court proceedings have produced wide-spread debate; see, e.g., "Youth Crime Law Stirs Old Debate in Cook County," Chicago Tribune, January 20, 1980; Patricia Leeds, "Profile of Murder--Statistics Tell Grim Tale," Chicago Tribune, October 5, 1980; Lee Strobel, "Is Illinois Juvenile Law Fair to Kids?" Chicago Tribune, October 17, 1980. Also, cf., I, n.7.
and incorrigible by the Juvenile Court. It mandated the city of Chicago to establish and maintain a special school for such children; and, by 1902, the Chicago Parental School was in operation. In 1911 the Illinois General Assembly enacted legislation providing funding for the education of delinquent children. In 1915 legislative funding was extended to truant and incorrigible children in special classes. "As a result of these two laws the schools of Chicago received reimbursement for their special programs in the Parental School and Montefiore and its branches." Thus, the early history of special education legislation in Illinois began with the socially maladjusted, i.e., the truant, incorrigible, and delinquent child.

Between 1915 and 1943 various statutes relating to education were enacted by the Illinois General Assembly, authorizing various programs and occasionally providing appropriations. In 1943 these laws were codified into "The School Code of Illinois" and it became the legal basis for the development of special education programs in public schools. That same year, the Department of Special Education was established in the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI) and Ray Graham became its first Director, and Assistant Superintendent of OSPI. The OSPI was empowered to establish rules and regulations


governing the operation of programs and services authorized by statutes. Then as now, when such rules and regulations are filed with the Secretary of State, they essentially have the same authority as laws. The School Code (12:20-28) defined various categories of "exceptional" children. Those "maladjusted" were: "children between the ages of 5 and 21 years who are truant, incorrigible, delinquent or in need of special educational facilities to prevent their becoming truant, incorrigible or delinquent."74 The Chicago Public School System had maintained social adjustment programs for such "children" since the late 19th century. The Montefiore, in particular, had been established in 1929 expressly for such maladjusted boys. After 1915, some school districts in Illinois began to experiment with "visiting teacher" programs which were designed to provide social work services to problem children in special classes.75

In the Chicago Public School System, social work services for problem children evolved from those forces promoting social adjustment education. The most severe problem children were in the school system's custodial institution, the Chicago Parental School. Socio-educational forces began to focus on the needs of boys released from the Parental School when they reached the mandatory school age (sixteen in 1907). Subsequently, the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy (with which

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75 Tosby, op. cit., 78.
Graham Taylor was intimately connected) 76 initiated a program designed to find employment for these boys. The Chicago Woman's Club (and other "forces") collaborated in this program—which became known as the Vocational Supervision Bureau. (Notably, one of these "forces" was Hull-House which established a trade school where employable skills could be learned.) The Chicago Public School System began to assume responsibility for vocational guidance, counseling, and instructional services; the "social work services" performed by the Vocational Supervision Bureau. Thus, the Bureau evolved into the school system's Vocational Guidance Bureau. Social workers were assigned to the Bureau as "visiting teachers." 77 In 1929 Superintendent Bogan's Juvenile Delinquency Advisory Committee (representing various social forces) recommended that "visiting teachers" be assigned to the new non-custodial day school for problem boys, the Montefiore Special School. Visiting teacher positions were eliminated in the school system in 1933, although a guidance program ("adjustment service") was begun three years later. At the Montefiore the role of the "case-worker," or "field adjustment teacher" supplanted the social work services of visiting teachers. Thus, through its primary special education center, the Chicago school system continued to provide social services to its problem children.

76 The Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy was established at the University of Chicago in 1907 and substantially evolved from lectures on social work given by Graham Taylor. Duis, op. cit., 64.

77 Nells and Havighurst, op. cit., 7-8.
By 1945, those socio-educational forces promoting the inclusion of social work services in public schools directed their efforts toward securing state funding. Four years later, the Department of Special Education (OSPI) developed rules and regulations governing the funding of "visiting social counselor" programs. As noted by the Department's director, Ray Graham:

The program of the visiting social counselor (visiting teacher) represents the best educational and social thinking of this period. ... The visiting counselor provides a specialized case work service, a skilled method of working with individual children and their families when difficulties in the school experience develop. ... As a liaison service, it helps to integrate school and community services for the benefit of children. It is a preventive, mental health service in the school. The teacher brings a certain professional training to her work. The nurse, the doctor and the visiting counselor each bring a different professional competence to his work. The special contribution of each, which comes from differences in body of knowledge and skills, establishes its value as a part of the school.78

School districts in Illinois which chose to implement such a program became eligible for state reimbursement. In 1959 the Chicago school system began to make budgetary provision for social work services; five years later its Board of Examiners established requirements for the role of teacher-social workers. That year two were hired and assigned to the social adjustment program that had been developed known as IMPACT, i.e., Improvement of Attendance and Curtailment of Truancy.79 Other teacher-

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social workers subsequently certified were also primarily assigned to this program, although their role would evolve within the Bureau of Pupil Personnel Services.

In 1957 the Illinois General Assembly redefined the categories of exceptional children. Maladjusted children were now those who "because of social or emotional problems, are unable to make constructive use of their school experience and require the provisions of special services designed to promote their educational growth and development." 80 The 1957 statute (House Bill 422) also established guidelines for special education programs that could be developed for variously handicapped children as described by The School Code. In 1961, "handicapped children," which had been Article 12, became Article 14 of The School Code. The impact of socio-educational/political forces led to the passage of the Armstrong Act in 1963. The Act required OSPI to develop administrative procedures and policies "as soon as practicable" for the "prevention of segregation and the elimination of separation of children in public schools because of color, race, or nationality." 81 That same year, under the Community Mental Health Facilities and Services Act, school districts were authorized to purchase mental health services (including those for the mentally handicapped) from private

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In 1965, the General Assembly enacted legislation which would significantly change the direction and scope of special education programs in Illinois. House Bill 1407 amended Article 14 of The School Code making it mandatory for school districts to provide special education programs for all handicapped children by July 1, 1969.

House Bill 1407 retained the 1957 definition of "maladjusted children" and the 5 to 21 range provision. The Bill empowered OSPI to prescribe the standards and make the necessary rules and regulations including, but not limited to establishment of classes, training requirements of teachers and other personnel, eligibility and admission of pupils, the curriculum, class size limitation, housing, transportation, special equipment and instructional supplies, and the applications for claims for reimbursement.

Two years later (1967), House Bill 1666 was enacted providing assistance (especially financial) to school districts developing special education programs in compliance with the provisions of HB 1407. During the 1968-1969 school year, fifteen study committees were organized by the Chicago school system to evaluate its special education programs. Reflective of the evolving scope and direction of programs for the socially

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83 OSPI, Article 14 Handicapped Children, The School Code of Illinois (H.B. 1407), Special Education Publication No. 265 (1965), Sec. 14-8.01 (p. 10).

maladjusted children, three sub-committees were organized to evaluate
programs for boys, girls, and the emotionally-disturbed. In 1972,
amendments to The School Code altered and expanded definitions of ex-
ceptional children. While the definition of "maladjusted children"
remained the same, the following paragraph was added to Section 14-1.03:

No emotionally maladjusted child may be excluded by school author-
ities from a special education program on the grounds of his being
so grossly handicapped as to make his education nonfeasible until
after a joint consultation with the parents and the Department of
Mental Health.

In Chicago, this would translate into a tuition reimbursement program
for those children psychiatrically diagnosed as requiring a therapeutic

85 Miss Bernice Boye, superintendent of district nine (Montefiore's
district) was the Chairman of the Study Committee for Programs for the
Socially Maladjusted. The chairman of the sub-committee to evaluate the
programs for boys was Daniel G. Griffin. Serving on the committee were:
Edward D. Brady, Director, Bureau of Socially Maladjusted Children;
Mrs. Jack Sloan, Montefiore-Motley PTA; Anthony Sorrentino, Community
Division, IYC (cf., IV, n.37); Eugene Rbyski, a teacher at the Chicago
Parental School; and, others. (Rbyski was chairman of the Chicago
Teachers Union Committee for Social Adjustment Schools at the time.
Lewis Winston, Charles Cashaw, and Stanley McCloskey from Montefiore
were on the Union committee, among others. Rbyski had begun working
at the Montefiore during the 1957-1958 school year as a recreation
teacher. Today, he works within the Bureau of Special Education.) On
the girls sub-committee were Mrs. Elizabeth Bentley, Montefiore-Motley
PTA and Mrs. Evelyn Sansone, principal of the Girls Parental School,
among others. (Sansone, former principal of Motley, would become dir-
ector of the Program for Girls with Special Needs by 1970. Her assist-
ant director, Mary E. Broomfield, became superintendent of the Residential
Schools in 1973; cf., I, n.82, III, n.9.) Robert Braasch, principal of the
Audy Home School, was chairman of the sub-committee on programs for
the emotionally-disturbed. Committee members included: James Wm.
Doheny, Montefiore assistant principal; Dr. William Canning, Director,
Bureau of Child Study; Patrick Kissane, Bureau of Socially Maladjusted
Children; Dr. Pieter de Vryer, Pritzker Hospital; Dr. Jerome Schulman,
Children's Memorial Hospital; and others. (Kissane had worked at the
Audy during the 1950s and would become the director of the ERA program.)
See: Letter (and attachments) from James D. Liston, Coordinator, Bureau
of Socially Maladjusted Children to All Members of the Study Committee
on Programs for the Socially Maladjusted, October 31, 1968.
and/or residential setting to meet their needs; i.e., the Board of Education would become responsible for the educational cost or "component." 86

In 1973, 87 the rules and regulations developed by OSPI further defined various handicapping conditions of exceptional children, two of which would affect the social adjustment education programs in Chicago. Citing the OSPI's definitions (almost exactly), in 1974 a joint Union-Board Committee recommended that

In the Chicago Public Schools, special education under Section 14-1.03 of The School Code (Maladjusted Children) shall be interpreted to mean programs and services for either:

Educational Handicap - a child exhibiting educational maladjustment, identifiable as related to social or cultural circumstances whose needs cannot be met in standard programs; or

86 During the 1980-1981 school year, one boy was placed in an emotionally-disturbed division at the Durso School (a branch of Reed Mental Hospital) via state assignment. Two boys were referred to the "non-attending units" of Pupil Personnel Centers, i.e., the education administrative units (North, South, and Central) which supplanted "special education task force" units (North, South, and West) which evolved from "area" divisions (A, B, and C). (The dissolution of area divisions gave birth to a dual structure of "administrative" and "programmatic" services, combined in Administration and Pupil Service Centers with responsibilities and authority stemming from two Deputy Superintendents.) A third boy, who was to be staffed to the non-attending unit (i.e., for potential tuition reimbursement), was committed to St. Charles by the Juvenile Court.

Behavioral Disorder — a child exhibiting an affective disorder and/or adaptive behavior which significantly interferes with his or her learning and/or social functioning.88

Significantly, the 1973 OSPI guidelines established maximum class sizes for "educationally handicapped," i.e., twelve at the primary level and fifteen at intermediate, junior high and secondary levels, and eight for the "behavior disordered." However, the guidelines stipulated that these class sizes could be increased by two in "unique circumstances" and by five if a full-time para-professional was provided. The guidelines also mandated that multidisciplinary staff conferences be held relative to determining the services to be provided to exceptional children.

The duties and powers of the OSPI were formally transferred to the State Board of Education, Illinois Office of Education in 1975 and the Board was empowered to appoint a State Superintendent of Education. In 1977 The School Code was amended, changing the age range of maladjusted children eligible for special educational services from 5 to 21 years of age to 3 to 21 years. The following year, extensive provisions for the identification, evaluation, and placement of exceptional children

88 These recommendations had been presented to Dr. Jack Mitchell, superintendent of district twenty-one, by James "Bill" Doheny, chairman of the Union committee, and Petra Harris (who had been assistant principal of Motley under Sansone). At the time, Doheny felt that both categories of children comprised the Montefiore student population; although, the preponderance were "BD" and some were "SBD" or severely disordered/emotionally-disturbed. However, since these classifications involved class size maximums, the Montefiore would essentially remain a school for "educationally handicapped" children through 1978. See: Board of Education, City of Chicago, Guidelines for Special Education Programs (Chicago: 1977), 11. Of historical relevance to this period (re. this study's confluence of forces conceptualization), the guest speaker at Montefiore's Open House on January 20, 1974 was Mr. Fred Rozum, Assistant Superintendent, Department of Exceptional Children, OSPI.
children in special education programs were added to The School Code (i.e., 14-8.02). On February 1, 1979, new state guidelines became effective (which are still in force); although, they did not alter the program size limitations for the educationally handicapped or the behavior disordered. A month earlier, the Chicago Public School System published new rules and regulations governing its special education programs which had been developed to comply with state (and federal) mandates. Subsequently, the Bureau of Special Education developed guidelines for the identification, placement, and termination of students in behavioral disordered programs (i.e., elementary ERA, high school RA, day schools, and emotionally disturbed). According to the guidelines:

These possible symptoms of the handicapping condition, behavior disorders, exist over an extended period of time and to a marked degree.

1. Failure to respect school authority figures.
2. Disrespect and disregard for personal and school property.
3. Inability to follow school rules.
4. Inability to interact appropriately with others, e.g., fighting, etc.
5. Inability to maintain self-control.
6. Chronic truancy supported by documentation of other behavioral disorder symptoms.


90 State Board of Education, IOE, Rules and Regulations to Govern the Administration and Operation of Special Education (February 1, 1979).

91 Board of Education, City of Chicago, Special Education Regulations and Procedures (January, 1979).
7. Emotionally Disturbed - withdrawn and/or depressed behavior that blocks learning process and development of interpersonal relationships with others.

8. Emotionally Disturbed - a tendency to develop physical symptoms or fears associated with personal or school problems.

9. Emotionally Disturbed - inappropriate types of behavior or feelings under normal circumstances such as a gross and sustained disturbance in emotional relations, i.e., inappropriate clinging, emotional immaturity, poor adaption to change and extreme mood swing.

Thus, the Montefiore would contain a wide range of "behavior disordered" children who, in the eyes of some, were still the same children that had

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92 Bureau of Special Education, Guidelines for Behavior Disorders Programs (mimeographed, undated, distributed by the Bureau during the 1979-1980 school year). Originally a draft, this document was given to this writer by Martin D. Gabriel, then-Director of Special Education; subsequently, it was made "operational" (personal interview with Albert A. Briggs, Assistant Superintendent, Department of Pupil Personnel Services and Special Education Program Development) and distributed to the social adjustment schools (still, technically, undated). With this publication, expressing the policy of the Office of the Deputy Superintendent for Instruction and Pupil Services (Dr. Manford Byrd, Jr.), the Montefiore became a school for the "behavior disordered" boy. Of historical relevance, after the Parental School was closed (1975) a number of its personnel were assigned to a special project involving the Montefiore. This project produced a "field test copy" publication which identified socially and emotionally maladjusted children as "behaviorally disordered learners." See: Resource Handbook for Teachers in Social Adjustment Programs (Chicago Public Schools: January, 1977). Also historically relevant, the "continuum of services" (attachment #2) in the Guidelines for Behavior Disorders Programs is modelled after the organizational chart structure: "Administrative Arrangements for Educational Programming in Serving the Needs of Children with Learning Disabilities by Providing Multiple Service Options: A Chicago Model." Cf., n.88 supra: Guidelines for Special Education Programs, p. 29. The relationship between learning disabled factors and juvenile delinquency has been examined and the debate over classification is contemporary; see, e.g., Charles A. Murray, The Link Between Learning Disabilities and Juvenile Delinquency--Current Theory and Knowledge. Prepared for the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. (Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Law Enforcement Administration, April, 1976).
compelled humanitarian efforts in behalf of those maladjusted in their school and civic environments. 93

The federal government became inextricably involved in the evolution of "public schools" during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Early legislation reflected federal land grant policies and federal assistance programs, especially for deaf, blind, vocational and rehabilitative educational programs. 94 However, the precedent for federal intervention in educational policy-making decisions was established by the U.S. Supreme Court in the landmark Brown v. Board of Education cases of 1954 and 1955. While all states had enacted legislation which allowed the exclusion of variously handicapped children from public schools, many other states mandated the segregation of children on the basis of race. Since education was a prerogative of the states, this statutory policy of segregation translated into separate schools for Negro and white children (and often exclusion for Negro children). The statutory right of states to segregate its citizens was confirmed

93As noted by Bob Algossine and Lee Sherry, "Issues in the Education of Emotionally Disturbed Children," Behavioral Disorders, 6, 4 (August, 1981), 224, "To a great extent, all special educational categories and psychiatric classification systems are largely subjective creations; that is, a word is chosen to represent a cluster of symptoms observed to occur in an individual or group of individuals."

by the Supreme Court in the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* case. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution prohibited states from denying U.S. citizens, regardless of the state wherein they resided, "due process" under law and guaranteed "equal protection of the laws." Referring to judicial precedents, the Court re-affirmed the doctrine of "separate but equal" in the *Plessy* case. Social forces--intent on "reforming society and its institutions" and "rehabilitating individuals"--would challenge this doctrine in a number of judicial cases during the following fifty-eight years. By 1954, these social forces were focused on the schools because if segregation in public schools were deemed a denial of equal protection of laws, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to defend segregation in other sectors of public life. [Thus,] the legal underpinnings of the social structure of a great part of the nation were under attack.

Significantly, the Supreme Court, citing sociological and psychological "evidence," declared in the 1954 case: "in the field of public education

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*96* The fifth amendment of the U.S. Constitution, one of the ten amendments added in 1791 comprising the "Bill of Rights," prohibits the national government from abridging due process rights.

*97* Mason and Beaney, *op. cit.*, 381.
the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." In the 1955 case, the Supreme Court noted that "desegregation in public education would necessarily take place at varying speeds and in different ways, depending on local conditions." Thus, in the years to follow, federal district court judges would determine the when and how of desegregation. The right to "equal educational opportunity" confirmed in the Brown cases would serve as the legal foundation for a number of suits brought before the courts on behalf of exceptional children ("handicapped minorities") in the late 1960s and 1970s.

After 1954, social forces promoting the rights of minorities began to significantly affect the direction and scope of federal legislation. Congress enacted various laws providing financial assistance to

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99 Brown v. Board of Education (Second Case) 349 U.S. 294, 75 S.Ct. 753, 99 L.Ed. 1083 (1955) as cited in Mason and Beaney, op. cit., 412. (The text of the case is presented on pp.412-413.)

a variety of educational programs, including those for the handicapped. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 reflected a significant change in the attitudes and sociological concerns of the "majority" of the American people. The Act prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, color, or nationality in any federally assisted program; and, it too, would serve as a basis for many civil rights suits. The following year, the public schools would again be the focus of federal legislation promoting "equal opportunity." The Elementary and Secondary Act (Public Law 89-10, ESEA), under its six Title provisions, extended federal aid to educational programs for variously "deprived" or "culturally disadvantaged" children; including those needing special education because of handicapping characteristics. Subsequently, innumerable amendments to the ESEA, as well as new legislation, appropriated more federal funds for education and stipulated how federal monies could and/or should be used. In 1969, Congress repealed Title VI of the ESEA and established (as of July 1, 1971) the Education of the Handicapped Act (EHA). Part B of the act appropriated grants to the states (i.e., state education agencies or SEAs) to assist in planning, expanding and improving educational programs for handicapped children.

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102 For an examination of Title VI and the EHA see the introduction in: Co-ordinating Council for Handicapped Children, Directory of Services for Handicapped Children and Adults, Compiled and written by Brenda M. Brown, Terry Brozek, and Janet Sullivan (2nd ed., Chicago: Co-ordinating Council for Handicapped Children, Fall, 1979).
While judicial decrees and federal legislation provided the impetus for state and local governments to extend educational opportunities, prior to the 1970s all states had excluded and/or segregated (i.e., in "self-contained" or "special" classes) certain "exceptional" children. By the late 1960s, the legality of these practices and procedures began to be challenged in the courts, particularly since many of these exceptional children were often from racial and/or ethnic minority groups. In a number of cases, e.g., Hobson v. Hansen (1967), Diana v. State Board of Education (1970), Larry P. v. Riles (1972), LeBanks v. Spears (1973), the courts examined classification and placement procedures utilized by public school systems. "Tracking" students, testing and labeling students (especially those from linguistic and/or cultural minority groups), were issues challenged on the basis of Constitutional rights guaranteeing "due process" and "equal protection."

However, two class action suits, i.e., Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (1971) and Mills v. Board of Education of District of Columbia (1972), focused on the practice of excluding (or "denying") mentally retarded, multiple


handicapped and hyperactive behavior children from public schools. Both cases affirmed that exceptional children had the "right to education" and the Mills case, in particular, established the judicial grounds for future litigation affecting special education programs. These various legal cases established "five principles of special education law":

1. zero reject - no handicapped child may be excluded from a free appropriate education.
2. nondiscriminatory evaluation - every handicapped child must be fairly assessed so that he may be placed and served in the public schools.
3. appropriate education - every handicapped child must be given an education that is meaningful to him, taking his handicaps into account.
4. least restrictive environment - a handicapped child may not be segregated inappropriately from his non-handicapped schoolmates.
5. procedural due process - each handicapped child has the right to protest a school's decisions about his education.

Relatedly, in McWilliams v. Board of Education (1976), the Court examined questions related to the practice of placing socially maladjusted and emotionally disturbed children in programs which segregated by sex and race. It established the legal precedent for challenges on the basis of the "appropriateness" of programs designed to "enhance" the educational opportunity of such exceptional children. Of particular importance to Chicago, in Pierce v. Board of Education (1976) the Illinois Court of Appeals determined that the Chicago Board of Education could be sued for failing to provide special educational services to a boy after two private psychologists determined that he had a learning disability. (Turnbull, op. cit., 525; Ted Seals, "School Boards Ruled Liable for Emotional Damage," Chicago Sun-Times, December 3, 1976, 18.) Another case, Battle v. Sclanlon (1981), will undoubtedly influence future special education programs and plans. On June 22, 1981 the Supreme Court denied review of (and, hence, sustained) this case--whereby the State of Pennsylvania was found in violation of PL 94-142 by limiting the school year for handicapped children to the same number of days (180) provided to non-handicapped children. (Cited in "Insight," the government report of the Council for Exceptional Children: Update, 13, 2 (October, 1981), 5.)

Turnbull, op. cit., 523.
These judicial standards would significantly affect the evolution of special education programs, as well as the scope and direction of federal legislation designed to assist the handicapped.

In 1973, a year after the Mills decision, Congress passed the first civil rights law protecting the rights of the handicapped from employment discrimination: the Vocational Rehabilitation Act. The following year, amendments to the Rehabilitation Act extended coverage of its Section 504\(^{107}\) to other areas including: education, post-secondary education, vocational training, employment, health, welfare, and other social welfare programs. During the same session of Congress (1974), various education amendments were added to the Education of the Handicapped Act (EHA) under Public Law 93-380 which significantly increased the role of the federal government in the education of handicapped children. PL 93-380 substantially increased funding to the states (through Part B of the EHA) to enable them to meet the mandates requiring: 1) a state plan and timetable providing full educational opportunities to handicapped children, 2) due process procedures (i.e., non-discriminatory testing and evaluation procedures and placement in the "least restrictive environment")\(^{108}\), and 4) access and privacy

\(^{107}\) The educational provisions of Section 504 are closely coordinated with PL 94-142.

\(^{108}\) Ted L. Miller and Harvey N. Switzby, "Public Law 94-142 and the Least Restrictive Alternative," The Education Digest, XLV, 4 (December, 1979), 29-32; Joyce G. Ashley, "Mainstreaming: One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward," American Educator, 1, 3 (October, 1977), 3-7. As noted by Ashley (p.5): ""The implication is that the handicapped have been educationally short-changed in the special school. Yet special classes were intended to provide opportunities for personal independence to the fullest extent possible. They have helped students develop good self-images and self-acceptance, and special classes have provided a basis for dealing with reality. These accomplishments should not be minimized so readily."")
rights for children and their parents relative to school records.\textsuperscript{109} The following year (1975), Congress enacted the most comprehensive
special education legislation to date: Public Law 94-142, The Education
for All Handicapped Children Act.

PL 94-142\textsuperscript{110} revised and expanded Part B (state grant program)
of the EHA (PL 93-380) and mandated that a free appropriate education
with related services be provided to handicapped children ages three to
eighteen by September 1, 1978, and children three to twenty-one by
September 1, 1980.\textsuperscript{111} Federal rules and regulations implementing the

\textsuperscript{109} Under the Family Education and Privacy Act, Title V, PL 93-380 (the "Buckley Amendment") and The School Code of Illinois, Sec. 122., 50-3 through 50-7, parents have the right to inspect, correct, and control who sees their child's school records.

\textsuperscript{110} Signing PL 94-142, President Gerald Ford expressed approval
for the intent of the law; however, as he poignantly noted: ""It con­tains a vast array of detailed, complex and costly administrative require­ments which would unnecessarily assert Federal control over traditional State and local government functions. It established complex require­ments under which tax dollars would be used to support administrative paperwork and not educational programs."" As quoted in: National Association of State Directors of Special Education, Inc., An Analysis of P.L. 94-142, The Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975 (Washington, D.C.: National Association of State Directors of Special Education, Inc., undated); a manual given to this writer by Miss Helen Lightstone, Educational Resource Specialist in charge of Educational Services for the Chicago Tribune. (According to Lightstone, this manual was distributed by IOE personnel to school administrators in 1976; at the time, Lightstone was Coordinator of Instructional Programs for Summit Hill District 161.) Also see: Carl Schmidt and Mary C. Williams, "Law and the Handicapped Child: A Primer for Illinois Parents," IRRC Review (Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois Regional Resource Center: June, 1978).

\textsuperscript{111} In the Fall of 1980, the Chicago Public Schools organized an
Advisory Committee for Personnel Development under PL 94-142. For a
report on its activities see: Chicago Public Schools, "Tying It All To­gether," Staff Development Newsletter for Special Education, I, I (Spring, 1981). A short analysis of PL 94-142 is presented on pp. 8-9 by Imogene Sims and Robert Currie. (Currie was a teacher/counselor at Montefiore and a counselor in the Saturday Project. He subsequently became a co­ordinator for the ERA program and, today, is contributing to program
development in special education.)
law were issued on August 23, 1977\textsuperscript{112} (which are still in effect). Significantly, these regulations required that an Individualized Education Program (IEP) be developed for every handicapped child by October 1, 1977. A qualified representative of the local education agency (LEA), the child's teacher, the child's parents or guardian,\textsuperscript{113} and the child (when appropriate) jointly develop the IEP. The IEP includes:

1. a statement of the child's present levels of educational performance;
2. a statement of annual goals, including short term instructional objectives;
3. a statement of the specific special education and related services to be provided to the child, and the extent to which the child will be able to participate in regular educational programs;
4. the projected dates for initiation of services and the anticipated duration of the services;
5. appropriate objective criteria and evaluation procedures and schedules for determining, on at least an annual basis, whether the short term instructional objectives are being achieved.\textsuperscript{114}


\textsuperscript{113}As noted by Cheryl A. Scanlon, Joel Arick, Neal Phelps, "Participation in the Development of the IEP: Parents Perspective," Exceptional Children, 47, 5 (February, 1981), 373-374, ""Without the regular classroom teacher's participation in the development of the IEP, it would appear that the handicapped child has a low probability of being mainstreamed effectively."" Relative to this issue: the IEP, which is the basis for referring a boy to Montefiore, does not include (in the MDS conference) a representative of the Montefiore; however, a "special education specialist" from a Pupil Service Center (a "master teacher") expedites the placement.

\textsuperscript{114}Federal Rules and Regulations (1977), 42491. (Cf., n.112 supra.)
The regulations defined "handicapped children" as being mentally retarded, hard of hearing, deaf, speech impaired, visually handicapped, seriously emotionally disturbed, orthopedically impaired, deaf-blind, multi-handicapped, or having specific learning disabilities. Pertinent to this study, "seriously emotionally disturbed" was defined as: a condition exhibiting one or more of the following characteristics over a long period of time and to a marked degree, which adversely affects educational performance:

1) an inability to learn which cannot be explained by intellectual, sensory, or health factors;
2) an inability to build or maintain satisfactory interpersonal relationships with peers and teachers;
3) inappropriate types of behavior or feelings under normal circumstances;
4) a general pervasive mood of unhappiness or depression; or
5) a tendency to develop physical symptoms or fears associated with personal or school problems.

The term includes children who are schizophrenic or autistic. The term does not include children who are socially maladjusted, unless it is determined that they are seriously emotionally disturbed.115

Thus, those humanitarian social forces intent on "reforming society and its institutions" and "rehabilitating individuals" were clearly reflected in the evolution of federal legislation pertaining to public education and, particularly, public education directed toward eliminating basic inequities in society. Although social adjustment programs are today struggling for survival and a new sense of purpose, social forces affecting the direction and scope of "behavior disorder" programs116 in Chicago will undoubtedly focus on the public school system's "laboratory school": the Montefiore.

115 Ibid., 42478.

This study chiefly focused on social adjustment education as it evolved through the Montefiore Special School. In 1929, the Montefiore was established as the Chicago Public School System's first non-custodial day school designed to prevent juvenile delinquency by providing a "special education" for "problem boys," particularly truants and those considered to be incorrigible. In this study, however, social adjustment education was viewed and defined on the basis of a particular evolutionary perspective that antedated Montefiore and reflected overlapping conceptual schemes. More specifically, the conceptual framework drew upon the ideas of Mary J. Herrick, George S. Counts, and Robert J. Havighurst, et al.

Mary Herrick's work illustrated the significant contribution made by individuals and groups to the evolution of the Chicago Public School System. This study also examined the significance of "the community" in the development/evolution of social adjustment education. Counts' conceptualization of the "play of social forces upon the school" and the concept of evolutionary social systems, as postulated by Havighurst, et al., were employed as sociological methods of analysis. Thus, social adjustment education was viewed as a diverse combination of
concerns, attitudes, and altruistic, as well as selfish motives (i.e., a "confluence of forces"), evolving from the interaction between and within social forces (i.e., social systems).

In Chapter I, social adjustment education was viewed as a confluence of forces reflecting humanitarian efforts to "reform society and its institutions" and "rehabilitate individuals," evolving from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The contributions of Hull-House (representing social settlements, generally) and the Chicago Woman's Club to the child welfare/compulsory education and juvenile court movements were viewed as socio-historical origins of social adjustment education. These efforts resulted in the first Juvenile Court in the United States and the Chicago Parental School, a custodial/residential school established by the Chicago Board of Education. The establishment of special classes for truant boys, offering a non-traditional curriculum, were viewed as the early evolutionary stage of social adjustment education within the school system. Then too, the establishment of the Departments of Compulsory Education and Child Study and Pedagogic Investigation (the latter, the first of its kind within a public school system) were examined and viewed as a corollary of the evolution of social adjustment education. Chapter II addressed the socio-educational forces which contributed to the establishment of Montefiore as a "special school," offering a perspective on why the school meant and represented various things to different people. The roles of various individuals and the influences/factors affecting those roles were examined; particularly, the roles of superintendent of schools, William J. Bogan and Edward H. Stullken, principal of Montefiore between 1929 and 1960. In Chapter III, the
Montefiore was viewed as the school system's "laboratory school" (if not "child guidance clinic") for the study and treatment of children with a variety of handicapping conditions that contributed to their maladjustment in regular schools. The diversely specialized Montefiore staff was viewed as reflecting a constellation of roles, as well as illustrative of the interaction between and within social systems. The significant influence of Henry C. Morrison to the internal organizational structure and educational program was also addressed. In Chapter IV, the educational work of the school as a "special education, center" was seen as contributing to and paralleling the evolution of special programs for a wide range of exceptional children, including incarcerated youth. The establishment of branches for boys and girls, as well as the incorporation of custodial and correctional institution school programs, were examined; particularly in relationship to the evolving bureaucratic structure of the school system. Then too, the establishment and significant socio-historical origins of the Montefiore PTA was addressed.

Chapter V addressed the changes in direction and scope of social adjustment education at Montefiore under the three men who served as principal between 1960 and 1981. The impact of state and federal legislation, as well as judicial decrees, on programs for socially maladjusted children and behavior disordered children was also examined.

Central to this study was the conceptualization of social adjustment education as a "confluence of forces" and the developing notion of what constitutes an evolutionary social system. Using this conceptual
framework, we have been able to:

1) **identify the major events which have been the central factors in the development of social adjustment education;**

2) **identify individuals who have served in leadership capacities and to examine their contributions to social adjustment education;**

3) **analyze demographic changes which have influenced social adjustment education; and,**

4) **examine major educational trends, centering upon aims, purposes, methods, and approaches.**

However, this conceptual framework makes it difficult to predict developments for the future, particularly in light of changing public and professional perspectives on the truant, incorrigible, delinquent child.

The evolution of social adjustment education has resulted in a legalistic/educational nomenclature confusion relative to identifying, labelling, and providing services to the "problem student," particularly the truant, incorrigible, delinquent child. While state and federal legislation, as well as judicial decrees, have established rules and regulations relative to special education programs, compulsory education laws and/or their lack of enforcement obviate their full application. Then too, the procedures for referral of "problem students" are as yet still forboding to many local schools, in spite of the special education bureaucracy which has evolved. These factors, combined with the problem of acquiring parental approval before maladjusted children can be provided educational services, have created a vacuum within which truant, incorrigible, and delinquent children are today slipping through the proverbial "educational crack."
APPENDIX I
APPENDIX I

Jane Addams describes the environment and immigrant populations served by Hull-House on the Near West side in 1910:

Between Halsted Street and the river live about ten thousand Italians....To the south on Twelfth Street are many Germans, and side streets are given over almost entirely to Polish and Russian Jews. Still farther south, these Jewish colonies merge into a huge Bohemian colony, so vast that Chicago ranks as the third Bohemian city in the world. To the northwest are many Canadian-French....and to the north are Irish and first-generation Americans. On the streets directly west and farther north are well-to-do English-speaking families, many of whom own their houses and have lived in the neighborhood for years....The policy of the public authorities of never taking an initiative, and always waiting to be urged to do their duty, is obviously fatal in a neighborhood where there is little initiative among the citizens. The idea underlying our self-government breaks down in such a ward. The streets are inexpressibly dirty, the number of schools inadequate, sanitary legislation unenforced, the street lighting bad, the paving miserable and altogether lacking in the alleys and smaller streets....The older and richer inhabitants seem anxious to move away as rapidly as they can afford it. They make room for newly arrived immigrants who are densely ignorant of civic duties....Meanwhile, the wretched conditions persist until at least two generations of children have been born and reared in them.

Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull House, 98-100.
APPENDIX II
ORGANIZATIONAL CHART, JUVENILE COURT OF COOK COUNTY, 1980

Circuit Court of Cook County

Juvenile Division

Juvenile Court Services Administration

Probation Services Department

LEGAL SERVICES DEPARTMENT
- Attorneys
- Guardians
- Ad Litem
- Process
- Servers

CLINICAL SERVICES DEPARTMENT
- Psychiatrists
- Psychologists
- Social Workers

STATISTICAL DEPARTMENT
- Office Supplies
- Printing
- Statistical Reports
- Research

BUDGET & ACCOUNTS DEPARTMENT
- Budgetary Matters
- Payroll

PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT
- Applications
- Record
- Clerical Library
- Staff
- Steno Staff
- Health
- Transportation
- Nursery
- Staff News

PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT
- Applications
- Record
- Clerical Library
- Staff
- Steno Staff
- Health
- Transportation
- Nursery
- Staff News

Probation Services Department

NORTH DIVISION
- Junior Temporary Detention Center
- Cook County Sheriff
- Cook County Court Reporters
- Clerk of the Circuit Court of Cook County
- Cook County Public Defender
- Cook County States Attorney
- Chicago Police Dept.- Youth Division
- Ill. Dept. of Children and Family Services
- Ill. Dept. of Public Aid
- Ill. Commission on Delinquency Prevention

SOUTH DIVISION

JUVENILE COURT SERVICES DIVISION
- Probation Units for Delinquent and MINS Children
- Guardian
- Monitoring
- Neglect
- Personal Guardianship Monitoring
- Special Services

SPECIALIZED SERVICES DIVISION
- Advocacy
- Group Work
- MINS Family Intervention
- Speakers Bureau
- Volunteer Program

TRAINING DIVISION
- Family Therapy
- Training
- On-going Educational Programs
- Student Interns
- Training for New Officers

COMPLAINT/ADJUDICATION DIVISION
- Adjudicators
- Complaint
- Screening
- Designees

Circuit Court of Cook County, Juvenile Division, Juvenile Court of Cook County Information Booklet (Chicago: Circuit Court of Cook County, Juvenile Division, July, 1980), 3-4.
APPENDIX III
APPENDIX III

DISTRIBUTION OF MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS, CHICAGO, 1917-1923

Shaw and McKay, op. cit., 61.
APPENDIX IV
APPENDIX IV

RATES OF MALE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS, CHICAGO, 1917-1923

MAP OF CHICAGO

SHOWING

RATES OF DELINQUENTS
BASED UPON 8,141 MALE
JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN
THE JUVENILE COURT DURING
THE YEARS 1917-1923

Shaw and McKay, op. cit., 62.
APPENDIX V
APPENDIX V

TRUANTS WHO BECAME DELINQUENTS, 1917-23 JUVENILE COURT TRUANCY SERIES

<table>
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<tr>
<th>AREA RATES OF DELINQUENTS</th>
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Shaw and McKay, *op. cit.*, 115.
APPENDIX VI
Edward Stullken's Recollection of the McAndrew Controversy

When I was principal of the Longfellow School, linoleum block printing was quite the vogue. We planned to hold an art exhibit at the school and Miss Enright, who was the art teacher and my assistant principal, asked me to invite Superintendent McAndrew. She made a special block printed invitation and asked me to personally deliver it. You had to go through Chauncey Willard, the "little superintendent" as we called him at that time, to see the superintendent. Willard said that McAndrew was very busy; but, I saw that his door was ajar and said loudly: "Tell the superintendent that if he can stop reading Gordy's history long enough, I have something to give him!" Well, that brought McAndrew out of his office and he said, "So it's you Stullken. Well, what do you want--and how did you know what I was reading?!" Of course, he was smiling and I replied that if he hadn't read the book he should. McAndrew said, "As a matter of fact, I have."

You see, the politicians and the newspapers were trying to make McAndrew a goat because he recommended Gordon's History to be used in the Chicago schools. It was pro-English and anything that was pro-English was pro-devil. Big Bill Thompson was Mayor then and he was out to get McAndrew. He wanted McAndrew to come to his office; even sent a messenger for him. McAndrew told the messenger to tell Thompson that he had a piece of mistletoe pinned to his coat-tails! [Laughter.] The Board couldn't do anything with him; he just went his own merry way. The Board tried to put him on trial, but when he found out that it was a political staging he left.

Of course, because of all the political hoopla McAndrew didn't attend the art fair. However, he did send Miss Enright a thank-you with one of his famous stick-drawings. She was thrilled with it and hung it proudly on her wall at school.

Personal interview with Edward H. Stullken.
Edward Stullken's Recollection of Charles Hubbard Judd

I got to know Charles Hubbard Judd quite well. Judd was a Prussian school master. He got his doctor's degree in Germany and had studied under Wilhelm Wundt, the father of educational psychology. At one meeting of this Advisory Committee Bogan had organized, William Heard Kilpatrick of Columbia University gave a speech. Kilpatrick was the leading child-centered school man in the country. After his speech there was a discussion—which was lead by Judd. Judd pulled out a book that Wundt had written and quoted from it on this psychology business. He skinned Kilpatrick alive by quoting the origin of it. After the discussion, while Judd was talking to Kilpatrick, Ernest O. Melby of Northwestern, and others, I pulled the book out from under Judd's arm. He watched me out of the corner of his eye. I didn't go to the pages he had marked, but to the front of the book. It read: Psychology of Wilhelm Wundt translated into English by Charles Hubbard Judd. Judd stepped aside and whispered to me, "I knew it was there because I put it there in the first place." [Laughter.] On another occasion, Judd told me a story about the time he was seated next to the young squirt, Robert Maynard Hutchins, twenty-eight years old and president of the University of Chicago, and convinced him that either end of the table could be the head of the table! [Laughter.] He was a great man.

Personal interview with Edward H. Stullken.
APPENDIX VIII
APPENDIX VIII

The Juvenile Psychopathic Institute, Institute for Juvenile Research, and the Chicago Area Project

Julia Lathrop, Mrs. William F. (Ethel Sturgess) Dummer, and other social reformers concerned about juveniles brought into Juvenile Court, decided to establish a clinic where children referred by the court could be studied and treated. Seeking a director for the clinic, Lathrop consulted the noted medical doctor, philosopher, and educator, William James. James recommended a former student of his at Harvard, William Healy.

Born in 1869, William Healy immigrated from England during the late nineteenth century. Individuals at a bank in Chicago, where he worked as an "office boy," provided philanthropic support for his studies at Harvard. Subsequently, Healy earned a medical degree and practiced for a number of years. In 1908, accepting the challenge to "blaze a new trail" in the field of child psychiatry, he conducted a nation-wide study of medical clinics, juvenile courts, and various types of juvenile facilities. He consulted with a wide range of professionals working with and/or studying children. In 1909, through the philanthropic funding of Mrs. Dummer, a clinic was established adjacent to the Juvenile Court, in the county building. Thus, Healy became the director of the first "child guidance clinic," which would serve as a model for those to be developed throughout the country.

The clinic was privately maintained by Mrs. Dummer for five years. In 1914, it became known as the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute and its maintenance was assumed by Cook County. For the next three years, the institute continued to focus on juveniles referred by the Juvenile Court. Although Healy had been influenced by his studies of Lombroso and Freud, he discovered that most children admitted to the institute failed to fit the Lombrosian and Freudian models. He, therefore, employed eclectic approaches in the examination and treatment of delinquent children.

In 1917, reflecting the evolutionary change in direction and scope of its work, the institute became part of the Illinois Department of Public Welfare. Now known as the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research (or, IJR), the work of the institute broadened to include the study and treatment of children referred by various sources, as well as those referred by the court. Healy left IJR to become the director of another child guidance clinic in Boston, the Judge Baker Foundation. He was succeeded by Dr. Herman M. Adler, who served as director until 1930.

By 1926, a department of sociology had evolved within IJR and Clifford R. Shaw was appointed as its first director. Shaw, born on an Indiana farm in 1895, completed his undergraduate work at Albion College.
In 1919, he became a graduate student in the department of sociology (the first of its kind) at the University of Chicago. Prior to joining IJR, Shaw worked as a probation officer for the Juvenile Court. At IJR, Shaw's academic and experiential training merged as he undertook a variety of significant studies on juvenile delinquency.

With the assistance of Ernest W. Burgess, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago and director of the Behavioral Research Fund, Shaw developed plans for a broad-based, community-action, delinquency prevention program known as the Chicago Area Project. An adjunct to IJR's sociology department, CAP enlisted indigenous community leaders and served as a prototype of community-based, self-help programs. (One of CAP's early workers was Saul Alinsky, who organized the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council and the Woodlawn Organization.) In 1934, CAP incorporated and Shaw served as its director until his death in 1957.

In 1957, CAP became part of the Illinois Youth Commission (and, subsequently, the Illinois Department of Corrections - Juvenile Division) and Anthony Sorrentino, who had been recruited by CAP in 1934, became its director. In 1976, CAP's community workers became part of the Illinois Commission on Delinquency Prevention. Today, IJR is part of the Illinois Department of Mental Health.

APPENDIX IX

STRUCTURAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM (1951)

BOARD OF EDUCATION

GENERAL SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

DEPARTMENT OF INSTRUCTION & GUIDANCE
  Asst. Supt. in Charge of Instruction & Guidance

DEPARTMENT OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION
  Asst. Supt. in Charge of Elementary Education

DEPARTMENT OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
  Asst. Supt. in Charge of Vocational Education

DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL EDUCATION
  Asst. Supt. in Charge of Special Education

DEPARTMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION
  Asst. Supt. in Charge of Secondary Education

DEPARTMENT OF PERSONNEL
  Asst. Supt. in Charge of Personnel

BUREAU OF INSTRUCTION MATERIALS
  Director

DIVISIONS
  Curriculum
  Textbook Selection
  Libraries
  Visual Arts
  Radio

BUREAU OF SUBJECT SUPERVISION
  Director

DIVISIONS
  Music
  Art
  Industrial Arts
  Home Econ.
  Health & Phys. Ed.
  R. O. T. C.

BUREAU OF PUPIL WELFARE
  Director

DIVISIONS
  Child Study
  Guidance & Counseling
  School Attendance
  Health Services

BUREAU OF MENTALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN
  Director

DIVISIONS
  Speech Costs

BUREAU OF PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN
  Director

DIVISIONS
  Blind & Deaf
  Crippled
  Phys. Improve.

BUREAU OF SOCIALLY MALADJUSTED CHILDREN
  Director

DIVISIONS
  Sub. Teachers
  Special Teach.
  Blind & Deaf

BUREAU OF TEACHER PERSONNEL
  Director

DIVISIONS
  Sub. Teachers
  Special Teach.

BUREAU OF CIVIL SERVICE PERSONNEL
  Director

DIVISIONS
  Personnel
  City
  Personnel
  Civil Service
  Records

Special Education in the Chicago Public Schools: The Socially Maladjusted, op. cit., 7.
APPENDIX X
APPENDIX X

STRUCTURAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL EDUCATION (1951)

Special Education in the Chicago Public Schools: The Socially Maladjusted, op. cit., 5.
AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS USED BY VISITING TEACHERS, 1929-1931

Michael Reese Dispensary
Central Free Dispensary
Northwestern Dispensary
Illinois Research Dispensary
Illinois Eye and Ear Dispensary
Municipal Tuberculosis Dispensary (Damen Street)
Municipal Tuberculosis Dispensary (Washington Blvd.)
Children's Memorial Hospital
Presbyterian Hospital
Billings Hospital
Cook County Hospital
Women's and Children's Hospital
Polyclinic Hospital
Psycopathic Hospital
Illinois Dental Clinic
Northwestern Dental Clinic
City Health Department
Visiting Nurse Association
Arden Shore Camp
Institute for Juvenile Research
Child Guidance Center--Lower North
Dixon State School
County Court--State Attorney's Office
County Court--Welfare Department
County Court--Bureau of Vital Statistics
Juvenile Court--County Clerk
Juvenile Detention Home
Juvenile Protective Association
Legal Aid
American Red Cross (Chicago Chapter)
Salvation Army
Chicago Commons
Northwestern University Settlement
Hull House
Eli Bates House
Pulaski Park
Union League Foundation for Boys
Austin Town Hall
Y.M.C.A.
Boy Scouts of America
Big Brothers of the Holy Name
Big Sister Committee of Fifteen
Garibaldi Institute
Glenwood School for Boys
Lawrence Hall
Bishop Quarter's School for Boys
Allendale Farm
School Children's Aid
United Charities
Jewish Social Service
Catholic Charities of Chicago
Jewish Home Finding
Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society
Joint Service Bureau
Social Service Exchange
Aid-all
Court of Domestic Relations
Probate Court
Catholic Home Finding Association
Western Electric Woman's Service Dept.
Chicago Junior School
Diocesan School Board
Parochial Schools
Immigrants' Protective League
Skokie School

LIST OF TESTING INSTRUMENTS USED AT THE MONTEFIORIE SPECIAL SCHOOL, 1929-1934

An examination of the Annual Reports of the Montefiore Special School 1929-1934 revealed that the following instruments were used in the testing, classifying, and assignment of students to various groups.

Intelligence Tests

Stanford-Binet
Kuhlmann-Binet

Educational Tests

Stanford Achievement Tests
Reading
Arithmetic Computation
Arithmetic Reasoning
Nature Study and Science
History and Literature
Language Usage
Dictation

Gray's Oral Paragraphs
Haggerty Reading Examination
Detroit Word Recognition Test
Otis Arithmetic Reasoning Test
Woody McCall Mixed Fundamentals
Dictated Sentences from Chicago Spelling List
Monroe Diagnostic Reading Examination

Aptitude Tests

Stenquist Mechanical Aptitude Test
Detroit Mechanical Aptitudes Examination for Boys

Interests

Terman Interest Blank

Personality

Woodworth-Cady Questionnaire
APPENDIX XIII

DESCRIPTION OF HOMOGENEOUS GROUPINGS: FIRST SEMESTER 1934-1935

Division 101 The boys placed in this group fall roughly into two categories. In the first are included bright, young boys who have serious emotional or personality difficulties. In the second group are bright, young boys who are educationally retarded. This, thus, becomes the homeroom for many of the minor reading disability cases, and, also, for the major disability cases awaiting placement in the reading disability group.

Division 102 This group consists of young boys from the intermediate and upper primary grades who are somewhat slower than those in group 1.

Division 103 This room is designated as the receiving room as all boys are placed in this group as they are enrolled in the school. They remain here about two weeks during which time they are given educational, psychological, aptitude and personality tests and, also, a complete physical examination by the school physician.

Division 104 This group is made up of medium young boys who are very dull but who have a fairly high ability in mechanical work. The home room teacher in this division teaches basketry, rug weaving, small woodwork and allied activities to the younger boys of the school.

Division 105 This group consists of the youngest boys in the school. The majority of these boys come from the primary grades. There are also a few of the less mature physically and dull mentally intermediate grade boys.

Division 106 The boys in this group are the oldest dull boys who have serious personality difficulties. Practically all of these boys come from special division rooms in the regular elementary schools. Because of this fact and, also, because of the unevenness of their educational achievements it is very difficult to describe this group as to either grade or educational placement. In general, the work of the room is on the primary level but modified as to content and manner of presentation to fit the interests and social experience of adolescent boys.

Division 109 This group is composed of boys who are dull and medium young. The majority of these boys come from the upper intermediate grades. Many were unable to make further progress in their home schools as they had failed to acquire the fundamental skills necessary to satisfactory upper grade work.
Division 110  In this group are the brightest young boys from the 6th, 7th and occasionally the 8th grades. These boys have a good educational record but because of personality maladjustments presented serious social problems. Since this is the art room, this group includes also those boys in the upper grades who are especially interested or talented in art. Much of the routine drill work necessary for the duller boys may be omitted with group 110 and they are given a widely diversified and enriched program.

Division 111  This room is similar to 110 but these boys are more mature physically and socially. Their difficulties tend to be more in the educational than in the temperamental field. The interests of this group center more around mechanical or scientific rather than the artistic activities. Thus, we have in this group the bright, upper grade boys who need drill or aid in overcoming minor educational difficulties which have retarded their progress and played a part in their becoming problems in the regular school.

Division 112  This room is one of the rooms in which boys coming from the eighth grade or who have shown by their examinations that they are capable of doing satisfactory work in this grade are placed. The majority of these boys are of normal or slightly dull intelligence, but are either emotionally unstable or have developed serious antisocial attitudes.

Division 113  This group is similar in almost every respect to room 112 except for the fact that the boys in this group tend to be somewhat more mature and more stable emotionally. Their difficulties are more often due to educational disabilities. The patrol boys and special duty aides are selected from this group.

Division 114  This group is composed of boys who are similar in many respects to those in group 109 except for the fact that they tend to be somewhat younger. Most of them tend to be both educational and social misfits in the regular classroom.

Division 115  The boys in this group are selected from those in the upper grades who are particularly interested in mechanical drawing. The majority of these boys are dull mentally but still are capable of doing fair or even excellent work involving muscular co-ordination and dexterity.

Division 116  This is the group designed to care for the major reading disability cases. Since this work is highly intensive and almost wholly individual the group must be kept very small. Because of the wide discrepancy between mental age and educational age at time of placement in this group it is here that we find the greatest gains in achievement are made.
Division 117  This group joins with group 121 for academic work and, thus, the two groups are very similar. Both are very dull older boys. They are, also, in most respects like group 106 except that in 117 and 121 the boys have made a more satisfactory social adjustment when placed correctly educationally and chronologically and, thus, do not tend to present as many problems in personality adjustment. The boys in 117 tend to be the most mature physically of these three groups.

Division 118  This group consists of the oldest of the upper grade boys who have special talent in mechanical work. The majority of these boys are slightly retarded mentally and educationally in the regular academic work.

Division 119  This group consists of two types of boys. Here are mature upper grade boys who are particularly interested in science. The second type consists of dull, but not feebleminded upper grade boys who have presented very serious problems in personality or social adjustment.

Division 120  This group is composed of boys who come from the upper intermediate or higher elementary grades who have good ability in mechanical or woodwork. Their home room is the woodshop. In chronological age, educational achievements, mentality and mechanical aptitude these boys fall between those in 104 and 118.

Division 121  This group has been mentioned in the description of 117. As was suggested there the boys in 121 are old chronologically, but are not as mature physiologically or socially as those in 117.

APPENDIX XIV
Edward Stullken's Use of the Media After Superintendent Bogan's Death

After Superintendent Bogan's death in 1936, there was talk that the work of the Montefiore should be curtailed. I had a friend introduce me to the editor of the Chicago Daily News. He asked me where I was going to be that evening. I told him I was going to give a speech at a Phi Delta Kappa meeting at the University of Chicago and when I would be free. He said he would send somebody down to 63rd and University to meet me. He asked me what kind of a car I would be driving and the license number. He then told me that the man I was to meet would be wearing a brown coat and hat. I don't know what his name was--never did know. When I arrived at the meeting place, there was this guy who got in the car and told me to drive over to the Jackson Park Harbor area. He said no one could hear what we'd talk about there. He asked me what my suspicions were and what I thought the Board was going to do. I told him and he took notes. This guy said that the Board of Education members were going to have a golf game at the Barrington Country Club. "What they don't know is I'll be a caddy and I'll hear what they say." Which he did. A few days later, an article appeared in the paper blistering and quoting some of the Board members. They were caught with their pants hanging down. [Laughter] The article really resulted in broadening the work of the Montefiore. It shows you the power of the press when it wants to work on the good side of something.

Personal interview with Edward H. Stullken. Stullken also related a part of this story in his speech at Montefiore's Golden Jubilee, October 30, 1979. (Mimeographed.)
APPENDIX XV
APPENDIX XV

SUMMARY OF INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENTS AND EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT FOUND FOR THE TWENTY YEAR PERIOD

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APPENDIX XVI
APPENDIX XVI

AVERAGE PERCENT OF ATTENDANCE, 1929-1954 AND AVERAGE DAILY MEMBERSHIP, AND PERCENT OF ATTENDANCE, 1958-1959

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<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>600.80</td>
<td>88.47</td>
<td>88.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>542.92</td>
<td>86.00</td>
<td>88.87</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Edward Stullken's Recollection of Juvenile Court Judge, Frank H. Bicek

In interviews with this writer, Edward Stullken pointed out that on a number of occasions local policians ("interceders") attempted to pressure him into transferring certain boys to their neighborhood schools. Stullken rejected any political interference in the procedures established at Montefiore, particularly after reviewing these boys' records. In one interview, Stullken vividly recalled how he became embroiled in a controversy with Judge Bicek:

At one time I was chairman of the Advisory Committee, [Division for Delinquency Prevention of the Illinois] State Department of Public Welfare. A number of people were on this committee, including Juvenile Court Judge Bicek. During this period, I had a serious problem with Bicek. He was on my neck. He wanted me to send some kid back to his regular school. Bicek wanted me to come into court to answer why I wouldn't return this kid to his regular school. Well, I wouldn't risk going to court and having the Judge give an order I couldn't follow. I could have been cited for contempt of court! I saw Bicek at a committee meeting and asked him who wanted this done. Bicek told me the name of the Alderman who was on his neck, pressuring him. I contacted this Alderman and raised hell. I told him that I'd do it providing Bicek put that kid under his custody and supervision. Well, the Alderman knew this kid and didn't want any part of that sort of arrangement. That ended the matter. Even Bicek was grateful.

Personal interview with Edward H. Stullken.
APPENDIX XVIII
Board of Education, City of Chicago, Organization Structure of the Chicago Public Schools
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* Many of the sources utilized in the development of this dissertation, including the Annual Reports of the Montefiore Special School (1929-1959), the files of the Montefiore-Motley PTA, and a number of studies undertaken by Montefiore personnel, will be donated to the Loyola University Archives as part of a Montefiore Special School Collection.


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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears 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 Education.

December 10, 1981
Date

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Director's Signature