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3. Cleveland Plain Dealer, Sept. 24, 1990, 4A.


6. Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 23, 1990, 12A; New York Times, May 11, 1990, 1, 22; July 23, 1, 25. These numbers are not precise: the June 23 New York Times article says an estimated 2 million women became pregnant out-of-wedlock in 1990, but according to the Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 15, 1991, 1, 18, the latest statistics, from 1988, say 1,005,299 babies were born out-of-wedlock that year.


15. Miller and Wheeler, Cleveland, 78, 100, 121.


17. Claudia J. Coulton et al., “An Analysis of Poverty and Related Conditions in Cleveland Area Neighborhoods” (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University, Center for Urban Poverty and Social Change, Mandel School of Applied Social Sciences, January 1990), 15; Miller and Wheeler, Cleveland, 168.

18. This was the finding of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights after a 1963 visit to Cleveland. Herman D. Stein, ed., The Crisis in Welfare in Cleveland: Report of the Mayor’s Commission (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1969), 65.

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20. Cleveland Workhouse and House of Refuge and Correction, MS 3681, microfilm reels 1, 2, WRHS; City of Cleveland, Department of Public Health and Welfare, *Annual Report, 1905* (Cleveland: DPHW, 1905), 21.

21. Board of Managers minutes, Florence Crittenton Services, MS 3910, container 1, folder 11, and Board of Trustees minutes, Jan. 22, 1968, container 1, folder 9, WRHS; letter, Oct. 31, 1903, from Bishop Ignatius F. Horstman, Horstman folder 11, Cleveland Catholic Diocesan Archives (hereafter CCDA).

22. Correspondence, Nov. 19, 1937, FCP MS 3788, container 30, folder 742, WRHS.

23. Committee on Unmarried Mothers, Oct. 19 and Nov. 30, 1936, FCP MS 3788, container 33, folder 829, WRHS.


26. See, for example, the discussion of the race, educational background, occupation, and source of funding of unwed mothers in Florence Crittenton Association of America, *Unwed Mothers* (Chicago: FCAA, 1967), 5–9.


29. For a discussion of this technique for giving the inarticulate a voice, see Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives*, 18–19.
30. Conference on Illegitimacy, June 3, 1933, FCP MS 3788, microfilm reel 33, WRHS.


32. Young Women's Christian Association, Annual Report, 1872, 3, MS 3516, container 8, folder 2, WRHS; Conference on Illegitimacy, April 19, 1915, FCP MS 3788, container 30, folder 738, WRHS.

33. Committee on Unmarried Mothers, Oct. 19, 1936, FCP MS 3788, container 33, folder 829, WRHS.


35. Conference on Illegitimacy minutes, Dec. 5, 1921, FCP MS 3788, WRHS.

Chapter 1

1. Cleveland Workhouse and House of Refuge and Correction, MS 3681, roll 1, vol. 2, Western Reserve Historical Society (hereafter WRHS). The registers of Infirmary inmates appear to be complete from 1855 to May 1867 (roll 1, vol. 2) and from 1872 to 1882 (roll 2, vol. 5). However, the records are extensively water-damaged and for most years, inmates’ first names and the disposition of their cases are illegible, as are page numbers and occasionally dates.


15. Quoted in James E. Pelikan and Rebecca Pelikan, eds., *The History of City Hospital and the Discovery and Interpretation of a Hospital’s Past* (Cleveland: Cuyahoga County Hospital Archives, 1981), 90.

16. Cleveland Workhouse, MS 3681, roll 1, vol. 2, and roll 2, vol. 5, WRHS.


22. Cleveland Workhouse, MS 3681, WRHS; see especially vols. 1 and 2.

23. Report of the Committee on the Infirmary, 1856, 2–3, MHMC.


27. *Cleveland Leader*, June 5, 1875, 2.


31. Cleveland Workhouse, MS 3681, roll 1, vol. 2, WRHS.
32. Cleveland Workhouse, MS 3681, roll 1, vol. 2, and roll 2, vol. 5, WRHS.
33. Report of the Committee on the Infirmary, 1856, MHMC.
34. Cleveland Workhouse, MS 3681, roll 1, WRHS.
35. Report of the Committee on the Infirmary, 1856, MHMC.
36. Cleveland Workhouse, MS 3681, roll 1, WRHS.
39. Cleveland Workhouse, MS 3681, roll 1, WRHS.
40. Cleveland Workhouse, MS 3681, roll 1, WRHS.
41. Katz hypothesizes that men could support themselves longer and that elderly women were more likely than elderly men to be cared for by their children; In the Shadow, 86–89.
42. Cleveland Workhouse, MS 3681, roll 1, WRHS.
43. Cleveland Workhouse, MS 3681, roll 1, WRHS.
44. City of Cleveland, Annual Report, 1873 (Cleveland, 1873), 403. This imbalance and the differing lengths of stay are also noted by Katz, In the Shadow, 86–88, 110–12.
45. Cleveland Workhouse, MS 3681, roll 1, WRHS. In the Buffalo poorhouse, too, women were far more likely than men to have “relatives”—that is, children in the almshouse—underscoring “the continued use of the poorhouse as a home for unmarried mothers and a maternity hospital”; Katz, Poverty and Policy, 80–81.
46. Cleveland Workhouse, MS 3681, rolls 1, 2, WRHS.
47. City of Cleveland, Annual Report, 1867 (Cleveland, 1867), 92. Katz argues that such child placement is evidence that “family breakup was one goal” of poor-relief officials, but he does not take into consideration the difficulty that an unmarried or deserted woman had supporting a child by herself; Katz, In the Shadow, 105.
48. Cleveland Workhouse, MS 3681, roll 2, WRHS.
49. City of Cleveland, Annual Report, 1858 (Cleveland, 1858), 38.
50. City of Cleveland, Annual Report, 1878 (Cleveland, 1878), 531.
52. A. O. Wright, “Employment in Poorhouses,” in Proceedings of the Na-
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54. City of Cleveland, Annual Report, 1899 (Cleveland, 1899), 35, 71, and Annual Report, 1904 (Cleveland, 1904), 28–32.


56. City of Cleveland, Annual Report, 1887 (Cleveland, 1887), 469.

57. The 1875 New York Children’s Act, which required the removal of children from poorhouses, was accompanied by the declining use of the Buffalo facility by women as well until the 1880s, when there was a brief revival of its use by unmarried women; Katz, Poverty and Policy, 76, 87.


59. City of Cleveland, Annual Report, 1861 (Cleveland, 1861), 33; Report of the Committee on the Infirmary, 1866, CMGH.

60. City of Cleveland, Annual Report, 1883, 578–79; Annual Report, 1890, 499, 928; Annual Report, 1893, 10 (Cleveland, 1883, 1890, 1893).


63. City of Cleveland, Annual Report, 1905, 20; Annual Report, 1909, 21 (Cleveland, 1905, 1921). I am also indebted to my student Theresa Wohlgemuth for compiling helpful statistics on this point.

64. City of Cleveland, Annual Report, 1903 (Cleveland, 1903), 16, 21. Comparable costs are difficult to figure since they were calculated differently in different years.

65. City of Cleveland, Annual Report, 1910 (Cleveland, 1910), 60. Katz finds this changed age and sex ratio in New York, Massachusetts, and Ohio poorhouses; In the Shadow, 88–91.


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Chapter 2


8. Fifty-seven percent of all foreign missionaries in the 1880s were female, according to Barbara Welter, “She Hath Done What She Could: Protestant Women’s Missionary Careers in Nineteenth Century America,” in Janet Wilson James, ed., Women in American Religion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 119. According to Rosemary Skinner Keller, more women “became involved in women’s missionary society work after the Civil War than in all areas of the social reform and woman’s rights movement combined. Between 1861 and 1894, foreign missionary societies were organized by and for women in thirty-three denominations, and home missionary societies in seventeen.” See Keller, “Lay Women in the Protestant Tradition,” in Ruether and Keller, Women and Religion, 242–43.


11. Sims, Natural History, 7.


14. On early attempts to rescue prostitutes, see Smith-Rosenberg, Religion and the Rise of the American City, 98–113; Barbara Berg, The Remembered


17. Newspaper clipping, 1869, in scrapbook, Young Women’s Christian Association, MS 3516, container 11, WRHS. The collection is titled after the group’s later name.


19. Mrs. Howard Ingham, “After Twenty-Five Years, 1868–1893,” 8, YWCA MS 3516, container 8, folder 6, WRHS.


21. Annual Report, 1891, 20, YWCA MS 3516, WRHS.


25. Annual Report, 1873, 21, YWCA MS 3516, container 8, folder 3.

26. Two WCTU homes for unwed mothers—the Anchorage in Elmira, New York, which opened in 1890, and the Colorado Cottage Home in Denver, which
opened in 1886—were studied extensively by Joan Jacobs Brumberg and Peggy Pascoe and serve as useful comparisons for the Cleveland Retreat. See Brumberg, “‘Ruined Girls,’” and Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue*.


29. Salvation Army Rescue Home, Annual Report, 1893, WRHS.

30. Board minutes, March 4, 1879, YWCA MS 3615, container 1, WRHS.


32. Scrapbook, 1873, YWCA MS 3516, container 11, WRHS; McDannell, *Christian Home*, 45.

33. Annual Report, 1895, 23–24; Board minutes, Aug. 5 and Oct. 7, 1879, YWCA MS 3516, container 1, WRHS; Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue*, 80.

34. Annual Report, 1891, 16, YWCA MS 3516, container 12, WRHS.

35. Annual Report, 1907, 22, YWCA MS 3516, container 12, WRHS.

36. *International Messenger*, 189.


38. *Earnest Worker*, June 1873, 5, and November 1875, 2; Van Tassel and Grabowski, *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, 802.

39. Minutes, Aug. 5, 1879, YWCA MS 3516, container 1, and Annual Report, 1872, 3, YWCA MS 3516, container 8, folder 2, WRHS.


41. *Earnest Worker*, July 1874, 5.


43. Annual Report, 1879, 6, YWCA MS 3516, container 1, WRHS.


45. Annual Report, 1902, 22, YWCA MS 3615, container 8, folder 15, and Annual Report, 1912, 39, YWCA MS 3615, container 9, folder 10, WRHS.


48. Federation for Community Planning, Conference on Illegitimacy, Dec. 14, 1925, MS 3788, container 30, folder 739, WRHS. (Hereafter this collection will be FCP MS 3788.)
49. Conference on Illegitimacy, Dec. 8, 1930, FCP MS 3788, container 30, folder 740, WRHS.

50. Conference on Illegitimacy, Jan. 23, 1932, FCP MS 3788, microfilm reel 33, WRHS.

51. Conference on Illegitimacy, May 14, 1934, FCP MS 3788, microfilm reel 33, WRHS.

52. Committee on Unmarried Mothers, Oct. 19, 1936, FCP MS 3788, container 33, folder 829, WRHS.

53. Bolt Report, Nov. 30, 1936, 4, FCP MS 3788, container 33, folder 829, WRHS.

54. Budgets and Budget Policies, FCP MS 3788, container 8, folder 187, WRHS.

55. Committee on Unwed Mothers, Feb. 5, 1936, FCP MS 3788, container 33, folder 829, WRHS.

56. Cleveland Foundation, “Program Contents Used in the Past,” Sept. 8, 1952, MS 3627, container 4, folder 17, WRHS.


60. Quoted in Beulah Amidon, “Front Line Officer,” Survey Graphic, October 1948.


66. Memo to the author from Monica Haglund, activities coordinator, Booth Memorial Residence.


69. Esgar, "Women Involved in the Real World," 70.

Chapter 3


3. Lubove, Professional Altruist, 18–21.


16. Like many women of her generation, Barrett believed that the ability to bear children was proof of women’s superiority over men and that women functioned best and most usefully in their maternal role. This belief provided a powerful ideological rationale for contemporary Progressive reformers’ demands for protective legislation for women and received triumphant endorsement in the 1908 *Muller v. Oregon* Supreme Court decision. The woman suffrage movement also made political capital out of motherhood, arguing that the vote would protect mothers and that mothers would make better voters. Motherhood was equally popular on the political left. Anarchist Emma Goldman named her newspaper “Mother Earth,” and the labor agitator Mary Jones named herself “Mother Jones.” See Mary P. Ryan, *Womanhood in America from Colonial Times to the Present* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1979), 136–50.

17. Quoted in Wilson, *Fifty Years*, 47, 172.


20. The Cleveland Home looked like the Crittenton homes in Terre Haute and Topeka, but unlike the imposing Crittenton Home and Hospital in Boston and Detroit; Wilson, *Fifty Years*, opposite 62, 254, opposite 462.
21. Wilson, *Fifty Years*, 253–57; Florence Crittenton Home Brochure, 1916–17, 8–9, WRHS.

22. *Constitution and By-Laws*, WRHS.


24. Wilson, *Fifty Years*, 255; Board of Managers, Florence Crittenton Services, Dec. 22, 1916, MS 3910, container 1, folder 3, WRHS. (The collection is titled after the agency's current name and hereafter will be referred to as FCS.)


29. Federation for Community Planning, Conference on Illegitimacy, Report of Sub-Committee on [State] Standards for Maternity Homes, MS 3788, container 30, folder 739, WRHS. (Hereafter this collection will be FCP MS 3788.)

30. Conference on Illegitimacy, May 1921, FCP MS 3788, container 30, folder 39, WRHS.


33. Conference on Illegitimacy, May 18, 1914, FCP MS 3788, container 21, folder 516, WRHS.

34. The policy also created problems, as in this case also reported to the conference: "Girl, now seventeen years old, has a baby a year old. The two have been in the Crittenton home over eleven months. The father of the baby is the husband of the girl's sister, with whom the girl was staying when the baby was born. The girl's mother is a drunk and has been in the Newbury insane asylum. . . . The girl wishes to leave the home and go to work. . . . She cannot leave the baby in the Crittenton Home. . . . for she alone can handle the baby, which has a most nerve-wracking scream." Conference on Illegitimacy, April 6, 1914, FCP MS 3788, container 30, folder 739, and Oct. 6, 1913, container 21, folder 516, WRHS.


41. Letter, no author, to U.S. Children’s Bureau, 1944, in Women’s Social Service History folder, Salvation Army Archives, New York City.


49. Romanofsky, Social Service Organizations, 308–9; Dore, "Organizational Response," 139.


52. Alice Hunt Center Board minutes, Nov. 26, 1947, and April 27, 1949, Children's Services, MS 4020, container 5, folder 68, WRHS.

53. Children's Council, Study of Independent Placements, 1942–43, FCP MS 3788, container 31, folder 774, WRHS.


55. Dore, "Organizational Response," 147–48; Board of Trustees minutes, Florence Crittenton Home, Oct. 9, 1952, FCS MS 3910, container 2, folder 4, WRHS. Both the Federation and the Cleveland Press subsequently reported a decrease in gray market adoptions from the Crittenton Home. There were no comparable public scandals about the placement policies of other maternity homes, but Federation records reveal that St. Ann's and Mary B. Talbert, as well as Crittenton, were lax about reporting to the Ohio Department of Public Health and Welfare infants discharged to agencies or to persons other than their parents, as required by state law. Cleveland Press, March 20, 1951, 14; "Welfare Talks," 1953, FCP MS 3788, container 22, folder 540; correspondence, April 20, 1953, FCP MS 3788, container 22, folder 537, WRHS.

56. Report to the Steering Committee of the [Welfare Federation] Children's Council, March 16, 1953, Cleveland Foundation, MS 3627, container 4, folder 17, WRHS.

57. Board of Trustees minutes, Florence Crittenton Home, July 24 and Sept. 25, 1961, FCS MS 3910, container 1, folder 7, and April 23, 1962, container 1, folder 8, WRHS.

58. Board of Trustees minutes, Florence Crittenton Home, Aug. 8, 1956, FCS MS 3910, container 2, folder 4; Casework Council, Feb. 24, 1953, FCP MS 3788, container 49, folder 1178; correspondence, March 16, 1953, Cleveland Foundation, MS 3627, container 4, folder 17, WRHS.

59. Budget requests, Children's Council, 1955–63, FCP MS 3788, microfilm reel 33, WRHS.

60. Memo from FCH to Welfare Federation, July 6, 1956, FCP MS 3788, container 13, folder 303, WRHS.

61. "Program Contents Used in the Past," Cleveland Foundation, MS 3627, container 4, folder 17, WRHS.

63. Board of Trustees minutes, Florence Crittenton Home, Sept. 23, 1968, FCS MS 3910, container 1, folder 9, WRHS.

64. Board of Trustees minutes, Florence Crittenton Home, Jan. 22, 1968, and monthly meetings, 1967–79, FCS MS 3910, container 1, folders 9, 10, WRHS.


67. Board of Trustees minutes, Florence Crittenton Home, Dec. 18, 1967, FCS MS 3910, container 1, folder 9, WRHS.


69. Memorandum to Federation, 1970, FCS MS 3910, container 1, folder 10, WRHS.


Chapter 4


5. See Pamela S. Eakins, ed., The American Way of Birth (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); Judith Walzer Leavitt, Brought to Bed: Child-
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7. By-Laws of Maternity Home of Cleveland, 1891, 1, University Hospitals Archives, Cleveland.


18. Sr. Stanislaus Clifford, typescript history of St. Ann’s, 1, Archives of the Sisters of Charity of St. Augustine, Mount Augustine, Richfield, Ohio (hereafter Richfield Archives); Michael J. Hynes, _History of the Diocese of Cleveland: Origin and Growth (1847–1952)_ (Cleveland: Diocese of Cleveland, 1953), 168.


26. Correspondence, Sept. 30, 1926, St. Ann’s Physicians and Staff, folder, and By Laws Governing the Visiting Staff of St. Ann’s Infant Asylum and Maternity Hospital, Horstman, folder 11, Cleveland Catholic Diocesan Archives (hereafter CCDNA).

27. St. Ann’s Report, probably 1900, and Report . . . 1906, St. Ann’s folder, CCDNA.

28. Correspondence, Aug. 20, 1907, Horstman, folder 11, CCDNA.


32. City of Cleveland, Department of Public Health and Welfare, *Annual Report, 1930* (Cleveland, 1930), 36; Statistics folder and St. Ann’s Board of Trustees minutes, Dec. 31, 1932, Richfield Archives.


37. “Official Visitation of St. Ann’s Infant Asylum and Maternity Hospital, Oct. 26, 1910,” 5, St. Ann’s folder, CCDNA.


40. This debate can be followed in Committee on Collections, March 4, 1942, and Committee on Maternity Homes, March 13, 1941, FCP MS 3788, container 33, folder 813; Committee on Maternity Homes, April 11, 1944, FCP MS 3788, container 33, folder 813, WRHS; Statistics, St. Ann's Hospital folder, Richfield Archives.

41. “Notes for a Talk,” DePaul Infant Home folder, CCDA.

42. “A Study and Analysis of Booth Memorial Hospital and Mary B. Talbert Hospital for the Salvation Army,” 1953, 111–14, Salvation Army Archives and Research Center, New York City. National figures for the Salvation Army and the Florence Crittenton Association also indicate the changed demographics of unwed mothers receiving institutional care: “Statistics for Calendar Year 1960 for National Report on Services to Unmarried Parents,” 4, Salvation Army Archives, indicates that the great majority of the 7,943 women served were students or white-collar workers. See also, for example, Florence Crittenton Association of America, *Unwed Mothers* (Chicago: FCAA, 1967), 5–9.


45. Committee on Unwed Mothers, Jan. 10, 1962, FCP MS 3788, container 22, folder 546, WRHS.


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47. Conference on Illegitimacy, April 16, 1928, FCP MS 3788, container 30, folder 740, WRHS.


51. Report to Case Work Council, Feb. 24, 1953, FCP MS 3788, container 49, folder 1178; Report of the Budget Committee to the Children's Council, June 20, 1955, FCP MS 3788, microfilm reel 33; Report of the Steering Committee to the [Welfare Federation] Children's Council, Cleveland Foundation, March 16, 1953, MS 3627, container 4, folder 17, WRHS.


56. DePaul Maternity Homes Reports, 1969–72, 14, FCCS/CCC, box 4, CCDA.

57. Maternity Homes Consortium for Mental Health, 34, FCCS/CCC, box 4, CCDA.


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60. Intake meeting, March 2, 1970, DePaul Reports, 1952–72, folder, FCCS/CCC, and correspondence, Dec. 18, 1972, Miscellaneous 1952 folder, FCCS/CCC, box 14, CCDA.


64. D’Emilio and Freedman, Intimate Matters, 252.

65. See Wertz and Wertz, Lying-In; Eakins, American Way of Birth; Leavitt, Brought to Bed.

66. Typescript, Excerpts . . . 1933, St. Ann’s folder, Richfield Archives.

CHAPTER 5


5. Examples include the Sisters of Friendship and the Daughters of Bethlehem of Petersburg, Virginia, the Ladies’ Relief and Missionary Corps of Fort Smith, Arkansas, and the Colored Woman’s League of Washington, D.C.; Du Bois, Some Efforts, 18, 30.

7. Quoted in Berkeley, "‘Colored Ladies,’” 185.
12. Quoted in McKinley, Marching to Glory, 52.
14. McKinley, Marching to Glory, 11.
15. McKinley, Marching to Glory, 4, 44.
16. Quoted in Cleveland Plain Dealer, Oct. 30, 1983, 7; McKinley, Marching to Glory, 21.
17. McKinley, Marching to Glory, xi; William Booth, quoted in McKinley, Marching to Glory, 33; Peter Romanofsky, ed., Social Service Organizations (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 652.
18. McKinley, Marching to Glory, 58–60, 105.
19. McKinley, Marching to Glory, 195.
27. Salvation Army Rescue Home, Annual Report, 1893, 6–8, WRHS.


37. Federation for Community Planning, Conference on Illegitimacy, May 25, 1914, MS 3788, container 21, folder 516, WRHS (hereafter this collection will be FCP MS 3788).

38. Conference on Illegitimacy minutes, Jan. 9, 1922, and “Illegitimate birth situation 1923,” FCP MS 3788, container 30, folder 739, WRHS.

39. Conference on Illegitimacy, June 21, 1924, FCP MS 3788, container 30, folder 739, WRHS.


43. Conference on Illegitimacy, June 21, 1924, FCP MS 3788, container 30, folder 739, WRHS.

44. Typescript, Council of Colored Women Meet at Mary B. Talbert Hos-
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hospital, probably mid-1950s, scrapbook, Booth Memorial Hospital, and also at Cleveland Metropolitan General Hospital Archives (hereafter CMGH).

45. Conference on Illegitimacy, Dec. 14, 1925, FCP MS 3788, container 30, folder 739, WRHS.

46. A 1926 Children's Bureau study of maternity homes in Minnesota and Pennsylvania indicated that few admitted black women; U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, A Study of Maternity Homes in Minnesota and Pennsylvania (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1926), 20, 55. The 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection remarked upon the lack of facilities for black women: "Institutions and agencies available for the care of unmarried mothers and their children are rarest among the Negro group." The conference findings are quoted in Billingsley and Giovannoni, Children of the Storm, 83.

47. Bolt Report, Nov. 30, 1936, 6, FCP MS 3788, container 33, folder 829, WRHS.


49. Committee on Unmarried Mothers, Oct. 1, 1936, FCP MS 3788, container 33, folder 829, WRHS.

50. Bolt Report, 6, 8.

51. Committee on Unmarried Mothers, Oct. 1, 1936.


53. Van Tassel and Grabowski, Encyclopedia of Cleveland History, 102.

54. Billingsley and Giovannoni, Children of the Storm, 126–27.

55. Billingsley and Giovannoni do not discuss the Federation debate, which can be followed in FCP MS 3788. In 1945 the Federation Subcommittee on Children's Institutions found the segregation of children's institutions "unacceptable"; May 29, 1945, container 48, folder 1153. The modification of the Cleveland Chapter of the AASW Statement of Principles Concerning Racial, Religious, or National Minority Groups is in the minutes of the Race Relations Committee of the Group Work Council, April 6, 1950. The agencies' limitations are listed in the Report of the Joint Committee of the Case Work and Children's Councils, June 28, 1949, container 48, folder 1153, WRHS.


58. "A Study of the Needs of Unmarried Mothers," 1948, 12, table 1, FCP MS 3788, container 33, folder 830, WRHS.


62. Summary of Service Data for the Four Maternity Homes in Cuyahoga County in the 4th Quarter of 1952, tables 2, 4, FCP MS 3788, container 48, folder 1154, WRHS.

63. Maternity Home Costs and Earned Income, 1951, FCP MS 3788, container 13, folder 303, WRHS.

64. Mary B. Talbert Home, Annual Report, 1952, Salvation Army Archives and Research Center, New York City.


68. Statistics compiled by the Cleveland Urban League for 1962 show that 81 percent of the city’s illegitimate births were to black women; Cleveland Urban League, “The Negro in Cleveland, 1950–1963” (Cleveland: CUL, 1964), 50.


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76. Report of Unmarried Parents Planning Committee, 2, FCP MS 3788, container 49, folder 1171, WRHS.


83. Report of the Unmarried Parents Planning Committee, 1971, table 3, FCP MS 3788, container 49, folder 1171, WRHS.


85. McKinley, Marching to Glory, 208.

86. Memo to the author from Monica Haglund, activities coordinator, Booth Memorial Residence; Review, Women’s and Children’s Social Service Department, April 25, 1977, Salvation Army Archives.


CHAPTER 6


7. Sherman C. Kingsley et al., Cleveland Relief Agencies (Cleveland: Cleveland Foundation, 1914), 11, 41.


9. Tiffin, In Whose Best Interest? 133; Cleveland Hospital Council, Cleveland Hospital and Health Survey (Cleveland: CHC, 1920), 575.

10. Kingsley et al., Cleveland Relief Agencies, 11, 30, 67.

11. Cleveland Associated Charities, Annual Report, 1921, 7, Family Services Papers, MS 3290, container 15, folder 1, WRHS.

12. Annual reports of the AC are in Family Services Papers, MS 3290, containers 13, 14, and 15, WRHS. Linda Gordon, Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence. Boston, 1880–1960 (New York: Viking Press, 1988), 82–115, points out that “single mothers” received discriminatory treatment by child-protection agencies during this period. AC records, however, indicate that most women who received relief were “single”—not only unmarried or unwed but “divorced,” “deserted,” and so forth.

13. Dowling, City Hospitals, 27.

14. James E. Pelikan and Rebecca Pelikan, eds., The History of City Hos-
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pital and the Discovery and Interpretation of a Hospital’s Past (Cleveland: Cuyahoga County Hospital Archives, 1981), 146.

15. Pelikan and Pelikan, History of City Hospital, 154.


17. Cleveland Hospital Council, Hospital and Health Survey, 930–31, 991.

18. Quoted in Pelikan and Pelikan, History of City Hospital, 185.

19. Dowling, City Hospitals, 137–38, 149.

20. Cleveland Hospital Council, Hospital and Health Survey, 838.

21. Cleveland Hospital Council, Hospital and Health Survey, 953, 956.


23. City Hospital, Annual Report, 1914, 1205, MetroHealth Medical Center Archives, Cleveland (hereafter MHMC).

24. Cleveland Centennial Commission, The History of the Charities of Cleveland, 1796–1896 (Cleveland: Centennial Commission, 1896), 52; By-Laws of the Maternity Home of Cleveland, 1891, 15, University Hospital Archives, Cleveland.

25. In 1919, 74 percent of reported births in Cleveland took place at home. Thirty-four percent of those births were delivered by midwives, but a growing number of home births were attended by Maternity Hospital physicians: 1,156 in 1919 and 1,868 in 1922. See Cleveland Hospital Council, Hospital and Health Survey, 275–77; Burdett Wylie, “Obstetrics and Gynecology and the Cleveland Hospital Obstetric Society,” in Kent Brown, ed., Medicine in Cleveland and Cuyahoga County, 1810–1976 (Cleveland: Cleveland Academy of Medicine, 1977), 244.

26. Federation for Community Planning, Conference on Illegitimacy, May 1921 and March 9, 1925, MS 3788, container 30, folder 738, WRHS. (Hereafter this collection will be FCP MS 3788.)

27. Annual Report of the University Hospitals of Cleveland, 1928, 234, University Hospitals Archives; City of Cleveland, Department of Public Health and Welfare, Annual Report, 1928 (Cleveland, 1928), table 1.


29. Waite, Warm Friend, 252.

30. Howard Whipple Green, Nine Years of Relief: Greater Cleveland, 1928–1937 (Cleveland: Cleveland Health Council, 1937), 2; Lucia Johnson Bing, Social Work in Greater Cleveland (Cleveland: Welfare Federation of Cleveland, 1938), 23.

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32. Letter from Henry L. Zucker to Maud Morlock, March 30, 1939, FCP MS 3788, container 30, folder 742, WRHS.

33. Pelikan and Pelikan, History of City Hospital, 221–33.

34. City of Cleveland, Department of Public Health and Welfare, Annual Report, 1930 (Cleveland, 1930), 36; Bolt Report, Nov. 30, 1936, tables 4, 8, FCP MS 3788, container 33, folder 829, WRHS.

35. Bolt Report, Nov. 30, 1936, tables 4, 8, FCP MS 3788, container 33, folder 829, WRHS.


37. Bolt Report, 4, 9, 11, 12, 16, 19, 23; Committee on Unwed Mothers, May 4, 1936, FCP MS 3788, container 33, folder 829, WRHS.

38. City Hospital, Annual Report, 1945, 8, MHMC.


40. City of Cleveland, Department of Public Health and Welfare, Annual Report, 1930 (Cleveland, 1930), 3. In 1957, City Hospital received praise from the president of the Cleveland National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as the only hospital in the city “where integration as we understand the process has occurred.” Quote in Dowling, City Hospitals, 156.

41. “A Study of the Needs of Unmarried Mothers,” 1948, 11, 13, FCP MS 3788, container 33, folder 830, WRHS.

42. Social Service Department, Annual Report, 1948, typescript, MHMC.

43. Division of City Hospital, Annual Report, 1952, 3, CMGH; City of Cleveland, Vital Statistics, 1950 (Cleveland, 1950), shows that 526 of 758 home births were to black women; “A Study and Analysis of Booth Memorial Hospital and Mary B. Talbert Hospital for the Salvation Army,” 1952, 4, 111, Salvation Army Archives, New York City. A 1952 Urban League study also concluded that in most cities black unwed mothers had their babies at the public hospital where there were few social services, especially adoption: “The ‘maternity home’ for Black women was, in effect— . . . in most communities today—the obstetric ward of the county hospital, which was not supplied with adoption-oriented casework service”; Andrew Billingsley and Jeanne M. Giovannoni, Children of the Storm: Black Children and American Child Welfare (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972), 145.

44. Report on Services to the Unmarried Mother, March 30, 1960, FCP MS 3788, container 22, folder 546, WRHS. A letter from the social worker at Cleveland Metropolitan General Hospital to the Federation Committee on Unmarried Mothers, July 7, 1958, MR 33, MS 3788, simply refers to all the births to unmarried women as “illegitimate.” I have decided to be more cautious.


46. Herman D. Stein, ed., The Crisis in Welfare in Cleveland: Report of
the Mayor's Commission (Cleveland: Case Western Reserve University Press, 1969), 97.

47. Stein, The Crisis in Welfare, 97.


49. Cleveland Metropolitan General Hospital, Annual Report, 1962, 6, MHMC.


53. Report of the Unmarried Parents Planning Committee, 1971, 16, FCP MS 3788, container 49, folder 1171, WRHS.


55. Maternity and Infant Health Care, Annual Report, 1988, Maternity and Infant Care Project Office, MHMC.

56. The study actually was critical of both, especially of the institutions' care of unwed mothers, but found the public facility most deficient. The study's author, Nancy Stoller Shaw, concluded that City Hospital (not its real name) "represents an extreme form of the dehumanized routinized style of clinic. The basic attitude of the staff is that the patients are not paying for care and that the staff therefore has the right to treat people in any way they see fit, short of physical damage (which sometimes occurs anyway)." The black and Hispanic women were "perceived by the nursing staff as less moral, less deserving of good care, less intelligent." These negative attitudes affected the treatment of women and their children: infant care was "horrifying," Shaw maintained. Nurses "focus[ed] on stereotypes of family life, sexual behavior, and the presumed immorality associated with extra-marital pregnancy. These notions add[ed] to the nurses' beliefs that women, especially black women who are patients at the hospital, deserve the [bad] treatment they get at City," Shaw concluded. She also discovered that patients at the private facility were pressured to go onto AFDC so that medical costs would be borne by Medicaid and the hospital would be compensated.

57. Cleveland Metropolitan General Hospital, Annual Report, 1972, 29, MHMC.


59. Van Tassel and Grabowski, *Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, 1037; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, June 4, 1985, 1C.


63. Cleveland Metropolitan General Hospital, Annual Report, 1980, 26, MHMC.

64. Cleveland Metropolitan General Hospital, Annual Report, 1982, 11–12, MHMC.


**Chapter 7**
