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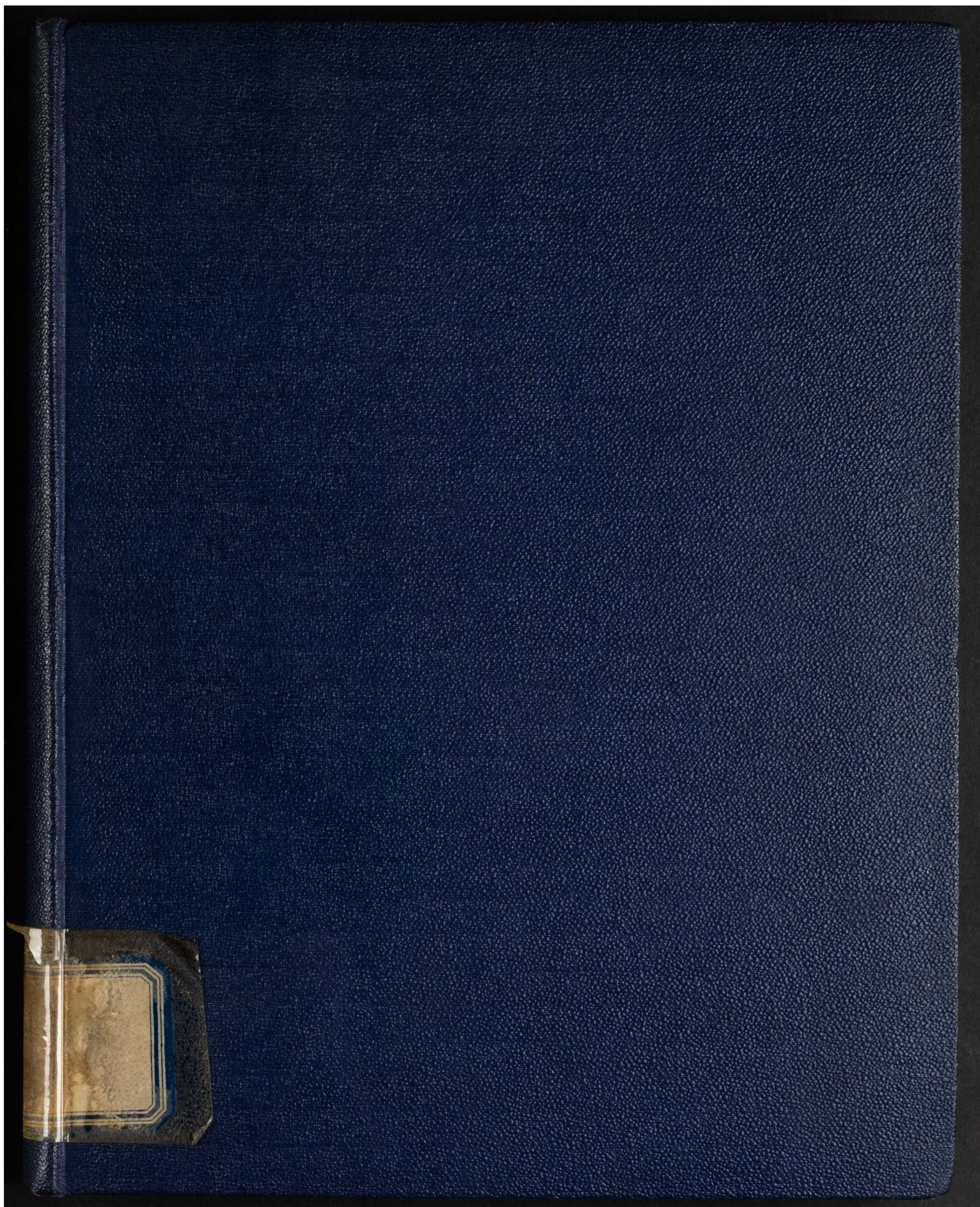
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University of Glasgow.

6/31
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Dear Scott

This Thesis, which has now
come back amended, seems to show
appreciable improvement. Will you
let me know when you are ready for
a meeting to adjudicate upon it?

Yours sincerely

J. M. Currie

THE ILLEGITIMATE INFANT

=====

An Account of an Investigation regarding the Lives and Circumstances of Illegitimate Children and their Parents in the Central Division of the City of Glasgow.

Thesis for Degree of Ph.D.

Faculty of Medicine

presented by

Annabella Arnot Reid, M.B., Ch.B. (Glas) D.P.H. (Camb.)

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I.

INTRODUCTORY.
CONTENTS

This investigation was entered into because as a Child Welfare Medical Officer, a number of illegitimate children are seen in the course of the routine work. One felt that the acknowledged fact of the high illegitimate birth and death-rates was so grave as to warrant an investigation into the lives and circumstances of such children and their parents, so that one might enquire into - (1) what factors contribute to this problem; and (2) whether any of these factors are capable of being influenced either by the extension of present methods or the adoption of new ones.

I
INTRODUCTORY Pages 1-5

The high illegitimate birth and death-rates are not just public health problems. They touch also various social questions of general interest to the community, such as, housing, unemployment, wages, segregation of mental defectives and provision of adequate recreational facilities for young persons of both sexes.

The area chosen for the investigation was the Central Division of the City of Glasgow (See map showing distribution of 233 cases of illegitimate births in the Central Division). It comprises Wards 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 22, 23, 24 and 25 and presents a particularly suitable area for investigation, consisting as it does of (a) good class residential areas (Wards 16 and 22), (b) good class working districts, e.g., Ward 23, (c) poorer districts, e.g., Ward 24, and (d) definite slum areas containing ticketed houses (parts of which, notably Richard Street, six cases, have since been the subject of a re-housing scheme), and areas in which farmed-out houses are found.

I.

INTRODUCTORY.

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The area chosen for the investigation was the Central Division of the City of Glasgow (See map showing distribution of 238 cases of illegitimate births in the Central Division). It comprises Wards 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 22, 23, 24 and 25 and presents a particularly suitable area for investigation, consisting as it does of (a) good class residential areas (Wards 16 and 22), (b) good class working districts, e.g., Ward 25, (c) poorer districts, e.g., Ward 24, and (d) definite slum areas containing ticketed houses (parts of which, notably Richard Street, six cases, have since been the subject of a re-housing scheme), and areas in which farmed-out houses are found

completed one year of life. In all, 561 visits were paid. As the

(particularly in Ward 12, e.g., Portland and Nicholas Streets, each with five cases). In addition, the Central Division had the further advantage that I was the Child Welfare Medical Officer of a large part of it and could invite mothers to attend my clinics. It was in this way that Wassermann tests were obtained.

The total population of the Central Division in 1926 was 234,895. The Glasgow Boundaries Act, which took effect as from 15th May, 1926, affected Ward 25, the total estimated population added being 4,660, comprising 4,369 in the County of Renfrew, and 291 in the County of Dunbarton. The illegitimate births as they were notified to the Medical Officer of Health (this notification takes place under the Notification of Births Act, 1907), were passed on to me by the clerical staff of the Public Health Department - any births where there had been failure to notify were traced on the District Registrar's list by the Public Health Department clerical staff and were also passed on to me.

The number of illegitimate births notified during 1926 was 334; of these, 96 were removed, except for tables 1 and 2, from the scope of the enquiry, as, though they were born in the Central Division, the domiciled address was outside it.

The remaining 238 cases of illegitimate births which were notified in the Central Division in 1926 were subsequently visited by me as soon after the birth as was practicable. In addition, a second visit was made when the child was aged one year, so that the enquiry was continued during 1927 until such time as each child had completed one year of life. In all, 661 visits were paid. As the

cases included those notified by medical practitioners and it is the policy of the Health Department not to visit such cases, special permission to visit them was obtained from the Medical Officer of Health with the proviso that should such visiting be resented, it was to cease. Therefore, the first visit to such cases was paid some weeks after the confinement. No difficulty was experienced either with the medical practitioners, midwives, or with the mother of the illegitimate child, or her relatives. The necessary information was given remarkably freely in the vast majority of cases.

In 1926, the population of the Central Division, including the added area in Ward 25, was 234,895. ^{total?} The birth-rate per thousand was 18.6 (City, 23.5).

The illegitimate birth-rate (reckoned as in the ordinary birth-rate, not per unmarried and widowed females 15-45 years) was .99 per thousand of population (City 1.3) - this is calculated on 238 notified illegitimate births - 5 still-births, which not being registrable as births, cannot be included; net number - 233.

The total number of births in the Central Division in 1926 was 4,361, giving the illegitimate births as 5.3 per cent. of the total birth-rate, which is in marked correspondence with the figure for the City, 5.9 per cent. The following figures for 1926 compare the illegitimate birth-rate of Glasgow with that of England and Wales and different burghs, etc., in Scotland:-

	<u>Crude Birth- rate per 1,000 population.</u>	<u>Percentage Il- legitimate to Total Births.</u>
England and Wales	17.8	4.3
Scotland	20.9	6.9
Do., - Large Burghs	22.1	6.0
Do., - Smaller Burghs	18.6	6.5
Do., - County Districts ...	20.4	8.5
Glasgow	23.5	5.9

The total number of illegitimate births notified in the Central Division in 1926 was 334. Of these, 96 were removed, except for passing reference here (Tables I and II), from the scope of the enquiry, as though they were born in the Central Division, the domiciled address was outside it.

Illegitimate Births - Glasgow (Central Division), 1926.

Table I to show in 96 cases Home Address of the
Mother where this was outwith Central Division.

Other parts of Glasgow	30
West of Scotland (outwith Glasgow)	63
England	2
Ireland	<u>1</u>
	96
	==

The striking thing brought out in this Table is the number of cases whose domiciled address was in the West of Scotland, such cases coming into the City from the country, so that the confinement may be hushed up.

respond to wise and kindly treatment, and it seems a pity that that time should be spent in a hole and corner fashion, possibly in a friend's or midwife's house. From Table II it would appear that some midwives make a practice of taking such cases to be confined in the midwife's house.

Illegitimate Births - Glasgow (Central Division), 1926.

Table II to show Place of Confinement of 96 Mothers who were not ordinarily resident in the Central Division.

Institutions	57
Glasgow Maternity Hospital	40
Lock Hospital	9
Redlands Hospital	3
Stobhill Maternity Hospital	<u>5</u>
Nursing Homes	3
Private Dwelling Houses	11
Certified Midwives' Houses	25
Certified Midwife "A"	11
Certified Midwife "B"	6
Certified Midwife "C"	5
Certified Midwives "X", "Y" and "Z" ...	<u>3</u>
Total	96
	==

There is, I think, room for a well-organised voluntary agency to organise a maternity home to which cases such as these 96 could be sent from the country, possibly through the recommendation of ministers of religion, church sisters, etc. Such a home would be particularly valuable if waiting accommodation could be provided for the last two months of pregnancy, as in many of these cases for the girl's own sake it is desirable that her mistake should be kept secret. Particularly during the time preceding her confinement she is likely to respond to wise and kindly treatment, and it seems a pity that that time should be spent in a hole and corner fashion, possibly in a friend's or midwife's house. From Table II it would appear that some midwives make a practice of taking such cases to be confined in the midwife's house.

The enquiry does not show that the illegitimate birth rate is affected by housing conditions. II. but it must be remembered that the number of cases investigated is small. Of these 169 mothers

(Table III page 7) HOUSING Pages 6-8

60 per cent of the general population in Glasgow live in one and two-roomed houses; in 75 per cent of this series of 236 illegitimate births the mothers lived in one and two-roomed houses. Given better housing conditions, one may not unjustifiably expect a decrease in the illegitimate birth-rate.

Out of a total of 123 cases where the illegitimate child was the mother's first child, in 24 cases the mother resided in a one-roomed house, and in a further 49 such cases the mother lived in a room and kitchen house. These are facts that, ugly as they appear on paper, are still more unpleasant in actual lives.

That the housing problem, however acute, is not completely to blame, is shown by the fact that in six of the 236 cases the mother lived in a three-room and kitchen house, and that in eight cases she lived in an institution or private dwelling-house, e.g. as a domestic servant.

TABLE 111. Illegitimate Births. Number of Apartments

11.

HOUSING.

The enquiry does not shew that the illegitimate birth rate is affected by housing, but it must be remembered that the number of cases investigated is small. Of these 169 mothers (Table 111 page 7) lived in either a one or two apartment house. 66 per cent of the general population in Glasgow live in one and two-roomed houses; in 76 per cent of this series of 238 illegitimate births the mothers lived in one and two-roomed houses. Given better housing conditions, one may not unjustifiably expect a decrease in the illegitimate birth-rate.

Out of a total of 113 cases where the illegitimate child was the mother's first child, in 24 cases the mother resided in a one-roomed house, and in a further 49 such cases the mother lived in a room and kitchen house. These are facts that, ugly as they appear on paper, are still more unpleasant in actual lives.

That the housing problem, however acute, is not completely to blame, is shown by the fact that in six of the 238 cases the mother lived in a three-room and kitchen house, and that in eight cases she lived in an institution or private dwelling-house, e.g. as a domestic servant.

TABLE 111. Illegitimate Births. Number of Apartments in the House.

	<u>Primiparae.</u>	<u>Total Cases.</u>
Single apartment.....	24	80
Room and Kitchen.....	49	89
Two rooms and kitchens..	19	28
Three rooms and kitchen.	6	9
Four rooms and kitchen.	1	2
Institution or private house.....	8	17
Unknown.....	<u>6</u>	<u>13</u>
<u>Total.....</u>	113	238
	=====	=====

Housing conditions affect the illegitimate birth-rate through the detrimental influence of propinquity of which the following were examples.

CASE No: 103. Mother, aet 22, married when five months' pregnant to a different man. The father of the child had been divorced and was remarried. He lived on the same landing[at 390 St. Vincent] as the mother and refused to acknowledge paternity. The mother committed suicide eleven days after the confinement. The infant, who was fairly well nourished, was then taken by friends to the Highlands.

CASE NO; 45. The mother, an ex-confectionery worker, living in a room and kitchen house in Grace Street, used to watch the little girl of a married man, aet 42, also living in Grace Street.

He/

He took advantage of her and she conceived when aged 16 years and 10 months. Her mother was able to support her (she took in washing). The father of the child was employed, and was taken to court by the grandmother. He paid 4/6d. per week alimony. The infant was breast fed and at 1 year was very healthy.

2. Assistance of the father, Page 13
3. Age, Page 17
4. Number of her illegitimate children, Page 18
5. Maternal Mortality and Morbidity, Page 24
6. Occupation of father, Page 25
7. Prostitution, Page 28

Housing conditions might be expected to influence the illegitimate birth-rate, but the number of cases is small and the part played by housing is not manifest in this investigation.

III. The Mother.

1. Mar III. Legitimising the Child.

The Mother Page 9-33

- 1. Marriage legitimising the Child; . Page 9
- 2. Assistance of the Mother;..... Page 13
- 3. Age;..... Page 17
- 4. Number of her Illegitimate Children Page 19
- 5. Maternal Mortality and Morbidity;. Page 24
- 6. Occupation of Mother; Page 25
- 7. Prostitution Page 28

The law of Scotland as to legitimation has followed the rule of the Canon Law of law contained in the *Corpus juris canonici* compiled under the authority of the Pope. The Canon Law, though authoritative, Scotland possessed a Canon Law of her own which was recognised by the Parliament, and the Popes and was enforced in the Courts of Law.

At the Reformation the national Canon Law of Scotland was left untouched, except that the Reformers declared null and void all laws contrary to their religion. Thus the Law of Scotland allows the legitimation of all bastards by the subsequent marriage (*per subsequens matrimonium*) of their parents, provided they are not the offspring of an incestuous or adulterous conception, that is to say, at the time of the conception there must have been no legal bar to marriage. The intervening marriage of one of the parents to another party is no bar to the subsequent marriage of the parents legitimising the child. The marriage need not be public or regular. This legitimation confers on the bastard the status and rights of a lawful child.

Legitimation *per rescriptum principis*, also recognised in Scotland, does not enter into the enquiry and need not be discussed.

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III. The Mother.

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1. Marriage Legitimising the Child.

The Law of Scotland as to legitimation has followed the rule of the Canon Law or law contained in the *Corpus Juris Canonici* compiled under the authority of the early Church of Rome, which Canon Law, though one of the *Fontes Juris Scotiae*, was never of itself authoritative in Scotland. In the Canons of her national provincial Councils, Scotland possessed a Canon Law of her own which was recognised by the Parliament, and the Popes and was enforced in the Courts of Law.

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Legitimation per rescriptum principis, also recognised in Scotland, does not enter into the enquiry and need not be discussed.

The advantages to be derived from the subsequent marriage of the parents of illegitimate children are many. The foundation of a home is laid and this will favourably affect the subsequent care and nutrition of the child. Marriage has a steadying effect upon the father. It gives the mother a definite status and makes the father legally responsible for the welfare of both mother and child. The woman upon marriage leads a more controlled life and is less likely to commit misconduct in the future. Should the child in the future rise in the social scale, the stigma of illegitimacy has been removed, but it must be remembered that marriage in quite a number of these cases the fact of the child being illegitimate is not considered by parents or neighbours to be a serious social disgrace.

In 18 cases, or 7.6 per cent. of the 238 under investigation the infant was legitimised by subsequent marriage of the parents. In seven cases insufficient information was received to enable one to state whether subsequent marriage occurred. Subtracting these seven from the total number gives the slightly higher figure of 7.8 per cent for the marriage rate.

Of these 18 marriages, 16 cases were primiparae and two only multiparae.

These two cases were:-

Case No. 229. The mother had two illegitimate children, different fathers, and married the father of the last infant.

Case No. 92. The mother had one legitimate child by her husband and five illegitimate children by one man, all of which children's died with the exception of the last, who twice gave a doubtful Wassermann Reaction. She became a widow three years previous to the last child's birth, but her subsequent marriage to the father legitimised the child.

Sixteen primiparae gives a marriage rate for the primiparae of 14.2 per cent., which shows that in Glasgow, at any rate, there is no social custom, such as exists in Sweden and is said to be in fishing hamlets in the north of Scotland, of refraining from marriage until there is an assurance that the woman will bear children.

The time elapsing between the birth of the infant and the subsequent marriage is interesting (Table IV, page 12), as it shows that in 55 per cent. it occurs within two months; in 66 per cent. within three months; and only 22 per cent. (i.e., four cases) after nine months. In two of those cases marriage took place later than one year after the birth of the child, and in each case the mother was pregnant again. In the other two cases of marriage deferred beyond nine months after the birth, the delay was economic. No. 49, the father was a soldier; No. 28, the father was employed in Ireland and subsequently employment was found for him in Glasgow when marriage took place.

The inference from this is that if the mother does not persuade the father to marry her after the first child is born (and the sooner the surer) the chances are remote that he will do so later on.

ANALYSIS OF 18 CASES WHERE THE INFANT WAS LEGITIMISED.

TABLE IV - TIME AFTER THE INFANT'S BIRTH AT WHICH MARRIAGE TOOK PLACE.

Time in Months.	-1 month.	1-2 months.	2-3 months.	3-4 months.	4-5 months.	5-9 months.	9-10 months.	10-11 months.	11 months to 1 year.	+1 year.	
Reference Numbers of Cases	67, 147, 158, 178.	92, 118, 121, 179, 214, 219.	199, 212.	85	229	0	28	49	0	94, 97.	
Number	4	6	2	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	
Percentage	55.5%		22.2%			22.2%					
	66.0%			34.0%							

III. THE MOTHER

2. Assistance of the Mother.

TABLE V.

(See also Map.)

Nature of Attendance at Confinement for (a) Series of 238
Illegitimate Births under Review; (b) All Births
in Central Division; (c) All Births in City.

	<u>Cases under Review. Percentage of Total.</u>	<u>Figures for the Central Division Percentage of Total.</u>	<u>Figures for the City Percentage of Total.</u>
<u>Medically Attended -</u>			
Medical Practitioners	13.0%	38%	28.2%
In Institutions	42.1%	15%	14.7%
<u>Not Medically Attended -</u>			
Maternity Hospital, Out- door Nurse	25.1%	16%	14.0%
Certified Midwives	19.8%	30%	43.1%

The outstanding feature of the illegitimate births under review is the large number, 42.1 per cent., confined in institutions which is practically three times as high as the total births figure for the City (14.7 per cent.), and for the Division (15.0 per cent.). Thus we see that the mother of the illegitimate child does seek assistance from institutions. Of these mothers who are confined in institutions, 25 per cent. only are in Parish Hospitals, the other 75 per cent. being in Voluntary Hospitals.

The next thing to be considered is what opportunity is found after the confinement of assisting the mother of the illegitimate child, e.g., to take up the occupation of domestic servant. Here it

is right to note that I was prepared to spend on at least four test cases a sum of five pounds sterling, to be used, e.g., in providing outfit for the mother taking up domestic service as an occupation. Miss Burton MacKenzie, M.B.E., of the Women Workers' Bureau, 180 West Regent Street, was communicated with. Three likely cases were put into touch with her.

(1) Case No. 129 (second child) had been for six months a general domestic servant in Belfast. Found employment for herself in the Homœopathic Hospital, Glasgow.

(2) Case No. 85, aet 22 (first child), had been a cleaner in Jordanhill Training College, but the post was filled during her enforced absence. Four months later she married the father of the child.

(3) Case No. 8. Mother, aet 18 - an ex-confectionery worker, unemployed one year. Infant, breast-fed, died in the Royal Hospital for Sick Children, aet 3 weeks. Death certificate - Debility and Gastritis. There was no chance of marriage.

Miss Mackenzie writes:-

"I have taken any amount of trouble about Annie Bogan, but have not been able to find a single employer who will give her a chance. I feel so sorry for her but am quite powerless. I am afraid it may be the same with any girl who has had that sort of history, if they have never really been in domestic service before. There is more chance if a girl has been in domestic service and has had a lapse of that sort. I arranged that she should call on a married lady (a friend of mine living in the adjacent Municipal Ward), who was willing to employ her as a daily maid, but she did not keep the appointment although she was given a choice of times. She obtained temporary employment as a domestic servant with a member of the Council of Queen Margaret Settlement, who also lived in the adjacent Municipal Ward. Ultimately she found for herself daily employment in "a shop and house".

The importance of the personality of the mother cannot be overestimated and is shown in the following cases:-

Case No. 72 having been in domestic service, returned to her previous occupation without any assistance. The child was "adopted" through the agency of an advertisement in the Daily Press and all claim to it relinquished.

Case No. 22, a domestic servant, returned to her occupation. Paid ten shillings per week for the nursing of the child, but when the infant was five months old she was seven weeks in arrear and the woman who nursed the child adopted her through the Parish.

Case, No. 150, married, but seven years separated from her husband. This was the mother's third child. It died at nine days. Two other children - one legitimate and one illegitimate - were both dead. Mother was an hotel waitress for six months of the year and preferred this to private domestic service, although she would have liked a post cleaning the City Chambers.

Case No. 75. Mother, aet 21, ex-housemaid in private service. First child which was sent by girl's old mistress to Mount Vernon Homœopathic Hospital for Children. Mother's parents who lived in 8 Claremont Street paid six shillings per week towards the child's maintenance when it was there. After eleven months it was adopted. Mother did not wish to return to her last situation on account of the disgrace. She was introduced to a lady living in Montgomerie Drive (sister-in-law of a friend of mine), but as the girl arrived for the interview with her mother, who demanded that her personal washing should be sent out, she was not engaged. She ultimately returned to her previous situation.

Case No. 65, mother aet 22; first child. Had been a domestic servant, but showed no willingness to return to that occupation. She later married, but not the father of the child.

Thus it would appear that the personality of the mother is an extremely important factor, and one over which voluntary agencies, trying to assist her, have very little control. The following case particularly illustrates this point:-

The mother, aet 20, was "living on the streets". Her eldest child was aged two years - this her second child (different fathers) was dead-born. Here the help of a skilled voluntary agency was enlisted and Miss MacKenzie of the Women's Help Committee, Atholl House, Burnbank Gardens, visited her. Practically unlimited financial assistance was offered until such time as the mother's character was re-established and her earnings were sufficient to support the child. This attempt at assistance met with complete failure, although the mother was so young and, one might hope, capable of reformation.

The following case is of a totally different type.

Case No. 137. Mother, aet 19, employed as a printer's feeder. Wage 33/- per week. Living with her parents (decent folk) in a room

and kitchen house, Milton Street, Whiteinch. Rent, 36/5d. per month. Father a little younger than mother; been "going together" for two years; only seen him once since confined of five months' infant, which died aet 30 hours. The mother, according to the report given by her mother, was very lifeless and had lost interest in things. Information was sent re. time and place of Whiteinch Young Women's Christian Association Girls' Club, for the mother to go to if she wished to. A year later the mother had quite recovered. She had not gone to the Y.W.C.A.

The above cases chiefly show how attempts to assist the mother are apt to be abortive, but case No. 133 seems to indicate an unfortunate lack of co-operation between the prison authorities and after-care committees. Letter from Governor of Duke Street Prison reads as follows:-

"Dear Dr.

Catherine McGough.

In reply to your letter of 9th instant regarding the above-named, I have to say that at the birth of the child on 4/1/1926 she was 22 years of age. So far as is known, this was her second child, and she was married at the time of the birth, but was afterwards divorced. I am not aware of where she went on liberation in 1926 (April), but I understand that the child afterwards died. It is possible that application to the Glasgow Parish Council would elicit further information.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) ROBERT WALKINSHAW,

Governor."

The Parish Council knew nothing except that the mother having been confined in Duke Street Hospital returned to prison to complete her sentence.

TABLE VII. AGES OF MOTHERS OF 238 UNSELECTED LEGITIMATE CHILDREN. III The Mother.

3. Age. Primiparas. Multiparas.

The examination of the ages of the parents of the illegitimate children shows: - the relatively higher age at which paternity may take place; and the greater percentage (46.2) of mothers in the younger age groups, compared with the percentage (28) in unselected legitimate cases from the same area; this was found to be due to the influence of primiparity.

TABLE VI.

AGE GROUPS OF PARENTS OF 238 ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN.

Age in Years.	Mothers.		Fathers.	
	No. of Cases.		No. of Cases.	
-16 years	0		0	
16-19 years	29	46.2	10	
20-24 years	81		40	
25-29 years	48		40	
30-34 years	37		33	
35-39 years	27		32	
40-44 years	8		16	
45-49 years	0		11	
50-54 years	0		5	
55-59 years	0		1	
Information insufficient	8		50	
	<u>238</u>		<u>238</u>	

SUB-DIVISION OF GROUP, 16-19 YEARS.

	Mothers.		Fathers.	
	No. of Cases.		No. of Cases.	
16-17 years	1		1	
17-18 years	5		0	
18-19 years	4		3	
19 years	<u>19</u>		<u>6</u>	
	<u>29</u>		<u>10</u>	

TABLE VII. AGES OF MOTHERS OF 250 UNSELECTED LEGITIMATE CHILDREN FROM THE SAME AREA.

	Primiparae.		Multiparae.
- 16 years	-		-
16-19 years	8)	28%	(2
20-24 years	32)		(28
25-29 years	9		54
30-34 years	8		60
35-39 years	1		30
40-44 years	-		16
45-49 years	-		2
	58		192
	==		===

The greater number of primiparous mothers found in the illegitimate group under review compared with the smaller number of primiparae in the 250 unselected legitimate cases accounts for the increased number of mothers of illegitimate children in the 16-24 years group. This is shown by the following analysis:-

	No. of Primi- parous Mothers.	% of Primi- parous Mo- thers to the Whole.	No. of Multi- parous Mothers.	% of Multi- parous Mo- thers to the whole.
Sample 250 unselected cases (legitimate) ..	58	23.2	192	76.8
Illegitimate Births. Total 238 - 14 unknown whether primiparous or multiparous	113	50.4	111	49.6

The relatively large numbers of young women bearing illegitimate children leads one to suppose that education in sex matters would have a tendency to lower the illegitimate birth-rate.

III. THE MOTHER.

4. NUMBER OF THE MOTHER'S ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN.

The Mother's First, or etc., Illegitimate Child.

In 14 out of the 238 illegitimate births the information obtained was insufficient to be used in the following part of the investigation, leaving 224. (Plural pregnancies are here reckoned as one birth.)

Of the 224 cases thus under review, 113, i.e., 50.4 per cent., mothers were primiparae.

It is interesting to note that the relatively high illegitimate birth-rate of North-East Scotland has been attributed to the parents living together as married, but in only 8.9 per cent. of these 224 illegitimate births did the mother have more than one child to the same father, which refutes the theory of cohabitation being largely responsible for the illegitimate births under review. There were 24 cases of the mother bearing one illegitimate child and legitimate children and 32 cases of the mother bearing two or more than two illegitimate as well as legitimate children - thus giving the relatively high number of 56 cases where there was a coexisting (but presumably unhappy) marriage. In 22 of these 56 cases the illegitimate child was born after the mother had had one legitimate child, and in 16 after she had had two legitimate children. This is not a very different result from what one's knowledge of life would lead one to expect - that unhappy marriages manifest themselves relatively early.

These unhappy marriages with subsequent illegitimate children contribute a part of the illegitimate birth-rate which will never be controlled and for which there are no preventive measures that one can take. Tables VIII, IX and X analyse the numbers of children these mothers bore.

Table VIII - Showing in 24 cases of One Illegitimate Child the Number of Legitimate Children in the Family.

		<u>No. of Cases.</u>
1	1 legitimate child	6
2	2 legitimate children ..	8
3	3 legitimate children ..	6
4	4 legitimate children ..	2
	5 legitimate children ..	1
	8 legitimate children ..	<u>1</u>
		24
		==

Table X - Showing The Number of Children that each of Nine Mothers bore to Two Fathers, the Offspring of one being illegitimate.

Tables IX and X see page 21.

No. of Illegitimate Children	1	2	3	4	5	Total
No. of Legitimate Children -						
1	-	2	-	2	-	4
2	-	2	-	-	-	2
3	-	2	-	-	-	2
4, 5 and 6 ...	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	1	-	-	-	1
	-	7	-	2	-	9

Table IX - Showing Number of Children that each of 23 Mothers Bore to Three Fathers, where the Offspring of One was Legitimate, and where there was more than One Illegitimate Child.

No. of Illegitimate Children.	1	2	3	4	5	Total.
<u>No. of Legitimate Children -</u>						
1	-	-	5	2	5	12
2	-	2	1	1	2	6
3	-	1	1	1	-	3
4	1	-	1	-	-	2
	1	3	8	4	7	23

Table X - Showing The Number of Children that each of Nine Mothers Bore to Two Fathers, the Offspring of one being Legitimate.

No. of Illegitimate Children.	1	2	3	4	5	Total.
<u>No. of Legitimate Children -</u>						
1	-	2	-	2	-	4
2	-	2	-	-	-	2
3	-	2	-	-	-	2
4, 5 and 6 ...	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	-	1	-	-	-	1
	-	7	-	2	-	9

There were 55 cases where the mother bore two or more illegitimate and no legitimate children. The following shows in these 55 cases to how many fathers each mother bore the children:-

<u>One</u> <u>Father.</u>	<u>Two</u> <u>Fathers.</u>	<u>Three</u> <u>Fathers.</u>	<u>Four</u> <u>Fathers.</u>	<u>Five</u> <u>Fathers.</u>	<u>Total No.</u> <u>of Cases.</u>
21	27	4	2	1	55
--	--	--	--	--	--

In 21 cases the mother had more than one illegitimate child by the same father, and these may be considered to be those cases where the parents are living as married. (See page 20). It is interesting to note here that in several of the United States of America in which "common law marriages" exist, the cohabitation of an unmarried couple for a certain time is regarded as a valid marriage and the children born of such a union are declared legitimate.

The four cases of a mother bearing children to three fathers are probably more a physiological problem than a moral one, and when we come to a mother bearing children to four or five fathers (one of these mothers was mentally defective), some reduction at any rate of the illegitimate birth-rate might be expected to follow segregation of the mentally defective colonies.

There were 27 cases of children by two fathers. These present a moral problem. Here one may expect a lowering of the illegitimate birth-rate by the preventive work of rescue homes being applied to cases where it is the mother's first illegitimate pregnancy.

In Scotland only a small number of Homes for Unmarried Mothers receive grants from the Department of Health for Scotland through Local

Health Authority, compared to England.

There is undoubted opportunity for the provision of homes, such as that of St. Hilda's (Diocesan Maternity Home), Liverpool, which receives a grant of over £400 per annum from the Ministry of Health. Its objects are:-

(1) To help unmarried women under 25 years of age, of hitherto respectable character, who are expectant mothers for the first time;

(2) To teach the girl to be a better wage-earner by careful training whilst in the Home - (duration of stay, six months, if possible); and

(3) To protect infant life when the girl resumes her occupation. She may leave her baby in the Home at a charge of 5/- per week, but she must become a regular visitor of the child.

In this connection the following expression of opinion by a Vice-Regal Commission is interesting:-

Vice-Regal Commission reporting on Poor Law
Reform in Ireland.

"We therefore think it of the greatest importance that all girls, on the occasion of their confinement, be sent to a special institution of one or other of two kinds (1) owned or managed by religious communities or philanthropic persons; and (2) where no such institution already exists, to a disused workhouse managed by a Committee of contributory Boards of Guardians, with a staff of special officers, similar to those in charge of the religious or philanthropic institutions. In this way there would be a hope that the life of the girl would not be wrecked owing to her fall, but that she might, so far as practicable, be restored to the possibility of living a good and useful life. We would rely upon kind and prudent treatment of the girls individually, and to the placing of each of them, so far as possible, in suitable situations after they had spent a year or thereabouts nursing their babies, and after spending such additional time, if any, as the managers of the institution might think necessary for the strengthening of their character. As soon as such a girl-mother could be provided with a situation - and the sooner the better, we think, after the nursing period - we suggest that her child should be boarded out, unless it should be kept for medical reasons in the institution a little longer. We would make such institutions open, as regards adults, only to girls after their first fall."

III. MOTHER.

5. MORTALITY AND MORBIDITY.

None of the cases suffered from puerperal fever.

Maternal deaths noted in only two cases:- Tables XI and

Case No. 25. Mother, aged 33, housekeeper. Confined in Glasgow Royal Maternity Hospital - twins, both of whom died. Mother died ten days after confinement in Ruchill Fever Hospital. Death certified as due to scarlet fever.

Case No. 103. Mother, aet 22 years, married (not to father of child) four months before baby was born. She committed suicide eleven days after her confinement.

(a) the mother who has several children requires to stay at home, and thus becomes classified under the heading of housekeeper, and (b) housekeeper includes those cases where the parents are living together, the father supporting the mother.

In the figures, (Table XI, page 28) for barmaid, waitress, hotel and hospital servant; suggest that the temptations here are increased. The ratio for shop assistants is lower than that for factory workers which would tend to show that the illegitimate birth rate is affected by the social grade of the mother, the tendency being for mothers in a lower social grade to produce illegitimate children rather than those higher in the social scale, but the ratio for mental nurse, cashier and cloakess, show that social grade alone does not determine morality.

111. THE MOTHER.

6. Occupation.

The information given by the Tables showing the occupation of the mothers is more valuable when the question is considered of whether it is a case of the mother's only child or not with which one is dealing; otherwise undoubted fallacies creep in. Tables XI and XII should therefore be read together. (Pages 26 and 27).

The most striking difference between primiparae and multiparae is under Housekeeper, which is more than six times higher in multiparae than primiparae and forms 58.8 per cent. of the occupations of multiparous mothers, which is what one would expect, as (a) the mother who has several children requires to stay at home, and thus becomes classified under the heading of housekeeper, and (b) housekeeper includes those cases where the parents are living together, the father supporting the mother.

The figures, (Table XI. page 26) for barmaid, waitress, hotel and hospital servant; suggest that the temptations here are increased. The ratio for shop assistants is **low**er than that for factory workers which would tend to show that the illegitimate birth rate is affected by the social grade of the mother, the tendency being for mothers in a lower social grade to produce illegitimate children rather than those higher in the social scale, but the ratio for mental nurse, cashier and clerkess, shew that social grade alone does not determine morality.

TABLE XI - OCCUPATIONS OF 215 MOTHERS OF ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN
showing the ratio of these to women of 18-65 years employed
IN THE SAME AREA.

<u>Occupation.</u>	<u>No. of Cases Investigated.</u>	<u>No. of employed women.</u>	<u>Rate per 1000 investigated to employed women.</u>
Housekeeper.....	78		
Factory Worker.....	33	8,225	4.01
Barmaid, Waitress; Hotel and Hospital Servant...	32	2,800	11.4
Domestic Servant.....	24		
Shop Assistant.....	16	18,000	.9
Mental Nurse, Cashier, Clerkess.....	9	2,215	4.1
Prostitution.....	7		
Prostitution possible....	3		
Cleaner.....	6		
Palmist, Entertainer.....	3		
Farm Servant.....	2		
Hawker.....	1		
Unemployed 3 years.....	1		

Total ... 215
 =====

Table XII - Occupations of 215 Mothers of Illegitimate Children showing A. Primiparas; B. Multiparas.

<u>Occupation.</u>	<u>A.</u>			<u>B.</u>		
	<u>No. of Cases.</u>	<u>Percent. of Group.</u>	<u>Percent. of Total.</u>	<u>No. of Cases.</u>	<u>Percent. of Group.</u>	<u>Percent. of Total.</u>
Housekeeper	11	10.9	5.2	67	58.8	31.2
Factory Worker	28	27.7	13.0	5	4.4	2.3
Barmaid, Waitress; Hotel or Hospital Servant	15	14.9	6.8	17	14.9	7.9
Domestic Servant ..	17	16.8	7.9	7	6.1	3.3
Shop Assistant	14	13.9	6.5	2	1.8	0.9
Mental Nurse, Cashier, Clerkess	9	8.9	4.2	0	0.0	0.0
Prostitution	0	0.0	0.0	7	6.1	3.3
Prostitution possible	0	0.0	0.0	3	2.6	1.4
Cleaner	3	3.0	1.4	3	2.6	1.4
Palmist, Entertainer	1	1.0	0.5	2	1.8	0.9
Farm Servant	2	2.0	0.9	0	0.0	0.0
Hawker	1	1.0	0.5	0	0.0	0.0
Unemployed 3 years	<u>0</u>	0.0	0.0	<u>1</u>	0.9	0.5
Total	101			114		
	===			===		

From the above one may conclude that it can only be a small number of women who in the first instance are driven

111. THE MOTHER.

7. Prostitution.

It has been suggested that the economic pressure of women is a factor in the production of the high illegitimate birth-rate. The results obtained by the investigation do not support this.

and 5 multiparae were unemployed when they conceived. The previous

Altogether 19 women - 14 primiparae, occupations of 15 of these were in "insurable employment", which in the figure of 2,912 unemployed womens is equal to a rate of 5.2 per 1000. This rate closely corresponds to the rate for employed women in "insurable occupations".

This suggests that the relatively high remuneration of women workers (thanks largely to the Trade Board rate of wages') and Unemployment Benefit prevent women requiring to eke out a meagre and insufficient income in an immoral way.

From the above one may assume that it can only be a small number of women who in the first instance are driven to/

prostitution by true economic pressure. Having once adopted prostitution, then it is true to say that economic pressure may and does keep them in it, but in addition to this factor of economic pressure one must remember that it represents a means of earning a livelihood that is not laborious, and in some instances, e.g. Case No. 10, the woman is not only herself a prostitute, but definitely owns and conducts a house of ill-fame.

That in a total of 238 cases there were seven cases of prostitutes and a further three where prostitution may be considered, shows that this is a very definite factor in the illegitimate birth-rate, and one means of combating the high illegitimate infantile mortality rate might be the very close supervision (possibly aided by Police help, when such is necessary, as these cases have a capacity for quick and quiet removal from the district) of these infants, with the not improbable possibility of their being removed from the mother's care, should that care prove to be unsatisfactory.

The Children's Act of 1908, Section 58 (1) (f) supports such a line of procedure but at present cannot be applied if the mother "exercises proper guardianship and due care to protect the child 'from contamination'", but though the

opinion was expressed, before the Departmental Committee on Sexual Offences against Children and Young Persons in Scotland, that a woman who lives as a common prostitute cannot combine that occupation with the proper upbringing of a child, that Committee were unable to recommend that the proviso quoted above should be repealed.

That the removal of the child, should that prove necessary, from the mother's care would tend to drive her still farther down the hill is, I think, a fallacy. The Child Welfare Visitor should co-operate with a voluntary agency whose trained social worker is of necessity more skilled than she in dealing with such cases. Thus, there would be a possibility of reclaiming, at any rate, some of the younger prostitutes, and the knowledge that the mother would lose her child if the care was unsatisfactory would stimulate her to an effort to do well by the child. Should she fail to care adequately for it (knowing the penalty), the chance that the mere presence of the child in the house will have a reforming influence on her is unlikely.

Such a close supervision, plus the co-operation of the voluntary agency would have the two-fold effect of lowering the illegitimate infant mortality rate and of giving the mother at any rate a chance, to change her mode of living should she desire to do so.

Imprisonment, in the opinion of the Departmental Committee on Protection and Training, 1926, does not act as a deterrent to prostitution. If the woman is liberated and given time to pay the fine - 40/- - she will probably return to her mode of life in order to obtain the sum required. They regret that the landlady who may be "known to

the Police" sometimes pays the fine, or that a man may do so, whose relations with the girl and whose motives may be far from being beyond suspicion. They are of the opinion that the court should have power to commit a girl of 17-21 years of age who has solicited, directed to an approved home, the maximum period of detention there to be two years. They think that the power of the court to commit such girls of 21-25 years to a home should have serious consideration.

Such a measure would, I think, undoubtedly help to lower that part of the illegitimate birth-rate which arises from prostitution.

The teaching of an equal standard of morality for both sexes with its consequent effect upon the law of demand and supply is not merely a praiseworthy idealism, but it will eventually assist in lowering that part of the illegitimate birth-rate which arises as the result of prostitution. That the fruits of this will be more seen in the future than in the present makes it not the less desirable.

As to the conditions which may be held to imply prostitution as an occupation, these would probably vary with the investigator, therefore short notes of the cases are given.

Case No. 10.

Mother (aet 37) living in a room and kitchen house in Balmano Street; rent £18:18/- per annum; War widow; three children of her husband's; first illegitimate child aet 2; then this one - different fathers. On information obtained by the Police from a man who had money stolen from him while in her house, it was discovered that the woman kept a brothel and she subsequently quietly disappeared from this city.

Case No. 33.

The woman's domiciled address was 114 Trongate, a recognised close of ill repute. The infant's death was registered under an address where one was unable to obtain any trace of the mother having lived.

The information (very scanty) about the mother was obtained from the keeper of the house where she lodged, and was very unsatisfactory.

Case No. 119.

Information as to the mother being a prostitute was obtained from her grandmother, who was definite on the point and very upset about it. She "had the Priest up to the girl" but with no effect. Mother, aet 20, was domiciled in a lodging house, Charlotte Street - then later lived in Dean Street, off Balmano Street. First pregnancy a miscarriage. Second pregnancy this child.

Case No. 135.

Information obtained - very shifty in character. Mother, aet 37; fourth illegitimate child; father not living in house; mother not employed; house, four rooms and kitchen in Renfrew Street. Rent £30 per annum.

Case No. 163.

Mother, widow, lives in John Street, C.1; room and kitchen house. Rent £1:13:10; three legitimate children; first illegitimate child that of married man; this one second illegitimate child. Mother only saw father once.

Case No. 175.

Lived in Holm Street with her father, a brick-layer, employed; father of child married man in business in Holm Street; a previous child also illegitimate; his father of doubtful reputation, having been divorced seven years ago.

Case No. 234.

Mother aet 20; second illegitimate child; domicile, Portland Street. Furnished room. Rent 11/6d. per week. Miss McKenzie (Warden of Women's Help Committee, Atholl House, Burnbank Gardens) was asked to try and help the mother; extract from a letter written by her to me, "I know the girl who lives with her. She is on the street They are a most unsatisfactory pair..... However, I shall keep in touch with them, and I shall probably see them out at nights."

The three cases where prostitution is to be considered - all concern women living on their own, with no known means of support.

Case No. 9.

Domicile, North Street (Ward 25); mother (aet 23 years) unemployed for three years; was turned out of her home by her father; this is second illegitimate child; lived in Kent Road with her sister, where they passed as married women.

Case No. 52.

Domicile, room and kitchen house, rent £1:12/- per month in Hunter Street; mother (aet 32 years) unemployed; second illegitimate child; first child aet 4½ years; her father, aet 50 years, married; gave 5/- per week for 2½ years for the maintenance of the child. Father of second child has never lived with mother; he is aet 36 years, single; pays mother 10/- per week for keep of the child - a female lodger pays 5/- per week for the room.

Case No. 237.

Mother (aet 38 years) living apart from her husband at Milton Street, Partick; one roomed house, rent £1:4:5 per month; child (aet 12 years) - husband's; one, aet 5 years, and this one - different fathers. Father of this child, aet 34 years, gives 5/- per week. (Mother states does not know if he is employed or not.)

IV.

The Father Pages 34-41

1. Occupation; and Social Grade; Page 34
2. Sense of Responsibility; Page 36

IV. FATHER.

1. Occupation and Social Grade.

The figures for employment of fathers (Table XIII, page 35) are too small to compare with the Census returns showing occupations of men in Glasgow, but they do show that it is not only the low grade labourer who becomes the father of an illegitimate child, but that a considerable proportion of the fathers are drawn from the more educated classes. Therefore, one might look to a gradual reduction of the illegitimate infant birth-rate in the future from the results due to the teaching of an equal standard of morality for both sexes and to such assistance towards obtaining this as is given by juvenile organisations working particularly with boys and young men.

The fact that there are three times as many men as women registered at the Central Unemployment Exchange partly accounts for the figure of 62 unemployed fathers as compared with 19 unemployed mothers. (Page 28).

IV. FATHER.

2. Sense of Responsibility.

In Scotland the application for affiliation order must be lodged within six months. The scale of support is 4/6d. per week as against 20/- in England.

One might think that placing additional responsibility on the father would be a means to reduce the illegitimate birth-rate. An Act of Elizabeth enacted that "any woman delivered of a natural child could on oath charge any man with its parentage, on which charge any man could be apprehended and committed to prison until he gave security either to maintain the child or to appear at the Quarter Sessions to try the fact." That was a drastic step in this direction, but, seemingly, did not reduce the illegitimate birth-rate and the theory is further disproved by the case of Sweden, which has an illegitimate birth-rate of fifteen per cent. in the country districts, rising to twenty-five per cent. in Stockholm, despite the fact that 25/- to 55/- per week can be deducted from the father's wages at the source. The object of this is to try to enforce marriage which legitimises the child.

Action for the establishment of paternity is compulsory in Sweden and Norway and both parents are equally responsible for maintenance; and the father may be obliged to pay the expenses of the mother's confinement and her maintenance for some time before and after it. Norway and five Canadian provinces go further still in making

the father responsible, and all persons who have had intercourse with the mother during the period of conception are bound to contribute to the child's maintenance.

In this connection it is interesting to note action to establish paternity is allowed in France and Luxemburg in cases of "seduction by means of guile" - promise of marriage, of betrothal, if there be a "commencement de preuve" in writing. Finland and Sweden grant the illegitimate child the same rights of succession as if it had been legitimate, when it is declared to be "the child of engaged persons". In Switzerland legitimation by the authority of the courts is provided for, when the father and mother were duly betrothed, but the marriage was never celebrated owing to the death of one of the parties, or the loss by one party of the requisite capacity to contract marriage, and in that country the main obligation for maintenance falls upon the father.

Of the 238 cases under investigation a number of the fathers continued cohabiting with the mothers as they had done in the past, but this cannot be held necessarily to presuppose any legal responsibility for the support of the child. The following are interesting:-

Case No. 32. Father, aet 39, married, has a shop. Mother, aet 19, employed as shop assistant till six months pregnant. Wassermann negative. Mother stated that father was keeping her in lodgings "and always would". Later she moved to room and kitchen house, but the father of the child did not live there with her, though he supported her. The mother, though young, seemed to be quite capable of looking after her own interests.

Case No. 50. Father, aet 44, a carrier in business in Miller Street; his wife alive. The mother, aet 35, was a superior type. This was their first child.

Case No. 86. Father, aet 38, Engineer, living in room and kitchen house in Scotstoun; rent £23:7:1 per annum. Mother, aet 33.

They had three children. Father, a well spoken but quarrelsome antagonistic type of man, does not believe in marriage. His wife states that as he is heir to money, the children will never "come on the Parish", so that apparently, in the parents' view, the illegitimacy of their children does not matter.

Eighteen fathers married the mothers, thus legitimising the children.

The rest of the fathers showed a varying degree of responsibility - or lack of it. Seven emigrated, evidently as the easiest way out of a difficult situation, but two of these did show some sense of responsibility:-

Case No. 31. Father, printer, eighteen months after birth of child sent mother passage money (£40), and she was going to join him in Canada. In this case pregnancy occurred as result of intimate relations which took place at their second meeting.

Case No. 231. Mother, aet 22, employed in Watt Brothers, 32/- per week, living with her parents in comfortable circumstances (her father employed in Sawers) in a room and kitchen house (rent £1:12:8 per month), Shamrock Street. Father, aet 29, unemployed, pension £2 per week ("gassed" in War), had "gone with the mother" for four years. Emigrated six months before child born. Later, when child fifteen months (nutrition good) he sent the mother £3 from America and spoke about sending for her.

Two Fathers took charge of the child:-

Case No. 11. Mother, aet 19, living with her parents in very comfortable circumstances, room and kitchen house, Gleneagles Terrace, Scotstoun (rent £29 per annum). Mother was a butcheress, and worked in the father's shop. Father, aet 40, married and had an only daughter who was the same age as the mother of his illegitimate child. The father took complete charge of the child and the mother was assured that it would get good care with him.

Case No. 69. Father, aet 40, business man in Aberdeen. Mother, aet 30, had been two years away from her husband, and was divorced four months after birth of this child. The infant was kept by a widow in Aberdeen to whom the father was engaged to be married. He died suddenly, and the child was sent to Merryflatts Poorhouse when the mother became liable for his support there.

In two cases the paternal grandmother looked after the child.

In other two cases (1) infant born dead and the father paid the funeral expenses; (2) infant died, aet. one day and father paid all

the expenses. There was no chance of marriage in these cases, as in (1) the mother was delicate, and (2) the father's mother did not think the girl "good enough for him".

Six fathers refused point blank to marry the mother:-

Case No. 76. being one of the minister, bride (a clerkess, aet 28), guests and no groom. This case was reported in the "Sunday Post". The father, aet 24, unemployed, was taken to court and paid 4/6d. per week aliment. The infant was nursed at 10/- per week. The mother lived in comfortable circumstances with a married sister in a room and kitchen house - rent 36/7d. per month - and afterwards removed to Knightswood.

Case No. 48. Mother, aet 33, first class cook, second pregnancy to same father, who was aet 36. They had played together as children in Dumfries. First child lived with maternal grandmother. These children - twins - were adopted.

Case No. 142. Mother, aet 21, saleswoman Ca'doro, lived with nice, middle-class parents, Caird Drive, two rooms and kitchen, rent £40 per annum. Father, aet 21, apprentice boilermaker - "were sweet-hearting - not behaved very well over it". Infant's nutrition good.

Case No. 164. Mother, aet 21. First child. Saleswoman Caldwell's Dairy, 30/- per week. Father, aet 30, buyer for Co-operative Society. Intercourse took place with no promise of marriage. Child had been adopted. Mother paid all expenses - £20 - herself. At that time father engaged and still is to another girl; knows fiancée would not marry him if she knew, but "am trusting Minnie to keep a secret".

Case No. 206. Mother, aet 17, clerkess, living with parents, room and kitchen house. Rent £40 per annum, Cromwell Street. First child, very healthy. Father, aet 32, single, contractor, own business. Paid expenses of confinement and 4/6d. per week aliment. "Goes with another girl who knows about this but is hanging on to him".

Case No. 215. Mother, aet 42, employed as a cook. Father Corporation employee, aet 42, "been going together" six years. Within a year after the birth of the child he married another woman. Healthy infant. Nursed by a friend of the mother to whom mother pays £2 per month.

The following shows the father in a particularly unpleasant light:-

Case No. 203. Mother, aet 21, typist, daughter of a very respectable middle-class widow. First child. Mother stayed for some time in 2 Queen's Terrace, a home for unmarried mothers; was confined in Glasgow Royal Maternity Hospital; and returned to Queen's Terrace for a month and nursed the infant which was adopted from there. She had originally lived at Dunoon, where the father was in his father's business (slater and plasterer). His mother and lawyer acting for him did

not deny paternity but said it must be proved. This, the girl's mother did not do as she had meanwhile removed to Glasgow to hush up the scandal. She, therefore, paid all the expenses herself.

The next three are in a different category:-

Case No. 41. Mother, set 38, cashier, first child, living with very respectable widowed mother. Comfortable circumstances, Lawrence Street, two rooms and kitchen house, rent £47 per annum. Infant three months premature, still-born. Father, aet 50, a widower, has a son a medical student, and wishes him to finish studies before he himself marries.

Case No. 144. Mother aet 26. Married in 1918 Canadian Soldier - no issue. Has not seen him since his return to France. Father (aet 25) of this, the mother's first child, was put into touch with "Poor Man's Lawyer" at Queen Margaret Settlement re. divorce. Was referred to lawyer in St. Vincent Street who wanted £5 before he would start legal proceedings. This was quite impossible as father was unemployed.

Case No. 124. Father, employed, coach builder. Legally separated from his wife who has bigamously married in Canada. Mother a widow; children aet 16 and 14. Father who was very anxious to legitimate child was put into touch with Poor Man's lawyer. Later it was not possible to trace this case.

From the foregoing cases it would appear that there is a fair sense of the father's responsibility.

It must be remembered that the offer of a father to take custody of a child when aged 7 (boy) or 10 (girl), if not complied with by the mother relieves the father of further responsibility. The illegitimate Children (Scotland) Bill, which was recently introduced in the House of Commons by the Duchess of Atholl, seeks to amend the law as to the duration and recovery of aliment for, and the custody of, illegitimate children in Scotland and for other purposes connected therewith. The Bill provides that the court may fix the amount of aliment to be paid by the father and the mother. At present the liability to provide for the child is a joint one. It also provides that the father shall not be entitled to meet a claim for aliment by an offer

to assume custody. Aliment shall endure until the child attains the age of 16.

That there may be considerable difficulty in securing aliment is shown by the following:-

Case No. 211. Mother, aet 18, paper sorter, employed till eight months' pregnant, and later got her occupation back again. She resided with her parents, Cheapside Street. Father single, aet 22, dock labourer - also in a territorial regiment reserve. There was no chance of marriage. The case was put into the hands of lawyer "to get some money", but the matter was not pursued as the lawyer wanted £1 down! Infant, which was artificially fed, was quite healthy at the end of one year of life.

See Notification of Births
and Still-Births Page 42
Infantile Mortality Rate Page 50

Age of Father - see page 17.

E. The Child.

1. Disposal.

The very high illegitimate birth-rate in Sweden (15 per

The Child -	Pages 42-56
Disposal of Child;	Page 42
Feeding;	Page 45
Nutrition;	Page 46
Note on the Non-Notification of Illegitimate Still-Births	Page 49
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ly increased rate in Stockholm is due to this, plus the additional difficulty of tracing the father in a town and the fact that a number of unsophisticated women go to the city in search of employment. Therefore, the problem of the maintenance of the illegitimate child is a very pressing one and entails the provision on a large scale of institutions where such children can live. Failing the mother being able to prove paternity, she can get help towards the maintenance of the child in such an institution up to 80/- per week from social services corresponding to our Parish Authorities.

The results of the present inquiry show that the means necessary to deal with a problem in one country may be quite unnecessary in another.

Of the 235 cases under investigation, 135 children resided with their mothers, seven of whom were looked after by the maternal grandmother as the mother was employed during the day.

Institutions.

Nineteen children were put into institutions, fourteen into

V. The Child.

1. Disposal.

The very high illegitimate birth-rate in Sweden (15 per cent. in country districts, rising to 25 per cent. in Stockholm) is largely attributed by Urban Hjarne, M.D., to the custom of not marrying until there is assurance that the woman is able to conceive children. The women apparently accept this as a standard, with the result that they are not infrequently taken advantage of. The greatly increased rate in Stockholm is due to this, plus the additional difficulty of tracing the father in a town and the fact that a number of unsophisticated women go to the city in search of employment. Therefore, the problem of the maintenance of the illegitimate child is a very pressing one and entails the provision on a large scale of institutions where such children can live. Failing the mother being able to prove paternity, she can get help towards the maintenance of the child in such an institution up to 50/- per week from social services corresponding to our Parish Authorities.

The results of the present inquiry show that the means necessary to deal with a problem in one country may be quite unnecessary in another.

Of the 238 cases under investigation, 135 children resided with their mothers, seven of whom were looked after by the maternal grandmother as the mother was employed during the day.

Institutions.

Nineteen children were put into institutions, fourteen into

those administered by Parish Councils. Six of these fourteen died. Three children whose mothers were employed were put into day nurseries. Two children were in voluntary institutions.

Case No. 75. The child was in a Homœopathic Home at Mount Vernon and the maternal grandparents paid 6/- per week towards its maintenance there for eleven months. Then the child was adopted.

Case No. 55. Mother and child were sent by a priest to a Roman Catholic Convent in England.

Adoption.

Twenty-one children were adopted - twelve by strangers. Of the nine others - one case each was adopted by (a) father's wife; (b) father's mother; and (c) father's brother; the remaining six by the mother's relatives - her mother (one case); her sisters, sisters-in-law and cousins.

Nursed.

Twenty-two children were nursed for payment, seven of these by relatives or friends.

Taking into account children who were adopted or nursed, in a surprising number of cases (16), there appears a relative - or less frequently a friend -willing to take upon herself the burden of looking after a young child. These people not only take care of the child, but receive very little remuneration for their trouble, the charge for nursing being 7/6d. to 10/- per week, but the payments are often in arrears. Thus it seems that at any rate in this country, there are a number of people who genuinely pity and desire to help such children.

In none of the 238 cases visited was there any suggestion that the child should be put into an orphanage.

The England and Wales Adoption of Children Act, 1926, provides protection for adopted illegitimate children; there is no corresponding Act in Scotland, where adoption is still unrecognised by law. There were two cases of adoption where one desired to enquire into the state of the child and though adoption had taken place under the auspices of the Glasgow Parish Council, they were unable to forward any details as to the child's progress. Of these one is a particularly glaring example:-

Case No. 73. The child was adopted, plus £5 (as is common in these cases) ostensibly intended for the provision of an outfit - cot, etc. Five weeks later the adopters returned with the child to give her back, but went away again with 5/- to pay for their train fare.

In Australia, the dwelling of an illegitimate child under seven years is open to entry and inspection by any officer of the Children's Welfare Department. Germany too since April, 1924, has a system of legal administrative guardianship for all illegitimate children until they are 21, and this is exercised by officers of the Child Welfare Office (unless a single guardian is appointed).

As a measure for promoting the welfare of children, in Scotland it would appear to be desirable that there should be the recognition by law of the adoption of children, together with the adaptation of some existing administrative machinery, whereby, at any rate, adopted children who were illegitimate might be supervised for a period of two to three years, should such supervision in any particular case seem to be advisable. The introduction of the Local Government Act at this time with the consequent unification of departments appears to present a favourable opportunity for the consideration of these matters.

V. THE CHILD.

2. Feeding.

93 children who resided with their mothers were breast fed, for the normal physiological period.

45 children who resided with their mothers were artificially fed, but of these in only 10 cases was the artificial feeding due to the mother being employed. 7 of these children were cared for during the day time by their maternal grandmothers and 3 were in day nurseries. In addition, 22 cases who were nursed for payment were artificially fed, together with 21 who were adopted.

16 children were resident in institutions; of these, 3 were probably breast fed.

Altogether, of 197 cases, 96 were breast fed and 101 artificially. Of these 101, 66 cases of artificial feeding were the direct outcome of the child being illegitimate.

Thus in the group of illegitimate infants studied, the number of those artificially nourished is found to be greater than of those breast-fed.

Having not only much mental distress and anxiety as the result of their position, but a really hard struggle to make ends meet and provide for themselves during the last three months of pregnancy, show no appreciable difference in the birth weights and lengths compared to her classes "A", "B" and "C" (all being of hospital class) which are in ascending economical order.

The number of cases Miss Bruce Murray investigated was rather over 100 in the years 1914, 1915 and 1916.

V. THE CHILD.

3. Nutrition.

The Standards of Nutrition employed in judging the condition of the child are those used by me daily as a clinical medical officer in the Child Welfare section of the Public Health Service, Glasgow. Good implies that the standard of the child leaves nothing to be desired; very good indicates unusual excellence; very fair is used when the child does not reach a standard of good; fair indicates definite disability, such as flabby musculature, delayed closure of the anterior fontanelle, enlarged radial epiphyses; poor is used in cases of malnutrition, relatively advanced rickets, debility, e.g., resulting from whooping cough.

In connection with nutrition it is interesting to note the result of Miss Bruce Murray's enquiries published in -

"The Effect of Maternal Social Conditions and Nutrition upon Birth Weight and Birth Length".
Medical Research Council, Special Report Series, No. 81, 1924.

Her Class "D" Unmarried Mothers -

"Having not only much mental distress and anxiety as the result of their position, but a really hard struggle to make ends meet and provide for themselves during the last three months of pregnancy", show no appreciable difference in the birth weights and lengths compared to her classes "A", "B" and "C" (all being of hospital class) which are in descending economical order.

The number of cases Miss Bruce Murray investigated was rather over 100 in the years 1914, 1915 and 1918.

Of the series of 238 illegitimate children under investigation, the nutrition of 209 (the remainder were either dead (27) or untraceable (2)) as estimated at the first visit, bear out Miss Bruce Murray's investigation. 127 were good; 9 were very good; 30 were very fair; and 34 fair; 9 only were poor.

It was possible to trace 163 of these infants and their nutrition was again estimated at a second visit when the child was set 1 year. (See Table XIV, page 48).

From this table we find that 56 infants remained in their original category; 35 had improved; 52 were in a lower category and 20 had died - one may presume that at least some of these 20 were in a lower category (than that in which they were placed initially) before they died. Thus there was a tendency for these illegitimate children in the first year of life to fall into a lower category of nutrition than that from which they started.

A contributory factor to this tendency to a lowering of the standard of nutrition may be found in the increased number of artificially fed infants in the series (See page 45.)

TABLE XIV.

TABLE TO SHOW CHANGE IN NUTRITION OF 163 INFANTS, OCCURRING BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND VISITS.

Figures below diagonal lines show improvement = 35
 ,, above ,, ,, ,, lower standard = 52
 ,, enclosed between ,, are I.S.Q. = 56
 Right hand column shows deaths occurring between first
 and second visits = 20

General Condition on First Visit.		General Condition on Second Visit at Completion of 1 Year.					
		Very Good	Good.	Very Fair.	Fair.	Poor.	Dead.
Very Good	8	3	2	1	-	-	2
Good	91	14	29	20	13	5	10
Very Fair	27	3	4	11	5	3	1
Fair	31	2	3	7	11	3	5
Poor	6	1	1	-	-	2	2
Total	163	23	39	39	29	13	20

V. THE CHILD.

(4) Note on the Non-Notification of Illegitimate Still-births.

Still-births, though notifiable, are not subject to compulsory registration in Scotland, either as births or deaths, and, therefore, are not included in making up returns. In order, then, to have figures comparable to those of the city, one had to deduct the still-births (See page 3).

The still-births in themselves are interesting as a study of them shows that in the case of the illegitimate infant all the still-births are not being notified. This is shown in Table XV where the ratio of still-births to deaths -10 days is very much higher in Group B, a sample of legitimate births, than in Group A, which comprises the illegitimate births under investigation.

Table XV giving Infantile Deaths -10 Days. To show proportion of Still-Births occurring in A. Illegitimate Births under Investigation and B. Sample of Legitimate Births.

	Group A.	Group B.
	224 Illegitimate Births	Sample 942 Legitimate Births. Total
	<u>Total Infantile Deaths</u>	<u>Infantile Deaths</u>
	= 18.	= 86.
<u>Primiparae -</u>		
Still-Births	4	22
-10 Days	9	8
Ratio Still-Births to Those -10 Days	1-2	3-1
<u>Multiparae - 5/10 deaths</u>		
Still-Births	1	40
-10 Days	4	16
Ratio Still-Births to Those -10 Days	1-4	5-2

V. THE CHILD.

5. Infantile Mortality Rate.

The investigation shows that the illegitimate infantile mortality rate is greater than the general infantile mortality rate.

238 births were studied, but in six instances no further information was obtained than that the child was born alive. In four of the births twin pregnancies occurred. The net number of cases under survey in reckoning the infantile mortality rate thus becomes $238 - 6 + 4 = 236 - 5$ cases of still-births = 231.

In reckoning the death-rate, the enquiry was continued during 1927, until such time as each child had completed one year of life.

In these 231 cases within the first year of life, 42 deaths occurred. This gives a death-rate of 182 per 1,000 for the illegitimate group, a figure which is in marked contrast with the contemporary general infantile death-rate. Thus, the infantile death-rate (all births) in the Central Division during 1926 was 91 per 1,000 births, and the rate for the City as a whole was 104.

Factors which contribute to the increased illegitimate infant death-rate are:-

- (a) The influence of primiparity;
- (b) The influence of maternal efficiency;
- (c) The effect of venereal disease;
- (d) The influence of artificial feeding of the infant.

(a) Primiparity. The influence of primiparity is confined to the first few days of life, and, for the purposes of this investigation, is taken as not extending beyond the tenth day.

In 14 out of the 238 illegitimate births under enquiry the information obtained was insufficient to be used in this part of the

investigation, the number becomes $238 - 14 = 224$. Of these 224 illegitimate infant births, in 113 cases the mother was a primipara and in 111 cases she was a multipara; that is to say that the number of primiparas and multiparas is approximately equal. Of the 42 illegitimate infantile deaths, 15, i.e., 35.7 per cent., occurred during the first ten days of life. An analysis of these 15 infant deaths in relation to the primiparity or multiparity of the mother is shown in Table XVI:-

Table XVI. Illegitimate Infantile Deaths within Ten Days after Birth, with reference to the Primiparity or Multiparity of the Mother.

Date of Death in Days.	Mother Primipara. Total No. of Cases - 113.	Mother Multipara. Total No. of Cases - 111.	Not known whether Mother Primipara or Multipara. Total No. of Cases - 14.	Total Deaths
1 day ...	3	1	-	4
3 days ..	4	1	1	6
5 ,, ..	1	-	-	1
7 ,, ..	-	-	1	1
8 ,, ..	1	-	-	1
9 ,, ..	-	1	-	1
10 ,, ..	-	1	-	1

For the sake of comparison, 942 unselected legitimate children from the same area were reviewed. (See Table XVII, page 52). From this Table one sees that primiparity is a definite factor in producing an increased infantile death-rate, and that part of the increased illegitimate infantile death-rate is due to the large proportion of primiparous mothers which are found in such a group. Therefore, one may say that that part of the high illegitimate infantile mortality rate which is due to primiparity per se is irreducible, apart from those measures - increased ante-natal care and improved midwifery - which would reduce the infantile mortality rate as a whole.

TABLE XVII. COMPARISON OF INFANTILE DEATHS -10 DAYS IN GROUP A. ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS UNDER INVESTIGATION; GROUP B. SAMPLE OF LEGITIMATE BIRTHS.

	Primiparas.				Multiparas.			
	No.	Per cent. of Group.	Infantile Deaths -10 Days.	Per cent. of Infant Deaths for the Group.	No.	Per cent. of Group.	Infantile Deaths -10 Days.	Per cent. of Infant Deaths for the Group.
Group A. Illegitimate Births. Total No. 224	113	30.4	9	8.3	111	49.6	4	3.6
Group B. Sample Legitimate Births. Total No. 942	184	19.5	8	4.9	758	80.5	16	2.2

(b) The Influence of Maternal Efficiency on the High Illegitimate Infantile Death-Rate.

It is interesting to note here the results obtained by Professor Noel Paton and Professor Leonard Findlay, published in Medical Research Council Report, Special Series, No. 101, page 300. "The general result of the study of the families of agricultural labourers is to confirm the evidence obtained from the investigation of slum families and to indicate that the factor most directly correlated with the growth and nutrition of the child is maternal care - the efficiency of the mother."

In this connection, so far as this paper is concerned, only those cases where the mother was mentally defective are made the subject of enquiry.

There were in 238 births eight cases of well-defined mental deficiency, such as had necessitated the mother's education at a special school and where she was definitely recognised in her home circle as being incapable of managing her affairs efficiently. Four of these eight infants died within the first year of life. ^{of the other four} The nutrition at the end of the first year of life of one was very poor. Of the three others who were alive at one year, one was looked after by a very capable grandmother and one was in an institution.

It can, therefore, be stated that mental deficiency of the mother is not only a contributory factor in raising the illegitimate birth-rate, but that it also assists in raising the illegitimate infantile mortality rate and is a factor in the tendency (already noted -

page 47) of illegitimate children to fall into a lower category of nutrition than that from which they started. Any measure, therefore, such as the segregation in colonies of mental defectives, would tend to reduce the illegitimate birth-rate and the illegitimate infantile mortality rate.

(c) Venereal Disease.

The question of there being the possibility of a higher incidence of venereal disease amongst illegitimate children arises, together with the probability of it being a factor in the production of the high illegitimate infantile death-rate.

In all, blood for 16 Wassermann reactions was taken; two were positive, and, in addition, one of these was positive for gonorrhoea. A third gave a negative Wassermann but was positive for gonorrhoea. The three children died, the first two as a direct result of specific disease, and the third died, aged three months, of convulsions.

In an additional four cases, three of which died, a Wassermann test was clinically desirable, but it was not possible to get it. The figures are too small to be of value, but, together with the figures for syphilis in Table XVIII, page 55), they tend to show that an increased incidence of venereal disease in the illegitimate child is one factor in the production of the high illegitimate infantile mortality rate.

Part then, of the high illegitimate infantile mortality

TABLE XVlll. Showing Cause of Deaths - 1 year of 42 Illegitimate Infants, compared with figures for the Total Deaths - 1 year for the City of Glasgow in the same year - 1926.

	Figure for the City.		Figure under Review.	
	No.	Percentage of Total Deaths -1 year (2513)	No.	Percentage of Total Deaths +-1 year (42)
Immaturity, not including Still-Births.....	891	35.0	17	40.4
Diseases of Respiratory System.....	625	24.5	6	14.3
Diseases of Digestive System.....	350	13.8	8	19.0
Tuberculosis.....	38	1.5	2	4.7
Accidents of Birth.	35	1.4	2	4.7
Infectious Diseases	249	9.2	4	9.5
Syphilis.....	20	0.8	2	4.7
Suffocation.....	12	0.5	1	2.4

(d) The Influence of Artificial Feeding on the High Illegitimate Infantile Death-Rate.

From Table XVlll one sees that the figure for diseases of the digestive system is larger (19 per cent). for illegitimate infants than that for unselected cases (13.8 per cent) and, as has been shown (page 45), there is an increase of artificial feeding amongst illegitimate infants.

Part then, of the high illegitimate infantile mortality

rate may be attributed to the greater number of such children who are artificially fed with their consequently increased liability to succumb to diseases of the digestive system, such as diarrhoea, gastritis, etc. Any measures, therefore, which encourage breast feeding - such as Homes for Unmarried Mothers, where the mothers remain for as long as possible during the physiological period of lactation (see page 23), may be expected to bring about a reduction in the illegitimate infantile mortality rate.

The figures for immaturity in Table XVIII are too high, as in some of these cases, though it was certified as prematurity, death would result from dystocia.

VI. SUGGESTED REMEDIES.

This investigation was undertaken in order to ascertain what factors contribute to the high illegitimate birth and death-rate and whether these are VI. able of being influenced. The following measures are suggested for the further protection of illegitimate infant life:-

SUGGESTED REMEDIES Pages 57-63.

Greater supervision of the children of prostitutes.

This to be carried out - by a special nurse on the Child Welfare Staff of the Medical Officer of Health - in co-operation with a skilled voluntary agency. The information as to the women being prostitutes to be obtained from the Police.

Closer supervision of the children of mental defectives by

the Child Welfare staff and the enforcement of the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913.

The recognition of the adoption of children in Scotland and

the supervision during early life of adopted illegitimate children.

The following are suggested measures for the reduction of the illegitimate

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Close supervision of the children of mental defectives by the Child Welfare staff and the enforcement of the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913.

The recognition of the adoption of children in Scotland and the supervision during early life of adopted illegitimate children.

Also those cases where there is a certain "softness" that in a different strata of society would be termed ingenueness would not take the risk of pregnancy had they received definite instruction and warning prior to leaving school, etc.

Case No. 122. The mother was 16 years and 10 months when she conceived. Father met M. They met at the cinema. There were sex relations eight times the mother - who really seemed to be remarkably ignorant - having been assured by the father that "nothing would happen".

It is agreed that parents are the proper instructors of

The following are suggested measures for the reduction of the illegitimate birth-rate:-

Educational. The question of education on sexual matters is, I think, undoubtedly one of the best methods of dealing with the problem of the high illegitimate birth-rate. Such education should not only be physiological, but it should imply an equal standard of morality for the sexes and teach the sanctity of fatherhood equally with that of motherhood.

In any group of illegitimate mothers there are a relatively large number in the age group 16-24 years. It therefore seems justifiable to suppose that education on sex matters would effect a reduction of the illegitimate births among young women.

There are cases, too, where pregnancy occurs as the result of a single intercourse, where the girl, if she had been aware, that such was a possibility, would not have undertaken the risk.

Of the cases investigated, in four the pregnancy resulted from a single intercourse. The ages of these mothers were 21 (2), 24 and 27 years.

Also those cases where there is a certain "softness" that in a different strata of society would be termed ingenuousness would not take the risk of pregnancy had they received definite instruction and warning prior to leaving school, eg.

Case No. 188. The mother was 16 years and 10 months when she conceived. Father aet 21. They met at the cinema. There were sex relations eight times, the mother - who really seemed to be remarkably ignorant - having been assured by the father that "nothing would happen".

It is agreed that parents are the proper instructors of

their children, but it must be recognised that many parents are either unwilling or, for various reasons, unfitted for the task, many of them not knowing how to say it or when to give it.

Definite information should be obtained in the higher classes of school, the sexes being segregated. The information should be given carefully, but openly, remembering that it is at least as important - if not more so - as any other subject in the school curriculum. Though sex knowledge of itself does not involve moral righteousness, it is wise to remember the words of the present Archbishop of Canterbury quoted in "The Spectator", April 12th, 1930. "I would rather have all the risks which come from free discussion of sex than the great risks we run by a conspiracy of silence"

The findings of the Departmental Committee on Sexual Offences against Children and Young Persons in Scotland, 1926, are that -

"Instruction should be given in the schools by doctors or teachers, and should be introduced gradually as part of the lessons on physical training and personal hygiene. With the older children the teaching could take the form of a personal talk by a teacher or doctor of the same sex as the pupils. Detail of this kind, however, can be safely left to experts, if it is sufficiently emphasised that instruction alone will be useless. The objects must be the creation of a proper attitude towards sex and the development of worthy ideals of conduct."

To the above must be added the Report by Departmental Committee, Protection and Training, 1928:-

"We consider that a definite church connection is essential for the welfare of the young, and that to extend and deepen that connection is a matter of urgent importance. In our opinion, moral education is essential and the question should be far more before education authorities than it is at the present day."

They recommend that there should be joint social facilities for both sexes under reasonable auspices, and open spaces and playing fields with organised games.

There is considerable ignorance among the populace as to the procedure for setting in motion the legal machinery for marriage, and I suggest that a short summary of the necessary steps to be taken, with the cost, should be placed in the windows of the Registrars of Births and Deaths. "Persons purposing marriage shall". There is a greater possibility of marriage taking place at an earlier than later date after the confinement, and the woman being familiar with the necessary steps to be taken would possibly be more likely to persuade the father of the child to marry her. Also, were people familiar with marriage procedure, there is the possibility that some might marry (who would not otherwise do so) prior to intercourse taking place.

Treatment of Prostitutes. The Departmental Committee on Protection and Training, 1926, are of the opinion that the Court should have the power to commit a girl of 17 to 21 years of age, who has solicited, direct to an approved home, the maximum period of detention there to be two years. They think that the power of the Court to commit girls of 21 to 25 years to a home should have serious consideration. Such measures would undoubtedly help to lower that part of the illegitimate birth-rate which arises from prostitution.

The ideal of an equal standard of morality for both sexes, with the assistance to attaining this given by adequate recreational facilities (such as is the aim of the National Playing Fields Association) and the training in self discipline given by juvenile and adol-

escent organisations, will also by the operation of the law of demand and supply reduce prostitution.

Rescue work in Homes (especially when it is the girl's first or at most second lapse) is of value. There the expectant mother should receive such moral and spiritual help as would probably prove to be of incalculable value to her at the time of a future temptation.

Treatment of Mental Defectives. One must be particularly impressed with the necessity of shielding the mentally defective girl, sometimes herself handicapped by excessive sexual desire, always the easy prey of the unscrupulous and unprincipled.

Up till the age of 16, mental defectives are looked after in the special schools of the Education Authorities, or if their capacity is too low for that education, they may be accommodated in institutions.

The Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913, desires to strengthen the link between school days and later life by arranging that defective children for whom education authorities have made provision should continue to be cared for after 16 years of age by parish councils; thus they would have the supervision and care provided by the Act automatically, without having to qualify for it in the school of misery and degradation. The hands of the General Board of Control would be strengthened, as they would have in their roll all the defectives discovered by the education authorities, who have unrivalled facilities for discovering defect, and be able to see that proper provision is made for their care.

Section 3 (1) (c) (vi) of the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy

(Scotland) Act, 1913, provides that a defective unmarried woman shall be "subject to be dealt with" if she is in receipt of poor relief at any time during her pregnancy or at the time of giving birth to a child. According to the evidence laid before the Departmental Committee on Protection and Training, this sub-section of the Act is not made use of, such women who have given birth to a child in a poorhouse being allowed to leave almost at once.

It is manifest that if this sub-section were vigilantly enforced, it would be to the interest of the women themselves, and would be a valuable means of lowering the illegitimate infant birth-rate.

The question of the mentally deficient girl who produces one illegitimate child after another, it may be as speedily almost as is physiologically possible, and practically invariably to different fathers, is one that can only adequately be dealt with by institutional confinement. The relatives of these girls, though not willing that they should be received into a colony after the first child, will certainly consider it favourably after the second, and will acquiesce after the third; which, though late, is not too late, as they may continue to produce offspring so long as they are of child bearing age, being astute at providing opportunities for conception to take place, despite careful watching on the part of their relatives.

The Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act of 1913 provides for the creation throughout the land of "certified institutions" for the care of the adult feeble-minded - institutions which

are to receive 50 per cent. of their capital cost in Treasury Grants. New "certified institutions" are at the moment arising in most of the populous districts of the country, e.g., the Royal Scottish National Institution at Larbert has a scheme for the establishment of a colony which will accommodate 300 adult patients, and the Glasgow District Board of Control intends to create a large institution for a similar purpose at Lennox Castle.

That there is need for institutional accommodation cannot be denied. No fresh legislation is required, and the existing statutory powers are ample.

One may surmise that more and more as time goes on the relatives of mentally defective persons, women and men, will take advantage of these institutions and so ultimately we may look to a fairly substantial reduction in the illegitimate birth-rate from this preventive measure.

SUMMARY.

The following main points are shown by the investigation:-

- P. 10. The marriage rate for first pregnancies is much higher than
P. 11. for others. When marriage takes place, it does so relatively
soon after the confinement.
- P. 19. The illegitimate birth-rate is not largely affected by cases
of the parents living together as married, as in only 8.9 per
cent. of the cases had the mother more than one illegitimate
child to the same father.
- P. 25. There is a tendency for the women low in the social scale to
have illegitimate children rather than those higher in the soc-
ial scale. This is not so marked in the case of the father,
P. 34. many of the fathers being drawn from the more educated classes.
- P. 28. At the present time economic pressure of women is not a
factor in the high illegitimate birth-rate, but when prostitu-
P. 29. tion has been established, that is a factor in producing a high
illegitimate birth-rate.
- P. 42. The majority of the illegitimate children remain in their
mother's care, but there is an increase in the number of artifi-
P. 45. cially fed infants, as the direct result of their being illegi-
timate.
- P. 55. Two main factors contribute to the high illegitimate infant-
ile mortality rate - the increased number of artificially fed in-
P. 51. fants; and primiparity, a greater number of primiparae being
found in any group of mothers of illegitimate children.

CONCLUSIONS.

The remedies appropriate are of two classes:-

P. 57. I For Protection of Infant Life -

Close supervision of children of prostitutes (see page 29)
and
Mental defectives.

Recognition in Scotland of Adoption of Children (see
page 44) *Act, 1926*

II For Reduction of illegitimate birth-rate

P. 58. Education.

P. 60. Diminution of prostitution.

P. 61. Enforcement of Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act,
1913.

119-1931

