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OSWALD was strongly anti-religious and seriously berated his wife for having their child baptized in the Russian Orthodox Church. MARINA was described as not being political minded, but very religious. She is believed to be a pharmacist by training.

OSWALD is described as being very sharp and bright and would argue logically and persuasively. He was positive in his ideas and strong in his convictions. ALEXANDRA believed he could not be bribed to change his ideas or to commit any deed not in keeping with his thinking. ALEXANDRA found it hard to believe his thinking was such that he would want to kill the President. ALEXANDRA stated OSWALD had a quick temper and allegedly beat his wife on occasion. He never thanked the TAYLORS for caring for his wife. ALEXANDRA did not know if the period of her association with OSWALD was prior to or after his stay in New Orleans. He never had mentioned New Orleans to her.

ALEXANDRA had no knowledge of any relationship between OSWALD and JACK RUBINSTEIN.

Ac. Mrs.
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ALEXANDRA stated OSWALD liked to associate with the Russian speaking element in Dallas, and her father, GEORGE DE MOHRENSCHILDT, and his wife, JEANNE, would know OSWALD better than she. She believes her father and his wife presently are in Haiti where he is managing a plantation. He is a geologist and his address probably would be known to the Petroleum Club in Dallas. She believed her father previously had resided at Cooper Avenue in Dallas, specific address unknown. Her step-mother, JEANNE, had a daughter, CHRISTIANA BOGOVALLENSKIA-KIERNAN, whose husband is BAGNAR KIERNAN, who may or may not be with her father. ALEXANDRA has not communicated with her father since April of this year. The only employment ALEXANDRA recalled for OSWALD was in advertising processing in Oak Cliff, Dallas, name of which

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was unknown to her. OSWALD was known to 3 NATASHA and EVALENA, last names unknown to ALEXANDRA, but known to her father. She believes her ex-husband, GARY TAYLOR, would also know OSWALD better than she and know of his employment.

GARY presently resides at 4115 Falls Drive, Oak Cliff, Dallas.

ALEXANDRA TAYLOR is female, white, and hospital records indicate she was born December 25, 1943. She indicated attending Highland Park High School, Dallas, 1959 to 1961 and Larson Business School, Tucson, Arizona, January to June, 1963.

On December 2, 1963, R. H. SHOWERS, Principal, Trinity Lutheran School, 2130 Watson Avenue, Bronx, New York, advised that the school did not commence to maintain any records until 1957 and, therefore, has no information concerning the subject, who reportedly attended the school from September 8 to September 26, 1952. SHOWERS stated that there is no one presently employed at the school who would have any personal knowledge concerning OSWALD or OSWALD's family. He advised that the principal of the school during the time that OSWALD was in attendance was HOWARD C. HOWSELL, 156 Reserve Road, West Seneca, Buffalo 24, New York. He also stated that the subject's sixth grade teacher would have been Mrs. THELMA HATCH, presently residing in Hicksville, Long Island, New York, exact address unknown. He stated that these two individuals would be the only ones connected with the above school who may possibly be able to furnish some information concerning OSWALD.

On December 2, 1963, Dr. STUART KOBLENZ, Assistant Hospital Administrator-Medical, Abraham Jacobi Hospital, Bronx, New York, advised that the above hospital was not opened until November, 1955, thereby precluding

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the possibility that subject received mental tests at this hospital. He commented, however, that a review of hospital files in the record room, Mental Hygiene Clinic, registration records, and Developmental Evaluation Clinic all failed to reflect any information pertaining to LEE HARVEY OSWALD.

In an effort to determine if subject was the recipient of any mental tests in 1953, in addition to the above mentioned hospital, the following individuals were contacted at their respective hospitals but were unable to furnish any information concerning subject:

Mrs. E. B. READER,
Secretary to the Deputy Medical Superintendent,
Morrisania Hospital,
Bronx, New York

Miss DOROTHY DE MARY,
Secretary,
Office of Deputy Medical Superintendent,
Lincoln Hospital,
Bronx, New York

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On December 2, 1963, JOSEPH J. AVITABILE, an employee of the Publishers Bookbinding Company, 200 Varick Street, New York, New York, telephonically contacted the New York Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He stated that VINCENT QUINN, an employee of the company, believes that LEE HARVEY OSWALD may be identical with an individual named JIM COHEN who was employed at the company during the summer of 1962. He said COHEN expressed pro-Communist ideas on several occasions.

200 Varick St., N.Y.C.
JOSEPH J. AVITABILE was interviewed at the Publishers Bookbinding Company on December 2, 1963, by SAS ROGER H. LEE and JAMES O. INGRAM. He resides at 199 West 10th Street, and he is a Supervisor in the Shipping Department. He said he has been reading several articles concerning OSWALD and OSWALD's appearance is similar to a person named JIM COHEN who was employed at the company during the summer of 1962. He recalls COHEN went to work in June and was employed for approximately 3 months. He believes COHEN was a college student, and COHEN had indicated he had been in the United States Marines Corps. He did not know the residence or whereabouts of COHEN at the present time.

He went on to say that COHEN was known to VINCENT QUINN, an employee of the company, and he said his prospective son-in-law, NICHOLAS OTTAMANILLO, formerly worked with COHEN at the company and could probably furnish details concerning him. He could furnish no additional information concerning why he believes COHEN was identical with LEE HARVEY OSWALD.

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Vincent P. Quinn

VINCENT P. QUINN, 9010 34th Avenue, Jackson Heights, New York, advised SAS LEE and INGRAM on December 2, 1963, that he recalls one JIM COHEN being employed around June, 1962, through August, 1962. He said COHEN's appearance was similar to OSWALD. He could not describe COHEN, but said he was of average height and weight. He believes COHEN was pro-Communist since he had read many books on Marxism. He said COHEN asked him on one occasion if he had ever been to Russia, and if he had ever read books by KARL MARX. He could furnish no additional information concerning COHEN's pro-Communist attitude or any additional information concerning why he believed OSWALD was identical with COHEN.

IRVING MACK, ^{N.Y.} Manager, Publishers Bookbinding Company, advised SAS LEE and INGRAM on December 2, 1963, his records show JAMES COHEN, 175 West 93rd Street, New York 25, New York, telephone RI 9-7661, Social Security Number 059-34-8161, was hired by the company on June 19, 1961, and he left the company on August 25, 1961. He indicated his reason for leaving was "back to school." He has no additional information concerning COHEN, but said COHEN was not employed during 1962. He added their company hires about 3 college students during the summer, but he does not know COHEN, and he could not suggest anyone who would know him. *Pro-Communist*

AVITABILE was recontacted on December 2, 1963, at which time he said COHEN could have worked during the summer of 1961, instead of 1962.

NICHOLAS OTTAMANILLO, 94 Charles Street, New York, New York, advised SAS LEE and INGRAM on December 2, 1963, that he was formerly employed by the Publishers Bookbinding Company in New York, New York in 1961, and he worked with one JAMES COHEN during the summer of 1961. He said COHEN was not employed at the company during 1962 and he is not identical with LEE HARVEY OSWALD.

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Residence

325 East 92nd Street
New York, New York

N.Y. N.Y. JOHN BRENNAN, 2nd Floor West, 325 East 92nd Street, advised SAS LEE and INGRAM on December 2, 1963, he has resided in the neighborhood for over 20 years, and he does not recall a family named OSWALD. He said he was formerly superintendent of the building at 325 East 92nd Street, and he has resided in the building for the past 12 years, and if the OSWALD family resided in the building for any length of time, he would know this. He said the building has changed ownership several times over the years, and the only individuals who have resided in the building for the past 10 years are Mrs GUSZ and ROBERT NICHOLAS, who is the present superintendent of the building.

325 E. 92nd St. N.Y. City
ROBERT NICHOLAS advised he has been the superintendent of the building since February, 1955 and he does not know anyone named OSWALD and to his knowledge there has never been a family by the name of OSWALD residing in the building for the past 10 years. He could suggest no one who might recall the family.

THOMAS DRAGOSITZ, owner of Tom and Lou's Bar, 323 East 92nd Street, advised SAS LEE and INGRAM on December 2, 1963, that he has resided in the neighborhood for over 25 years and to his knowledge an OSWALD family has never resided at 325 East 92nd Street, New York, New York, during this period.

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N.Y. N.Y.
Mrs. ALMA GUSZ, 5th Floor West, 325 East 92nd Street, advised SAs LEZ and WGRAM on December 2, 1963, that she has resided at the above address for approximately 20 years. She advised that a woman named OSWALD and her son, whose name she could not recall, resided for approximately 3 or 4 days with a FERMAN family who resided on the 5th Floor East at 325 East 92nd Street around 1953 or 1954. She said the OSWALD boy at that time was approximately 12 or 13 years of age, but due to the fact she met the OSWALD woman only on one occasion, she knew very little about them. She said Mrs. OSWALD and her son moved out of the apartment since she received the impression they were staying with Mrs. FERMAN until they located an apartment in the City. She could furnish no additional information concerning Mrs. OSWALD and her son and stated she has received no information concerning the family since that time.

*325 E. 92nd St. N.Y. N.Y.
in 1953 or 1954*
Mrs. GUSZ advised that Mrs. FERMAN moved to one of the western states around 1955, after her husband passed away. She said she could not recall Mr. or Mrs. FERMAN's first names and she does not know any of the FERMAN's associates, family or former employers. She could furnish no additional pertinent information.

It is to be noted that OSWALD's attendance record at Junior High School 44 in New York City indicated a card in OSWALD's file, date not indicated, reporting an address for OSWALD as 325 East 92nd Street, New York City.

12/2/63

Date _____

Justice ~~FLORENCE KENLY~~, Childrens Part, Family Court, New York City, made available for review the court record on LEE HARVEY OSWALD. This record was reviewed by Assistant Director in Charge, JOHN F. MALONE, New York Office, and the following was reflected:

The cover page of the report contained a letter from ~~RICHARD KAIKA~~, District Secretary, Salvation Army, Bronx, New York, to the Probation Bureau of Domestic Relations Court, Bronx, New York, dated September 8, 1953, which reflected the following:

"Dear Mr. Carro:

"Mr. Wilcox is on vacation. We have looked over the referral material and we don't feel that we could offer any useful service for Lee Harvey Oswald.

"There is a space on the psychiatric report with which we fully agree, namely that the boy is very severely disturbed and would need direct psychiatric treatment in a child-guidance institution. This is a service we cannot offer.

"We are sorry we cannot be of any service in this case."

The file reflected an investigation report of the Probation Bureau, Childrens Part of Domestic Relations Court, Bronx, New York. It indicated that investigation be ordered on April 16, 1953. The cover page of this report reflected background data regarding OSWALD and his family. It was indicated that OSWALD was born October 19, 1939, New Orleans, Louisiana, and resided at 825 East 179th Street, Apartment 3C. OSWALD's father was listed as LEE, with notation,

11/27 & 135 East 22nd Street,
12/2/63 NYC

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On _____ at _____
Assistant Director in Charge
JOHN F. MALONE/ggr

File # _____
12/2/63

by _____ Date dictated _____

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MARG OSWALD

Marguerite OSWALD

Marguerite CLAVERIE OSWALD

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~~OSWALD~~

Mrs. Robert Lee Harvey OSWALD

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deceased 1939, and his mother was listed as MARGUERITE CLAVENE, age 45, born New Orleans, Louisiana.

It was noted that Mrs. OSWALD was in good health; was of the Lutheran faith and her occupation was sales lady with a salary of \$45 per week plus two percent commission. Her marital status was indicated as

Approx. 1908

widow with her date and place of marriage listed as 1929, New Orleans, Louisiana. Other members of OSWALD's family were listed as JOLLY, age 21, United States Coast Guard, stationed in Staten Island, New York, and ROBERT L. OSWALD, United States Marines. One relative was listed as Mrs. LILLIAN SIGUORETTE, New Orleans, Louisiana. A notation appeared at the bottom of the cover page of this report stating that Truant Adjudication had been made on April 16, 1953 by Justice DELANEY.

New Orleans, La.

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Page one of this report contained the following:

"Case #23979

"CHILD'S NAME....OSWALD, Lee Harvey, born 10/19/39, New Orleans, La.

ADDRESS.....825 East 179th Street, Apt. 3-C, Bx.

MOTHER:.....Marguerite (CLAVERIE)

FATHER:.....Lee Harvey

"NATURE OF PETITION:

DELINQUENT CHILD

"Petitioner, James F. Brennan, Attendance Officer, D.C. 24, respectfully alleges that on March 11, 1953 and prior thereto while residing at 825 East 179th Street, the petitioner alleges that the respondent herein has been excessively absent from school as follows: 46 full days and 8 half days from October 1, 1952 to January 15, 1953; further that the said child has refused to register in P.S. #44, Bronx, since January 15th, 1953, when he moved into that school district and that he has not attended school since that time; further that he is beyond the control of his mother insofar as school attendance is concerned.

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"Court Action: 3/12/53. JUSTICE DELANY PRESIDING. ATTENDANCE OFFICER, MOTHER BEFORE THE COURT. MRS. OSWALD REPORTED THAT THE BOY REFUSED TO ATTEND COURT. WARRANT WAS ISSUED TO BE EXECUTED ON 3/19/53.

"3/19/53. WARRANT TO BE EXECUTED.

"4/16/53. Court Action: JUSTICE DELANY PRESIDING. ATTENDANCE OFFICER, MR. BRENNAN OF D.C. #24, MRS. OSWALD ON LEAVE BEFORE THE COURT. THE HEARING WAS HELD. HIS HONOR MADE A FINDING OF SCHOOL TRUANT. LEE WAS REMANDED TO YOUTH HOUSE UNTIL 5/7/53. FOR PSYCHIATRIC STUDY.

"PREVIOUS COURT RECORD: None.

"FAMILY HISTORY: Family history was related to the P.O. by Mrs. Oswald who was interviewed in our office 4/21/53.

"Mother, Marguerite Oswald nee Claverie, a widow, was born and raised in New Orleans, La. where she obtained 2nd year high school education. Mrs. Oswald is at present 45 years of age. She is of the Lutheran faith. In 1945, the family went to Fort Worth, Texas to live, and subsequently came to N.Y.C. in August of 1952 where the family have resided since. Mrs. Oswald stated that she came to NY at the invitation of her oldest son, John, who is in the U.S. Coast Guard, stationed at S.I. NY. She and Lee lived with John and his wife in their Manhattan apartment for about a month, but moved out when some friction developed. At the present time, Mrs. Oswald is employed at Martin's Dept. Store, Bklyn, NY earning \$45. per week. She works five days a week, being off on Weds and Sundays. The hours are from 9:45 A.M. to 6 P.M. Mrs. Oswald states she generally leaves home about 8:15 A.M. and returns at 7:15 PM.

*MAR 31 1953 *OSWALD*
*MARG-IE *OSWALD*
E. APPROX. 1952

"Father, Robert Lee Harvey, died in 1939 of a heart attack. Mr. Harvey was born and raised in New Orleans, where he attained a high school education. He died at

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"the age of 45. At the time Mr. Harvey was an insurance agent.

"The Oswalds were married on 7/19/29. Out of this union the first for each party, were born three children. They are as follows:

"John, 21 years of age, presently U.S. Coast Guard, stationed in S.I. John is married and has one child. Family reside here in N.Y.C.

"Robert, 19, presently in the U.S. Marine.
"Lee, 13, presently before the court.

"Mrs. Oswald described the relationship with her son, Lee, as being a good one. The boy is described as being no problem at home. According to the mother there has been no institutionalization in the family and ethical and moral standards in the home appear good. All members of the family are in good health.

"HOME AND NEIGHBORHOOD: Family reside in a residential area of the Bronx. The neighborhood is one of middle-income family, having adequate housing. Delinquency rate in this area is low. There are adequate recreational facilities nearby. Mrs. Oswald occupies a three room furnished apartment consisting of one bedroom, parlor and kitchen. Lee sleeps in the bedroom and Mrs. Oswald sleeps in a studio couch in the living room. PO was unable to visit the home due to the fact that Mrs. Oswald is employed and no arrangements could be made to visit the home. However, the A.O had previously visited the home and described it as being clean and nicely furnished home.

"SCHOOL RECORD: Lee is registered at P.S. #117, class 7-10. This is the school he last attended. Upon his arrival from Texas in Sept. the boy attended a Protestant Parochial School and then transferred to P.S. # 117, Px, At P.S. #47 the boy had an attendance of being absent 46 whole days and two half days, from Oct. 1, 1952 to Jan. 15, 1953. The boy as transferred at that time to P. S. #44 but he refused to attend. Lee has not attended school since that time.

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"RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS: Lee is a Lutheran. He was baptized at the Trinity Lutheran Church at New Orleans, La., in Nov. 1939. They has not made his Communion nor Confirmation. Mrs. Oswald indicated that she and Lee do not go to Sunday Service, as they have been in N.Y. a short time and do not know any churches or congregations nearby.

"LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES AND SPECIAL INTERESTS: Lee was interviewed by the PO 4/23/53. The boy indicated that he does not belong to any organized group or part taking in any organized activity. The boy states that he generally gets up at 9 A.M. and watches TV and reads magazines until 3-4 P.M. in the afternoon. He indicated that he did not know anybody and hence did not go out to play. The boy states that he seldom goes out and stays home most of the time. The only occasion for his going downstairs is when he goes down on errands but not to play. He indicated that he formerly collected stamps. He was a football fan. The boy states he used to have a hobby of molding clay, collecting stamps but he does not do so anymore. He is a football fan, likes horseback riding. The boy states, "I like to be by myself and do things by myself."

"MENTAL AND PHYSICAL CONDITION : Lee is a boy of average height and weight. The boy had a normal birth and had the usual childhood illnesses which consisted of the measles, chicken pox, mumps and whooping cough. The boy impressed the PO of a boy of normal mental and physical development.

"PETITIONER'S STATEMENT: "See Nature of Petition."

"CHILD'S VERSION AND ATTITUDE: Lee, quiet boy was interviewed by the P.O. He is a boy of average height and weight. Lee was pleasant and friendly though withdrawn to himself. During the interview the boy's expression was one of

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"Indifference. He had more or less of a blank expression registered little enthusiasm nor emotions. When questioned, he generally answers affirmatively by saying 'I guess so. He tried to evade an impression of unconcern as to what had taken place.

"The boy admitted the allegations of the petition. When questioned regarding his staying out of school, the boy states, "it takes up too much of my time. I could be doing other things, playing around and looking at magazines. He further indicated, 'I don't like school. It's too hard to do, I am not able to do the work.'

"Lee told the P.O. he did not like the teachers, the school nor the children in school. He stated, 'I like myself.' When PO inquired as to his relationship with his mother, the boy stated 'Well I've got to live with her. I guess I love her.'

"The boy told the PO that he had too much difficulty making friends and hence he likes to be to himself. He indicated that he had more fun being alone.

"The PO observe that the boy is somewhat shallow and seems to be immature to have little capacity for comprehension. Lee indicated that he would like to go into the service when he is 18. He told the P.O. that he has two brothers in the service, but he does not miss them. The boy states that he liked school in Texas but as he got older he found that he had other things he wanted to do. The boy would not enumerate other things he had to do except that he had a lot of things. Questioned as to his aim in life in what he wanted to do, the boy replied, 'I want to let me go home and be by myself. PO inquired of Lee as to whether he would return home, whether he would attend school. The boy replied, 'I have a choice between going to school here between going to school or in an institution. Does it matter? O.K. I go to school here. Lee stated that while he liked Youth house he miss the freedom of doing what he wanted. He indicated that he did not miss his mother.

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home to play with. Mother indicated that she has a home in Texas, which she plans to sell. At present she is in no financial condition to return to Texas. The boy has no other family there to whom he can go.

"Mrs. Oswald believes the present attitude of indifference and lack of concern is one of defiance. She attributes his behavior to that of adolescent behavior or growing up pains. The mother points out that when the boy first came here, she lived on Grand Concourse and the boy had difficulty in getting along with other children because of his manner and custom, that his mode of dress was different and he had a different accent. The boy at the time dressed a great deal in 'jeans' levis whereas the other boys in the neighborhood seem to be more or less better dressed. This seem to have had some sort of affect upon the boy.

"Mrs. Oswald indicated that while she realizes that the boy had little family life at home, that she is unable to give him adequate supervision, she would not want the boy placed. She would prefer to have the child remain home. However, should the situation arise where she believe that placement seems absolutely necessary, she indicated that she would cooperate with any plan that the court may have.

"SOCIAL AGENCY RECORD: Oswald Marguerite (Claverie) & James-John Youth House, 4/21/53, Margarite & Lee (int. son Lee) Community Service Society, Family Div. #219065 1/16/53.

"EVALUATION AND RECOMMENDATION: Lee Oswald, 13 year old boy of the Lutheran faith, is before the court for the first time. The boy had admitted the allegations of the petition. According to the boy, he is not attending school as he feels that he has many more important things to do. Aside from this, he has indicated that he does not like his teachers, his classmates nor the school. The boy has expressed a desire to be left alone.

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"The PO discussed living in N.Y. with Lee. Lee indicated that he found N.Y. all right to live in. He indicated that it was immaterial to him as to where he live_.

"P.O. noticed that this boy seems to have no drive, no ambition, he seems to be content with merely just living. In our discussion with the boy, nothing seems to register with him.

"PARENTAL VERSION AND ATTITUDE: Mrs. Oswald was interviewed by the PO on this date. Mrs. Oswald impressed the PO as an intelligent, well-meaning middle-aged woman, good education and background.

"It is Mrs. Oswald's belief that the boy's difficulty stems from the fact that he has not been able to meet the change in his environment. She describes him as always being a 'loner'. He would generally play along and if boys joined him he would play with them. At school he was captain of the baseball team. In Texas, she states, the family had a home with a yard, a dog, and the boy would get along fine. Here in N.Y. family occupy an apartment and there is nothing for the boy to do. Mrs. Oswald described the boy as introvert, the boy who has difficulty in making friendships as he made no effort to initiate any. Generally Lee waited for the children to make overtures to him. Regarding the boy's school attendance, the mother states that he was always an average student in school. He likes school and seem to attend regularly. The mother feels that the boy moving to a different community and being placed in the midst of different nationalities and crowded apartment conditions, has had an adverse effect on the boy, that he has retreated into a shell. Mrs. Oswald indicated she recognizes the boy's problem but there's little she can do. She mentioned to the PO that the family formerly had their own car, their own home and that the boy had two brothers at

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"The boy, the P.O.'s observed, is a friendly, likeable boy, who prostrays very little emotions. Reaction to the present situation was one of indifference. The mother, while she seems a well meaning intelligent woman is unable to give Lee adequate supervision, due to her long working hours. Much of Lee's difficulty seems to stem from his inability to adapt himself to the change of environment and the change of the economical status of the family. The record reveals the family was of means, having their own home in Corning, Texas, seemingly a full family life thus Lee had had two brothers living with them. Coming to N.Y.C., and moving into a crowded area, without his brothers, amongst varied groups, who dressed and spoke different from the boy Lee has been unable to find acceptance and has retreated into a shell wherein he prefers to confine of his apartment to that of dealing with other children.

"The P.O. feels that this is a dangerous situation for the boy to isolate himself from other social contacts with children his age. The matter has been discussed with his mother. The possibility of returning to Texas or Louisiana was discussed with the mother, but she is unable to do so due to her present financial condition. While Mrs. Oswald is opposed to placement, she feels that she would go along with it, if it seems absolutely necessary.

"The P.O. feels that we are dealing with a boy who feels a great deal of insecurity and the need for acceptance. As it does not seem that this can be done with the boy remaining at home but it was felt that perhaps placement in an institution where these needs can be met would be beneficial at this time. However, recommendation is being held in abeyance pending the receipt of the psychiatric examination.

"ALL OF WHICH IS RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED:

J. X. CARRO
"JOHN CARRO
PROBATION OFFICER.

"JC:cms
5/1/53-- 5/1/53 "

N.Y.

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"SUMMARY FOR P.O.'S REPORT PSYCHIATRIC DONE ON 5/1/53.

'This 13 year old well built boy has superior mental resources and functions only slightly below his capacity level in spite of chronic truancy from school which brought him into Youth house. No finding of neurological impairment of psychotic mental changes could be made. Lee had to be diagnosed as 'personality pattern disturbance with schizoid features and passive-aggressive tendencies.' Lee has to be seen as an emotionally, quite disturbed youngster who suffers the impact of really existing emotional isolation and deprivation, lack of affection absence of family life and rejection by a self involved and conflicted mother. Although Lee denies that he is in need of any other form of help other than 'remedial' one, we gained the definite impression that Lee can be reached through contact with an understanding and very patient psychotherapist and if he could be drawn at the same time into group psychotherapy. We arrive therefore at the recommendation that he should be placed on probation under the condition that he seek help and guidance through contact with a child guidance clinic, where he should be treated preferably by a male psychiatrist who could substitute, to a certain degree at least, for the lack of a father figure. At the same time, his mother should be urged to seek psychotherapeutic guidance through contact with a family agency. If this plan does not work out favorably and Lee cannot cooperate in this treatment plan on an out-patient basis, removal from the home and placement could be resorted to at a later date, but it is our definite impression that treatment on probation should be tried out before the stricter and therefore possibly more harmful placement approach is applied to the case of this boy. The Big Brother Movement could undoubtedly be of tremendous value in this case and Lee should be urged to join the organized group activities of his community, such as provided by the PAL or YMCA of his neighborhood.'

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"s/s ~~Renatus Hartogs~~, I., D., Ph., d,
Senior Psychiatrist." *N.Y.*

" 5/7/53. COURT ACTION: Justice ~~Mc Clancy~~ *N.Y.* presiding. Boy and his mother before the court. PO reported on the case. Justice Mc Clancy talked to the mother and boy at some length. After reviewing the record at some length and reading the Psychiatric report, Justice Mc Clancy continued the boy on parole to 9/24/53. His Honor advised the boy that he was to return to school as soon as possible to attend school regularly. Mr. Brennan the A. C. is to return the case to court should the boy fail to do so. Justice Mc Clancy requested that a referral be made Community Service Society for possible work at their therapeutic treatment for this boy.

"Lee was paroled to 9/24/53. Later the PO phoned the C.S.S. and spoke to Mrs. ~~Olga Benjamin~~ *N.Y.* regarding the possibility of referring the boy to that agency. Mrs. Benjamin indicated she would discuss this matter with Mrs. ~~Carver Hall~~ *N.Y.* who will contact the PO. In the meantime she suggested that we contact the Salvation Army to see whether they could possibly provide the facilities in the treatment that this boy needs.

"PO later interviewed the mother and boy and advised Mrs. Oswald that a referral would be made to a Family Agency and that she is to keep these appointments when she is notified. Both mother and boy promised to cooperate.

"J. Carro, PO (cms)

"5/7/53: P.O. contacted Mrs. Olga Benjamin, Social Worker of C.S.S., regarding possible referral of Lee

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to their agency. Mrs. Benjamin indicated that they have a long waiting list and that the situation requires a great deal of attention and skill. She indicated that Mrs. Oswald had been seen by them on 1/53 when the case was explored as it was referred to them by the Federation of Protestant Welfare agencies. An appointment was made for Mrs. Oswald for 1/30/53, which she did not keep. No further contacts have been had with this family. Mrs. Benjamin recommended that we contact the Salvation Army which she felt might be in a better position to meet this boy's needs at this time.

"J. Carro, P.O. (es)

"6/4/53: P.O. contacted Mr. Wilcox, Social Worker, Salvation Army, regarding possible acceptance of the case. Mr. Wilcox promised to call back.

"J. Carro, P.O. (es)

"9/8/53: Material returned from Salvation Army rejecting the boy as the Salvation Army feels that they cannot offer any useful service to the boy. Salvation Army indicates that the boy, as pointed out in the psychiatric report, is severely disturbed and would need direct psychiatric treatment in a Child Guidance Institution. This is a service they cannot offer.

"J. Carro, P.O. (ES)

"9/24/53: Mrs. Oswald telephoned on this date, to state that she would be unable to appear in court. She pointed out that she felt that there is no necessity for her to return to court as the boy has made a marvelous adjustment. Lee returned to school on May 7th and had a very good attendance record thereafter. At the present time he is in the 9th grade

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at P.S. 44 and recently had the honor of being elected class president. The P. O. spoke to her in terms of having the boy attend our Treatment Clinic, as Intake is now open and the P. O. felt that this boy could benefit from the group therapy that they would be able to offer. Mrs. Oswald appeared very resistant to this plan and her attitude was such that reflected another unwillingness to enter into any sort of arrangement at this time. She indicated that the boy seems to be doing well and would like to have him left alone as she feels that our stepping into the picture at this point would have a harmful effect. P.O. advised Mrs. Oswald that we would continue the boy under the supervision of the court for a period longer to see how he adjusts.

"J. Carro, P.O. (es)

COURT ACTION: 9/24/53: Justice ^{NY} Fogarty presiding.
No appearance.

P.O. reported on the case. His honor continued the boy on parole to 10/29/53 for progress report.

"J. Carro, P.O. (es)

"10/21/53: Progress report which was requested on 10/16/53 from P. S. 44 received on this date. Boy indicates that since the term commenced he has been present in school 21 3/2 days and absent 1-3/2 days. His conduct is described as unsatisfactory. The school reports that the child has shown no improvement. Mrs. Oswald does not cooperate with the school authorities. She did not answer to a summons to come to school about her son's welfare. During the past two weeks practically every subject teacher has complained to me about the boy's behavior. He has consistently refused to salute the flag during early morning exercises. In many rooms he has refused to do any work whatsoever.

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He spends most of his time sailing paper airplanes around the room. In several instances he has struck classmates. When I spoke to him last Thursday about his behavior, his attitude was belligerent. When I offered to help him, he brushed out with, "I don't need anybody's help." (Signed) ~~W.J.~~ Rosen, Teacher) ~~W.J.~~

"J. Carro, P.O. (r1) D. 10/3

"In view of the above report, PO discussed the situation with supervisor, who felt that placement at this time may have to be contemplated.

"J. Carro, P.O. (r1)

"10/29/53: Mrs. Oswald telephoned on this date, stating that she would not be able to appear in court. She had the keys to her job and would have to be there. She indicated she would be able to come to court on some other day if notified by P.O.

"J. Carro, PO (r1) D. 10

"10/29/53: COURT ACTION: Case on School Part Calendar. Justice Sicher presiding:
No appearance.

PO reported on the case. Judge Sicher continued the boy on parole to 11/19/53 for placement plan and directed PO to make a referral to Berkshire Industrial Farm. If Berkshire Farm is not available to take the boy, Judge Sicher gave permission to the court to refer the boy to Children's Village.

"Parents to be notified to appear 11/19/53

"J. Carro, P.O. (r1) D.10/30
Tr. 11/2

"11/19/53. PO contacted Mr. Rosen of P. S. 44. Mr. Rosen indicated that since Mrs. Oswald's visit to the school to discuss the situation with them, Lee

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has been getting along very well in school. The boy is now saluting the flag and is showing a great deal of improvement. Mr. Posen stated that he is no longer a behavior problem in the school

"J. Carro, PO (r1) D. 11/23

"11/19/53: COURT ACTION

Justice Sicher presiding.

Case on School Part Calendar.

Mrs. Oswald and her son, Lee,

and counsellor Nielson appeared before the court. His Honor ex-

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"11/19/53: Court Action Cont'd

"plained to Mr. Neilson and Mrs. Oswald, the function of the court. Mr. Neilson indicated that Mrs. Oswald desired to have Lee discharged from supervision of the court, as she felt that the boy was presently no problem at this time and that she was capable of coping the child.

"Judge Sicher talked to the mother and counsellor at some length and advised them that Lee was a child who was in need of treatment, as the reports of the examination made on the boy seemed to bear out; and hence, would not consider discharging the boy at that time. The mother was opposed to referral of the boy to any other agency.

"His Honor talked to the mother at some length and advised her that it would be for the best interests of Lee to have her cooperate with any plans that the court might have to offer at this time. Judge Sicher instructed PO to refer the boy to the court treatment clinic and to make a reference to the Protestant Big Brother. Case was paroled to 1/28/54 for a report on that date.

"1/5/54: Mrs. Oswald telephoned PC this date. PO, talked to her in the absence of Mr. Carro, who was on vacation. She stated she wished to speak with PO concerning the fact that she had to leave the city. After a long discussion with her and not receiving definite information, PO advised her to be at court to see Mr. Carro 1/11/54 with Lee and if needed, the case could be passed on. Mrs. Oswald agreed to do so.

"In the afternoon, Mr. ~~X~~Groetz of the Protestant Big Brothers called at the office regarding the same matter. He indicated that he would telephone on the morning of 1/11. Mr. Groetz indicated that he believes the mother

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"is anxious and willing and has found her most cooperative. PO did not find any chronological sheet which must have been made out for clinic but is not with the papers they returned.

"T. P. Dunn, PO for
J. Carro, PO (rl) D.2/1

"12/21/53: Material on Lee Oswald returned from Court Clinic this date. A letter was attached indicating that the family's lawyer to inform us that the family is moving to New Jersey. (Material filed in case record.)

"1/26/54: Mrs. Barnes, A.O., phoned this date to indicate she had received a letter from Mrs. Oswald indicating she had left and taken Lee with her to live in New Orleans, La.

"Mr. Groetz, Protestant Big Brother, also phoned PO this date to inquire as to whether or not Mrs. Oswald had contacted PO as to her plans to move to New Orleans; she had indicated she wished to discuss the situation over with PO.

"J. Carro, PO (rl) D.2/1

"1/28/54: COURT ACTION:

Justice Polier presiding.
A.O. present only.

PO reported on the case. Mrs. Barnes, A.O. showed the court a letter from Mrs. Oswald indicating she was leaving for La. Justice Polier adjourned the case to 3/11/54 for report as to the whereabouts of the boy and his mother.

"J. Carro, PO (rl) D.2/1
Tr.2/5

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"3/11/54: COURT ACTION: Justice Delany.
No appearance. Attendance
Officer, Mrs. Barnes, P.O. before the court. Mrs. Barnes
reports that reply from contact with New Orleans, La.
received indicates that they have no information as
to the whereabouts of the family. A former assoc.
thinks the family may be living in California.
Justice Delany discharged the case on this date
since Lee is no longer in our jurisdiction.

"J. Carro, P.O. (es)"

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The file also contained a report dated April 30, 1953, and signed by EVELYN STRICKMAN, which reflected the following:

"This is a seriously detached withdrawn youngster who has preserved some ability to relate but is very hard to reach. He is laconic and taciturn and while he answered questions he volunteered almost nothing about himself. Toward the end of the interview he occasionally would say something gratuitously without my asking him but on the whole everything had to be pulled from him. What is really surprising is that this boy has not lost entirely his ability to communicate with other people because he has been leading such a detached, solitary existence for most of his life.

"He told me that he was at Youth House for truancy and his truancy is caused because he feels that he would prefer to do other things which are more important. Questioning at first elicited 'Oh, just things' but what I finally learned from him is that he spends all of his time looking at television, leafing over various magazines or just sleeping. Apparently his truancy really became serious when he moved up here from Fort Worth with his mother about five or six months ago, but he never did like school and apparently never formed relationships with other people.

"The story that I got from him condensed is very much as follows: His father died he believed before he was born and he doesn't know a thing about him. He evinces absolutely no curiosity about him, says that he never missed having one and never thought to ask about him. His mother was left with three children, John who is 21 and in the Coast Guard and who has been stationed in New York for the last two years, Robert who is 18 and is a pilot in the Air Force Marines and Lee who is 13. The mother apparently supported these children by working as an Insurance Broker and she was on the go all day long. He does not remember anyone else ever having taken care of him and apparently when he was an infant she either left him in the care of his older brothers or he shifted for himself. She would leave early in the morning and come home around seven or eight at night after a hard day's work in which she was driving the car around all day trying to sell insurance. Occasionally she took Lee with her on these trips but he wrinkled his nose and said it was very boring because she was always making stops, going into houses and trying to sell people things. Lee ate lunch in school and often made his own meals. It was interest-

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"ing that occasionally when his mother did make meals he was dissatisfied with them and would complain to her because she had just thrown things together. Her answer always was that she was so tired after a hard day's work that she hadn't felt like fussing. Lee saw little of his brothers because of the age difference, partially, and also because John was working when they were living at Fort Worth. Robert was always going out with his own friends and neither of the older boys wanted Lee tagging after them. It was already during this period that he was experiencing difficulty in school, not he said because he couldn't do the work but because he just never really felt like it nor thought that it was very important. He learned to read very adequately and denied any feelings of inferiority in relation to other kids his own age in school but he said he used to have trouble with English Grammar and with Arithmetic. He spent very little time with the boys in his neighborhood preferring to be alone and when he came home from school would simply sit in the house, listen to the radio, looking at television or looking at different magazines.

"After both boys entered the service and John was stationed in New York, his mother decided to come to New York in order to be near John. They arrived here about five or six months ago and moved into John's apartment on East 92nd St., in Manhattan. In response to questioning Lee told me that while John seemed glad to see him, his sister in law, Margie, apparently was very unhappy at the fact that Lee and his mother shared the apartment for a while until they could find a place of their own. Lee said that she seemed like a rather cold person who wanted to be alone with John and did not make his mother and him feel welcome. Although there were five rooms in the apartment, Lee was given a place to sleep in the living room and admitted that this was very much in line with what he had always been led to expect from grown ups - nobody ever had any room for him. His face lighted up however from its usual impassive expression when he talked about the three months old baby and he admitted that he had found a good deal of enjoyment in playing with it.

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"After they stayed with John for a couple of months, his mother finally found an apartment on the Grand Concourse in the Bronx. It is a small apartment with one large room and again of course Lee does not have his own room and sleeps in the living room. His mother had found work as an assistant manager in a woman's wear shop and she is away again all day. He mostly makes his own meals and spends his time alone in the apartment because he doesn't enjoy associating with the boys in the neighborhood.

"Questioning about Lee's mother elicited the response that in a way she was very much like him. She didn't talk to people at all very much and while she had a few friends who occasionally came to visit she was equally silent with them. When Lee and she are home alone together he is not uncomfortable with her but they never have anything to say to each other. She never punishes him because she is the kind of person who just lets things ride. For instance, he volunteered that when he started to play hockey she told him to go to school 'but she never did anything about it'. When I had wondered if he had wished that she had done something about it, he nodded and what finally emerged was that he just felt that his mother never gave a damn for him. He always felt like a burden that she simply just had to tolerate and while she took care of his material needs he never felt that she was involved with him in any way or cared very much what happened to him. It was hard for him to say whether she acted the same toward his brothers because he had never noticed but his general feeling was that adults were not to be trusted, that if they gave you anything they always seemed to want something in return and that you really couldn't look to adults for anything. He is much more prone to trust boys his own age but admits he is not successful in making relationships with them mostly because he doesn't want to. He really prefers to be alone. He doesn't really feel that anybody in this world cares for him and he doesn't really care about anybody else. Although his brothers were not as detached as his mother apparently he experienced some rejection from them too and that they always pushed him away when he tried to accompany them and they never could really meet any of his needs. He told me that he had to be his own father because there was just no one there for him. His money needs were met

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"by his mother who would give him an occasional quarter or something on a week end to go to a movie down at Fort Worth. As far as buying magazines and other stuff was concerned he said he never bought very much so she never gave him very much. She would buy his clothes without consulting him but he said that he didn't resent this because he usually liked what she brought home. She was apparently completely detached from him however and they had absolutely no communication with each other. She always left him to shift pretty much for himself and showed no concern about him whatsoever.

"As a result he withdrew completely into a detached and solitary existence where he could just do as he wanted to and didn't have to live by any rules and regulations nor come in contact with people. He would stay in bed till eleven or twelve o'clock, get up and make himself something to eat and then sit and look at a magazine or look at a television program. He slept a good deal if he were able to although he says that he never fell asleep in the day.

"When they first came to New York, his mother entered him in a private Lutheran school because she thought that he would like that but after two months he decided that he didn't want it anymore and started truanting because he just didn't seem to find it very interesting or important. He was then transferred to a public school in the Bronx and quit going altogether.

"Lee was able to respond to expressions of understanding and sympathy for his lonely situation which I offered, although he denied that he really ever felt lonely. Questioning revealed that he feels almost as if there is a veil between him and other people through which they cannot reach him but he prefers this veil to remain intact. When I questioned whether it were painful or disturbing for him to see me today since in a sense I was tearing away the veil he let me know that it was not as bad as he might have anticipated. He was not too comfortable in talking with me but he was not as disturbed in talking about his feelings as he thought he might be. This gave an opening for me to inquire into his fantasy life and what I got was a complete rejection of any probing and a reminder that 'this is my own business.' I let him know that I respected this but there were some

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"things I had to know. Supposed I asked him questions and if he wanted to he would answer. He agreed to this and actually answered every question that I asked. He acknowledged fantasies about being all powerful and being able to do anything that he wanted. When I asked if this ever involved hurting or killing people, he said that it did sometimes but refused to elucidate on it. None of these fantasies incidentally ever involved his mother. He also acknowledged dream material which he said was entirely pleasant in nature and which was usually a fulfilment of fantasies that he might have had when he was awake. He refused however to talk about these at all although he did mention that these dreams also sometimes contained violence. He denied any hallucinatory or delusional experiences whatsoever and denied any distorted body images. His developmental history was essentially negative except for a mastoid operation and a tonsilectomy when he was 7. He remembers being frightened but remembers nothing else about the experience.

"When we talked about future planning for him Lee said that he wanted to return home and he was adamant in his feeling that if he were placed in any kind of a boarding school he would run away. He regards this as a loss of his freedom and privacy and confided that the worse thing about Youth House was the fact that he had to be with other boys all the time, was disturbed about disrobing in front of them, taking showers with them etc. He has been away to Camp a couple of times in life when he was a kid and had enjoyed those experiences and mingled with other boys but it was different from the experience he had had here at Youth House. He doesn't fight with anyone here, he just detaches himself completely. He was willing to acknowledge with me that home offers him very little but he wants it this way. Actually if he could have his wish he would like to be out on his own and maybe join the service. He acknowledged the fact that in the service he would have to live very close to other people and obey orders and follow a routine which he finds extremely distasteful but he said he would seal himself to that and make himself do it. In the meantime if he had his way he would prefer to be on his own and he said that if he were placed in a school and ran away he wouldn't go home again he would just start out for himself. We talked about these feelings at some

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"length in terms of the fact that no boy of 13 was ready to do this, plus the fact that these feelings that no one cared about him and that he was all alone in the world were really very painful and that maybe he needed the experience that these were grown ups who were interested in him and cared about what happened to him. He didn't care however and thought that he just preferred to be alone. I pointed that what happened to him eventually was really the court's decision but we discussed the alternatives on which the court might decide. Placement he rejected. When I broached the possibility of talking with a case worker if he were returned home, he wanted to know for how long and I told him it would be an indeterminate period. He finally decided that although he didn't really want this and would prefer to remain as solitary as he has always been if it came to a choice between placement and going to a case worker, he would chose going to a case worker. He also thought that if it were an alternative between placement and going back to school, he would make an effort to go back to school and to attend regularly.

"My own feeling is that it might be as difficult as at first it seemed to establish a relationship with the boy and that he might possibly be drawn into therapy. Just how successful such planning would be cannot be determined of course until I have had an opportunity to interview his mother. Interestingly enough when I asked questions about what they talked about when she came down here to visit him, he said that actually she didn't say very much. She just brought him some candy and asked how things were going and they sat pretty much in silence throughout the whole visiting period.

"vp

"Interview with Mother

"Mrs. O. is a smartly dressed, gray haired woman, very self possessed and alert and while making a superficial appearance of affability I felt that essentially she was defensive, rigid, selfish and very much of a snob.

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"One of the first things she wanted to know was why Lee was at Youth House because she had no clear understanding of the purpose of the institution. Before I even had a chance to explain to her she went on to ask me if he had received a complete medical examination and in my answering in the affirmative, confided to me that she had noticed lately he had gotten very big 'down there' and that while of course he was getting a little too big for her to look at him, she had been worried lest something was the matter with his genitals. She went on to tell me that she had had him to a Doctor six months ago for a head to toe examination and the Doctor had examined the boy in her presence. He apparently did not examine the boy's genitals and Mrs. Oswald had insisted upon this so he asked her to step from the room. She said she wasn't gone but a few minutes when he called her back and said there was nothing the matter and she somehow felt very dissatisfied with the examination. She went on to explain to me that her excessive interest was caused by the fact that her middle son Robert, upon being examined for entry into the Marines was found to have a hydrocele and that she had wondered if perhaps this were the case with Lee too. When I indicated that we had found nothing the matter with his genitals she then looked at once relieved and I felt a little disappointed.

"Mrs. O gave her current 'analysis' of the reason's for Lee's truancy.--The upset in moving from Ft. Worth,--Tēxās. She went on to tell me that she herself had been very much discomforted by the change and in my expressing interest I learned from her that she had found it very difficult to adjust to New York and is sorry she came here. She indicated that she has always been a manager of shops of one kind or another and made it a point never to mix with her help. She said they were always respectful to her at home but that here in New York, employees talk back to her etc. and she finds it extremely difficult to take, complaining of their arrogance. Furthermore she feels that life moves at a much faster pace here living conditions are unsatisfactory, etc. Later on in the interview after I had gained her confidence much more she confided to me that she had come here from Ft. Worth because she thought that it might be better for Lee since he was suddenly left alone

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"after Robert joined the Marines and she wants to be close to what family she had for his sake. With her eyes filled with tears at this point and she told me that she had come to New York to be close to her son, John. There had been an exchange of letters and long distance telephone calls and apparently John and his wife were very anxious for her to come, but she said that when she got here, she found an extremely cold reception. Her daughter-in-law is only 17 and apparently went out of her way to let Mrs. O. know that she could not settle with John and herself permanently. Mrs. O. said that she had had no such intention although she had rather expected her daughter in law to put her up until she could find a job and get an apartment. She said she was made so uncomfortable there however that she moved just as soon as she could to an extremely inadequate one room basement apartment. The living conditions were extremely miserable and she felt that Lee was becoming very depressed but she could not help herself. Just as soon as she was able and had found another job, she took a three room apartment in the Bronx and said that Lee seemed to perk up considerably after this.

"According to Mrs. O. she had never had any difficulty with Lee while they were living in Ft. Worth at all and disclaimed any knowledge of the fact that he had played hookey there. She felt that if he had said this it was really only to rationalize his playing hookey up here. She told me that he had always been an extremely quiet boy as was John and she felt both of these boys were like her. Even as a little kid Lee had never mixed freely with other children and she told me she felt this was in response to her teaching. She had always been a working woman who didn't have to worry about his wandering off or associating with other children in their houses so she instructed him to stay within the yard and he always did so. If other kids came to play in his place it was all right but he seemed never to go to other boys. She said that as a matter of fact when other boys did approach him to play he usually preferred to be by himself and she felt that this was in his nature and that one couldn't change people's natures very easily. She herself found nothing wrong with this and told me that Mr. Carro Lee's Probation Officer had

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"remarked to her that the boy seemed to be completely without feeling and that he withdrew from others. She herself did not see anything strange about this and told me that she herself was not a very gregarious person either and had never felt the need to make friends.

"In response to questioning I learned from her that she had lost her husband when she was seven months pregnant with Lee. He died suddenly one morning at 6 A.M. of a heart attack. Near the end of the interview she confided to me in a burst of confidence that she had had a rupture with her husband's family at this time since when he died at 6 A.M. she wanted him buried the same day. Her thought had been for herself and the baby she was carrying since she felt that she could do her husband no good by having a Wake and a funeral and she thought it would be just decent to get him out of the way as quickly as possible. His family had been completely agast, said that they never saw anything as cold in their whole life and had not spoken to her from that day to this. She had to rely upon her neighbors help when Lee was born and she has never had anything to do with her husband's family since that time. She justifies herself at great length to me said that she did not feel it was cold but only sensible and that her husband when he used to joke with her had always said 'Mag, if anything happens to me just throw some dirt in my face and forget about it' and she felt she had acted according to his instructions.

"When I offered that it must have been rather difficult for her to half to be both parents and bread earner at the same time, she told me very proudly that she had never found it so. She said she was always a very independent, self-reliant person who had never wanted any help from anyone, had always had 'high fululent' ideas, which she felt to a large measure she had accomplished, and she always was able to pull herself up by her own bootstraps. When I asked if hers had been a good marriage, she said yes and went on as if I hadn't said anything but questioning revealed that she had come from a family where her mother had died when she was only two years old. The father raised six children with the help of housekeepers and she said she was brought up in an extremely poor neighborhood in New Orleans where she was forced to mix with Negroes and other people but even though she played with them and made friends with them she always had again 'high fululent' ideas and managed to make something of herself.

"Mrs. O. said that after her husband died, she stayed at home for two years taking

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"care of Lee and the other two children and living on insurance he left. When this ran out and she found she had to get a job, she placed John and Robert in a Lutheran Home for about six years from what I could gather and she moved in with Lee into her sister's house. Her sister cared for Lee while Mrs. O. went to work but when the sister began to object she had a large number of children herself, Mrs. O. also placed Lee in a home until she felt that all the kids were old enough so that she could take them home and go to work too. I pressed for information at this point and from what I could gather Lee was not in the home for more than 3 or 4 months. Preceding his placement in the home however, there was a period when Mrs. O. had moved out of her sister's house and taken a furnished room because she said she needed a clear mind to go to business and couldn't be bothered with a child. Apparently she left Lee to her sister for about a year or more while she lived apart from him.

"When she finally reconstituted her family apparently she left the kids pretty much to their own devices since she was working all kinds of hours and often did not get home until late at night. She tells me that when she was working in the insurance business however, she only worked two or three hours a day and was able to spend a good deal of time at home. Questioning revealed however, that all of her kids were extremely quiet, rather withdrawn infants who never made much demands on her and always played quietly by themselves. Of this she was very proud. Lee was a full term normally delivered baby what was bottle fed and toilet trained about one year. He walked and talked normally, as she put it and she never had any difficulty in raising him but she said that he was always a very stoic child who for instance, when the dentist offered to fill one tooth would insist that he fill all four at once.

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"She told me that the boy had once had a terrific infection on his ankle which he didn't know anything about until she started bathing him and which the doctor had been very concerned about but Lee who was about five at this time had not even complained. When he was five he also underwent a mastoid operation but she said he was completely happy-go-lucky about it and it didn't seem to affect him at all. Mrs. C. incidentally bathed all her children herself until the time they were 11 or 12 and then said in an embarrassed manner that at that age they got a little too old for her to look at.

"Mrs. C. railed and railed against NYC laws which she felt in a large measure were responsible for the way Lee acted. She said that when he first began to truant, the truant officer picked him up in a police car and took him back to school and thought that was just atrocious. She felt that the boy had been given a criminal record for no good reason at all and told me that she felt that she had been allowed to handle things in her own way she felt she could have gotten around it. She said she had had a problem in truancy with John too and to a lesser extent with Robert and had been able to handle it with both these boys.

"When John was 14 and began to truant Mrs. C. told him that if he wants to be a bum that was all right with her so he went out and got a job and held it for about six months. At the end of that time he told her that he was going back to school and continued there ever since. Robert only played hockey for about four times and she was able to handle this by talking to him. Mrs. C. was not aware of whether or not Texas had a law that kids under 16 had to be in school but apparently they didn't bother John during the period he was out. She said she felt Lee could be stubborn and defiant just as she would be if someone kept stressing with him the way the truant officer had with Lee that he had to go to school because the NYC law said so. She said she

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"was not aware at first the boy was truanting although he told her he didn't want to go to school, but he did used to go up every day and get dressed and get out and so she assumed he was there. After she found out he was truanting, she started to talk with him made several visits to the school etc., but apparently got no where. In the meantime he was truanting from November through March and she warned him that they could take him and put him away if he didn't go to school but Lee did not believe her. She felt however, that the biggest mistake had been the way they approached the boy and in a way she agreed it had now gone so far that she didn't know if she could handle it or not. When I wondered what it was that she wanted, she felt she wanted to be able to raise her own child the way she saw fit. She agreed that truancy if carried to a certain extent could be considered a problem. She was not so willing to consider it a problem that Lee did not make friends and associates but when I discussed with her a little the extent to which the boy had withdrawn and the fact he was really alone all day she agreed that there was something not quite right about this. She said she wouldn't be so concerned if he was in school all day and associated with other boys and then wanted to be alone but the fact that he was alone all day long and half the night too apparently since she didn't get home till late, didn't look so good to her.

"I now explained to her the purpose of Lee's being at Youth House in terms of a diagnostic study and the fact that while our psychiatrist here was free to make recommendations actually it was the court's decision. We now discussed together the two alternatives on which the Court might decide one being probation with psychotherapy and the other placement in a school. She listened extremely intently and when I discussed school placement with her seemed not to avert to the fact that if Lee were sent off to a school, it might be good for him. The thing that made her exceedingly angry was that she felt if the boy were given another chance and sent home it should be what she called a real chance and should not involve having to report to a P.O. or 'talk to a stranger' which was the way she felt about his going to a social worker. She was adamant however, in her feeling that she really did want him to have one more chance with the knowledge that if he played hookey for even one day he would have to be put away in a home. I had the feeling that the

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"basis of this was a need to assert her own volition as it were against the authority represented by the court, rather than any real understanding of Lee's welfare or his needs.

"I honestly don't think that she sees him as a person at all but simply as an extension of herself. Interestingly enough by the way although Lee was a planned for baby because her husband, her self wanted a girl, I take it that she was rather disappointed at having a third boy.

"I discussed with her what actually would change for Lee if he went home again and the truancy started. To her way of thinking she could not see the truancy as symptomatic of anything and apparently thinks of it as an act of defiance which in a sense of course is really true but she doesn't mean this. I have some real question at this point about just how much Mrs. O. could offer Lee since I feel that her own attitude about social worker's probation, etc. would inevitably communicate itself to the boy and that if he started showing improvement in therapy I have the feeling she is one of these mother's who would have to break it up. On the other hand Lee himself is so averse to placement at this time that I have some question too as to what would be accomplished by sending him away. He has withdrawn completely here at Youth House. I have spent some time watching him with other boys and he doesn't participate or mingle in any way but keeps himself completely aloof.

"EVELYN STRICKMAN 4/30/53 sp"

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The file contained the following:

"Youth House, Social Worker's Report, Bronx, 5/7/53, Case No. 26996, Date of Admission 4/16/53, Name OSWALD, LEE, born October 18, 1939, Address 825 East 179th Street, Bronx, N.Y., Father LEE (Dec), Social Worker EVELYN STRICKMAN, Mother Margarite.

"PSYCHIATRIC STUDY

"Lee Oswald is a seriously detached, withdrawn youngster of thirteen, remanded to Youth House for the first time on a charge of truancy. There is no previous court record.

"Laconic and taciturn, Lee answered questions, but volunteered almost nothing about himself spontaneously. Despite the fact that he is very hard to reach, Lee seems to have some ability to relate which in view of the solitary existence he has been leading, is somewhat surprising. There is a rather pleasant, appealing quality about this emotionally starved, affectionless youngster which grows as one speaks to him, and it seems fairly clear that he has detached himself from the world around him because no one in it ever met any of his needs for love.

"Lee said he was at Youth House for truancy and that his truancy was caused by his preference for other things, which he considered more important. Questioning as to what these things were elicited the answer 'Oh, just things' but it was finally learned that Lee spent all of his time looking at television and reading various magazines. He said his truancy never became serious until he moved up here from Fort Worth, Texas, about five or six months ago. He never liked school, however, and never formed close relationships with other people.

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"By persistent questioning, the information received from Lee was as follows: his father died before he was born and he doesn't know a thing about him. He has no curiosity about his father, says he never missed having one, and never thought to ask about him. His mother was left with three children, John, 21 in the Coast Guard and stationed in New York for the last two years; Robert, 18, a pilot in the Air Force Marines and Lee. Lee said his mother supported them by working as an insurance broker and she was on the go all day long. He doesn't remember anyone else taking care of him and he thinks she either left him in the care of his older brothers or else that he shifted for himself. She would leave early in the morning and come home around seven or eight at night after a hard day's work. Occasionally he went with her, but found her frequent stops to sell insurance boring, while he waited for her in the car,

"Lee ate lunch in school and often made his own meals at night. When his mother did make meals, he was often dissatisfied with them, and complained to her that she just threw things together. Her answer was that she was too tired after a hard day's work to feel like fussing.

"Lee saw little of his brothers, partially because of the difference in their ages and partially because the older boys were either working or going out with their own friends, so that they didn't want Lee tagging after them. Lee spent very little time with the boys in the neighborhood, and preferring to be alone, when he came in from school would watch television or read magazines. It was during this period that he was already experiencing difficulty in school. He said it wasn't because he couldn't do the work, but he never felt like it or thought it was very important. He learned to read adequately but felt he had trouble in English grammar and arithmetic. He denied any feelings of inferiority in relation to the other boys in his class.

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"After Lee's brothers entered the service and John was stationed in New York, his mother decided to come here to be near John. They drove up five or six months ago, and moved into John's apartment in Manhattan. Questioning revealed that while Lee felt John was glad to see them, his sister-in-law, Marjorie, was unhappy about their sharing the apartment until they could find a place of their own and she made them feel unwelcome. Lee had to sleep in the living room during the periodical though there was five rooms in the apartment and he admitted that this made him feel as he always did feel with grownups - that there was no room for him. His face lost its usual impassive expression for a moment when he talked about John's baby, however and he said he had a good deal of fun playing with it.

"Lee's mother finally found an apartment of her own on the Grand Concourse in the Bronx and she also found a job as an assistant manager in a woman's clothing shop. This meant that she was away from home all day. Lee made his own meals and spent all his time alone because he didn't make friends with the boys in the neighborhood. He withdrew into a completely solitary and detached existence where he did as he wanted and he didn't have to live by any rules or come into contact with people. He stayed in bed until eleven or twelve, got up and made himself something to eat and then sat and looked at magazines. When they first came to New York, his mother enrolled him in a private Lutheran Academy because he thought he would like this. After two months he didn't find school interesting or important so he started to truant. He was then transferred to a public school in the Bronx at which point he stopped going to school altogether.

"When questioned about his mother's reaction to this he said she told him to go to school 'but she never did anything about it.' When he was asked if he wished that she would do something he nodded and finally emerged with the fact that he just felt his mother 'never gave a damn' for him. He always felt like a burden that she had to

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"tolerate, and while she took care of his material needs, he never felt that she was involved with him in any way or cared very much what happened to him. When Lee and his mother are home together, he is not uncomfortable with her, but they never have anything to say to each other. She never punishes him because she is the kind of person who just lets things ride. It was hard for him to say whether she acted the same way towards his brothers, because he never noticed. Although his brothers were not as detached as his mother was, he experienced rejection from them, too, and they always pushed him away when he tried to accompany them. They never met any of his needs. He said he had to be 'my own father' because there was never anyone there for him. His mother bought his clothes without consulting him (which he didn't mind too much) and gave him an occasional quarter, but she was completely detached from him and they had little communication with each other. He felt that she was very much like him, in a way, because she didn't talk much. She has a few friends who visit occasionally, but she is equally silent with them. Lee feels that his mother has always left him to shift pretty much for himself and showed no concern about him whatsoever.

"Lee was able to respond to expressions of understanding for his lonely situation, but he denied that he really felt lonely. Questioning elicited the information that he feels almost as if there is a veil between him and other people through which they cannot reach him, but he prefers this veil to remain intact. He admitted, however, the tearing aside of the veil in talking to a social worker was not as painful as he would have anticipated. He was not comfortable in talking but he was not as disturbed in talking about his feelings as he thought he might be. When this was used as an opportunity to inquire into his fantasy life, he responded with a reminder that 'this is my own business'. He agreed to answer questions if he wanted to, rejecting those which upset him and acknowledged fantasies about being powerful, and sometimes hurting

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"or killing people, but refused to elaborate on this. None of these fantasies involved his mother, incidentally. He also acknowledged dreaming but refused to talk about the dreams other than to admit that they sometimes contained violence, but he insisted that they were pleasant. Lee's developmental history was negative except for a mastoid operation and a tonsillectomy when he was about seven. He remembers that the operations frightened him, but nothing else about them.

"Talk about future planning produced the fact that Lee wanted to return home, and his assurance that he would run away if he were placed in a boarding school. Being away from home means a loss of his freedom and privacy to him, and he finds it disturbing living with other boys, having to take showers with them and never being alone. He was away to camp several times during his life and he enjoyed it, but it was very different than his present experiences. He was willing to acknowledge that home offered him very little but he said he wanted it this way. If he could have his own way, he would like to be on his own and join the Service. While he feels that living that close to other people and following a routine would be distasteful he would 'steel' himself to do it. Since he rejected placement, the possibility of a return home with casework help was breached. Lee finally decided that although he didn't really want help, and would prefer to remain as solitary as he has always been if it came to a choice between placement and going to a caseworker, he would choose the latter. He said, too, that if it were a choice between placement and going back to school, he would make an effort to return to school and go regularly.

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"Observation of Lee's relationship with other boys during his stay at Youth House showed that he detached himself completely, and repulsed any efforts at friendship by others. Although he reacted favorably to supervision and did whatever was asked of him without comment when on his floor he sat by himself and read. At 8:15 every evening he asked to be excused so that he could go to bed. The other boys appeared to respect his seclusion and didn't force themselves on him. He did not encourage conversation with anyone, and when asked questions was very terse in his replies. He was very neat and clean and always finished his work before going out to the floor.

"In the recreation area he was usually quiet and withdrawn sitting by himself. If he did become involved in any minor altercation he was very hostile and belligerent and somewhat defiant of supervision. He seemed to be respected by group members who left him alone.

"This pattern of behavior was also noted in school, where he was quiet, cooperative and respectful of authority but avoided contact with members of his group. He seemed timid and fearful of physical contact.

"There was some very minimal movement in his relationship with his social worker, although it was so small as to be almost not noticeable. Ordinarily when approached he remained polite but uncommunicative but when he was shown some special attention and concern when he had an earache, he responded somewhat. He never sought his caseworker out, and asked for nothing, nor did he volunteer anything further about himself.

"Mrs. Oswald, Lee's mother was seen for an interview at Youth House. She is a smartly dressed, gray haired woman, very self-possessed and alert and superficially affable. Essentially, however, she was revealed as a defensive, rigid, self-involved person ***** in accepting and relating to people.

"One of the first things Mrs. Oswald demanded to know was why Lee was at Youth House but she gave no opportunity to explain the purpose of his stay here and instead wanted to know if he had received a complete physical examination. She had not been satisfied with a recent examination particularly with the genitalia. When she was told that our examination had reveals nothing unusual, she looked at once relieved and disappointed.

"Mrs. Oswald gave what she termed her 'analysis' of the situation as the move from Fort Worth to New York as being the reason for Lee's truancy. She herself had been very discomfited by the change, and said she was sorry she came, since she is finding it difficult to adjust to New York. At home where she was also a manager in women's shops, she had found her 'help' with whom she made it a point never to mix, very respectful but here she complained of their arrogance. Furthermore, she found living conditions difficult. After her confidence was gained somewhat Mrs. Oswald said that she had come from Fort Worth to be near John, because Lee was left so much alone after Robert joined the Service. Her eyes filled with tears as she said there had been an exchange of letters and telephone calls with John anxious for her to come, only to find out on arrival that her daughter-in-law was extremely cold. The daughter-in-law is only 17 and went out of her way to let Mrs. Oswald know she could not stay with them permanently. Mrs. Oswald said she had had no such intention, although she did expect her daughter-in-law to put her up until she could find an apartment and a job. She was so uncomfortable there, however, that she took Lee and moved into a very inadequate basement apartment, where Lee seemed to become very depressed. As soon as she could she found an apartment in the Bronx and he seemed to perk up considerably.

"According to Mrs. Oswald, she never had any difficulty with Lee in Fort Worth and she disclaimed any knowledge of his truancy there. She said he had always been a very

"quiet boy, as was John and she felt they were like her, while Robert was like their father. Even when Lee was little, he never mixed freely with other children and she wanted it this way because she had always been a working woman who didn't want to have to worry about his wandering off or associating with other children. She instructed him to stay in the yard and he always did so. If other boys came to play with him that was all right, although when other boys did approach him to play, he usually preferred to be by himself. She thought this was in his nature and that one couldn't change a person's nature. She didn't see anything strange about his seclusiveness and said she was not a gregarious person herself and she had never felt the need to make friends.

"Questioning revealed that Mrs. Oswald had lost her husband when she was seven months pregnant with Lee. He died suddenly one morning of a heart attack and in a burst of confidence she confided that since then, she has not spoken to his family. He died at 6 A.M. and she wanted him buried the same day because her thought was for herself and the child she was carrying and she didn't think she could do her husband any good by an elaborate funeral or a wake. His family was horrified and said they never saw anything as cold as this. They have avoided her since and she had to rely on neighbor's help when Lee was born. She justified herself at great length as not cold but 'sensible.'

"When it was offered that it must have been difficult for her to be both parents as well as the breadwinner, proudly she said she had never found it so. She felt she was a very independent, self-reliant person, who never needed help from anyone, and who pulled herself up by her own bootstraps. Her mother died when she was only two, and her father raised six children with the help of housekeepers in a very poor section of New Orleans of mixed racial groups. She always had 'high-falutin' ideas and managed to make something of herself.

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"After her husband died, Mrs. Oswald stayed at home for two years, taking care of the children and living on the insurance her husband left. When this ran out, she placed the two older boys in a Lutheran Home and moved in with her sister who took care of Lee while she worked. At one point, Mrs. Oswald moved out and took a furnished room because she felt she had to have a free mind to work, and couldn't be bothered with a child. When her sister began to complain, however, since she had a houseful of children of her own, Mrs. Oswald placed Lee in the Lutheran Home for three or four months too and the brought all the children home again.

"After she reconstituted the family she left the boys pretty much to their own devices since she was working all kinds of hours and did not get home until late at night. All the boys were extremely quiet, rather withdrawn children who made little demands on her and played by themselves. Of this she was very proud. Lee had a completely uneventful development except for the mastoid operation when he was five, but he was a very stoical child who never complained of pain. Mrs. Oswald bathed all the children herself until they were all 11 or 12, when, she said in an embarrassed manner, they got a little too old for 'me to look at'.

"Her feeling was that New York City laws were in a large measure responsible for Lee's continued truancy and that if they had left things to her to handle, she could have managed him. John also had been a truant and she let him go out to work until he decided that he wanted to go back to school. At first she had not been aware that Lee was truanting, since he dressed and left every morning, but when she found out, she talked to him and made several visits to the school, but got nowhere. She warned him that he could be put away, but Lee didn't believe her. She thought the biggest mistake was the way the Bureau of Attendance approached the boy, and said they were making a 'criminal out of him'. She wanted to be able to raise her own child the way she saw fit. She agreed that if truancy were carried to a certain extent it could be a problem. She would not agree that Lee's seclusiveness was a problem, although she finally admitted that there was something not quite right

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about the fact that he was entirely alone. She wouldn't be worried if he saw boys in school during the day and then wanted to be alone, but if he was alone all day and half the night it didn't look so good. She listened attentively to the possible alternatives the court might order to solve the problem, but she was angry at the idea of probation saying that this wasn't a 'real chance'. She also felt that involvement with a social worker was 'talking to a stranger' and she didn't think this was a 'real chance' either. She thought that he ought to have a chance to see if he could go to school without any probation officer or social worker to interfere and then, if he played hookey for even one day, he ought to be put away in a home. Her plan seemed to be more of an expression of her need to assert her own volition against authority than any understanding of Lee. She didn't seem to see him as a person at all, but as an extension of herself.

"Lee Oswald is a seriously withdrawn, detached and emotionally isolated boy of 13, who is at Youth House for the first time on a charge of truancy. Lee came here from Ft. Worth, Texas with his mother about six months ago and he has been unable to make an adjustment in New York. The root of his difficulties which produced warning signals before he ever came here, seems to lie in his relationship with his mother. Lee feels that while she always cared for his material needs she was never really involved with him and didn't care very much what happened to him. There was no one in his family who could meet his needs for love and interest since his father died of a heart attack two months before he was born and two older brothers now 21 and 18 were involved with their own friends and activities and repulsed his advances. Lee became a seclusive child who was thrown upon himself and his own resources and he never made friends with other children. His mother who worked and who, when he was an infant, demonstrated her need to shift responsibility for him by leaving him with her sister and then placing him for awhile in a Home, appears to be a rigid, self-involved woman with strong ideas and she has little understanding of this boy's behavior nor of the protective shell he has drawn around himself in his effort to avoid contact with people which may result in hurt for

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him. It is possible that her own negative attitude about casework help and probation officers may communicate itself to Lee, interfering with his chances for help. On the other hand there would be little accomplished by placing him in the impersonal setting afforded by an institution without seeing, first, if he can be reached in therapy. Despite his withdrawal, he gives the impression that he is not so difficult to reach as he appears and patient, prolonged effort in a sustained relationship with one therapist might bring results. There are indications that he has suffered serious personality damage but if he can receive help quickly this might be repaired to some extent."

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The file contained a Youth House Psychiatrist's Report of RENATUS HARPOGS, M.D., Ph. D., Senior Psychiatrist, dated 5/7/53, Bronx County, New York, concerning an examination on May 1, 1953, of LEE HARVEY OSWALD, age 13, Case No. 26996. This report stated as follows:

"This 13 year old, well built, well nourished boy was remanded to Youth House for the first time on charge of truancy from school and of being beyond the control of his mother as far as school attendance is concerned. This is his first contact with the law.

"He is tense, withdrawn and evasive boy who dislikes intensely talking about himself and his feelings. He likes to give the impression that he doesn't care about others and rather likes to keep to himself so that he is not bothered and does not have to make the effort of communicating. It was difficult to penetrate the emotional wall behind which this boy hides and he provided us with sufficient clues, permitting us to see intense anxiety, shyness, feelings of awkwardness and insecurity as the main reasons for his withdrawal tendencies and solitary habits. Lee told us: 'I don't want a friend and I don't like to talk to people.' He describes himself as stubborn and according to his own saying likes to say 'no.' Strongly resistive and negativistic features were thus noticed but psychotic mental content was denied and no indication of psychotic mental changes was arrived at.

"Lee is a youngster with superior mental endowment functioning presently on the bright normal range of mental efficiency. His abstract thinking capacity and his vocabulary are well developed. No retardation in school subjects could be found in spite of his truancy from school. Lee limits his interests to reading magazines and looking at the television all day long. He dislikes to play with others or to face the learning situation in school. On the other hand he claims that he is 'very poor' in all school subjects and would need remedial