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DETERMINANTS OF SEX DELINQUENCY IN ADOLESCENT GIRLS BASED ON INTEN- SIVE STUDIES OF 500 CASES

ANNE T. BINGHAM¹

Ever since its organization in 1908 the work of the New York Probation and Protective Association has been essentially individual in its nature, and in 1913, as an important part of individualized treatment, routine intensive studies of the Waverley House group of delinquent girls were undertaken. An analysis of five hundred adolescent girls with sex experience studied over a period of five years forms the basis for this report. It was started without any a priori conception of what conclusions might develop from it. It was thought, however, that we might learn from such an analysis the strength and weakness of our methods of study and treatment and thus become more efficient; also, we hoped to gain valuable information regarding causative factors of delinquency, to see whether or not there was consistent conduct for different mental groups and what formulations could be made regarding general measures for meeting such social questions as delinquency, feeble-mindedness, etc.

What did we find? First, that our methods were fundamentally sound in that diagnosis preceded treatment; second, that there was probably nothing new in the general mass of our information regarding family and education, occupation or companions; third, that the answer to the question why girls were sex delinquents lay primarily not in any hereditary, environmental, physical or mental factors, any or all of which might be practically the same for their brothers and sisters who were not conduct problems, but that the answers were as varied as the girls themselves and must be found in the *girls' own individual make-ups which reacted to condition and circumstances in ways peculiar to themselves*; fourth, that there is no constant correlation between physical and mental states and delinquency and that delinquent girls cannot be satisfactorily placed in a few simple categories and treated with uniformity; fifth, that there is no consistent conduct of different mental groups because of varying personality traits, differences in emotional balance and in habit formation; sixth, that, although

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all measures which effect social betterment are helpful in dealing with delinquency problems, treatment to be really efficient must be individual.

The group chosen for this study does not represent consecutive cases, but is rather an arbitrary selection determined by the fact that there was comparable material for all. Hence, it is a selected group from a selected social group, and in drawing conclusions from such, one is constantly hampered by a lack of comparative material gathered from similar or from different social fields. We know that sex delinquents are common in all grades of society, in all occupations, in all types of educational institutions, yet it is not until people are actually caught in conflict with some social order that they are available for study in any satisfactory way. The questionnaire method tried with "normal" people is seldom really illuminating, even though those who co-operate do so with apparent sincerity and intelligence. The work of Weidensall² and Bronner³ on comparative groups of supposedly non-delinquents is valuable and suggestive, but lacks investigation.

The girls selected for this study come from sources that are almost as varied as the girls themselves. Over sixty referring agencies are represented, which, briefly summarized, are different courts, city and federal departments, state and city institutions, state, city and private philanthropic societies, similar organizations outside of New York state, parents or other relatives of girls, as well as people outside the family but interested in its welfare. In addition, there were girls referred by friends who themselves either were or had been at some previous time under the care of the New York Probation and Protective Association. Over twenty-five per cent of these cases came through various courts which are unquestionably showing an increased disposition to refer cases for the definite purpose of having physical and mental examinations made. Forty per cent of such cases referred by the courts proved to be either feeble-minded, psychopathic or epileptic, while thirty per cent were borderline or markedly unstable individuals, recidivists in the making for whom especially wise dispositions were needed. In view of such a high percentage, how can anyone be blind to the need for systematic study of delinquents?

In this long procession of 500 girls who have found their way to Waverley House, there were very many important witnesses in murder and white slave cases, complainants in rape cases, prospective mothers seeking to make bastardy charges or waiting admission to maternity

²Mentality of Criminal Women.

³A Comparative Study of the Intelligence of Delinquent Girls.

hospitals; runaways whose reasons for leaving home ran through the gamut of emotions, from anger following a petty quarrel which homesickness soon cooled, or from disappointment and resentment because a cruel parent refused to buy her daughter a mustard colored coat, to shame and desperation on the part of those who sought to conceal the results of wrongdoing in a big city. One thinks of girls charged with larceny, some of whom attempted to rationalize their behavior by claiming that they were underpaid and that more than the value of the articles taken rightfully belonged to them. There were other girls sent for examination by organizations who had patiently and vainly worked with them and who looked for light from these examinations as a last resort when they might have had the benefit of such help throughout the management of the case. In a strikingly large proportion of such cases the fact of mental abnormality was established by an examination. There was, besides, a group characterized by feeble physical resistance, many of whom were referred by the social service departments of hospitals. A prominent representative of this type is a choreic with frequently recurring attacks who had been the rounds of hospitals and dispensaries in New York and in at least two other large cities and who will probably always be a dependent. They are all distinct personalities, these 500, and as such they resist attempts at any close classification.

In terms of mental status, which is later treated in considerable detail, the following grouping has been made: Twenty-eight per cent are of normal intelligence; thirty-seven and two-tenths per cent mental defectives; twenty-six and four-tenths per cent are constitutional psychopathic inferiors who present anomalies in volitional and emotional spheres; five and eight-tenths per cent belong to the mentally diseased group, exhibiting either well-defined psychoses or distinct aberrational tendencies; two and six-tenths per cent are epileptics without accompanying mental deficiency or deterioration.

METHOD OF STUDY

The sources of information are the girls themselves, the referring agencies, parents and other relatives, schools, employers, neighbors, friends, social and religious organizations.

The different parts of the individual study are (1) the girl's own statement; (2) investigation; (3) physical and (4) mental examinations; (5) reaction to Waverley House environments; (6) a short resume which seeks to correlate the significant findings of the foregoing.

As a general rule, the girls are readily accessible and, except in psychopathic cases, one is rarely baffled by an uncoöperative attitude. That egotism common to the adolescent undoubtedly makes the girl willingly respond to an opportunity to talk about herself if she is tactfully handled. There was conspicuously less suspicion in the Waverley House group than was encountered in a series of 100 workhouse women, many of whom were prostitutes, who were studied in 1914.*

The topics concerning which information is sought in the *girl's own statement* are as follows:

1. *Family History*, which includes age, birthplace, occupation, religion, education and health of husband, children, parents, brothers and sisters; significant facts relating to physical and mental abnormality, habits, behavior, etc., in paternal and maternal relatives.

2. *Religion*: Sect; regularity in church attendance; practical bearing of religion on life and general behavior.

3. *Education*: Age on leaving school and grade attained; regularity of attendance; progress; attitude towards school; studies particularly hard or the reverse; industrial training.

4. *Occupation*: Age on beginning work; positions held and for how long; wages; date of and reasons for leaving; moral conditions regarding companions and employers.

5. *Recreation*: Fondness for sports, for moving pictures (kind enjoyed), for theatres, for dancing (places frequented), for reading (favorite books), for music, for sewing and embroidery, etc.

6. *Alien History*: Ports of sailing and entry; name of steamer and line; date when entered United States; name on sailing list.

7. *Institutional History*: Names (dependent, reformatory, hospitals, etc.); reasons for admission and discharge; influence; disposition; results.

8. *Court History*: Date of and place of arrest; charge; disposition; result.

9. *Personal History*: Consecutive development of delinquent tendencies from reminiscences of early behavior and experience to present difficulty. Attitude towards home, family and friends, towards delinquency with reasons for same.

Investigation is one of the most important parts of the intensive study of cases. We have found it important in confirming or disproving significant particulars in the girl's statement. If a patient is mentally incompetent, she may not be able to give accurate information; if of normal intelligence, she may deliberately misrepresent or she may unwittingly omit details which have important bearing on her

*See V. An. Rep. New York Probation and Protective Association—A Study of 100 Women in the Workhouse. Published also in Rep. of Department of Correction, 1914.

conduct. It is desirable for the investigator to get as nearly as possible a continuous history of the reaction of the individual to various new adjustments which environmental changes present, such as school, employment, amusements, etc. The attitude of the family towards the girl's delinquency should also be ascertained, as it affords valuable information concerning the moral atmosphere of the home. An inclination on the part of parents to regard a daughter's pregnancy as an insignificant detail if a marriage can be arranged throws light on the domestic standards of that household. Investigation of a family is further valuable, as it offers a rational standard of comparison for the case being studied and it may be of great assistance in making a constructive disposition. Facts gathered during investigation may also render valuable service in preventive work for other members of the family.

That an investigator must be tactful and not perfunctory, if she is successful, goes without saying. Time is not lost in establishing a friendly attitude before personal questions are asked, and it must be made plain if there is any suspicion to the contrary that interest in the girl and not curiosity animates the worker. Often the fact that a case is unsettled may make a family more communicative than they might otherwise be, but, on the contrary, it should not be forgotten that a fear that adverse information may bring about an undesired disposition may lead to inaccessibility or to prevarications. A discreet investigator will not make the mistake of passing on to a family information unfavorable to them which the girl has given and which, if known, might easily lead to further estrangement. The best investigator is one who gives as little and who gains as much information as possible and who records conditions as she finds them without much personal interpretation in a clear, logical, definite manner.

The taking of a *medical history* precedes the physical examination and comprises inquiries regarding general physical make-up, previous diseases, neurotic traits, accidents, operations, age at puberty, menstrual history, sex habits, pregnancies, abortions, venereal diseases, etc.

The physical examination includes taking of weight and standing height, neurological tests, general inspection of eyes, nose, mouth, throat, teeth, trunk, abdomen, examination of heart and lungs, of pelvic organs and of the blood for venereal disease (Wasserman and Complement Fixation test for gonococcal infection) except in cases where clinical signs make a diagnosis readily possible. Where indicated, following this preliminary general examination, cases are referred to clinics dealing with specialized defects.

When positive reactions for venereal disease are found, treatment has been sought even though there were no clinical signs which rendered the patient immediately infectious. In spite of the fact that it has not always been easy to secure treatment for these clinically clean cases because of limited bed space for venereal disease, insistence has been laid on the importance of treatment in order to prevent the appearance of later manifestations, a point worthy of consideration in view of the youth of our group.

The *mental examination* has included both psychiatric and psychological tests. Information obtained from a study of the social history, especially regarding the ability to make adjustments to ordinary situations encountered in family life, school, work and social intercourse, has been correlated with the findings of the mental examination in making up the mental status. In all cases we have studied the personality as manifested by traits and behavior.

Reaction to Waverley House environment has been a practical test of adaptability to a new situation and, to some extent, of learning capacity, as well as dexterity along manual lines. A period of observation may either supplement or modify a personality study or it may establish a diagnosis in an obscure case. Consequently, a place where such observations can be secured is considered necessary for the successful handling of problem cases.

The *resume of the case* embodies and correlates significant, verified data relating to family and personal history, physical and mental condition, and, based on the above, it contains suggestions for disposition or treatment.

The following summarized case is presented to illustrate methodology:

Winnie Ellis.

May 9, 1916.

Age: 17 years; born in New York, August 7, 1898.

Family History: Parents Jewish, natives of Hungary, married there, coming to this country about nineteen years ago. Neither one has good health, the father having serious stomach trouble, the mother gall stones.

Of seven children, the four oldest are married and have comfortable homes. A brother, aged 21, and another, aged 14, live at home. The latter is delicate. All the others are well.

Education: Graduated from grammar school at 14; always promoted; attended regularly; did good work. Studied stenography and typewriting in a business school, attending four nights a week for about a year.

Work: Cashier in a restaurant, 7 months, \$6 a week; discharged because of "certain irregularities" and untruthfulness.

Forelady in a yarn factory, 6 months, \$6.50 a week. Work not satisfactory. Said to be uninterested, incompetent, not punctual, quarrelsome.

Clerical work, 2 weeks, \$7.50 a week. Work unsatisfactory. Flirted with salesmen who came into the office.

Physical Condition: Is a well developed and pretty girl. Slight degree of anæmia; possibly pregnant.

Personal History: Has always lived in New York where she has had a comfortable home. From childhood she has wanted her own way. After leaving school she began going frequently with girl friends to various moving picture shows and to theatres, and says: "The trouble with me was I saw a little of the gay life and it fascinated me."

In January, 1915, she became acquainted with a Jewish fellow, about four years older than she. They went out together, but he would never go to her home, although she went to his. After about two months he seduced her in his sister's house, after which they frequently had intercourse, which Winnie acknowledges was a physical temptation for her. He talked often of marriage, but explained that postponement was necessary for financial reasons.

About five months ago he told her he needed some money for his business and asked her if she could not get some for him, promising "to make good." Soon after Winnie seized an opportunity to take from her brother-in-law's store several articles of jewelry said to be worth about \$200. These she gave to her lover, who pawned them.

Early in January, 1916, she found herself suddenly deserted. She wrote several times to her lover, but never received any answer. She was piqued and jealous and then partly as a result of this feeling and partly because she longed for pretty clothes, which she saw no chance of getting by legitimate means, she began promiscuous relations with men from whom she received from \$3 to \$5. From March 4, 1916, until March 10, 1916, when her brother located her, she lived in a furnished room and acknowledges having gone to hotels with men.

At the suggestion of the Home, she was brought to Waverley House by her brother for investigation and recommendation. Her family excuse themselves for not keeping better track of her by saying she was so young that they had not believed she was seriously delinquent, although they knew she kept late hours.

Mental Examination: Winnie's attitude toward the mental examination was that of ready and intelligent co-operation.

She shows no evidence of being psychopathic and, although her excellent physical development, which suggests maturity, has

so far outstepped the mental that a distinct retardation is noticed when the higher mental faculties are involved, nevertheless, the girl is mentally competent. Her rating by the Binet-Simon score is 12.2. Her general mental habits have been so well established that if combined with application they would make for efficiency.

The results of school work are good. There is a considerable amount of general information, facility in verbal expression, excellent auditory memory and the ability to grasp and execute confusing directions. Motor control is good and good method is shown in performances. Routine work is quickly accomplished. but in situations requiring the exercise of reason and judgment the results are inferior.

Winnie does not visualize vividly and what imagination she has is not constructive in character. Repeatedly she has demonstrated her tendency to make foolish choices when there was opportunity for independent action.

She seems selfish, willful, hard, calculating and ready to defend herself with little regard for consequences other than those which involve her gratification. She seems quite devoid of altruistic motives in conduct and her interest in situations does not extend beyond her viewpoint.

As a robust adolescent she has responded to physical appetites. The physical attractiveness which excites vanity in the girl, a quality which is probably an important causative factor in her delinquency, subjects her to much attention and to many social temptations.

She has a natural desire for pleasure and gaiety and has not been discriminating as to how her desires were gratified.

Now that her family is awake to the extent of her delinquency, it seems best to allow her to return to her home, preferably on probation, so that there may be some outside authority which she is obliged to respect.

ARRANGEMENT OF MATERIAL

The main general subjects on which information was recorded in preparing the material for this study dealt with family history, environment, personal history, physical and mental condition, causative factor, treatment and results. The headings were chosen after much thought and consultation. Although elaborated to an appalling extent (over 100) nevertheless, the sum total is inadequate in representing the real individual. At the end of the study, as at the beginning, we fully agreed with Dr. Healy's statement that statistics can never tell the whole story. That which we call personality is too subtle to permit of satisfactory tabulation and the most ordinary individual is too complex and intangible to make a reconstruction possible by means of

check marks or the statement of such facts as age, birthplace, education and the like.

An extremely conservative policy regarding the tabulation of the material has been constantly followed, as a result of which the figures presented doubtless are too low in some respects, e. g., in considering cases of mental defect or aberration in the family, we have rejected hearsay evidence and have recorded as positive only those who were known to have been diagnosed by competent examiners. We have not been able to have exhaustive heredity studies in many cases and not infrequently there is a lack of information on the part of the girl or of her immediate family concerning other relatives. This is especially true when families have been separated by emigration.

During the course of this study we have felt the need for a standardization of terms in order that the figures of different workers would be more nearly comparable than is the case with the present loose usage of words. The term, *alcoholic*, for instance, does not invariably indicate the same condition. As used in this analysis, it covers cases where there was either steady or heavy periodic drinking ("sprees"). Those who took wine or beer regularly but in moderation at meals, once habitual in many Italian and German households, have not been included in the group of alcoholics.

In the final consideration of the results of tabulation we discarded information on some of the sub-headings which proved to be meager and which we felt would be misleading or valueless.

HEREDITY

There has been abundant proof from our material that mental defect and neuropathic traits, both presumably inherited, have stood in the way of satisfactory social adjustments. We have seen, also, repeated instances of a lack of inhibitive control which appeared to characterize parents and other members of the same family and which were considered hereditary in nature, but we are not willing to say from the evidence of our study that we agree with Estabrook's statement, which appears in his general summary of "The Juke's in 1915," that there is an hereditary factor in licentiousness, unless he considers that this factor is merely a latent possibility which unfavorable environment stimulates into activity. Repeatedly have we been strongly impressed with the difficulty of obtaining clear-cut data regarding the transmissibility of this trait when the environment provides such unfavorable training and is instrumental in the formation of such faulty habits as was true for the majority of our group. We are thus heartily

in accord with Estabrook's remark which occurs in his discussion of harlotry in his book just mentioned (p. 61) and which follows the statement that he is persuaded that in many cases licentiousness was an hereditary factor. "While in many other cases harlotry is due less to an inability to inhibit sex impulses than to the absence of a prohibitive *mores*, harlotry is not 'tabu.'" The inheritance of dissolute tendencies might be suspected in the case of a prostitute where there was consanguinity in parents, both of whom were sex offenders, but in addition it should be said that the home conditions were unfavorable, the girl's companions undesirable and she was further handicapped by subnormal mentality. In another case where both parents were criminals they were of the vagrant type who never provided a decent home for their children and the latter became public charges after going through demoralizing experiences.

Such examples could be multiplied, for in not a single instance among those cases where sex delinquency occurred among the daughters of licentious parents was the environment free from influences which provided opportunities for immoral living or at least made such an easy matter for the susceptible.

In 87 of our cases (17.4 per cent) delinquency occurred also in one or more siblings, but in only 11 per cent of these 87 cases is there a criminal record for a parent and a study of these individual cases invariably shows such unfavorable environmental conditions as broken homes, neglect of children or unhappiness due to step-parents who were frequently unsympathetic if not actually abusive.

As a result of an accumulation of such data, we are led to believe that immediate personal influence, debasing surroundings, insufficient oversight, inherited mental debility or neuropathic traits, single or combined, are operative as causative factors of delinquency in those cases with which we deal in this study rather than an inherited tendency for licentiousness as such.

Information concerning illegitimacy is too limited to be of much value, as there were but 12 of the 500 (2.4 per cent) who were known to be illegitimate. These figures are nearly identical with those which Healy presents from the analysis of 1,000 repeated offenders. In 9 of our 12 cases of illegitimacy the parents were of foreign birth.

Since we do not claim to have had extensive investigations along strict heredity lines, in consequence of which our data dealing with inherited tendencies is incomplete, we regard as a significant indication of probable faulty heritage for a substantial proportion of our group the fact that in 25 per cent of the cases tuberculosis was known to

have occurred in the immediate family or in collaterals, while there were evidences of a definite neuropathic taint in the families of 37 per cent.

The vicious results of the association of weak inhibitory power and lack of mental ability are suggested by our figures dealing with sex delinquency in parents which indicate that 23 per cent of the mentally defective and 20 per cent of the aberrational cases had a sexually delinquent father or mother, which figures, if combined to cover a mentally incompetent group, are nearly double those for the balance of the 500 (22 per cent), while the criminal record for parents of corresponding groups was 20 per cent for the distinctly mentally abnormal as against 9 per cent for the others. There is likewise a notable massing of alcohol users among the parents of the mental defectives and the psychotic cases, the combined percentages for these groups being 76; that for the remainder of the 500, 35. About one-third of those with alcoholic heredity were mental defectives, but in cases where the alcoholism occurred in the parents, there were in addition so many instances of insanity among other near relatives that one is inclined to attribute the mental defect to a transmissible mental condition rather than to the excessive use of alcohol on the part of parents. To the same cause is attributed the nervous instability which we found occurring so often in the children of alcoholic parents.

Before authentic statements can be made on the subject of the relationship between parental alcoholism and filial mental enfeeblement, it is necessary that much further scientific, carefully controlled experimental work be done. We consider as highly probable the conclusions reached by Elderton and Pearson that mental and physical defects are antecedent to the use of alcohol and, consequently, that alcoholism is a symptom rather than the cause of such defects.⁵

This view is evidently shared by Goddard, who states in his book on feeble-mindedness: "Everything seems to indicate that alcoholism itself is only a symptom; that it for the most part occurs in families where there is some form of neurotic trait, especially feeble-mindedness. The percentage of our alcoholics that are feeble-minded is very great. Indeed, one may say without fear of dispute that more people are alcoholic because they are feeble-minded than vice versa."

The result of an extensive inquiry in this country several years ago, directed by Crothers, was that the injury produced by alcoholism of parents not only affected the nervous system of the immediate

⁵A First Study of the Influence of Parental Alcoholism on the Physique and Ability of the Offspring.

progeny, but that the ill-effects were also transmitted through them to the later progeny of the third generation either as a neurosis or a cerebral defect.

A suggestion made by Goddard that alcoholism may help to bring to the surface a defect otherwise lying dormant in the family applies to some of our feeble-minded cases whose parents and siblings are apparently normal.

Although our information on the whole subject available at present is too inadequate, even though suggestive, to be entirely convincing, no student of social pathology can deny that there exists a close connection between alcoholism and mental abnormality.

ENVIRONMENT

Although, as we have already stated, our material on environment contains nothing arrestingly new, and although we do not attribute to it the importance in the causation of delinquency that it has received, yet we present our findings on this topic for comparative purposes and also because environment unquestionably exerts such tremendous influence on the personality in helping to shape standards and color ideas that we regard a knowledge of this background as essential in understanding any person who is a social problem. In this study we have used the term environment in two ways: first, in the restricted sense of referring to the immediate surroundings, i. e., family and home; and second, in a wider sense, we have applied it to anything affecting the life of an individual outside hereditary, prenatal, physical and mental influences, such as companions, kinds of amusements, conditions of employment, etc.

FAMILY AND HOME CONDITIONS

Regarding the family, the first thing to impress one is the fact that in over three-quarters of the cases one or both parents were of foreign birth (in 65.2 per cent both were foreign born and in 12 per cent one was). This percentage is higher than in Healy's one thousand cases of repeated offenders where 68.2 per cent had foreign-born parents and is strikingly high compared with that for the total white population of New York City, 42.2 per cent of whom are of foreign or mixed parentage, according to the figures which appear in the census for 1920. We are convinced that such home influences as the standards and customs of other lands, as well as of a lack of progressiveness, characteristic of illiterate peasant types, are important factors

in the causation of delinquency in children. Take, for example, the difference in moral standards between Russia, Austria, Italy and the United States. Flexner⁶ says in discussing the question of demand and supply in prostitution: "At the present time the demand on the part of the continental male European is practically universal. . . . Male continence has not been required by either tradition or opinion. A low regard for women has practically left the matter one to be regulated by men on such standards as they themselves approve."

The idea commonly accepted in Germany and Austria of regarding a betrothal as sufficient ground for men and women to live together and to rear children is undoubtedly reflected in the opinions commonly heard from our girls that there is no impropriety in indulging in sexual intercourse if a promise of marriage has been made or may be reasonably expected.

In a new environment, old methods may not work out as well as in the original setting, e. g., the great care commonly exercised in Italian families regarding their daughters may be productive of great good, especially if practiced in Italy or in a strict Italian community where early marriages are favored. In such a cosmopolitan city as New York, however, where there is mingling of races, Italian girls are apt to compare their home rules with less strict ones imposed on their companions and may become very discontented and resentful. There is then a tendency to break away and to assume full self-direction, especially if in addition there is involved such an emotional influence as a lover who is *persona non grata* in the family circle. Twelve per cent of our group of runaway girls were Italians, and, as they told their stories, some of them, even while objecting in their own cases to what they considered over-stringent home rules, did not attempt to conceal their pride in the fact that as a people Italians strive to keep their daughters virtuous.

That race suicide is not an important part of the problem with which this study deals is suggested by the fact that in only 31 (6.2 per cent) of the cases was our delinquent an only child, while in two instances she was one of a family of nineteen brothers and sisters. The average number of siblings was 9, weighted average $5\frac{1}{2}$, median 4. In but 12.4 per cent of the cases was there known to be another misdemeanor among the brothers and sisters, while in only 4 per cent were there two others.

The degree of formal education reached by the parents is low, as might be expected from the large proportion of alien born. But 15.8

⁶Prostitution in Europe, p. 41.

per cent of the fathers had received a common school education and, of course, a still smaller percentage of the mothers (12 per cent). There is about the same proportion of illiteracy as of education beyond that provided by public schools for the fathers (9 per cent and 7.6 per cent, respectively), but in the group of mothers illiteracy is found in over 16 per cent. The fact that illiteracy runs high in the parents of the mental defectives suggests a high percentage of parental dullness or actual mental defect.

There is no doubt that illiteracy, which in cases exclusive of mental defectives is easily accounted for by the low educational advantages which have been offered the majority of foreign-born parents as well as by their failure to acquire the English language because of indifference or dullness, is responsible for the fact that their children, educated in this country or ambitious to learn new ways and a new language, insensibly develop a feeling of general superiority to their parents which results in intolerance of parental restraint and in lack of respect for parental opinion on any subject. Personal liberty is frequently considered the equivalent of unbridled license by indiscriminating individuals and, although this state of things is found in children of American parents as well as in those of other lands, in our cases this excessive desire for unrestrained freedom has seemed more pronounced where the parents were not natives of this country.

In general, it may be said that the parents of this group belong to an inferior social and mental order. They commonly lack initiative and plod along in lines of work which are independent of any particular training, skill or thought. The majority of the fathers were factory workers or low grade artisans. Only 2.4 per cent were engaged in professional service, but 1.8 per cent were found in the category of clerical workers. Nearly three-quarters of the mothers were housewives without any occupation outside their homes. Nineteen per cent were classified as domestic and personal service workers, while only .4 per cent held clerical positions.

From a material standpoint the homes maintained for this group are very ordinary. Although they may be a great improvement in comfort and convenience on those in the "old country," they frequently seem mean and poor to the children who are more apt in criticism than in appreciation and who would rather have a cheap victrola than enough dishes to enable all the family to eat together. Often there is an inclination and a commendable interest on the part of these girls to have their homes sufficiently attractive so that they can entertain their friends there and to this end they would gladly contribute some of

their wages. The pity is that too often parents fail to appreciate the importance of such an arrangement and the imperative need of applying their children's small wages to the fund for general family expenses hides the less insistent desirability of making their homes pleasant.

It is not strange, in view of the average limited education of the parents and their general low grade of intelligence, that little family interest is commonly shown in the school life of the children as far as progress is concerned and many times there is utter ignorance regarding the grade attained beyond the fact that working papers are not yet obtainable. The desire to have the children able to earn frequently stands in the way of encouragement to continue education after the coveted working certificates are obtainable. It should be said, however, that in some cases parents gladly make what to them are great sacrifices in order that their children may have educational advantages which they themselves have been denied.

Once the girls are earning, one often finds the most curious indifference and lack of information on the part of parents as to where the girls work, under what conditions, the attitude of employers, the kind of working companions, etc. The amount earned each week is apparently all that interests. The emphasis laid on the weekly earnings is so great that when a girl is out of work the family pressure may be terrific and undoubtedly in some cases does lead to sex delinquency. More than once we have been told by a girl that when she started out in the morning to look for work her father or mother has declared in no uncertain terms that if she failed to get a job she need not come home. Another common result of this pressure is that girls maintain to their families that they have secured work when such was not the case, persisting in the lie as long as possible and then borrowing, stealing or taking money from men to fix up a pay envelope, or actually running away when disclosure seemed inevitable in order to escape home censure or punishment. Failure to receive from her earnings for her own use what she considers her due may lead to concealment of a raise in wages and appropriation of the increase or to other deception. The poverty of many of these families is so great and the problems of a hand-to-mouth existence are so appalling that one can easily understand the urgent need for money, but the lack of judgment frequently shown by parents in the many phases of the question of occupation for their daughters is amazing.

The same is equally true regarding companions and forms or places of amusement. There may be insistence on the hour when a girl must be in, and if she stays out later she may find the door locked

and be unable to gain admittance, a device actually practiced by some short-sighted parents and not infrequently given as an excuse by the girl for immoral behavior either continued or started, but there is rarely found intelligent, sympathetic parental supervision of recreation and of friends.

Faulty habit formation repeatedly appears as an important factor in misbehavior, and may be traced back easily enough to defective home training or to none at all. Traits, which if detected early might have been modified or directed along constructive lines, become exaggerated and pathological when neglected or when unskillfully handled and may really determine social disaster. It is evident that in the building up of inhibitions training in self-control is a most important factor, but one needs little acquaintance with the family life of these girls to become fully convinced that intelligent discipline is practically a negligible quantity in their lives. From infancy on, not only are they yelled at, jerked about and hit, but even these would-be deterrents from wrongdoing are not consistently employed. An act may be severely dealt with at one time which at another may be allowed to pass without notice, or punishment out of all proportion to the delinquency may be impulsively inflicted and the effect entirely offset by an equally impulsively given threat. From early childhood these girls are conscious of injustice in their family relations, a state of things which in some natures lays strong foundations for the development of a grudge attitude and an anti-social point of view. Habituation to dishonesty in word and deed is frequently encountered in the homes where deceit of various kinds is either practiced openly or permitted. Children know, for example, that their parents often lie concerning their ages when they believe it to be to their advantage so to do, and that in other respects they are unscrupulous. Under such circumstances and with the further incentive to lie which comes from a desire to escape punishment, it is not strange that most of the girls of our group have no passion for truthfulness.

Quarreling in families is lamentably common and a "touchiness" on the part of brothers and sisters towards each other is frequently encountered which is very infantile. A lack of logic and of common sense is often displayed in their reactions to personal affronts, real or fancied, offered by members of their families and the exaggerated ruffled dignity assumed for the time being may be in ludicrous contrast to their actual behavior. With no appreciation of her loose reasoning, a girl often poutingly says by way of explaining her start in sexual delinquency: "They insulted me at home by calling me a bum, so I

thought if they called me that I might as well be one and I didn't care what happened."

The table below shows the number of known cases of anti-social behavior on the part of parents or siblings in the families of our girls. To properly evaluate these figures one should have comparative data on non-delinquents, but we do not know where to find such material. However, it cannot be doubted that such a home background as our table represents must react on the unstable group which it concerns.

Anti-Social Conduct in the Families of 500 Sex Offenders

	In Both Parents	In Father	In Mother	In Brothers	In Sisters
Alcoholism	19	159	31	17	3
Sex Offense	14	52	60	11	38
Alcoholism and Sex Of- fense	—	22	12	—	—
Criminal Record	—	37	9	19	5

As indicated in the section on heredity, the knowledge of immorality on the part of parents or of brothers and sisters, if not the actual experience of incestuous relations, tends to produce a tolerance which in some cases must act as a causative factor in personal sex delinquency. In at least one of our cases, however, it had the opposite effect. This girl was a runaway from a small mining town. She had left her home quite deliberately because she felt that conditions were no longer tolerable owing to the father's immorality, the mother's weak peevishness and the number of sickly, whining children. Early in her adolescent period, she had had one unfortunate affair, but she explained that there was absolutely no danger of a repetition, as attendance on her mother during frequent confinements had made her vow never to run the risk of a similar experience for herself. She hated her licentious, selfish father who openly maintained two establishments and who even tried to force her to be friendly with the daughter of his mistress. Attempted suicide of the mother led the girl to return home, where she has remained and made good. Her mother's despairing act helped the girl to realize her selfishness in deserting and has developed a greater sense of personal responsibility than she had formerly felt.

Alcoholism is, of course, responsible for much physical and mental wretchedness in the homes, and the easy way in which it is accepted is an indication of the commonness of its occurrence. (Thirty-one and six-tenths per cent of the fathers were alcoholic and six per cent of the mothers.)

The number of broken homes is strikingly large. In 11.4 per cent of the 500 cases both parents were dead, in 59 per cent either the father or the mother was dead, and for 23 per cent of this group there was that fertile source of trouble, a step-parent. If the latter brings children by a former marriage into the home, it is rare indeed not to find jealousy and bickering if not violent and bitter quarrels. In 12.6 per cent the parents had separated.

When the head of the family dies or becomes incapacitated, the mother frequently must become a wage earner, since the low earning capacity of the father makes saving a difficult or impossible procedure. If, then, the children are not placed in institutions, oversight is necessarily reduced. Undesirable tendencies, which if appreciated in their incipiency may be checked or diverted, often develop rapidly when unobserved. In a number of our cases we regard as an important contributory factor in delinquency the fact that the necessity of making a living for her family took the mother away from home and kept her from knowing her children's companions, and the habits which they were forming. In some instances no suspicion was felt by the mothers because the girls were never out late, but their misconduct took place after school when they were unsupervised.

The situation which arises when the girl becomes housekeeper following death or enforced absence of the mother is often full of danger for one who is not guarded by sturdy inhibitions. Tradesmen or boy friends often try to take advantage, fully appreciating the girl's lack of protection and banking on it to escape detection.

Extreme, unreasoning strictness and lack of sympathy in the recreational needs of young people have been encountered sufficiently often to entitle it to some consideration in speaking of different types of homes from which these girls have come. An extreme instance of this sort of home was presided over by a crotchety German father who enjoyed early hours himself and decreed the same for his timid wife and family of grown children. Immediately after supper he required the latter to retire; their sole form of recreation was a Sunday walk taken with him unless he chose to rest at home, in which case his family did the same. No "keeping company" was permitted until a girl had reached her twenty-first birthday and this to our seventeen-year-old girl appeared an eternity when she thought of her lover whom she fearfully allowed to accompany her each night from work to her corner. He wished to face her father and ask for permission to take her out, but could not gain the girl's consent since she dared not risk the certain wrath of her household autocrat. Going to a fur-

nished room with her lover was a result which might have been foreseen, but one for which the infuriated father took no blame.

Diametrically opposed to the above and as capable of producing unfavorable consequences is that home which is over-indulgent. Often the girls analyze the situations accurately and realize that their present difficulty is largely the result of the fact that they have always been allowed to have their own way. We have found in some cases that wholesome discipline has been withheld by a parent because of misguided pity for the half-orphaned child resulting in a well-meant but ill-judged attempt to make up the deficiency by over-indulgence. The same is true where there has been physical weakness or neurotic traits, the parents fearing that because of such conditions their children might react unfavorably to discipline.

In the majority of the cases considered in this study, it appears to us that there is a serious lack of confidence between parents and their children and as far as we can gather this attitude is not incident to adolescence, but it has grown with the years. This does not mean that many of the parents of these girls are not sincerely fond of them, but for the most part they have failed to establish such an attitude of sympathetic understanding that when wise counsel is imperatively needed or readjustment following a misstep is required, the parents are shunned rather than turned to instinctively as natural sources of strength and wisdom. This is hardly strange, for we have already alluded to the inferiority of the average parents of our group, many of whom are so defective or ignorant or unstable that one cannot blame their progeny for attempting early emancipation, though one may deplore their methods in achieving it.

Only three per cent of our cases had foster parents. In practically every such instance the homes were good ones, both from the standpoints of material comfort and of kind treatment. The fact that they were adopted children they commonly knew and it seems to have been a factor in delinquency in but one case where the discovery of the actual condition was accidental and constituted a real shock followed by some degree of recklessness.

Living with relatives was the lot of thirty-four of our five hundred cases (6.8 per cent) when they were referred to us, a condition productive of much more unhappiness and resentment than that of living in the homes of foster parents. In the former case, there was frequently an inclination to deny the right of older married brothers or sisters to supervise their lives. The same was true when it was other relatives who afforded shelter.

To 10 per cent of all cases "home" meant merely a furnished room and, as might be expected of these girls, over half were prostitutes, some of whom had left their homes in order to have greater independence for plying their trade.

Institutions

The part which institutional experience has played in the lives of these girls is of considerable importance since our figures show that one-fifth have been in child caring institutions for a period ranging from less than one to more than twelve years; approximately the same proportion have been in reformatories, while 5.6 per cent have been in both dependent and reformatory institutions. Fifty per cent of the latter group were mentally subnormal, as were 39 per cent of those with either orphanage or reformatory records.

These figures indicate that a valuable opportunity for study and for suitable disposition has not been taken advantage of and they represent concrete instance of the waste of money, time and energy which is involved when mental defectives are cared for in institutions intended for those of normal mental capacity. The work of child-caring institutions and placement bureaus would be held in higher esteem if some uniform selective process were in use whereby mentally sound children were scientifically separated from those who are not and suitable permanent care sought for the latter. The commitment of mental defectives to reformatory institutions is stupid and short-sighted from the standpoint of society, besides being unfair to the mentally incompetent, to the other inmates and also to the officers in the institution whose work, always difficult, is enormously complicated by having to deal both with delinquents who need strict discipline and with those who cannot reasonably be held accountable for their behavior and who ape that of their more clever companions.

One of the factors immediately responsible for the commitment of mental defectives to reformatory institutions is the violation of probation. Feeble-minded persons, regardless of their mental condition, are frequently placed on probation for no better reason than that they are first offenders. When these individuals, who should never have been given "another chance," find their way back to court as they commonly do, they are often committed to reformatory institutions where they help materially to swell the list of those who are "mentally incapable of receiving material benefit" from the re-education and discipline of a reformatory. Since these mentally abnormal delinquents possess potentialities for far-reaching social disaster, it

is most important that proper provision for their continued care be made as early as possible. Hence, the imperative need of establishing their mental status by proper examinations at the time of the initial court procedure in order that their first commitment may be a suitable one.

There can be no doubt that in most instances prolonged institutional experience is poor preparation for life outside. An institutionalized person is a definite entity. Initiative, resource, self-reliance are not developed to a normal degree; repression is commonly found. Morbid curiosity is stimulated and much undesirable sex information is surreptitiously obtained without opportunity being afforded for the cultivation of varied, healthy interests or for the acquirement of counterbalancing information or experience.

If in dependent institutions sex hygiene is taught at all, it is apt to be couched in such delicate terms that no definite impression is conveyed. We remember Rhoda who had spent 14½ of her 17 years in the "beautiful atmosphere" of a small sectarian "home," where all the children were carefully selected and solicitously sheltered. When puberty was established, Rhoda was primly instructed that it was "not nice" for girls who were not married to have babies, but absolutely no more definite information was given as to the details which preceded the acquisition of a baby. It was the stepson of an aunt who widened Rhoda's knowledge of sex matters. He seduced her without the necessity of having to promise marriage, for the girl made little or no resistance when assured that it was all right for her to do as he asked of her. The "home," horrified by her "shocking" behavior and hurt by her ingratitude, refused to have anything further to do with her, would not consider further community trial, but insisted that she go to another sectarian institution since she was not to be trusted.

Emotional repression and isolation from normal social contacts which are apt to result from a continued residence in an orphan asylum, together with a going forth "into the world" during the critical period of early adolescence, appear frequently to furnish reasons for the necessity of later reformatory treatment and in not all of such cases are the girls of subnormal mentality either. With very few exceptions, bad sex talk flourishes in all kinds of institutions despite the efforts of those in charge to prevent, and that this is a means of stimulating later sex delinquency must be impressed upon the minds of all who interview sex misdemeanants. This impression is confirmed by our figures which show prostitution repeatedly beginning subsequent to detention in a reformatory.

One is forced then to conclude that the influences brought to bear in institutions, notably in the shape of evil-minded and salacious associates, may be active causes of sex delinquency. Repeatedly, girls affirm that they were much worse after commitment to an institution than before, because of demoralizing sex talk, initiation into sex practices and especially because prostitution is often most alluringly pictured to a girl who has had no experience in it. The rosy impression that a sporting life is made up of pleasurable excitement, "swell clothes" and careless spending of "easy money" is doubtless accentuated by contrasting it with the gray monotony of institutional life and many a girl only waits her opportunity to be free before enjoying for herself those delights skillfully described by a fellow inmate who may be improving the time of her incarceration by playing the part of a procurer.

Working Conditions

The advantage which employers take of girls occurs sufficiently often to be considered a factor in sexual misconduct. In some cases the girls undoubtedly encourage familiarity; in others, they at least fail to resent it and in any event they are apt to be flattered by the attention given them. Without a flirtatious attitude on the part of the girls, however, employers not infrequently make despicable advances to applicants or employees when they think that they have the upper hand.

There was Sarah whose married sister with whom she lived had not allowed her to forget that her board was long overdue. In applying for a position, after a day of disappointments, Sarah plainly showed her great desire for work and was told that a good position would be given her if she would sometimes go out with the manager of the factory whose wife was "in the country." For another girl, the keeping of her situation was conditioned by her willingness or consent to go to the room of her employer. A particularly pathetic instance of a girl being raped when seeking employment was that of Bettina, a timid, highly neurotic, mentally subnormal Italian who had led a very sheltered life. Her work record as a straw sewer was satisfactory, but because the trade was a seasonal one, it was necessary to supplement it with temporary jobs. It was while looking for such that an elevator boy of whom she asked directions took her to the basement where he brutally assaulted her.

The accumulation of concrete instances similar to those just quoted was one of the cogent reasons for the establishment of the

Protective League for Girls, organizations designed to enlist the support of girls themselves in protecting each other as well as in bettering their material and moral working conditions. There can be no doubt that there is great need for just this sort of thing since it cannot be denied that common and potent contributing factors in a girl's delinquency are undesirable acquaintances met in places of employment who represent in speech and action the vitiated moral tone of the factory or shop.

Bad Companions

Although varying widely in importance as a causative factor in delinquency, the influence of bad companions is seldom really insignificant and we find that 62.4 per cent of our cases are considered to have been unfavorably influenced by "friends." The latter include both sexes and all ages and they usually are the result of choice or of circumstance. That ready reaction to suggestion serves quite largely to explain the influence of these companions goes without saying and where groups are concerned the behavior of the individual may be attributed to obedience to the herd instinct, but that there are additional factors cannot be denied. In some cases, fear of ridicule operates, as, for example, in our series there were several instances where a wish not to appear a "greenhorn" led recent emigrants to overstep the bounds of their actual desires; a craving for excitement and action, natural enough at this period of life, but for which the home often provides neither satisfaction nor sympathy often drives a girl to seek gratification through outside associates; and for many the power of personal attraction is tremendous even though transient.

Low standards of personal morality are general in many neighborhoods and it may be perfectly true as the girl will say when asked (she would not be apt to think of it otherwise) that all the girls whom she knows will "go with fellows," and use vile language, just as she does herself. The freedom of speech between adolescents of both sexes belonging to this social class is startling and that no sense of propriety obtains is shown by the fact that girls will use a public telephone to report to boy friends that a physical examination indicates that they are chaste.

For some girls, the influence of bad companions is a subtle process and the breaking down of inhibitions is so insidiously accomplished that there is no accompanying awareness. Two prostitutes whom we remember in this connection, although they had no personal association, had had healthy aspirations and clean interests in early

adolescence. Working conditions brought them in contact with tough company from whom they shrank at first, but for whom tolerance was later established. Social relationships and drinking followed. In each case there was swift revulsion after seduction, which occurred in a state of partial intoxication. The next stage was characterized by despair and recklessness, with drinking continued as a means of securing some relief from humiliation and self-reproach. Then, "because nothing mattered," and better friends were not forthcoming, prostitution was turned to, but one of these girls said, "Do you know, even now I can never bring myself to solicit a man unless I've had a drink."

Amusements

Another feature in a girl's environment which may exert an undesirable influence is that of amusements. There are various types of recreation which in themselves are not necessarily vicious, but which become so when presented in vulgar form or when combined with evil companions and drinking. In this category are included dancing in halls or other public places not carefully supervised, as well as in resorts and hotels, where prostitution is encouraged; suggestive moving pictures and "sex dramas," which stimulate sexual desire and which, further, provide opportunity for indecent behavior because of the comparative darkness during performances; "joy rides" with casual acquaintances, which so frequently end in immoral conduct.

One of the most striking impressions gained from dealing with delinquent girls is their resourcelessness regarding independent recreation. More often than not there must be some external stimulus, and this is true of girls who are not defectives, as well as of many who are. Interests are unbelievably narrow, a condition not due so much to poverty as far as material resources are concerned as to the limitation of ideas and of ingenuity. This quality must frequently be instrumental in sending girls to places of amusement which are the scenes of their undoing. In 15 per cent of our group, we consider that amusements were factors to be reckoned with in the estimation of causes of delinquency. Among the prostitutes the percentage in this connection is slightly higher than for the 500.

To recapitulate briefly, we find that environmental conditions, generally speaking, have been distinctly unfavorable for our delinquent girls in that there is a high percentage of those factors which, singly or collectively, make for neglect and unhappiness as well as for unethical if not for positively immoral living. We find low personal

standards in neighborhoods, families, companions, places of employment; we find constant deficient or faulty training in self-control and common lack of judgment and tact on the part of families in dealing with their children. We find that institutions which frequently represent the failure of families to meet responsibilities, be they economic, social, disciplinary, physical, often afford poor training for making adjustments or readjustments to situations of ordinary life and that their influence may be positively pernicious.

However, in spite of the fact that environmental influences of a constructive nature are in the minority, a state of things which tends to divert from ethical living those who have inferior standards and ambitions, both the mentally able and those who are not, it must not be forgotten that among the siblings, for whom hereditary and environmental conditions are comparable, the percentage of known delinquents is comparatively low.

THE GIRLS THEMSELVES

Age

As the median age for the 500 when they were referred to the New York Probation and Protective Association is 17 years, 3 months, our group may be considered adolescents with all that the term implies of new physical and emotional desires. In varying degrees and in modified forms, but, nevertheless, quite constantly there recurred such traits common to this period of development as assertion of individuality, intolerance of restraint and attempted emancipation, love of excitement, instability, curiosity and imitation, characteristics which often render it difficult for an adolescent efficient adjustment to those new and bewildering situations which are encountered in this critical period. We have seen that many of our group have faulty heredity, that demoralizing environment is even more common; that there has been but little or no training in self-control. We know that largely as a result of such conditions, low inhibitory power is the rule and that defects, both physical and mental, frequently handicap. We find, further, that not only do these hindrances to healthy development occur singly, but they are found in different combinations. Under such conditions, it is not strange that the introduction of powerful new emotions which dominate adolescence results in what is termed delinquency.

Birth-Place and Place of Residence

Regarding birthplace, we find the figures are practically reversed for the girls and their parents, 30.6 per cent of the former being for-

eign born, as against 71.5 per cent of the latter. Of the Bedford group, concerning which Weidensall reports in "The Mentality of the Delinquent Woman," 25 per cent were foreign born. Glueck reports 35 per cent of aliens among the prisoners examined in the Psychopathic Clinic at Sing Sing.

The distribution of the nationalities of our cases is comparable with that of the foreign population of the City of New York; that is, there is among our delinquents no marked massing of any one or of several nationalities, out of proportion to the total number of such aliens in New York. The most pronounced differences are shown in the following table:

Countries	Per cent Total Population New York City, 1920	Per cent for 500 Delinquent Girls
Austria	4	5.6
Germany	5	2.4
Ireland	5	1
Italy	7	4.2
Roumania .....	.7	1.2
Spain .....	.06	.2
West Indies .....	.12	.6

When we realize that the average length of time spent in this country by our girls of foreign birth is 8 years, 5½ months, and that as just stated the median age for all our group is only 17 years, 3 months, we see there has been good opportunity for the assimilation of American standards of conduct to have taken place.

While this inference is true for the group, it is not for some individuals who have come to the United States during early adolescence. The desire to become Americanized as quickly as possible is felt by practically all the girls and commendable as this is, over-hasty expression of this longing in material ways may lead to foolish excesses. For example, there is a tendency to throw aside home-made clothes brought from the old country and to substitute flimsy garments made in the latest style, which are donned with the hope that they may serve as a camouflage for lack of familiarity with the manners and customs of a new land. "Greenhorn" is a term from which those who are anything but hypersensitive readily shrink, and in a desire to appear sophisticated a girl may indulge in impulsive acts of recklessness which involve a total change in her habits of life; she may indulge in wholly unjustified expenditures; she may drink to excess or allow undesired familiarity from men. Radical readjustments which are involved in a change from one country to another or from rural to city life are often much more upsetting to adolescents than to younger

or older people, since they complicate those adaptations imposed by normal adolescence. This is particularly true of those who are constitutional psychopathic inferiors for whom any complicated adjustment is difficult. It applies also the very suggestible, who have no well established standards or convictions to steady them, and to a slow thinking, phlegmatic group who cannot make the quick adjustments which life in a modern city demands. Full self-direction in a strange country is particularly dangerous for adolescents in whom the spirit of adventure and of curiosity is normally strong. Girls who come over with relatives or with friends to make their way in this "land of opportunity" are apt to drift away quite promptly and to form new friends. Absolute severing of family ties often results in the feeling that nobody cares and is tantamount to that spirit of recklessness expressed in the familiar, pernicious phrase, "What's the use?" Such a mental attitude may easily carry a girl over her start in immorality. Loss of communication with families in Europe, which has been so common as a result of the war has been an unfortunate thing for many a girl as the feeling of family responsibility and the sending home of money which was often saved as a result of genuine sacrifice was wholesome and in some instances a real safeguard.

In a number of our aliens there are indications that loneliness led to the establishment of unfortunate relationships, when there were no near relatives or friends at hand. There was Catherina, who came to America when she was about 17, thinking that she could earn more money here than in her own country, and she was anxious to help to pay the debts incurred by her father's sickness and death. During three years she worked hard and to good purpose, as she was able to repay her passage money, to send drafts to her mother and to save \$200. A desire to go to night school led her to change from domestic to restaurant work; war conditions cut off correspondence with her family and she had not heard from home in several months, when she met casually a man who attempted to disarm the suspicions which she had from the first by emphasizing that they were fellow countrymen. It was only gradually that he overcame the girl's objections to any degree of intimacy, but loneliness, anxiety regarding her family, pleasure in hearing her own language, a desire for a home of her own, all helped to break down inhibitions. Seduction under promise of marriage followed and her lover succeeded also in getting about \$150 of her savings. When convinced of the man's perfidy, Catharina had him arrested and then it was discovered that he was a professional

extortionist of ignorant, foreign girls, eighteen of whom he had robbed of money and chastity.

Somewhat similar was the case of pretty Irish Nora, convent trained, whose only relative in this country was an older married sister whom she hardly knew and for whom she had no affection. For over a year she worked steadily in a household which made no attempt to provide friends or suitable recreation for her. In her loneliness and youth, for she was then less than 17, she grew to welcome the attentions of a man whom she met for several weeks during her free afternoons. On the pretext of taking her to call on an aunt, this man who merely a "runner" conducted her to a house of prostitution, where she was really forcibly detained. Later, she was sent to different places in the chain of houses which were under the management of a notorious and powerful procurer.

The majority of the girls were city born and bred, there being but 3.2 per cent who had spent their lives in the country so that the adjustment to city life, which is frequently given as an important factor in the development of immorality appears to have little bearing on the behavior of our group. Moreover, our experience has abundantly proved, contrary to the old idea that moral conditions are worse in a city than in a small town or really rural community, that most appalling conditions frequently exist among small boys and girls in country places, where the excuses of overcrowding, etc., which furnish reasons for failure to establish protecting inhibitions among city children do not apply. As an instance of this, we may cite the case of Wilhelmina, who was born and brought up in a prosperous farming community in Ohio. Her people were faithful attendants at the nearest church, which furnished a center for the social as well as for the religious life of the surrounding country, and Wilhelmina never failed to take part in all its different activities. Her parents were not at all ignorant or illiterate people, so that besides the physical comforts which the home of a well-to-do farmer affords, there were healthy, varied interests. However, from an early age until puberty, this girl was one of a group of children, which included her brother, who met in barns and indulged in all sorts of sex practices. Although this conduct was discontinued for several years during early adolescence, undoubtedly these experiences made easy later sex irregularities which culminated in an elopement which was the occasion of our initial interest in her.

It is interesting to see that none of those included in the mental disease group had spent their lives in the country, and that but .9 per cent of the prostitutes had been born and reared in the country.

The evidence from our cases regarding the influence which a change from country to city life during adolescence has on delinquency is that delinquency is less dependent on the adjustment necessitated by the change than on such other factors as cutting loose from family restraint; loneliness in a new place which may lead a girl to be less discriminating in regard to her associates than she really wishes to be; low standards of living resulting from previous unfavorable environment; other sex delinquents in the family, personality traits or mental conditions, which weaken inhibitions or bias judgment.

Civil State

Considering the youth of most of our group, it is to be expected that but a small percentage would have been married, and we find this to be true (10.8 per cent). Of these, only 2.8 per cent were living with their husbands at the time that they were brought to our attention. Among the latter were several cases of compulsory prostitution, where marriage had undoubtedly been brought about for the profit or protection of the man. In two of these cases the girls, both Italians, were under 18 years of age; in another instance of compulsory prostitution, the girl, though older than the two just mentioned, was treated by her husband with revolting brutality and immediately after childbirth, was compelled to receive men whom he brought to her. Several of these cases were feeble-minded, of whom one was a procurer who prevailed upon another girl of similar intelligence to leave her home and go to Boston for the purpose of prostitution. One girl had married merely because by so doing her term of parole from an institution automatically terminated. She had been living as a prostitute and meant to continue, but feared detection and subsequent return to the institution. She lost track of her husband almost immediately after the marriage. One of the oldest of the group, a prostitute, who had married when about 13, had daughters whom she encouraged to follow her example. One remembers also among the married women, Jennie, who told a sad tale in her pretty Scotch accent of her lover, her husband's friend, who had won her away from her home and family of three girls. It had been a blind, mad infatuation which ended suddenly when Jennie discovered that this man meant to desert her and her unborn child, of whom he was the father. In sudden despair and rage she made an attempt to kill him, then gave herself up, indifferent to her fate.

Religion

In comparatively few cases has it seemed that religion has been a really vital influence. The modern Jewish girl often boasts of her superiority to the religion of her parents and seems to be left without any definite faith. Those who claim to be Protestants more often than not have little sustained interest in that sect to which they nominally belong. The hold which the Catholic church has on its people may sometimes be utilized in encouraging a girl to be truthful and, furthermore, it is a help in her rehabilitation. The Catholic girls frequently acknowledge that they do not go to confession when actively misbehaving. A return to church observances when they are in trouble often helps them to make a new start and a co-operative priest may be of great assistance in the reconstruction process which frequently includes mutual adjustment of girls and their families.

Education

There is a small number of actual illiterates in our group (5 per cent, of whom half were mental defectives), but the average educational attainments as compared with those of ordinary working girls must be considered mediocre. From a table in Weidensall's⁷ study it appears that 61.4 per cent of the Bedford women had completed the 5B or some higher grade. Our figures, which are based on a larger number of cases, are only a little higher, being 64.8 per cent. Compared with Weidensall's group of college maids, 90 per cent of whom had completed the 5B grade as a minimum educational achievement, the percentages for the Bedford women and for ours are conspicuously low. Only four (.8 per cent) of our cases were high school graduates, of whom two had been educated abroad, and but 32 others (6.4 per cent) had had the advantages of partial high school training. Two of the high school graduates had held good positions, but when referred to us had alcoholic psychoses; a third who had been arrested for larceny was very intelligent and capable, but had poor physical resistance because of tuberculosis. Thirty-nine (7.4 per cent) of the alien girls had received some degree of education in their own countries and had not attended school in the United States. Details show that the grade reached by the greatest number of our girls is the 8A (13.6 per cent). Only 25 per cent of those who had advanced to this grade were

⁷The Mentality of the Criminal Woman.

Our cases make a better showing than the delinquent women studied through the Laboratory of Social Hygiene, only 52% of whom finished the fifth grade. (See A Study of Women Delinquents in New York State.)

diagnosed as feeble-minded or subnormal, whereas of the 10.8 per cent for whom 6A was the highest grade reached, 48 per cent were mental defectives.

In general it may be said that these delinquent girls have not been as anxious for further schooling as they have been to get to work. In justice to them, one must remember the economic drive which exists in most cases as well as the lack of encouragement on the part of most families regarding further scholastic instruction. Few have taken advantage of night schools for continuing their education. To this may be attributed that spirit of youth which lives in the present and which demands some recreation after long working hours. Some girls have offered as excuses for not going to evening classes late return from work and delayed meals. There is no doubt that such difficulties as well as others exist, but that they are not insurmountable is proved by many girls who have overcome greater obstacles when possessed by a genuine desire for an education. As distinctly different in ambition and in mental activity from the ordinary sex delinquent, the writer remembers a young I. W. W. agitator, interviewed in the Workhouse, whither her misdirected zeal had driven her. She was the oldest child of poor Austrian parents and owing to the death of her father had found it necessary to assume family responsibility before she was 12 years of age. Although forced to go to work as soon as she graduated from grammar school, and though the family was bitterly poor, she gladly availed herself of courses in evening high school and cherished an ambition to go to college. Finding this impossible, she read widely and studied by herself. She said that in spite of great discouragement and poverty there had never been any temptation to her to become sexually immoral because she had had mental resources and had always been able to interest herself in somebody or "some worthy cause."

Industrial Training

For over a fifth of the cases with which this study concerns itself, there had been some training in industrial lines or business methods. This instruction had been obtained in institutions, in public, in parochial and in commercial schools. The need for an estimation of intelligence as well as for careful vocational testing is clearly shown in many of these cases who have wasted time and money in preparation for work for which they had no aptitude or liking. There was Gertrude, who was referred to us for being implicated with a man in selling habit-forming drugs. She had spent a whole year learning machine operat-

ing, at which she never worked, as she did not like it. Stenography, "because it is clean work and you can dress nice," is not infrequently attempted unsuccessfully and we find a number of would-be office workers whose ability has proven incommensurate with their desires, engaged in paper box making and in other factory work, in telephone operating, or employed as clerks in stores. Parents sometimes insist on forcing a particular line of work on a child regardless of whether the child has requisite capability or inclination to be successful or happy in it. Social workers are not always wise enough to have examinations given before starting a protege in a kind of work which in itself may offer excellent possibilities, but which is not suited to the capacity of that particular individual. Our experience indicates that an extension of the laboratory school idea of vocational testing in the later grammar grades might obviate some of the industrial waste which is found today in that process, wearing alike to employer and employee of attempting to force square pegs into round holes.

Occupation

In general it must be said that as workers these delinquent girls do not make a good showing in type of work followed, quality of performance nor steadiness of application. This mediocrity is undoubtedly due in many cases to low potentiality; in others, however, there is the factor just emphasized, that is, the need of fitting work to the individual. While there are some exceptions, it is characteristic of the group to show little sense of responsibility or ambition to attain skill. Situations offering immediate advantage, however slight, are apt to be taken in preference to those in which there is a chance for slow but regular advancement. Positions are changed for trivial reasons, which certainly does not make for efficiency, and there is little inclination to put up with conditions which are difficult. Adolescent instability may underlie the inconsequential way in which good positions are given up, and, of course, constant shifting is common in those of inferior mentality, whose power of adaptation is weak. From such it is a test of patience to attempt to get an accurate work record, but it is not strange that they find it hard to remember where they have worked and for what wages when jobs may be left after half a day. The lack of trades is noticeable, but for this the girls are not altogether to blame, since parents, impatient for immediate earnings, are often unwilling to allow the time which is necessary for mastering a trade.

A study of the history of some cases suggests that the discouragement incident to being out of a job has favored the start in immorality,

as has already been mentioned, and this is an excuse given frequently by the girl to account for her behavior. Invariably, however, other factors are found which appear as important in determining delinquency as the alleged state of depression induced by idleness.

In glancing at the table showing the occupation followed when the girl was first sexually delinquent, which is based on information for 197 cases, we find that school stands first in frequency. This serves to emphasize the well known fact that precocious sex experiences are of common occurrence and that it is difficult to inculcate healthy ideas of sex hygiene by talks on the subject delivered after children reach their teens.

We may summarize from an occupational standpoint by stating that our group, for the most part, consists of operatives in factories (37.6 per cent) and domestic servants (26.6 per cent) whose pre-war wages average \$6.60 per week (median wage, \$7.50). In spite of the average low wage, it is unusual for this to be given as an excuse for sex delinquency. There were but 39 in the 500 whose main occupation was clerical work and of these but 7 were stenographers.

Probation and Parole

Of the 107 who had been in institutions of a reformatory nature, 29 had been paroled. Of these 26 violated their parole. In analyzing their cases, seeking for some cause, we find two choreics, markedly unstable, a third who was psychopathic, another a case of congenital lues, also, infected with tuberculosis, who was thoroughly institutionalized. Stealing was the particular temptation of the last mentioned and she was charged with grand larceny when referred to us; drinking seemed responsible for the failure of another and eight were definitely mental defectives, irresponsible, easily led, erotic.

When referred to us, 27 of the 500 girls had been on probation from various courts, but for only four cases had this been a successful experiment. Twenty-five per cent of those who did badly on probation were mental deviants and in others not so diagnosed there were mental traits which made adjustment difficult. Two were prostitutes rather older than the majority of the girls, whose habits of life were firmly established. Unsuccessful probation and parole are conspicuous in the prostitute group and 50 per cent of all of our cases of unsuccessful probation were prostitutes.

*Sexual History**Instruction on Sex Matters*

It is evident to us after talking with hundreds of these adolescent sex misdemeanants that knowledge regarding sex is seldom obtained in any way which tends either to dignify the subject or to place it on a sound biological basis. Rarely do the girls get any detailed information from their mothers. When menstruation is actually established, certain perfunctory remarks are made and general directions given, but there is little real frankness on the part of either mother or daughter, and without this basic thing mutual confidence can hardly be expected. The reasons why parents are apt not to deal plainly with their children regarding sex matters are too well known to make further comment necessary. Difficulty in knowing how to present the problem and failure to appreciate the need for outspoken instruction appear to be the commonest causes in our group for lack of adequate handling of the subject. That such should be the case is not strange where there is so much ignorance among parents since those of higher intelligence and greater educational advantages encounter the same difficulty. By the time that the meager information which the establishment of puberty provokes is given, it is more than likely that the girl has acquired much knowledge, mostly in undesirable form, from school-mates, books, obscene pamphlets, etc., and it is so rare to find girls in the social class from which the majority of our 500 delinquents come who are wholly ignorant of sex relationship at the time that they first indulge in it that it is our belief that sex delinquency in this group has occurred more often as a result of having become accustomed to the idea than because of sudden acquaintance with it. In the case of institution-reared girls, however, as already mentioned, there is frequently found actual ignorance together with much morbid curiosity, and among those outside institutions who have been early initiated there may be no realization of such possible results of the sexual act as pregnancy and infection.

Age When Sex Delinquency Started

The average age for the whole group when sexual misconduct started is 16 years. This is the age when the restraints of school have been thrown off and those of the home are being loosened in the outset of industrial independence and when sex tension, curiosity, and a desire for expression are new and natural but often misunderstood phenomena. The range of age for beginning sexual immorality is

from 5 to 36 years, the former a case of incest who later developed delinquent tendencies, the latter a well educated woman with an alcoholic psychosis and separated from her husband, who became infatuated with a "Hindu philosopher" with whom she lived, pending divorce proceedings.

We have always maintained that sex experience occurring in childhood is an important factor in later delinquency. Although the strength of emotional appeal is less than is that which comes with further physical development, nevertheless, these early experiences stimulate prematurely and prevent the growth of inhibitions. Consequently, there is not the degree of shock entailed in later indulgence as is commonly the case when existing inhibitions have been temporarily abolished by the strength of sudden sexual passion yielded to for the first time. In our group there occurred 23 cases where sex experiences were initiated between the ages of 5 and 11 years. In 6 of these cases where incest occurred there was later misbehavior in 4. Two girls were misused in early childhood by stepfathers, while several were indecently treated by older men outside the family. Others practiced masturbation in company with boys and girls of their own ages. Fifty per cent of these girls who had the early start in sex delinquency became prostitutes and less than half of them were mental defectives. In contrast is the group of 18 whose illicit sex relations began after they were 22 years of age. Ten of the 18 were mentally abnormal, yet but four became prostitutes.

Type of Sexual Misconduct

Regarding sexual behavior, we have divided our cases into (a) those who had had but one sexual experience (i. e., rape cases or where seduction was accomplished under promise of marriage; (b) those who had been repeatedly immoral with the same persons, whether actually living with them as consorts or not; (c) those who had been promiscuous, but in whose affairs there has been no commercial element; (d) prostitutes; (e) home-sexual perverts. Those who had been promiscuous constitute the largest group (36.8 per cent). Of these, 42 per cent are mentally abnormal and so may be considered mentally irresponsible. The first offenders come next in point of number (28.4 per cent), and in this group we find 60 per cent either mentally defective or aberrational. The prostitutes make up 22.4 per cent of the whole number and show 41 per cent of mental deviants. Those who had had intercourse more than once, but always with the

same men, contribute 12.2 per cent. There were but 2 or 0.4 per cent whom we considered homo-sexual in type.

As an example of the promiscuous class, we mention Hattie, who came to New York from her home in a small New England town shortly before the birth of her third illegitimate child. She claimed that her family did not know of her condition and since they had helped her twice, paying for abortion in the first case and adopting the child in the second, she felt that she should not put further responsibility on them. She planned to abandon the prospective child soon after leaving the maternity hospital, and to return home unencumbered. She was the second child and only "black sheep" in seven. When about 15 she began going to public dances where she met various people of loose morals. She was seduced and became pregnant by a man met in this way. Somewhat later, she accepted attentions from an Italian, who was the father of her second child, and she claimed that the last man with whom she was intimate was Jewish. This girl was neither feeble-minded nor aberrational. She had been in high school two and a half years where her record was good. She had also a satisfactory industrial record. Had she married, it is conceivable that she would have led an honest life conformable to the ordinary standards of her community. She had little physical resistance, her sexual desires were strong, she was not ostracised because of her behavior and she was probably not different from many of her companions. Moreover, the attitude of her family was no deterrent and so she continued to take the path of least resistance, untroubled by any feeling of personal responsibility.

As another of the *promiscuous* type, we present Doris, the illegitimate child of a Danish officer and an actress, who was early adopted and who had a good though rather humble home with kindly, intelligent people. She was always selfish and sensuous, she masturbated and further stimulated herself in sex matters by reading erotic literature and in writing sentimental scenarios for moving pictures. As a stenographer she earned a good salary, which allowed her to dress well and to gratify many of her desires for recreation. She was physically attractive and mentally alert, but had few friends and her lack of altruism interfered with the establishment of satisfying substitutes for her emotional desires. At twenty-one she fell in love and the failure of her lover to marry her stung her pride and fear of infection following a clumsily induced abortion served to keep her amorous desires in abeyance for a time. Later, however, they overcame her and she became promiscuous. She married at 28 and, although happy for

a time, her husband later accused her of infidelity. During his absence in the army she was constantly on the streets with sailors and her family suspected her of wrongdoing.

There is a good deal of variety in the group, designated *first offenders*. For example, there is faithful, plodding Lucia, sent ahead of her family from Italy to join her brutal, alcoholic father because he sent so little money to his wife, and his reputation for immorality was such that it was thought the responsibility of having a child with him might serve to keep alive his interest in his family. No sooner had the child reached him than he began making improper proposals to her which culminated in incest. There has been no question of the girl's behavior in other respects and she has bravely shouldered family cares during her father's imprisonment.

Another victim as lacking in culpability as Lucia was Veronica, a case of secondary amentia in a deaf mute who was brutally raped by a lodger who had lived with the family for some time and whom they considered trustworthy. However, shortly before his criminal attack, he had quarrelled with Veronica's brother-in-law and when told to leave the house had replied that he would be revenged. As a result of his savage assault, Veronica became pregnant and infected with syphilis.

Somewhat different was the case of Laura, who acknowledged an incestuous experience during childhood, but who during many trying experiences worked hard and kept straight until well through early adolescence. Following the breaking up of her home she lived in a cheap boarding house and had hard work to meet her ordinary expenses, besides others she incurred by reason of a younger brother and sister who had been placed in an orphan asylum in a nearby town. Another boarder in the house won her liking because of kindness shown to her when in need and later obtained her undying gratitude by presenting her with Christmas gifts for the children when she was worrying because she had no money to buy anything. When he explained that family responsibilities kept him from marrying immediately and begged for the establishment of intimate relations, she did not refuse. She was self-reproachful, however, and when, after eight months, she discovered that she was pregnant, there was further conflict as to which was the greater wrong: to bear an illegitimate child or to seek for an abortion. The latter course was urged by her lover, who paid the bill and then said he was through with her. In her convalescence she was referred to us. Her physical recovery was a slow process and it was not easy to adjust her industrially or socially, but

well-paid, congenial work was found for her and she was placed in a girls' boarding home. Her conduct has been satisfactory and the prognosis is considered good.

As an *instance* of the *consort class* there is Kathie, an illegitimate child of German parents who had lived with her mother and stepfather in Berlin, until she was about 15. She then came to this country to join her father and his wife. We found her bright, pretty and justly proud of the grasp of English which she had obtained during her two years in America. Her experience in her father's home had not been happy as the stepmother was constantly jealous of the attention which her husband gave to his daughter. At first the accusations which she made concerning Kathie's behavior with a man in the boarding house were discredited, but Kathie when faced with them talked freely of her infatuation for this man who she expected to marry as soon as he was able to obtain a divorce from his wife who lived abroad. An effort to keep the two apart was quite unavailing, especially because Kathie's father considered that the father of her unborn child should provide for her. Although efforts were really made to obtain the divorce, they were rendered ineffectual by war conditions and the two have continued to live together happily and without any question of infidelity. Although the ethics involved in the situation might furnish ground for extended discussion, the two concerned are not bothered by such prob-proud of her grasp of English which she had obtained during her two lems, although for the sake of the children they expressed a wish to marry as soon as they could legally do so.

Pregnancy

The prostitute group, in common with the others, presents, we find, much variety rather than one constant type. In about one-fifth there were other known delinquents among the siblings, but not more than half of these were sex offenders; 67.2 per cent of the prostitutes were natives of the United States; 83.7 per cent were city born and bred; less than 1 per cent had to make adjustment from country to city life in adolescence, so that, as far as our cases are concerned, we cannot claim that this change had any important bearing in the causation of prostitution. This is contrary to Flexner's⁸ findings, who says: "There is no quicker way of evading the immaterial forces that assist in maintaining an important line of conduct than abrupt transplantation of an immature person into an environment within which no such forces operate on the individual in question. Accordingly, a heavy

⁸Prostitution in Europe, p. 73.

percentage of urban prostitutes are girls who have left home." Seventeen years was the average age of the prostitutes when referred; 15.5 years the average age given when first sexually delinquent; and 17 the average age for the group when prostitution was entered. A positive correlation of .60 was found between the age of beginning sexual delinquency and the age of entering prostitution, indicating a marked tendency for the ages to coincide or to agree closely. For our group, at least, we are led to believe that the progress is less gradual than has been supposed. It is interesting to find that the average number of years of education is 7 for the prostitutes, the highest of any one of the groups concerned. Fifteen and three-tenths per cent received some form of industrial training, which is low compared with that of other groups. This is consistent with the commonly found industrial resourcelessness of the prostitute, but in considering their earning capacity we must not forget that the mental condition of a considerable proportion stands in the way of successful competition with more stable or more intelligent individuals. Also, it is readily seen that the ease with which money is earned in prostitution makes it difficult to present as an alluring proposition to one who has not revolted from such a life an opportunity to take a legitimate position for the wage paid an unskilled worker. Further, the enervation so frequently seen in the prostitute, whether a constitutional characteristic or a result of over-continued sexual stimulation makes difficult the maintenance of that continued effort which steady employment demands.

The following case histories give some idea of the varied backgrounds and personalities of the prostitutes whom we studied:

Virginia R., aged 20 years, the only child of American parents, was born in a small town in the central part of New York State. The father, a shiftless drunkard, was socially and mentally inferior to the mother, who, as a young and impulsive girl, eloped with him to escape a strict aunt. They were never happy and a divorce was secured by the mother when Virginia was about 2. The mother is said to have been well born and well educated. Following her divorce, she became a chorus girl and lived loosely. After a time she married again. The maternal grandfather was a paretic; several paternal aunts were sex delinquents.

Virginia was always delicate as a child and attended school irregularly. She was subject to rheumatism and quinsy and when 11 had an attack of chorea which lasted six months. She was in and out of institutions during her childhood and had little home care or maternal interest. When 13 she was taken to a Children's Court on a charge

of improper guardianship and put in charge of a Big Sister who placed her with a private family. When 15 she had her first immoral experience with a musician much older than she. Following the discovery of this affair, she was sent to a reformatory institution, where she spent two years. After her discharge she was given several positions at different kinds of work with the desire to find what her abilities and tastes were. She proved disappointing and it was decided to teach her a trade. She was accordingly started in millinery and placed to live in an attractive girls' boarding home. While there, in order, as she claims, to have money for clothes such as the other girls wore, she took up prostitution, at which she earned from \$5 to \$20 a week. After finishing her trade, for which she showed no aptitude, a position was found for her, but, after four months, she lost it through stealing money, and again her excuse was because she wanted clothes. Mentally she is decidedly dull, subnormal in intelligence. She is impulsive and indiscriminating, is inclined to be sentimental and is probably lacking in continuity of purpose. She is sensitive, loves music and has an appreciation for other fine things. She has done well in an outdoor life in a beautiful part of the country where she has been an efficient and enthusiastic worker with other girls on a farm.

An interesting psychotic prostitute is Myra, a manic depressive. She was about 20 when referred to us for employment by a girls' home where she had taken refuge on one of the many occasions when she could not get along with her family. Both parents drank and the mother may have been psychopathic. She is described as being highly nervous and excitable with defective insight for situations. Myra was the second of three children. The oldest was a patient in a hospital for the insane at the time of his death, the youngest earns a living and is said to have well marked mechanical ability, but never made good progress in school, is delicate, nervous, quarrelsome and smokes excessively. A paternal great-aunt was insane; the paternal grandmother had fourteen children and most of the nine who survived were alcoholic. Myra made ordinary progress in school and has read widely. She was always at odds with her family and when 14 she ran away and was gone several months, during which time she did housework. Soon after her return to her home, her father, on the score of her youth, prevented her marriage to "the only man she ever cared for." As a result, she became greatly depressed and wished to die, but, lacking a convenient means, she claims that she resolved to commit "moral suicide." She accordingly began having sexual intercourse with a man for whom she cared nothing. "Disgust at herself" led to heavy

drinking; masturbation, which began when she was about 15, was practiced until she was 18. She was never able to settle down to any job and claims to have turned to prostitution as a means of livelihood. She stated, when examined, that she had had five abortions induced during the three years that she had prostituted herself. During different depressed periods she has made attempts at suicide. She continued to prostitute irregularly as long as we were able to keep track of her and she rationalized her conduct to herself by refusing to cohabit with any one who was not mentally congenial to her.

No attempt will be made to give representative case histories for all the different types who appeared normal, as far as mental development is concerned, but the following illustrates the sensuous hypokinetic group where environment has been steadily unfavorable.

Julia A., who was essentially a "typical prostitute," had failed to establish protective inhibitions apparently because of early sex experiences with her father, who she knew treated her sisters in a similar way. Two sisters are prostitutes. The home life was unhappy and from childhood Julia practiced deceit and trickery. She was always wild and hard to control, and became sexually promiscuous early in her adolescent period. Pregnancy and commitment to an institution necessarily stayed her delinquent career for a time. She showed some affection for her baby while in the institution, where it was relatively easy to care for it, but when placed out with it to do housework, she quickly became discouraged and readily consented to the adoption of the child. Relieved of this responsibility, she returned to prostitution. She had no trade on which to fall back and no ambition to learn one or to do any hard task requiring continuous effort. She has used alcohol and cigarettes excessively, habits which have tended to accentuate her natural characteristics. She had contracted gonorrhoea, but this acted as no deterrent and she was not willing to persist in treatment. Mentally she was neither retarded nor aberrational. In this case, then, in addition to *traits* which responded to the sensuous appeals which prostitution made, there had been a few positive influences for good. Unfavorable environment had existed from an early age. There had been no training in self-control, in ethics, in habits of industry; there had been bad companions, a knowledge of immorality in other members of the family, indulgence in narcotics which tended to reduce any existing inhibitions. The girl had no trade, nothing on which she could really depend for self-support, as she had never taken advantage of such opportunities as had been given her.

In view of the youth of our group it is striking to find that over one-third of all our cases (177, or 35.4 per cent) had been pregnant at some time or were in that condition when referred. The total number of pregnancies occurring in these 177 cases was 249, only 7 per cent of which were legitimate. When examined, 80 (16 per cent) were found to be pregnant, while 77 (15.4 per cent) had given birth to full term children. Of the eighty pregnancies 98 per cent were illegitimate, while 88 per cent of the children had been born out of wedlock. Regarding abortions, 53 (10.6 per cent) reported having had one or more, but this is regarded as a conservative statement.

Our study of sex delinquents leads us to believe that illegitimacy should be considered rather as an incident in irregular living than as a distinctly isolated condition and we do not see any particular advantage in studying it from the latter standpoint. In this country, among the social group under consideration, illegitimacy occurs more times than not (a) where environmental conditions are such that there is no inhibiting prejudice regarding extramarital pregnancies; (b) in cases of amentia where there is not enough initiative or realization of the consequences of sex immorality to lead to attempts at contraception or abortions; (c) in instances where pregnancy is deliberately courted in order to force permission for a marriage from unwilling parents or to compel a procrastinating lover to make good his proposals; (d) when marriage is impossible and there is a genuine longing for children; (e) where conscientious scruples or fear prevent attempts to terminate pregnancy.

Forty-four per cent of all who had been pregnant were mentally abnormal. Amentia obscured all other conditions by its frequency occurring in 40 per cent of these pregnant cases. It would seem that such a high percentage as the above left little opportunity for arguments against the need of proper segregation for the mentally irresponsible. Considered merely as an economic proposition, the expense entailed in caring for such progeny is enormous, for it is not to be expected in view of their heredity that they will ever be valuable social assets. As a representative of this group, we may take the case of Gertrude, who had a feeble-minded sister. Their father was high-tempered and immoral. It was during one of the times that he had abandoned his family to live with another woman that Gertrude, left without much supervision because the mother was obliged to go out to work by the day, began her delinquency. Two commitments to reformatory institutions served merely as temporary interruptions. She was pregnant when referred to us, had given birth to a full term child

and had had one miscarriage. Her Wassermann was four plus. She indignantly denied street soliciting, but acknowledged going to hotels with men, and it was a matter of record that at the time of her first arrest she was in a house of prostitution.

The case of Sadie may be cited as an example of unfavorable heredity, poor environment and very ordinary mental endowment, although she was neither defective nor aberrational. The father, an immoral sot, had deserted his family repeatedly, the mother was weak, ineffectual, very unintelligent. A paternal aunt was a sex delinquent. Sadie lived at home and attended parochial schools until her educational career was terminated by pregnancy when she was less than 13. She had submitted to indecent liberties previous to being raped at the age of 12 by the father of a playmate. This man, a widower, was responsible for her pregnancy, but it was said that Sadie had been the more aggressive one throughout the affair. Her family, apparently indifferent to her condition, made no effort to secure care for her and it was due to the active interest of a neighbor that arrangements were made for her confinement. The child died after a few months and Sadie soon obtained work as chambermaid in a hospital. She received good wages there and her work was said to be satisfactory, but her conduct with men employees and her tendency to stay out all night caused her to lose her position. When admitted to Waverley House, she was pregnant and the youth who she claimed should marry her refused on the ground that he was only one of many with whom she had been intimate. This accusation Sadie neither resented nor denied. Her behavior was apparently an impulsive yielding to primitive instincts with a primitive disregard for consequences or for public opinion. In her immediate social circle, illegitimacy and sex irregularities in general were so common that personal experience with them was regarded more or less as a matter of course.

Among those who looked upon pregnancy as means to a desired end was pretty, vivacious, good-natured Sallie, whose tomboyish childhood had provided healthy outlets during that part of her life for her superabundant energy. She was the second born of a family of ten and fortunately loved children. During the animated recital of her difficulties, the only time that her voice took on a tender tone was in speaking of a delicate little brother whom she had made her special charge. Always headstrong and assertive, she had constantly resisted attempts at control and these characteristics did not fail her when her family sought to divert her from an infatuation for a man outside her race who had been arrested twice for larceny. Submission and inaction

were not to be thought of. For the indiscriminating, sentimental 16-year-old, there was little or no insight regarding the justice of the stand taken by her parents. She impulsively went to live with her lover and when located and brought to Waverley House openly expressed the hope that she had become pregnant as in such an event her family would be forced to agree to her marriage to save their pride.

Wholly different in make-up from Sallie was Margaret, well-mannered, intelligent, sensitive, reticent. She had little in common with her family and there were months at a time when no word passed between her and her father. This feeling of isolation in her home doubtless influenced her to accept the friendly advances of a married man old enough to be her father, but who, in manner and education, was very different from that parent. Margaret naturally took the man's view of his family difficulties and it only strengthened her affection for him and caused her to rise in his defense as in that of a martyr when his wife and her mother united in attempts to injure his chances for work. For a long time there was no actual impropriety between Margaret and her lover and the depth of her unselfish affection is shown in some rather remarkable letters written to the man's wife in which she assumed all blame for his attentions and begged his wife to forgive him and make a home for him again. After intimate relations were established somewhat later and Margaret became pregnant, she came to Waverley House to ask for an examination and directions as to how best to take care of herself for the sake of her baby. She was so radiantly happy that her natural reserve was broken down. She said quite apologetically that she supposed it seemed queer that she could be so glad, but since she and her lover could not marry, it was such a joy to have something which belonged to both. She worked hard as long as she was able, saving in every way to pay for her confinement, as she wished to be independent. The child was delicate during the first few months of its life and it is probably due to the untiring care which it received that it survived. At last accounts, Margaret had welcomed a reconciliation with her family in order to have the child looked after during the day while she is away working for its support and her own.

There were 14 of our cases who had been pregnant three or more times, of whom five were married. Six of the 9 remaining were mentally irresponsible. Among the latter was a manic depressive prostitute who claimed to have had five abortions, all induced, within a period of three years. Another diseased, feeble-minded prostitute, a case of genuine white slavery, said she had had five abortions and one

full-term child. It is of interest to find from our statistics that 40 per cent of our acknowledged prostitutes were pregnant when examined or had been so one or more times. Kammerer states in his book on "The Unmarried Mother": "In not more than a very few instances does the girl become pregnant as a result of intercourse which is indulged in for the sake of profit. This draws attention to a fact often overlooked, namely, the distinction between those girls and young women who give birth to illegitimate children and those who are prostitutes. . . . Even in the cases where the girl had undoubtedly been promiscuous, one frequently finds that she has not profited thereby." In the 14 cases of the 111 prostitutes who were pregnant when examined, 11 had been in prostitution less than one year, 3 claimed to have been in it one year. The ages ranged from 16 to 21 years. Four of the 14 were infected with syphilis, five with gonorrhoea. Four were diagnosed as feeble-minded. It would be hard to disprove Kammerer's statement from our cases, since there is, of course, no positive evidence that in each case where intercourse took place after a girl became a prostitute there was a commercial element. Hence the difficulty of proving that there was such at the time conception occurred. However, we believe that prostitution and pregnancy are by no means unusual in the younger prostitutes, either before disease renders them sterile or where mental defect prevents attempts at contraception.

Rachel, a diseased, feeble-minded prostitute, who claimed to have had five abortions and one full term child, told on admission such a spectacular story that it was not credited until investigation substantiated her statements of genuine white slavery.

Regarding the association of venereal disease and pregnancy in our group, 10 per cent of those who were pregnant when first examined were infected with syphilis. Of these, 25 per cent had given birth to full term children. Among those who reported having had abortions, 15 per cent were syphilitic, while 27 per cent of those who had previously had children were luetic when referred to us. In the majority of these cases, the infection had probably occurred shortly before or after the birth of the children.

Other Delinquencies

Although this study is mainly concerned with sexual misconduct of adolescent girls, it is interesting to find that other types of delinquency have occurred, sometimes closely connected with sex immorality and in other cases quite detached.

Stealing

In sixty-seven of our cases stealing was known to have occurred. In about 50 per cent of these cases there was mental abnormality such as feeble-mindedness, psychopathic personality or epilepsy. In 20 per cent of the 67 there was a history of masturbation, but there is no confirmatory data that one was a substitution for the other.

Among the irresponsible mental defectives, appropriation of property, of course, often occurs and not frequently without any viciousness on the part of the so-called thief. There was Olive, who admired a pendant which her mistress had carelessly left on a bureau. Wishing to make a good impression on her "gentleman friend," with whom she had an engagement to go to moving pictures, she decided to "borrow" the pendant for the occasion. As she feared to lose it, she claims that after the entertainment she gave it to her friend for safekeeping. A prolonged parting led her to forget to take it from him and during her absence it had been missed. Although it was eventually restored, a charge of larceny was made and the girl was referred to us by the court for investigation. Another feeble-minded girl who coveted the good clothes of her employer, dressed up in a valuable fur coat and slipped out one day. She was frightened by the thought of what she had done and was afraid to return, but had not enough judgment to keep off the street when arrayed in her stolen finery, so that her apprehension was a simple matter. Employers not infrequently put a good deal of temptation in the way of these amoral, feebly inhibited girls by leaving money and valuable articles about, but they are seldom inclined to blame themselves when their property is used or disappears.

An interesting case of stealing was that of 17-year-old Mercedes, born in this country of German parents. She was probably an epileptic, sensitive, introspective, egocentric, suffering from childhood from complexes centering about the fear that she was an adopted child as her skin was so much darker than that of any other member of the family. Her mother was a woman of violent, uncontrolled temper, nervous and subject to headache, who looked after the material welfare of her children, but who showed curiously little sympathy for them. Mercedes began stealing small sums from home when about 12, claiming that she needed money for pencils and other school supplies. She reacted favorably to punishment and did not steal for several years. Meantime, she had graduated from grammar school and much against her desires, for she had a well defined wish to be a milliner, she took a six months' commercial course in a business school, the main reason for this being that a cousin had gotten a good position as stenographer.

For a month or two she did good work, then lost interest, began lying as a defense and recommenced stealing. Because she could not live up to the expectations of her family regarding the kind of work done, she kept them as much in ignorance of her doings as possible and was most unhappy. As a result of brooding and feeling that she was hopelessly involved in a network of deceit, she ran away, leaving the following note, "I can't stand it any longer. All I do is to lie and steal. The best thing I can do is to go away." She obtained a position at housework and, although located by her family, was allowed to remain. All went well for about three months when she left, after stealing money and other things from her employer. Following her return home, there was a repetition of her previous record there, with the addition of a clumsily forged check, which the girl, pretending that she had a position, submitted to her mother as her weekly wages. The occasion of our own interest in her was her arrest in company with her "husband," who was charged with bigamy and abduction. She had gone through a marriage ceremony knowing that the man had a living wife, but accepting his suggestion that he was free to remarry since his wife was untrue to him. There had been no suspicion of sex delinquency in this case until the infatuation for this man occurred and, coincidentally, stealing ceased.

In girls who have had long institutional training, especially in childhood, where presumably there has been little cultivation of property sense, there is commonly found an inclination to pilfer, which may end in serious stealing. The case of Kate illustrates this type. She was an orphan, the victim of congenital lues, a manifestation of which was interstitial keratitis, which markedly reduced vision. She had passed 14 of her 17 years in institutions where she had a reputation of being "light-fingered." When she was referred to us by one of the higher courts for investigation she had been "out in the world" a little over a year. During that time she had been raped while partially intoxicated and had been guilty of grand larceny. Her excuse for taking the money was that she was tempted when she saw it and did not stop to consider whether it was right or wrong. She spent most of it for new clothes which had hitherto been rare and it was her suddenly expanded wardrobe which centered the family's suspicion on her. In this case we at first suspected mental retardation and a good deal of institutionalization, but the girl possessed considerable native ability together with ambition, originality and imagination. Naturally she had little idea of the value of things, since actual material needs had always been easily supplied and when she was unable

to gratify her more ambitious desires after she got out among people, she took the path of least resistance. She reacted well to opportunities for reconstruction and was a particularly happy member of a Hill Crest Farm group. Not only has there been no further stealing, but the girl has done well in every way.

Runaways

As indicative of the inferior ability to make adjustments to situations which this group of delinquent girls consistently shows, we find that 32 per cent at some time in their lives had left their homes. In some cases this had happened not once, but repeatedly. This faulty adaptive power is due to a variety of causes. There are the various psychoses, amentia, epilepsy, constitutional inferiority with episodes of excitement, a spirit of intolerance in families, and in the case of our girls the adolescent inclination to be self-assertive, to brook no interference regarding chosen friends or methods of recreation. Difference of opinion between girls and their families regarding the desirability of friends or suitors is a fertile source of trouble and was the immediate actuating cause of runaways in the majority of our cases notwithstanding the fact that by no means all of such girls went with or to men. Although in a few isolated cases, pregnancy had driven the girls to leave home, in our group it may be considered an insignificant factor, which serves as a further indication of the casual way in which sex delinquency is regarded by these girls and their families.

Among those where unhappy environment plus mental condition seemed to account sufficiently for running away, we remember Hazel, a pitiable, unstable psycho-neurotic, with many infantile reactions. In the home there was continual contention, which was due in a measure to a stepfather whom the girl accused of misconduct, but this charge was never substantiated. That he was not anxious to have Hazel in the household was proven by his plan to have the family secretly move one day when she was at work. On her return at night, she found empty rooms and no explanation or new address. Such treatment of an unstable 16-year-old who claimed first hand experiences with ghosts and who was so afraid of the dark that she was completely terrorized if left alone at night, was not calculated to encourage virtue, but there was never reason to suspect Hazel of extended illicit relations. She was, however, a chronic runaway not only from her own home, but from various relatives and interested people with whom she sought shelter at different times. The ideal environment for this difficult girl is yet to be found. Her handicaps are great and not the

least is that instability which interferes with the maintenance of continuous effort in any field of endeavor. Runaways in many cases have been a logical result of stealing, lying and other delinquencies which may have so deeply involved the culprits that no other course of action presented itself to them. The lure of big wages or the adventurous spirit characteristic of adolescence has led some of our girls to leave their homes in country communities and seek their fortunes in the city, and, of course, there are always the stage-struck girls with whose aspirations families are seldom sympathetic. Among the mental cases are instances of wandering governed by impulses in epileptics; in psychoses, ideas of persecution, states of excitement or depression may lead to restlessness which ends in leaving home. In practically none of these cases have the families had any realization that because mentally ill, the girls needed consideration and care rather than censure.

Attempted Suicide

As might be anticipated, the percentage of mental deviants is high in the group of 18 of our cases who at some stage in their careers had decided that life was not worth living. In addition to the drive towards suicide induced by actual psychoses, despair because of pregnancy as a predisposing cause and there is also one case of attempted suicide and homicide in a feeble-minded girl who had concealed her pregnant condition, but who saw no way of hiding her precipitately born child; a feeble-minded prostitute who was cruelly neglected and abused by her husband attempted to asphyxiate herself because she was hungry. Another prostitute who had made an heroic attempt to live decently, gave up in desperation on realizing that her employer not only would not permit her to live honestly while working for him, but threatened to block her attempts to get other positions.

One pretty superficial girl, suspecting, because of infrequent letters that her lover's interest in her was waning, came on from her southern home only to find her suspicions confirmed. The man arranged for her immediate return to her family and she, piqued and despondent, took morphine tablets. She did not, however, regret her prompt response to energetically applied remedies and returned with renewed zest to her attempt to regain her lover.

PHYSICAL AND MENTAL CONDITIONS

Physical

The physical examinations of our 500 delinquent girls have certainly not brought to light any definite type nor has emphasis been

laid on any constantly recurring deviation from normal. On the whole, the girls are remarkably free from organic defects; they show ordinary development for age and race and their state of nutrition is surprisingly good considering the poor environment to which many are accustomed, where irregular meals of badly cooked food are the rule.

Among other tables in the appendix are two dealing with average weight and height (standing) correlated with average chronological and average mental age. These tables show no marked deviation from standards established for American girls, especially regarding height; in weight our group is constantly heavier, according to Burke's figures for girls of corresponding ages. We fail to find the underheight-overweight ratio which has been claimed for mental defectives.

The average age at which puberty was attained for the whole series is 13.7 years, which is practically identical with that for those in the group who were of foreign birth (13.8 years). Of 5 per cent of the entire group who matured before they were 12, one-third are found among the prostitutes.

Notwithstanding the fact that in view of unfavorable heredity, environment and manner of living, our girls as a group seem surprisingly healthy, conditions of disease or other findings calling for eradication or relief are found sufficiently often to leave no room for doubt in our minds regarding the necessity for thorough physical examinations of this social group. The knowledge that a girl has a clean bill of health is in itself of positive value from the standpoint of prognosis and of planning for her future. It seems strange that there is not a more general demand on the part of the public for examinations to determine the presence or absence of infectious conditions in those whom they employ. The need for such precaution is especially conspicuous in house servants and nurse maids. The packing of candy, dried fruits, etc., is another occupation in which, by universal agreement, cleanliness and freedom from disease are strongly indicated, but our experience shows that in these jobs, which, as a rule, are poorly paid and which consequently fail to attract the more intelligent and better social class of labor, one often finds unhygienic conditions dependent upon lack of personal neatness and also upon active disease. Aside from the benefit to the patient, her family and her employer which a thorough physical examination confers, it is readily seen that the public is also a beneficiary if proper treatment follows the discovery of need for such.

In considering the health of the group of girls with which we are dealing, venereal diseases are naturally thought of first. Our

records show that 15 per cent of our 500 girls were infected with syphilis when we examined them. Nearly 50 per cent of these cases were acknowledged prostitutes and practically the same proportion were mental defectives whose co-operation in starting treatment is often obtained with difficulty and who must be coerced to continue, especially after active lesions have disappeared. War measures having to do with enforced examination and treatment of venereal suspects, although designed principally for the protection of the army, inevitably benefited the general public and proved a great help in dealing efficiently with irresponsible social types.

The number of gonorrhoeics in our series is somewhat greater than that of syphilitics. Nineteen per cent were known to be infected while another 5 per cent are classified as doubtful. A little more than 50 per cent of these cases are found in the prostitute group and again the percentage of mental defectives so diseased is high. We realize that compared with the figures of other investigators on the subject of venereal disease and sexual laxity if not of prostitution, our percentages appear low. In explanation, we call attention again to the comparative youth of our group and to the relatively short time that the average girl in it has been a prostitute. Also it may be said that the more intelligent were well informed concerning methods of avoiding infection. Occasionally, we found victims of that ignorant, cruelly superstitious notion which leads men to cohabit with virgins in the belief that by so doing they will be cured of venereal disease.

Other important findings of physical abnormalities are as follows:

	No. Cases	Per Cent
Poor general development and nutrition.....	73	14.5
Anaemia	79	15.8
Spinal curvature	31	6.2
Unhealthy tonsils	111	22.2
Goiter	47	9.4
Tuberculosis	30	6
Heart lesions	29	5.8
Defective vision	119	23.8
Defective hearing	8	1.6

It may be said regarding the cases of enlarged thyroid that none were typical of Graves' disease and the goiters were commonly regarded as adolescent phenomena or as incidental to the over-stimulated sexual lives that these girls were living.

The estimation, set forth in the above figures, that 24 per cent had defective vision is considered conservative, since thorough examinations by ophthalmologists were not possible as a routine measure. Our percentage is sufficiently high, however, to make it desirable not

only to have the school examinations of pupils' eyes more thoroughly made, but to strengthen the follow-up work, so that where glasses are indicated they shall be procured and worn at least during school or working hours.

We found no suggestive constant association of physical and mental defect. Many of the aments are in robust health and very attractive physically, a fact which strengthens their potentiality as social problems. Stigmata of degeneration occurred in too few cases to make numerical mention of any value.

Habits

Of the acknowledged users of alcohol and tobacco, the prostitutes constitute about 50 per cent. Those who were drug habitues are too few to make deductions safe, but it is interesting to see that all were either feeble-minded or psychopathic.

There were 85 (17 per cent) of the cases who we had reason to believe were masturbators, but this estimate is probably too low. Thirty-nine per cent of those given to autoerotism were psychopathic or mentally deficient.

Mental

There has been no part of our intensive study of delinquent girls which has yielded richer returns from a practical standpoint than have the mental examinations.

In our opinion, these examinations are necessary if we are really to know the individual with whom we are dealing and, as a logical sequence of the foregoing, if we are to deal intelligently with him. Knowing the individual implies acquaintance with possibilities as well as with shortcomings and with mental make-up in addition to mental status. Delinquents possess no more unvarying type of mentality than of physique; similar types of misconduct do not connote corresponding mental types and frequently more light is thrown on a person's conduct through an understanding of the traits which determine his personality than is obtained from knowing how he may be psychiatrically pigeon-holed.

To say that a person is feeble-minded may not go further in defining his personality than to state his nationality. While there is a measure of truth in the saying that mental defectives are potential criminals in that their low reasoning power and inferior judgment render them easy prey for more intelligent transgressors, it is well known that these "unfinished" individuals, as the feeble-minded have

been called, have distinct personalities which must be reckoned with and the same is true regarding other abnormal mental conditions.

It is not always easy to make close or satisfactory classifications of delinquents from a mental standpoint. After eliminating such definite types as the feeble-minded, the epileptic and the insane, together with the less defined 'constitutional psychopathic inferiors, there remain a considerable number who fail to fit into any of the recognized mental categories, and who are best described in terms of personality traits, which, because exaggerated, produce a poorly balanced individual, who, given unfavorable environment, behaves in an anti-social manner.

Returning to a consideration of the mental classification made for our group we find that the so-called normal cases make up but 28 per cent of the series. Such a small proportion in a group which, we believe, is fairly representative of the younger woman delinquent in any large American city, justifies us in our conviction that mental examinations are a *sine qua non* to intelligent handling of the delinquent problem. In this division we have placed (1) 13, or 2.6 per cent, who seemed entirely normal in mentality, but who have been subjected to unfavorable environments, either material, mental or moral in character; (2) 39, or 7.8 per cent, of the adolescent instability type, the condition in these cases being considered a transitory phase in ordinary development. In all such there was conspicuous a spirit of adventure and of curiosity strongly tinged with sentiment. Over half of this group were runaways; all showed a disinclination to abide by rules and were apt to make impulsive decisions; (3) 88, or 17.6 per cent, who were intellectually normal, but had either exaggerated traits or glandular imbalance which appear to have had direct bearing on the anti-social conduct of the individual. Take, for example, from this latter group, the twenty who were distinctly hypokinetic or sluggish, in type; 7 of these were prostitutes, 6 had been sexually promiscuous and those who were first offenders were easygoing, unresisting and low in initiative. There was Bertha, who had always had a poor and unhappy home owing to her father's intemperance, cruelty and insufficient maintenance. She was untidy and inclined to turn to the sensational for interest and stimulation since she had few personal resources. Although mentally indolent she had innate intellectual capacity, but she displayed little continuity of purpose or well-defined ethical standards and easily drifted into the path of least resistance. When her lover's mother objected to their marriage, alleging that Bertha's shiftlessness would make her an undesirable wife, the girl made no effort to prove

that the criticism was unjust, but threw herself on the man's sympathy, claiming that her father had put her out, and she and her lover lived together for a time in a small apartment. Millie was another one of this type, pretty-faced and sweet-mannered, but lacking gumption. She was 16 when referred to us by means of an anonymous letter which reported that the girl was pregnant, had no mother and that the man responsible for her trouble was "no good." Her seduction had occurred in her own home over a year before while her mother was away in a hospital and Millie was acting as housekeeper. But Millie showed no inclination to continue her delinquency after her mother's return home nor until some time after the mother's death, which occurred about six months later. This event kept her at home and alone where she quite promptly became sexually promiscuous, chiefly with various tradesmen who came to the house. In this case there was no mental retardation or aberration, there was no nervous instability or physical handicap, but a sex drive and little mental energy. She had taken a course in stenography and typewriting after graduating from grammar school, but had never made use of it, preferring positions as sales girl or telephone operator.

As opposed to the above is 17-year-old Caroline, classified as a hyperkinetic type, slight and delicate in appearance, but possessed of a tremendous amount of energy. She talked rapidly and had decided opinions, she craved active amusements and had won prizes for her fancy dancing. She was keen in grasping ideas, she reasoned and planned well, her execution was rapid and accurate. Her home had been a happy one, presided over by a hardworking mother who was ambitious for her four children. The girl's delinquency consisted in stealing money from her mother in order to expedite her marriage, for, since her lover was temporarily unemployed, her mother objected to an immediate marriage. Caroline, impatient of delay, reasoned that the money would be quickly repaid since both she and her husband would work, but she characteristically failed to visualize all the intervening possibilities, which prevented the realization of her impulsively made plans.

We have elsewhere described a typical primitive case in the person of Sadie, an 18-year-old of average intelligence, who was unable to determine the paternity of her second child because of her promiscuity and who, unhampered by public opinion, quite simply reacted to her impulses without burdening herself with thoughts of consequences.

Those whom we have characterized as possessed of persistent infantile reactions represent a clearly defined group of whom buxom

Lillian, pretty, petulant, stubborn, will serve as an example. The parents, natives of Belgium, had separated when Lillian was about four, owing to the mother's erratic and immoral behavior, for which a psychosis was probably responsible. Lillian was intellectually keen; she had been educated in convents and had traveled widely, her father's employers having taken much interest in her. As a result of such attention and of her father's over-indulgence, the child had been spoiled and at 16, when we became interested in her, she was quite undisciplined, accustomed to gain her ends by tantrums or by wheedling, pettishly intolerant of pain or of any hardship, superficial, selfish and wholly disinclined to assume responsibility for her behavior or for anything else. Left temporarily in a boarding house while her father was out of the city, Lillian, through the influence of an older girl in the house, against whom her father had warned her, began going out with men and in short time had been intimate with at least eleven. She was intoxicated by her freedom, by the admiration lavished on her and by the excitement of her new life, to which she adapted herself in a perfectly amoral way. Naively she wrote to her father that she wished to spend the summer in the city, as she had a "gentleman friend," a communication which promptly brought the worried parent back to his immature daughter, who received him with a pout.

Other personality traits disproportionately developed, which in connection with unfavorable environment appeared as causal factors in delinquency are stubbornness, suggestibility, curiosity and eroticism. In eleven cases, mental conflicts are considered directly responsible for the unhappiness and recklessness which led to wrongdoing. Briefly outlined, are two histories which illustrate this type. Minnie, aged 16, American, reflected in her grim inaccessibility the sordid, dwarfing kind of environment in which she had been reared. Her father, a drunkard, terminated his career by drowning when Minnie was about seven, and the mother, a quick-tempered, unscrupulous, nagging woman, promptly married a man who duplicated her first husband's bad qualities and added to them cruelty to her children. Whenever Minnie found life at home unbearable, she ran away and sometimes stayed with her paternal grandmother, who had married a negro for her second husband. When about 10 Minnie had been raped by a stepuncle, her only experience in immorality, and one which gave rise to much subsequent bitterness. Her delinquency consisted in repeated runaways and in stealing. We found her hard, reckless, stubborn, suspicious, inhibited, mediocre in intelligence, but not defective, inclined to brood over her wrongs, yet possessed of considerable imagination and spirit.

Alice, another American, was an orphan who had spent over 13 of her 16 years in a sectarian orphan asylum where "one day was just like another." Naturally sensitive and craving affection, which she never received, she gradually acquired as a defense a reckless, stubborn manner, early reaching the conclusion that nobody cared for her and therefore that she would care for nobody. She dreaded visiting day in the institution, since people never came to see her and because she felt that her relatives neglected her, she grew to hate them. Failing to obtain the liking of teachers and attendants, she became troublesome in order forcibly to direct attention to herself. Soon after she was 15 she went to live with a brother and sister-in-law, the latter a coarse, intemperate gossip who did not fail to include Alice in the constant family quarrels. Alice's view of life was not improved by this new environment and her brother's attempt at incestuous relations when he was intoxicated accentuated her bitterness and feeling that nothing mattered. She became wild, wanted to keep late hours and acknowledged improper behavior with at least one soldier. She had ordinarily good mental equipment, but she was constantly hampered by her unhealthy tendency to brood over her wrongs. When we saw her, she was very much repressed and anti-social, with a well-developed grudge attitude.

Turning now to the mental deviates we find, as might be expected, that the defective class furnishes the largest quota, there being 24.2 per cent diagnosed as feeble-minded, while 13 per cent were considered mentally subnormal. The latter term we use to cover those cases which Healy describes as standing between normality and feeble-mindedness, having greater educability than the latter, but being clearly defective in some directions. If we consider together the subnormal and the feeble-minded, as we legitimately may, since they represent varying degrees of the same essential state, we have, then, 37.2 per cent who may be regarded as mentally defective.

The family history in 40 per cent of these cases was indicative of low resistance, physical, mental, or both. The abnormal condition which occurred most often was tuberculosis (13 per cent); the next in point of frequency was feeble-mindedness; insanity came next; then occurred in order the following combinations: feeble-mindedness and tuberculosis, insanity and tuberculosis, insanity and feeble-mindedness, epilepsy and tuberculosis, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy and tuberculosis, feeble-mindedness, insanity and tuberculosis. Since, as already stated, our figures relating to heredity are conservative, we regard it as significant from the standpoint of the causation of amentia that there

occurred among our cases as high a percentage of conditions which tend to bring about a deterioration of germ plasm, as the above figures indicate.

Forty, or 21.6 per cent, of these mental defectives were first born and there were 7 who were only children. Of the latter, one had an insane father and a tubercular mother, another a feeble-minded mother; in the case of a third there was insanity in both paternal and maternal aunts, while for a fourth there was a history of tuberculosis in the mother, maternal grandmother and paternal grandfather, and the maternal grandfather was insane.

In spite of such unfavorable conditions we are convinced, after studying the backgrounds of these delinquents from physical and social as well as from mental standpoints, that mental defect per se does not furnish an adequate explanation for misconduct. In an environment which understood and which made allowances for the shortcomings of mental defectives, their delinquency would be reduced to a minimum. Contrary to the usually accepted idea that custodial institutions are necessary to protect society from the feeble-minded, evidence from our cases indicates that it is the feebly resistant mental defectives who need to be protected from a public whose pitilessness depends not less on ignorance than on a desire to prey on the defenseless.

That there is, however, a definite relationship between delinquency and mental abnormality is now generally recognized and a survey of the leading characteristics of amentia suggests at once how the behavior of an ament may be anti-social, given unfavorable environmental conditions. For example, as the result of that inferior reasoning ability which mental defectives commonly show, their behavior is an impulsive reaction to suggestion, an automatic performance determined by habit, the primitive gratification of an appetite, a stupid drifting in the direction of least resistance rather than the outcome of a consideration of cause and effect. Those social maladjustments which are so constantly seen in the career of a feeble-minded person are largely dependent on undeveloped reasoning faculties. A low degree of imagination, especially along constructive lines, is often demonstrated by this group and is a factor in recidivism. Limited associational ability and poor memory are further reasons for repetition of delinquent acts. Weak inhibitory power is another characteristic which is especially conspicuous in the field of sex delinquency. Physical development outsteps mental, a lack of balance ensues and the individual thus handicapped can hardly be expected to offer stout resistance to one of the most powerful instincts.

Persons possessing such qualities as those just cited, if subjected to lack of home training or to positive encouragement to wrongdoing, readily become delinquent and the important part which mental defectives play in connection with the delinquency of the whole group is shown by the reassembling of the following figures: Fifty-three and five-tenths per cent of those who, when referred, were complainants in rape cases or who had not had extended experience in sexual laxity, were classified as mental defectives, while 37 per cent of all who had been sexually promiscuous, and 35 per cent of the prostitute group were considered mentally undeveloped. The same is true for 51 per cent of all those who acknowledged having had abortions, for 49 per cent of those who had given birth to full term children, for 37 per cent of those who were pregnant at the time of our first examination. That feeble-mindedness is a factor in other types of misconduct than that which is strictly sexual is shown by our findings that this mental condition existed in 38 per cent of all runaways, in 37 per cent of those known to have stolen, and in 27 per cent of those who were considered vagrants. In this mental group, we find 46 per cent of all our gonorrhoeics and 45 per cent of all syphilitics, facts of important social significance from the standpoint of disease distribution in view of the general irresponsibility and disinclination to maintain sustained effort which are common to aments.

The following histories illustrate in concrete form problems which affect the welfare both of the individual and of society: Hannah, a typical low grade moron, is a good example of a case suitable for custodial care. Her mental deficiency was suspected during early childhood when in an orphan asylum, but no attempt whatever had been made to secure commitment until at the age of 18 she was referred to the New York Probation and Protective Association by a social worker because it was said that in spite of the fact that she had spent about 12 years in sectarian institutions, she persisted in keeping late hours, in going with disreputable companions and in working very irregularly. Investigation showed that family conditions were bad. The intemperate father had left his wife to live with another woman when Hannah was about 5 and the family had been recipients of public relief. The mother was a hard worker, dictatorial and quarrelsome, who did not show good judgment in the management of herself or her children. An older brother had served a sentence in the Workhouse and an older sister was immoral. From 5 to 14 years Hannah was in a home for dependents. Soon after her discharge to her mother, who had contrived to make a home for her three children, she was

seduced and her conduct was so bad that her mother took her to court and had her committed to a reformatory, where she spent three years. During the nine months which followed her discharge from this institution, at the end of which time she came to our notice, Hannah had become a prostitute, chiefly she thought because one of her friends had told her she "was a fool not to take money"; also she drank to some extent. Efforts to obtain commitment to a custodial institution were frustrated by the mother, who refused her consent although entirely helpless in managing her. Position after position was obtained for the girl, many of which she never even tried. For a time all trace of her was lost, as she left home, but we learned that she was finally arrested, charged with prostitution, and sent to another reformatory institution. The stupid futility of such a disposition needs no comment.

A similar case, except that a greater burden was thrown on society because of two living illegitimate children, was that of Clara, a 20-year-old American, whose parents had separated during her infancy because of the immorality and pronounced intemperance of the mother, who had been arrested repeatedly. The extensive scar which had disfigured Clara since babyhood was due to the fact that her mother, when intoxicated, dropped her on a hot stove. The maternal grandmother and a maternal aunt were also alcoholics. The girl was in an orphan asylum from the time she was 1½ years old until she was about 14. She then attempted to keep house for her father, but was not prepared in any way to use wisely the unwonted amount of liberty suddenly thrust upon her. In less than two years she was committed to a reformatory where her first child was born. About two years later she was placed at work, but soon violated her parole. Within a few months after her final discharge from the institution she was sent to another reformatory, pregnant for a second time. This girl was by no means a vicious type, but clearly lacked inhibitory power. The reason which she gave, in all honesty, for her behavior is pitifully true. "All I know is I'm easily led. I didn't seem to have a mind of my own. I've tried hard, but I don't seem to accomplish anything. I may say 'no,' but I can't seem to stick to it." Custodial care was ultimately secured for this case.

Olivia, an Austrian of about 20 years, was brought to Waverley House one midnight by a police officer who had found her wandering aimlessly about the streets. She is mentioned as an undesirable alien type who should never have been allowed to enter this country. She was a low grade moron, inferior in stature and in general physical develop-

ment, besides presenting several well marked stigmata of degeneracy. Two years before, she had been brought to this country by a brother whose interest in her seemed wholly mercenary. After being in New York a few months, she claimed to have been sexually assaulted by two strange men of whom she had asked directions one evening. Her prompt reaction to this experience was to live as consort with a third man. Pending vain efforts to secure her deportation, she was placed in a custodial institution, from which she was later paroled to do housework. She could not be trusted to answer the bell because of her behavior with tradesmen, and after a time she stole from her employer and disappeared.

The need for increased institutional provision for mentally defective pregnant cases, as well as for feeble-minded mothers and their children, may be illustrated by the case of Celia, an Italian, aged 19 years, married, referred by the Department of Justice as a witness against her husband, who was charged with being engaged in interstate traffic. Although she had come to this country in infancy, she claimed to have had no educational advantages and was entirely illiterate. She had worked as a rag picker and at simple factory jobs. When about 17, she met a man through flirtation and lived with him a month before they were married. He proved to be a lazy and generally worthless fellow who first neglected, then abused and finally compelled Celia to support him by prostitution. Once she attempted suicide when hungry. The positive physical findings were lues, valvular heart disease, defective vision and pregnancy. The mental development was that of a low grade moron and in addition to the essential dependency which the girl presented, there was a vicious quality in her delinquency manifested in her deliberate and successful attempt to influence a feeble-minded girl of 16 years to leave home and enter prostitution. A judicial commitment to a custodial institution was executed for Celia.

Further case histories of mentally deficient individuals might illustrate different types of disorders, but those already offered exemplify that incapacity for full self-direction which mental defectives frequently display in situations encountered in ordinary community life and they furnish arguments for the need of custodial care when their homes are unable to provide equivalents.

Next to the defectives in point of number and constituting 26.4 per. cent of our whole group are the constitutional psychopathic inferiors. This category, while inadequate for some individuals placed in it, serves to indicate such leading characteristics of the majority as marked emotional instability, a constant difficulty in meeting situations

competently, a tendency to blur issues instead of to face them squarely. The make-up of many suggests the likelihood of an eventual psychosis. Susanne is a case in point. She was about 20 when we first knew her, serious-faced, reticent and sensitive, crippled from infancy by a tubercular hip. Because of this infirmity she had spent nearly all her life in institutions where kind treatment and many privileges made her measurably happy, but where limited interests and restricted opportunities for natural social contacts favored a tendency towards indulgence in morbid day-dreaming. She was seclusive in make-up, even as a child, very desirous for attention and affection, but inhibited in personal output, sensitive to slights, real or fancied, introspective and evasive. As she grew older, she brooded over a fear that because of her deformity she would not receive attention from men as other girls did. She claimed that she had no definite information regarding sex life until she was past 18; her questions had been eluded and she had a good deal of unsatisfied curiosity. With the hope of making her self-supporting, she was given a chance, when between 19 and 20, to take a course in sewing at a trade school. This made a break in her sheltered life, as, although she continued to live in the institution, she went alone on the subway to her class. One day, when a slight accident occurred, she fell into conversation with a Subway employee, whom she afterwards saw frequently. From the first he flattered her, and by improper remarks and behavior, stimulated her curiosity in sexual things and excited her to such an extent that she did not oppose the establishment of intimate relations, although this conflicted with her ethical and religious standards. Once started, she seemed insatiable and indulged in regular sexual orgies. She stayed with one man after another, responding to excessive demands, and she wrote and received obscene letters. Infection with gonorrhoea had no deterrent effect. In all respects she seemed changed and the people who had been interested in her all her life felt that any further efforts along constructive lines would be futile. She was under observation at Waverley House over two months, during which period she displayed distinct schizophrenic tendencies, which, however, were not sufficiently well developed to make commitment to a state hospital possible. She was placed in a favorable position where she had sympathetic and intelligent oversight, but she promptly returned to her life of sexual overactivity, from which commitment to a reformatory institution forcibly separated her. This disposition, while promising little regarding permanent change in her conduct, did procure needed medical treatment, and extended observation, which was desirable from a mental standpoint,

and removed from society a source of disease and of possible illegitimate progeny.

Another example of this unstable class is Helen, a 17-year-old American, who was referred for investigation from a magistrate's court. She was at that time a complaining witness against three men who were accused of using her to receive stolen goods. Four years before she had come into court for the first time, charged with running away, and had been sent to a reformatory institution for two months. When nearly 16 she ran away again and this time when examined by a court physician it was found that she had been seduced and that she was infected with both venereal diseases. Her behavior in the hospital where she was under specific treatment was so disorderly that after two months she was transferred to the psychopathic ward of a city hospital and from there went to a state hospital. In the latter institution she was diagnosed as a case of constitutional inferiority with episodes of excitement. After six months she was paroled to her parents, who placed her in the country to do housework. Although not competent, no serious complaints as to work or behavior were made for several months, when she became disturbed over a love affair and impulsively returned to the city. Still feeling upset and somewhat reckless, almost immediately she began associating with a gang of jewelry crooks who supported her and cohabited with her. She claims that she refused their requests to receive and conceal stolen property, and when arrested she gave information against the gang, although at the time she was wearing stolen jewelry. Investigation brought to light the fact that the paternal grandmother had been insane for many years and that the mother was subject to migraine. Both parents were intelligent, ordinarily well educated and of good habits. Six children had died in infancy and over the two left, of whom Helen was the older, they had little control. The girl was seclusive as a child, always high-tempered, wilful and untruthful. In school she was so "wild" that her teachers constantly found it necessary to treat her as a special problem; she was somewhat retarded as to grade, but this was attributed by the teachers to lack of effort in those studies which did not interest rather than to any mental dullness. The physical examination was negative except for unhealthy tonsils. General development and nutrition were good, and there was no evidence of active venereal disease at the time of our examination. Regarding the mental condition, the diagnosis previously made was concurred in. The patient showed marked instability, a shallow recklessness and an inclination to react impulsively and in a hyperaffective way to situa-

tions. The prognosis was regarded as unfavorable as far as the attainment of real social efficiency was concerned. Our latest report is that after two and a half years in a state hospital, she was discharged "greatly improved," but her employer was finding her "ugly tempered" and difficult to manage.

Those showing well defined mental disease are but 5.8 per cent of the whole series. Of the 29 cases, 10 were diagnosed as dementia praecox, 10 as manic depressives; 4 had well marked alcoholic psychoses; there was one each of paresis and of choreic psychosis, while no definite diagnosis was made for 3. No girls in this group were illiterate and the educational showing for their parents was better than for those of the 500 or for the mental defectives. The average educational attainments for those in this mentally aberrational group, however, are about the same as for the defectives whom we have already discussed. In spite of the fact that a high percentage had received industrial training, their earning capacity is conspicuously low. Although noticeably older when becoming sexually delinquent than was the average girl among either the 500 or the mental defectives, the interval between the initial experience and the beginning of prostitution is shorter in the case of the psychopathic than in that of the other two contrasted groups. The percentage of abortions is high for the former as compared with the latter, and, as might be expected, the same is true for runaways, for vagrancy, for attempted suicide, for drinking, smoking and indulgence in autoerotism.

As indicative of the causal role which mental diseases play in faulty social adaptation, the three following cases are cited: Jessica, a native of Austria, a Hebrew, was 16 when referred to us as a runaway by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, to whom she had been known for several years. She was the illegitimate child of an alcoholic, dissolute father and of an erratic, probably psychopathic, mother. A maternal uncle was feeble-minded. Jessica had had little home life or intelligent training. When about 9 years of age, she joined her mother in America, the latter having left her in infancy in care of paternal relatives, coming to this country where she married. In company with her mother and stepfather, Jessica led a nomadic existence, having little opportunity for regular schooling. At different times she left her mother to stay with relatives or to enter institutions. When about 14 she had a period of well marked exaltation when she renounced her religion, but exhibited excessive piety, feeling herself "called to save" her own people. She was unable to keep any kind of position because of unwillingness to take directions

from employers and because of her lack of training due to her inability to apply herself long enough to take advantage of several good opportunities for learning trades. She ran away frequently and lived in very questionable ways, although loud in her protestations of virtue. When we first saw her, she was distinctly elated, talking boastfully of the great actress which she was to become and loudly abusing those who had failed to recognize her genius. She bragged of the theater engagements which she had had, none of which had ever materialized; she talked of her family's wealth when they were receiving relief continually. She was placed under observation in a psychopathic ward where she was considered "probably insane," but commitment was not recommended. The girl was returned to her mother and continued her bizarre career, finally eloping with her stepfather, whom, however, she left after a short time. She drifted back to New York eventually and when next we saw her, she was in a state of depression, threatening suicide because of fear that she was pregnant, although there was no evidence to support her fears. At no time was venereal disease discovered and the physical condition was generally negative. In this case, the behavior was largely determined by the manic state which so frequently possessed the patient.

Perverved mental activity was also a fundamental factor in the extremely erratic behavior displayed by the following patient, a case of dementia precox: Sophia, an American girl, aged 26 years, was originally referred to us as in need of medical care, since she had complained that "an eruption" (facial eczema) was preventing her from securing a position. She was small and insignificant in appearance, with an apathetic expression and commonly sat with downcast and averted head. The father, a German, had married late in life an 18-year-old girl who was below him in social station. At that time he was ill from tuberculosis and it was said that he merely wanted someone to nurse him. "He was a quiet sort of man who kept away from people and spent his fortune traveling all over the world. The mother was a hard-working woman, "not smart enough to learn to read or write." Sophia was the fifth in a family of seven children. The first three died in infancy; the fourth and sixth were probably mentally inferior. Sophia made ordinary progress in a country school, then started to take a business course, but did not finish it. She had had many positions as clerk or cashier at which she had earned from \$4 to \$8 a week, but there were frequent changes and she was often accused of being short in her cash. She lived in a cheap boarding house, the woman in charge claiming that her general behavior was

"queer," and that she was starving herself while spending money foolishly on "valueless" articles. Some time before she had bought a piano, on which she was most anxious to learn to play. Sophia said that the man in the room next to hers also had a piano and that he annoyed her by playing when she wanted to practice, "and always in the same time and key." She claimed that all the people in the house were against her and that she was hurt because they locked their doors. She stated also that people on the street followed her about and prevented her from getting positions, and that a man with a dinner pail was always trailing her. She acknowledged auditory hallucinations, her association tests showed complex material and she had no insight regarding her mental condition. She had established immoral relations with the man with whom she quarrelled over piano playing and she had probably been intimate with others, but it was difficult to get reliable information from her on this score as her conversation, though full of erotic references, was too fantastic to be accepted as an indication of actual behavior.

The following case of paresis was referred to us for investigation by a philanthropic society to whom the patient had applied for work. She had been a decided social menace in several cities: Marion, aged 29, married, was a mulatto with bleached hair. She claimed to know nothing of her own people, but said that she had been raised by an old negress whom she called grandmother. She fell into bad company early and had an abortion induced before she was 14. Soon thereafter she was arrested from a house of prostitution and sent to a reformatory, where she spent five years. Her conduct there was constantly disorderly and soon after her discharge she returned to prostitution. According to her statement, she remained in this life until she married at about 26 and as she was not living with her husband when referred to us, there had probably been but a short interval, if any, during which she ceased from prostituting herself. She had smoked cigarettes excessively from childhood and had been treated for both heroin and opium habits. She had a four plus blood Wassermann and showed characteristic physical signs of paresis as well as considerable mental deterioration. Commitment to a state hospital was secured for her, a disposition which might have been made earlier, since the woman had been in several institutions where her mental condition might have been discovered.

The number of cases of uncomplicated epilepsy is small, being but 13 (2.6 per cent) of the whole group; 7 other cases occurred, but in connection with feeble-mindedness. The thirteen cases showed no

deterioration, but such traits as egocentricity, a lack of consideration for others and a low degree of social adaptability.

Although we regard the so-called "mental age" of little value as an isolated fact, it may be worth while for comparative purposes to report that the average mental age for the 500 is 10.4, average intelligence quotient .65. However, since we used the 1911 revision of the Binet-Simon test, our figures are lower than they would have been had the Stanford revision been employed. Terman⁹ states: "The most important effect of the revision is to reduce the mental age secured in the lower ranges of the scale and to raise considerably the mental age above 10 or 11. . . . For example, of 104 adult individuals tested by the Stanford revision between 12 and 14 years and who were, therefore, somewhat above the level of feeble-mindedness, as that term is usually defined, 50 per cent tested below 12 years by the Goddard revision." Besides this difference in favor of our group which different systems of psychological tests afford, we know, since the analysis of the army findings, that there is a tendency to be more liberal in the classification of the mentally dull. Nevertheless, if we accept Stern's definition for intelligence as being "the general capacity of an individual consciously to adjust his thinking to new requirements" we are forced to conclude that *as a group* our delinquent girls cannot be considered intelligent. Weidensall refers aptly to the "latent powers of adaptability" of the criminal woman, but in many of our cases such powers seem non-existent except where extremely primitive situations have to be met. Their mental and temperamental limitations are constantly exceeded by the demands of a complicated modern existence, especially in a city, and their delinquency, concerning which they are noticeably uncritical, may be considered a symptom of broken resistance, or of unrestrained emotional impulses.

CAUSATIVE FACTORS

The estimation of causative factors of delinquency is at all times difficult and one hesitates to be dogmatic about a thing which may be as subtly evasive as are the actual determinants of conduct. During recent years, the remark has been frequently made that the causes of delinquency are very complex. As a result of our study of the problem, we heartily concur in this opinion and we believe that it cannot be emphasized too often or too strongly.

In dealing with cases one by one such tangible things as bad family history, unfavorable environment, undesirable friends, ques-

⁹The Measurement of Intelligence, p. 62.

tionable amusements, physical handicaps, defective mental conditions may loom so large that one is inclined to consider that, singly or combined, they are of prime importance as actual and immediate incentives to misbehavior, but it is certainly true that better perspective is obtained from weighing the results of large numbers of similarly studied cases. From the cumulative evidence of our analysis, we are persuaded that heredity, circumstances of development and of environment, physical and mental condition when abnormal, act as causative factors in sexual delinquency by reducing the power of individual resistance, by favoring the formation of faulty habits and low personal standards, and by failing to promote the establishment of sturdy inhibitions, but we are convinced that important as these are, they must be regarded as contributing rather than as actual causes of sexual misconduct in view of the low proportion of other delinquents in the same families, children born and reared under similar conditions, and often endowed with the same grade of mentality, who might reasonably be expected to show corresponding behavior if the determinants of conduct were not largely dependent on individual make-up. One of the most striking things which this analysis has shown is that sex delinquency is an essentially individual reaction to an emotional situation, which reaction we must not forget is basically physiological. That which is immediately responsible in addition to the emotional stimulus is frequently intangible and moreover it is not a constant factor. A comparatively trivial occurrence which might pass unnoticed at one time may at another, when a girl is tired or depressed, arouse anger or a spirit of recklessness which will carry her over the point of resistance. Invariably, however, the fundamental factor in behavior is not intellectual caliber or environmental conditions, but the peculiar personality which is played upon by emotional appeal plus concomitant circumstances. This is particularly true in the beginning. Habit may be the chief factor in repeated delinquency, or a desire for material gain, or fear, as is sometimes the case in compulsory prostitution.

As before stated, our study does not lead us to think that licentiousness is more than a potential characteristic. We believe that children acquire a tolerance for dissolute living because of lax morals and habituation to low standards in the home, a situation almost inevitable when the sex delinquency of parents or of other members of the family is a matter of common knowledge, all of which hinders the building up of those inhibitions which are a girl's natural safeguard.

In the last edition of "Heredity and Environment," Conklin makes the following statement: "So great is the power of environment on the development of personality that it may outweigh inheritance; a relatively poor inheritance with excellent environmental conditions often produces better results than a good inheritance with poor conditions. Of course, no sort of environment can do more than bring out the hereditary possibilities, but, on the other hand, those possibilities must remain latent and undeveloped unless they are stimulated into activity by the environment."

One of the traits which our group commonly shows and which we believe is a crucial factor in the delinquency of many, is a low order of self-control, a by-product of absent or ineffectual home training. Other characters frequently demonstrated and often dependent on the same cause, are low ethical sense and reduced critical faculty regarding personal behavior.

Still other traits of social significance and of no mean potency in bringing a girl to the point of actual sex delinquency, are exaggerated suggestibility and sensitiveness, timidity, a craving for approbation, and a shrinking from ridicule.

Other powerful agents in the development of personality and which consequently are instrumental in determining sex delinquency in these adolescents, have already been dwelt upon in some detail under their own sections. Indeed the whole study may be considered a quest for light on reasons for delinquency.

TREATMENT

The most important part of the study of delinquents, as far as they themselves are concerned, is the question of treatment, which question those on whom devolves the responsibility of decision often find difficult to settle satisfactorily. This is especially true when the problem, seldom a really simple one, is complicated by the introduction of adolescent characteristics which may or may not be permanent. The mere fact that conduct disorders have made these individuals conspicuous, indicates faulty adjustment of some kind and the main object of intensive study is to trace back from a definite effect to a cause or causes, since the latter should receive first consideration in a logical attempt at readjustment.

The commitment to institutions of patients whose eligibility is determined by the existence of mental defect or of mental disease, is one of the least complex and one of the most satisfactory of dispositions. Two important reasons for this are that these handicapped ones

cease to be social problems when they are in detention, and that the institutions to which they go, although imperfect in many ways and generally overcrowded, are better equipped to meet the peculiar needs of the individuals than are their own homes or other environment which are open to them. Plans for other misdemeanants are much more hazardous and often represent the best way out of a situation rather than an ideal arrangement. One may see clearly enough where family conditions, reacting on the delinquent's own make-up, have exerted tremendous influence on his behavior, but it is often an herculean task to transform families, and it is also frequently impossible to arrange to separate a person from his home even though, for material or more subtle reasons, such a course seems highly desirable. It may be necessary then to return our delinquent to the same environment in which her anti-social conduct occurred. In which case it may be asked to what practical end is all our involved study directed? The answer to such a query is that apart from the scientific value which a knowledge of the material involved contributes to any subject, there is practical advantage accruing to the person studied and to those interested in him. Such benefit may be of a physical nature which in turn may affect the person's adaptability or it may come from an insight into the individual mental mechanisms which may point to procedures unthought of without an analysis of the whole situation.

One frequently encounters cases which present great difficulties as to disposition because there is a conflict between benefit to the individual and to society. Commitments to reformatory institutions are frequently made because all ordinary extra-institutional measures have been tried without avail and the delinquent is regarded as too much of a public menace to be free in the community. Often, in cases of this sort, one has felt strongly not only that, given a really favorable environment, these people might become of social value, but even that commitment will be wholly detrimental; yet the latter disposition seems inevitable because ideal living conditions are not forthcoming. Because of such obstacles or of others as difficult to overcome our dispositions, as recorded, do not invariably represent our best judgment; they may indicate rather a lack of alternatives or stand for what appeared to meet the need of the moment most nearly; for instance, although we are steadfastly opposed on principle to sending a feeble-minded girl to a reformatory institution, we have now and then been instrumental in doing this very thing when there was no hope of procuring prompt admission to a custodial institution and when there was imperative need of protecting the girl and society. In such cases we have sought

to make our position clear and we have not considered that our responsibility ceased after securing such commitment, but we have kept in mind our ultimate aim to obtain proper commitment as soon as possible. It must be said also that in some cases for whom we sought custodial care we were not supported by the courts. Judges, after reading our reports on girls returned to them for disposition, have been known to ask what was the difference anyway between a reformatory and a custodial institution. After seeing the distinction one judge committed a low grade moron to a sectarian "home," with the avowed hope that religious teaching would do something for her; other judges, better informed, while accepting our diagnosis of mental incompetence, have hesitated on account of the youth of our girls to send them away for the long period recommended and have accordingly committed them to reformatory institutions, optimistically assuming that they would react favorably to discipline applied for a short time. Still others have seemed to be guided in their decisions less by the evident need of the girl for protection and training in a custodial institution than by the angry or tearful protests of parents, in spite of the fact that the latter may have shown repeatedly their inability to guard or to control their feeble-minded daughters.

The *immediate* avenues for treatment which we utilized are the following: the girls' own homes, or those of relatives or boarding homes, resident positions or other places of employment, deportation, Hillcrest Farm for a period of training, hospitals for care during confinement or for treatment of venereal disease, probation, reformatories, institutions for the feeble-minded or insane, and co-operating organizations. This generalized classification of immediate dispositions gives no idea of the amount of personal detailed work involved, not only in carrying out that plan to which study of each girl pointed, but also in meeting later situations which arose during continued friendly oversight by workers of our association. In dealing with such variable material as unstable adolescents, resource and flexibility are needed by those who follow up and continue to befriend these girls.

Five years after we had first examined the members of our group, an earnest and systematic attempt was made to see how they were getting on and how efficacious our treatment had been. Since we dealt to a large extent with a shifting city population, naturally, visits were often fruitless; nevertheless, *positive information was obtained for 290 girls (58 per cent), of whom 148 (51 per cent) were doing well.* If living at home, they were not regarded as problems by their families; if employed, their record was satisfactory; if married, they seemed to

have made competent adjustments. Reports from organizations to which out-of-town girls had been referred convinced us that our practice of securing continued care for runaways returned to their homes in other cities is essential in good treatment. Not only did we find that our follow-up visits were not resented, but frequently they were much appreciated by families as well as by the girls themselves. Those who had married proudly exhibited husbands and children. When girls were missing, their families made touching requests that we aid in locating the lost ones. In 62 cases (21 per cent) girls had not made satisfactory adjustments at home or had been committed to reformatories.

We are omitting the table presenting such negative data as *whereabouts of family unknown, and no information*, as it has little value beyond showing that there is no marked difference in the percentages of this material for any of the groups except that of the constitutional psychopathic inferiors. Here we find a striking decrease of *positive* information. This is not strange, since the instability which is so characteristic of these individuals leads them to shift about and thus to be elusive.

The following table shows in connection with mental types the positive information obtained in our follow-up investigation of the girls:

RESULTS OF TREATMENT

	Home or Work and Doing Well	Married and Doing Well	Home and Doing Badly	Married and Doing Badly	Reformatory	Missing from Home	Custodial or Hos- pital for Insane	Deported	Deceased	Total
Normal Mentality	21	37	8	4	8	5		2	1	86
Per Cent	24.4	43.0	9.3	4.7	9.3	5.8		2.3	1.2	100.0
Mental Deficiency	29	18	5	6	10	15	24	2	7	116
Per Cent	25.0	15.5	4.3	5.2	8.6	12.9	20.7	1.7	6.0	99.9
Constitutional Psychopathic In- ferior	16	14	5	4	9	8	1		2	59
Per Cent	27.1	23.7	8.5	6.8	15.3	13.6	1.7		3.3	100.0
Mental Disease	7		1			2	8	1		19
Per Cent	36.8		5.3			10.5	42.1	5.3		100.0
Epilepsy	2	4		1	1	2				10
Per Cent	20.0	40.0		10.0	10.0	20.0				100.0
Total	75	73	19	15	28	32	33	5	10	
Per Cent	25.9	25.2	6.5	5.2	9.7	11.0	11.4	1.7	3.4	100.0
	148		62							
	51.0%		21.4%							

The results of the original forms of treatment are as follows:

	Home or Work and Doing Well	Married and Doing Well	Home and Doing Badly	Married and Doing Badly	Reformatory	Missing from Home	Custodial or Hos- pital for Insane	Deported	Deceased	Total
Returned Home	22	31	8	9	3	7	0	2	3	85
Placed at Work	13	10	3	1	3	3	1	0	0	39
Hillcrest Farm	6	5	1	0	3	2	0	0	0	17
Placed with Relatives	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
Placed in Boarding Homes	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Placed in Hospitals	2	6	2	1	2	5	6	1	1	26
Placed in Custodial Institutions	4	2	1	0	1	5	22	1	4	40
Placed on Probation	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	5
Sent to Reformatories	21	15	3	2	16	4	3	1	2	67
Miscellaneous	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
Total	75	73	19	15	28	32	33	5	10	290

Returning girls to their homes was the most frequent disposition made. All mental types were included in this treatment, but one-third had normal intelligence. We find that with the exception of the small group sent to Hillcrest Farm there is a better showing made by these normal girls in their homes than anywhere else that we have placed them. A number of subnormals also did well after being returned to their families. One reason for this is that in many cases it is not until a girl runs away or takes the first steps in delinquency that her family awakens to the necessity of looking after her more closely. Once thoroughly aroused to the need for watchfulness, they may exercise it efficiently. On the other hand, the girl herself has often drifted along without realizing her danger. The experience of finding herself a complainant in a rape case, for example, causes her to appreciate that her conduct affects not merely herself and her family but the community in which she lives. Occasionally enforced absence from home during the settlement of her case, anxiety as to the outcome, and realization that being "put away" may be at last no idle threat, will cause a girl to appreciate her home more than she ever has before, to be more tolerant of parental demands regarding early hours, the right sort of friends, and a more responsible attitude towards work.

It is possible in many cases to bring about a better home atmosphere to which the girl returns than that in which she has been reared; for example, to make her family realize that if she were encouraged to entertain her friends at home she would not be forced to meet them on street corners, in parks or dance halls; that if she is to be willing to work hard and steadily, she must receive some personal satisfaction from her wages instead of being expected to hand over each week her unopened pay envelope and to have change doled out to her for car fare

and meager lunches; and that furthermore she needs and will somehow get some recreation, so that it is better for all concerned that this need be recognized and sanctioned. Although a girl's delinquency may result in widening the breach between her family and herself, on the other hand it may be the means of bringing about a better mutual understanding than has ever existed before.

One often sees an inclination in families to make allowances for those of their number who are mentally weak, as well as to be blind to their early manifestations of delinquent tendencies. When something occurs which proves undeniably an inability for full self-direction, the family is forced to face its responsibility and may thereafter handle it capably. Older sisters will arrange to have the one who is mentally inferior work in the same place, so that they may go back and forth together; brothers may act as attendants at dances or moving pictures and thereby an effective protective system be organized in the home circle. This arrangement cannot be effected constantly, even with a co-operative family and close supervision by capable workers, and the feeble-minded have the lowest percentage of successes in their homes of any of the mental types. That their homes were unfavorable, however, cannot be denied.

Our figures confirm what might be assumed that returning a girl to her home favors marriage. There can be no doubt that this is a solution for many so-called delinquents and, although there is practically no numerical difference in our two groups where conduct was found to be satisfactory, whether they had married or not, we know that the number of marriages is bound to be augmented since many of the girls were engaged and looking forward happily to setting up housekeeping for themselves. In some cases our investigations showed that, even though a girl did not live happily with her husband, she reacted well to the responsibility which her children brought. We find 25 per cent who were married and doing well, as opposed to 5 per cent married and doing badly.

Girls were placed in resident positions, usually as helpers in families, in nurseries or hospitals. Here the successful adaptation of the girl with normal intelligence is strikingly shown, as satisfactory returns were secured for 42 per cent, as against 20 per cent for both subnormals and constitutional psychopathic inferiors, and 16 per cent for the mental defectives.

Although reformatory dispositions were made in 19 per cent of our cases, this does not mean that we were always in full sympathy with such commitment: for example, they were sometimes demanded

by panicky parents who were anxious to shift responsibility for a time. As a rule, such people promptly expended further energy in an attempt to procure parole, some because punishment or a "scare" was all that they desired, others because they missed the earnings of their daughters and found it intolerable to picture the latter enriching the institution by their labor. Such an attitude on the part of her family may serve to keep a girl disgruntled and restless, thus interfering with a satisfactory adjustment to her institutional life and nullifying any benefit which she might otherwise derive. There were instances also of girls who had been reared in orphanages whose inability to meet unaccustomed social situations in a competent way brought them to our attention, but who might have been capable of developing judgment and resistance, if judiciously helped. Further institutionalization was certainly contra-indicated yet commitment was insisted upon by "interested" people who took alarm at the indication of delinquent tendencies and decreed that no further risk must be run, even if the girl's chances for becoming socially efficient were permanently crippled.

The successes among those committed to reformatories were so evenly distributed among the different mental types that no suggestion is received which helps one to predict favorable or unfavorable results from reformatory treatment. It may be said, however, that in considering the different mental groups by themselves and their reaction to the plans made for them, those of normal intelligence did less well in reformatories than elsewhere. The mental defectives also made a poor showing after disciplinary treatment. This is in contrast to the subnormals whose more successful showing may be attributed to the fact that they have greater capacity for training than the distinctly feeble-minded. Although the percentage of later successes for the constitutional psychopathic inferiors is not high in itself, it is greater for those who were given reformatory care than it is for any other treatment accorded them.

Fifty-five girls were placed in hospitals, 22 for treatment for venereal disease, 16 because of mental symptoms, 15 on account of pregnancy, 2 for medical care. Except for those who were committed to institutions for mental patients, sending girls to hospitals was merely a temporary measure, and later other provision was made for them.

The number of positive returns on girls committed to custodial institutions is high because, at the time of our inquiry, 43 per cent were still under institutional care and in most cases they had made excellent adjustments. Our other dispositions concern groups too

small to enable one to draw conclusions from their results. Hillcrest Farm had been used for girls from Waverley House for such a short time when our series of 500 was selected that only a few had advantage of it. Over half of this small group have done well, however, and we are convinced from later experience with larger numbers that a farm under wise leadership offers many girls with delinquent tendencies exceptional opportunities to recover balance after serious lapses or to avoid such.

The country does not appeal to all girls any more than does any other one line of treatment. Some never get over longing for noise, excitement, city "enjoyments"; others do not care for the manual work which farm and garden demand. But for many the space and freedom, opportunities for healthy expenditure of energy, physical improvement, tangible products of work, and contact with nature, make a strong appeal. That this has permanent value is often practically demonstrated by girls who realize that better self-understanding and new points of view obtained at the farm enable them to adapt to conditions where previously they failed.

Regular court probation was used for but eight of our entire group. For many, an informal sort of probation was maintained through weekly reporting at Waverley House. Although voluntary, the girls quite generally take this seriously and for them, as well as sometimes for members of their families, reporting night is an occasion for the discussion of varied subjects.

To expect to employ a form of treatment for the delinquent girl which will possess universal applicability and value is, of course, absurd in view of the diversity of the material dealt with and the desirability of making the need of the individual the basis for plans for her future. These plans, if really constructive, will take into account not merely a temporary solution of the problem which she presents, but will seek to make that a logical part of a scheme of living suited to her individual make-up and potentialities.

As a final word on this general subject, it is only fair to the girls under consideration, as well as to our figures, to state that characterizing any treatment as a success or a failure counts for very little among adolescent delinquents, especially for those whose mental condition is not decidedly abnormal, since one who is considered a success today may return to the delinquent list by tomorrow, while those whose records were not favorable at the time our statistics were compiled may eventually turn out very well. In justice to all, it should be said that the terms "success" or "failure" are absolutely inadequate to indi-

cate the amount of effort which these girls may expend under discouraging conditions in attempts to become more desirable citizens.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations which arise from this study and which to be of the greatest value should be along preventive lines, logically follow from a consideration of those factors which appear to us as active causative agents in the delinquency of this group which we have analyzed. Therefore, since we are convinced that the invariable essential factor in sex delinquency, although there may be many subsidiary ones, is the individual reaction to the emotional situation, we believe that we must concentrate in our plans for prevention on matters which have an intensely personal application and the suggestions which follow, are based on needs which have been demonstrated by individuals, but which have reappeared sufficiently often to indicate that they have a wide application.

Home and Community Preventive Measures

Although there is unquestionably more hope in working for the next generation through the present than of expecting to make radical changes in the environment of such girls as this study deals with, nevertheless, we believe that the apparent paucity of immediate results following attempts to improve their living conditions should not deter from earnest effort in that direction. We have reason to know that when many of these girls come to have homes and families of their own, they will want better conditions of all sorts than have been afforded them, and they will try to incorporate into their new scheme of living, ideas which they obtained in schools, clubs, settlements and institutions, but which they were unable to try out in the homes of their parents. The ignorance and indisposition to change habits and customs which illiterate aliens display, is well demonstrated by many parents in our group. Feeling helpless to deal with the situation when their children become delinquent and failing to realize their share in it, they are apt to shift responsibility onto courts or organizations. Some, however, are teachable and react favorably to suggested changes in the management of their daughters. The important part which early sex episodes frequently play in later sex experiences makes it desirable from the standpoint of prevention of the actual incident as well as of avoidance of undesirable repressions that parents be more alive to such possibilities and that a free talking basis be regarded as fundamental in all their relations with their children.

That sex hygiene presented in a commonsense way may be of real value as a preventive agent is undoubtedly true and, although the need is universal, it is particularly acute among the youths whose environment, as in the case of our 500 girls, is not calculated to ennoble the sex life or to cultivate protecting inhibitions. Sentimentality in presentation of sex hygiene material is absolutely contra-indicated. A clear, direct phraseology which leaves no opportunity for unsatisfied curiosity and morbid day-dreaming should be employed when anatomical and physiological facts are given as well as when an attempt is made to arouse or to stimulate ideals for personal conduct. Although actual beneficial results would follow consistently maintained efforts to raise the moral standards in communities, we believe that attacking the problem of sex delinquency from the public health standpoint offers a better immediate solution than any other. The additional emotional drive which the war gave to sex relationships and the increased tolerance of public opinion towards sexual laxity have not stopped abruptly with the cessation of hostilities and may be expected to linger indefinitely. This means that measures for conserving public health must not be neglected and there is much to be learned in meeting post war situations from those measures which, though designed primarily to promote the physical fitness of troops, were sufficiently far reaching to benefit the public as well.

Further education in general hygienic living is greatly needed and an especially valuable method of presentation is that graphic instruction afforded by moving pictures dealing with such results of promiscuous sex relationships, as the lesions of venereal disease and such sequelae as ophthalmia, sterility and mental disorders. The physical and mental destruction and consequent human wastage which follow sexual irregularities should be emphasized in these illustrated informal talks, also the fact that these unfortunate consequences often affect the innocent as well as the actually culpable. Attempts to discourage indecent conversation, to suppress salacious plays and films as well as objectionable dances are all imperatively required in the protection of our undiscriminating, pleasure-loving youth.

We are convinced that there is great need for increased ethical teaching in educational and social centers to make up for the home lack in this respect. Such instruction should seek to foster wholesome self-respect and should emphasize the individual and social value of self-control. Training along these lines which should have been well started in early childhood frequently has had no place in the development of the child when he enters school. Teachers can help greatly

in this problem by employing a wise, individual system of discipline. The plan sometimes followed of placing troublesome but not defective children in ungraded classes cannot be too strongly condemned, since the children so dealt with are rightfully resentful and, instead of improving in behavior, they become disturbing elements who may do much to defeat the object for which the special ungraded classes were created, besides adding a heavy and unnecessary burden to an already over-taxed teacher. In addition to striving to inculcate self-control in children, schools and settlements should attempt to cultivate in them a sense of responsibility for personal behavior and a desire for clean living, physical, mental and moral; the importance of regard for promises should be stressed, also a general love of truthfulness, consideration for others, toleration for their rights and respect for their property.

The important subject of recreation should not be overlooked in a consideration of preventive measures and in the foremost rank of recreational possibilities we place sports which, if skillfully utilized, serve many profitable purposes. They improve the physical condition, provide healthy outlets for energy, cultivate a respect for fair play, stimulate a spirit of honorable competition, demonstrate the value of team work, give training in desirable reactions to success or failure, increase interests and direct them into wholesome channels.

Another means of increasing individual resources, very valuable to the children of poor homes, is a judicious cultivation of their imagination which affords a possibility of measurable detachment from sordid living conditions. Skillful teaching of English may have far-reaching influence in arousing an interest in good literature. Besides the pleasure which comes from a love of reading, the element of hero-worship, which is often strong in these adolescents, is to be considered and more positive benefit in forming personal ideals and in arousing a habit of self-criticism may follow the reading of the right kind of books, than would result from much oral counsel, the direct application of which is often resented.

A real understanding of children which implies an appreciation of their needs for affection, for judicious discipline and for consistent justice in treatment, would help greatly in preventing the development of morbid traits. It is not merely poor and ignorant parents who fail to understand their children; not infrequently one finds among intelligent, well-to-do families a total lack of sympathetic relationship between parents and children, as a result of which the latter become embittered and suffer from various crippling conflicts. The sense of

having been unjustly dealt with constantly recurs in the minds of many delinquents. Often it has a psycho-pathological basis, but in any case it is a rankling embittering thing, tending towards recklessness. As a causative factor in delinquency, this mental attitude is of sufficient importance to make it desirable that there be a more general application of justice on the part of the parents, teachers and employers in their dealings with children and youth.

The years of school life constitute a valuable period of observation when traits desirable or otherwise may be early detected and when they may be effectually encouraged or checked. Nowhere is there a better opportunity for comparison between children whose racial and environmental conditions are similar, but whose social and mental trends are distinctly different. Just as the army sought to eliminate from the service the physically and mentally unfit, so we might and should sift out during school years many who have no potentialities for useful citizenship. The observation and study made on school children should not be lost. Such work is of especial value in the case of feeble-minded, psychopathic or borderline children who find adjustments in the industrial and social world even more difficult than in the educational. If, when these children leave school, pertinent information concerning their peculiar behavior and traits were passed on to some co-ordinating agency which was equipped to give general advice, to aid in securing suitable occupation, to do friendly follow-up visiting or whatever was needed for the individual case, valuable preventive work might be done and social as well as mental disaster avoided for many.

Since but a small proportion of those who later become our most difficult social problems remain in school after securing working papers, it follows that there should be some attempt in the higher grammar grades at vocational testing as a result of which intelligent advice would be available regarding suitable trades. Our cases repeatedly indicate the need for more carefully selected lines of occupation in which the capacity and tastes of the worker are suited to the nature of the job undertaken. Such a combination tends towards mutual satisfaction of employer and employee and proficiency follows because there is not a continual change of position. Our study shows us that in their industrial life, adolescents are frequently subjected to grave dangers in the shape of unscrupulous, sensual employers and from companions whose talk and conduct are demoralizing. We believe that organized effort on the part of the girls themselves to improve the physical and moral atmosphere of their places of employ-

ment has such great possibilities for good that it should be actively encouraged and wisely directed.

We are not able to say from our material that low wages or industrial pressure have appeared as important contributory factors of delinquency in any considerable degree, although, as indicated in discussing home conditions, there are individual cases where parental demand for wages has been known to lead a girl, when out of work, to leave home and to take up with undesirable "friends" of either sex. We are inclined to think, as far as this particular group is concerned, that instead of emphasizing economic conditions in a consideration of causative factors of delinquency, we should think of possible abnormal mental conditions which keep those thus handicapped from receiving a high rate of compensation because they do not attain any considerable degree of industrial efficiency.

Suggestions Concerning Institutions

As to child caring institutions, we are convinced that there is great need of increasing the contacts which children thus cared for have with the outside world, if that stunting process known as institutionalizing is to be avoided. Attendance at public schools undoubtedly helps materially in this respect and an extension of the placing system, if intelligently directed and employed early, would be a boon to many a child. We would advocate having orphan asylums mere clearing houses where children could be brought for thorough examination, including necessary observation and treatment, followed by discerning dispositions. As in the case of public schools, so with orphan asylums, if advantage were taken of opportunities for early detection of mental abnormalities and morbid trends, there would be fewer delinquents to deal with later.

In regard to reformatories, we believe that there should be more general dissatisfaction with that type of institution which merely shelters, feeds and clothes those committed to its care, filling their days with work which often has no permanent value for the person so employed.

The modern efficient type of institution seeks in the first place to discover the physical, mental and industrial potentialities of its inmates and feels responsibility to society and to the individual for so dealing with the latter that the result of commitment may be of constructive value. This may mean employing such physical measures as proper dental care, treatment for venereal disease, correction of flat

foot; from a mental standpoint there may be indicated commitment to a custodial institution, to a hospital for the insane, psychoanalysis, cultivation of new interests or of a new outlook on life. On the industrial side, for those who are capable of living independent community lives, there may be undertaken thorough training in lines of work suited to the individual, for which there is steady demand at good wages. If such a method were more generally in operation our reformatories would be valuable distributing and training stations. According to the present method of administration, however, with a few noteworthy exceptions, we are certainly neglecting an opportunity for a rational solution of some of our most pressing social questions is that we fail to be scientifically cognizant of all this human material which commitment renders available for examination and observation. Our figures show that 39 per cent of all who had been in either dependent or reformatory institutions were mentally defective, the same being true for 50 per cent of all who had passed through both types of institutions. That the need for permanent custodial care for these girls whom we knew as delinquents had either been unrecognized or at least had not been met, indicates a lack of efficiency somewhere in the various agencies that had dealt with them.

Recent emphasis on the rationality of treating delinquents as individuals has led in some quarters to an appreciation for the need of studying them intensively. Even where this has been done, however, there has not invariably been a practical linking up of the results of such study with subsequent institutional treatment of the individual or with later community life. If the examinations, in so far as they bring to light personal shortcomings and possibilities were given an immediate practical application, there would unquestionably be greater enthusiasm on the part of heads of institutions regarding the value of thorough preliminary study and continued trained observation of inmates. We believe that every institution of a reformatory nature should have a psychopathic hospital or ward where borderline or problem cases may be given sufficient study and observation to make proper treatment possible.

That there should be better facilities for closer classification of institution inmates than exist at present, is a generally accepted fact, but limited accommodations make it difficult to employ a consistent and detailed plan of grading. This means that often a newly admitted case must take the place of one recently dismissed regardless of whether or not such an arrangement may mean placing a girl of comparatively little sex experience with prostitutes, or associating and subjecting to

the same discipline those of normal mentality and those who are aberrational or defective.

There has been such an accumulation of confirmatory data among our cases relative to the evils of dormitories, which are rarely adequately supervised, that we believe they should not be countenanced in new buildings even though provision for separate rooms does add considerably to the cost of construction.

In connection with examinations made in institutions as well as outside, we would advise a city or state method of registration whereby there would be filed in some central office a record embodying the results of the examination as well as any significant data regarding family history, social reactions, etc. Such a system would greatly reduce duplication of examinations and social investigations if the records were available to all who were legitimately interested.

Clearing House

We think that for the City of New York a central clearing house would meet the situation of coping with all aspects of the problems incident to mental defect and aberration. As now conducted, this work is diffuse and there is not only more or less duplication, an inevitable state of things where there is no one with power who is interested in the problem as a whole, but there is also much shifting of responsibility from one social agency to another. Let specialists who have a grasp of their separate subjects direct the work of their sections, be they educational, institutional, correctional or concerned with society at large, but let the work of all be centralized and correlated. While there is no question of the great value which privately endowed enterprises have in demonstrating needs which the public has failed to appreciate and in developing methods of procedure, nevertheless, to be of the widest benefit, especially in a large city, such an organization as a clearing house must be backed by municipal authority. It might properly be a department in a municipal psychopathic hospital, which arrangement would furnish laboratory and consultation rooms and opportunity for the observation of patients requiring extended study.

The Courts and Mental Examinations

We believe that mental examinations should be a routine part of court procedure. If only selected cases are assigned for examination, individuals in need of attention are sure to be missed, since there is frequently nothing in the personal appearance of a high grade defective, for example, to distinguish him from one mentally capable, while, on

the contrary, cases, who because of physical defects or institutionalization, appear stupid may have normal mental development. Routine examinations are especially desirable as a preventive measure in juvenile courts where the opportunities for early sifting out of mental incompetents as well as for preventive work along the lines of mental hygiene are tremendous. In other courts, if examinations must be confined to selected cases, the recidivist group certainly constitutes a rational ground for attack as well as any individuals who appear erratic or irresponsible in meeting situations. For rapid preliminary sifting, group psychological tests such as are employed in the Psychopathic Clinic of the Detroit Recorder's Court may be helpful.

Where court dispositions are to be made we believe that there would be fewer instances than there are at present of sending feeble-minded prostitutes to reformatory institutions or of placing on probation epileptics whose running away is the result of irresistible impulses, if prior to disposition the mental conditions were established through proper examinations. In addition to serving as a means of sifting out those who are in need of institutional care as well as of differentiating from mental defectives those who appear dull, but who are mentally capable, thorough examinations should be of definite and practical help in solving for delinquents the various problems which arise in connection with making new adjustments. For example, if the question of work is being considered, it is manifestly poor judgment to place a choreic with faulty motor co-ordination at a factory job which calls for nicety in psycho-motor control, nor should one encourage an epileptic to become a motorman or a moron to study stenography. Then for those who are not radically abnormal from a mental standpoint, but who have distorted ideas such as grudge attitude which interfere with social adaptations, much can be done, as a result of thorough study, in re-direction and re-education based on the mental findings.

The question as to the best time and place for physical and mental examinations of delinquents is yet to be decided. It is our opinion that both should take place as soon as possible after arrest in order to secure mutual benefit for the individual and for society. When an infectious condition of any sort exists, treatment cannot be undertaken too promptly and in cases requiring tediously prolonged care, valuable time may be lost and the risk of spreading infection among associates greatly increased if examination and subsequent medical or surgical attention is postponed until the time of final disposition. We believe that this method, if in uniform operation in court work, would not be

resented by the patients, especially if the process included necessary treatment as well as diagnosis.

From the standpoint of saving time, money and energy and also because it seems farcical to carry through all the details of a trial for a delinquent who is insane or feeble-minded, we wish that a mental examination might be procedure in the judicial consideration of a case. We realize, however, that there are many who bring strong arguments to bear in favor of having the law take its course through conviction or acquittal up to the point of disposal, which, the adherents of this plan believe, should be influenced by the findings of the psychiatrist. The place where these examinations should be made is of sufficient importance to merit full discussion by those who are interested in the subject, but in view of the need it is unfortunate if differences of opinion produce an effectual deadlock to any action. If a central clearing house existed, the court clinic would be merely a branch; but the examinations themselves should be made in the court building.

The statement is frequently made by committing justices that there is little use in having mental examinations made at present, as cases which are certified as suitable for institutional care frequently fail to gain admission because of over-crowded conditions and discouragingly long waiting lists. Although we appreciate the difficulties of this situation, it is our opinion that the best way to remedy it is to carry through the process of commitment all who are proper subjects for state hospitals or custodial care. Only in this way can we secure accurate data on which to base plans for adequate accommodations for the mentally incompetent and in no better way can we present to the legislature as well as to the general public unanswerable arguments for increased institutional facilities.

The Feeble-minded

In regard to the problem of the feeble-minded, we strongly recommend education of the public as to mental defect which, except when due to some forms of glandular imbalance, precludes normal mental development because there is lack of normal potentiality for mental growth. Wide-spread grasp of this fact alone would increase public demand for more institutions equipped to provide suitable training, chiefly along manual lines, from which those who are mentally handicapped can profit, and it would make parents of such children more willing to have them thus cared for if it were a matter of common knowledge that true mental defect is not "outgrown." We believe that greater emphasis should be laid on the comparative helplessness of

those who are mentally incompetent and of their consequent need for such protection and chivalry as is readily accorded to children or to the deformed or otherwise physically handicapped.

We earnestly recommend, further, all measures which tend towards the early detection of this condition, as, for example, mental examinations in schools and dependent institutions. If lines of procedure indicated by diagnosis were promptly carried out, the waste of time and effort now expended in attempting to train mental defectives along impracticable lines would be avoided, while proper teaching, early instituted, would be productive of better results than can be hoped for later, and, finally, many would be saved from delinquent careers.

The state will probably never be able to house and educate all the feeble-minded within her borders. These, however, are essentially a dependent class, many of whom if not cared for in a preventive way will exact attention by means of anti-social conduct. Would it not be the part of wisdom, therefore, for the state to assume some responsibility for those who, though eligible for custodial care, cannot receive it and to provide for some good system of oversight which shall be continued indefinitely after a diagnosis as to their mental condition has been made? We have reason to think that many might be kept from delinquency if those who have been in ungraded classes from which they are discharged at a precarious age were systematically followed up, and helped in various ways to live community lives, but committed to appropriate institutions if they proved socially incompetent. The industrial value of the feeble-minded would be increased if a more uniform continuity existed between the training given in the ungraded classes and the field of work entered after leaving school.

We warmly advocate increased facilities in institutions furnishing custodial care since we have grave reason to appreciate the seriousness of trying to keep from further delinquency these adolescent sex misdemeanants for whom commitment could not be obtained owing to overcrowding in the few institutions which we now have for mental defectives.

We believe that, for high grade types, the colony plan, well conducted, is worthy of extension. It offers variety in the lives of those for whom there is necessarily much monotony and so makes for contentment; it serves as an incentive to good behavior and it should be of great value economically, since it may be of material assistance in solving the domestic problem, as well as in making these wards of the state self-supporting.

Regarding those individuals styled defective delinquents, it is our belief that since emphasis should be placed on the fact that they are *defectives* rather than delinquents, that they are *patients* rather than *criminals*, they should be cared for in custodial institutions instead of in reformatories. The argument that we hear on some hands, that if this type of defective is placed in institutions to which non-delinquent aments are sent, parents of the latter might object to having their children committed, because of possible stigma, deserves some consideration, but it is not cogent. There seems to us no good reason why this class of social transgressor should not be cared for in an ordinary custodial institution. They should, of course, be segregated and be under the supervision of trained and experienced attendants, but any institution, if it realizes its greatest efficiency, employs classification of its charges and the separation of delinquent defectives from those who have not broken laws need be only one of many effective arrangements in the general institution plan. Separation from temptation which the new environment provides, a break in pernicious habits which are often responsible for such anti-social acts as lying, stealing and prostitution, the establishment of new interests, as, for example, work suited to individual ability and simple forms of recreation, all these are elements in transforming what has been considered a vicious delinquent into a mild, industrious person who is happy because living within her mental limitations. Such a radical change is not uncommon after a defective delinquent has adjusted herself to life in a custodial institution.

We believe the judicial commitment prescribed by the State Board of Charities for the use of justices or judges of Courts of Record in proceedings under Chapter 361, Laws of 1914, possesses decided advantages over previous forms, notably in that suitable cases may be committed to custodial institutions by a judge of a Court of Record, following a hearing, even though parents or guardians refuse permission. This form, however, has not been well worked out as to details and should be revised, since it now admits of serious slips. For example, no provision is made for the assignment of a duly authorized person to take charge of an individual under commitment until such time as the disposition can be put into effect. As a result, when admission to an institution is deferred, as often happens because of limited accommodations, cases may actually disappear, since, as just indicated, they have not been placed in the custody of any legally appointed agent. Another difficulty which we have encountered in connection with the commitment of feeble-minded girls is that it is

difficult to obtain admission for one who is pregnant or for one who has a baby.

Finally, we would emphasize that it is but a futile waste of energy merely to deplore sex delinquency and blame blindly the participants or to ignore the biological bases of sexual activity. The law of inhibition of instinct by habit seldom operates in such cases as those which we have considered. Studies such as this, based on fact not theory, should contribute towards an understanding of those personal and social factors in the problems of sex delinquency which can be modified, diverted or treated, and should therefore be instrumental in furnishing suggestions for the most effectual type of constructive work, namely, prevention.

TABLE No. 1

Five Hundred Offenders—Why Referred to Waverley House

	No. Cases	Per Cent
Investigation	262	52.4
Witness	86	17.2
Temporary care	73	14.6
Employment	24	4.8
Advice	19	3.8
Court recommendation	16	3.2
Mental and physical examinations.....	9	1.8
Mental examination	8	1.6
Physical examination	3	.6
	500	100.0

TABLE No. 2

Five Hundred Sex Offenders—Birthplace of Parents

	No. Cases	Per Cent
Both born in United States.....	94	18.8
Both foreign born—		
Different countries	50	
Same country	276	
	326	65.2
Austria	36	
Belgium	2	
Bohemia	2	

TABLE No. 2—Continued

	No. Cases	Per Cent
Canada	3	
Denmark	2	
England	6	
Finland	1	
France	4	
Galicia	2	
Germany	45	
Holland	1	
Hungary	13	
Ireland	36	
Italy	43	
Norway	1	
Palestine	1	
Poland	3	
Porto Rico	2	
Portugal	1	
Roumania	7	
Russia	60	
Sicily	1	
Sweden	2	
Switzerland	1	
Wales	1	
	<hr/>	
	276	

One parent foreign born.....	60	12.0
Father U. S. and mother unknown.....	2	.4
Father foreign born and mother unknown.....	3	.6
Mother U. S. and father unknown.....	1	.2
Both unknown	14	2.8
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	500	100.0

TABLE No. 3

Five Hundred Sex Offenders—Parents' Education

Father—	No. Cases	Per Cent
Illiterate	45	9.0
Reads and writes.....	151	30.2
Common school	79	15.8
Higher education	38	7.6
Unknown	187	37.4
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	500	100.0

Mother—		
Illiterate	81	16.2
Reads and writes.....	119	23.2
Common school	60	12.0
Higher education	16	3.2
Unknown	224	44.8
	<u>500</u>	<u>100.0</u>

TABLE No. 4

Five Hundred Sex Offenders—Parents' Occupation

Father—	No Cases	Per Cent
Agriculture	34	6.8
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	187	37.4
Transportation	32	6.4
Trade	93	18.6
Professional service	12	2.4
Domestic and personal service.....	64	12.8
Clerical occupation	9	1.8
Unknown	22	4.4
None	47	9.4
	<u>500</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Mother—		
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	28	5.6
Trade	14	2.8
Professional service	6	1.2
Domestic and personal service.....	95	19.0
Clerical occupation	2	.4
Housewife	355	71.0
	<u>500</u>	<u>100.0</u>

TABLE No. 5

Five Hundred Sex Offenders

Number of Siblings in Family	No. Cases	Per Cent
0	31	6.2
1	45	9.0
2	68	13.6
3	70	20.0
4	69	13.8
5	52	10.5
6	46	9.2
7	40	8.0
8	33	6.6
9	22	4.4
10	10	...
11	6	...
12	4	...
13	1	...
13	1	...
19	2	...
	<u>500</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Average No., $8\frac{3}{4}$.
 Weighted Average, $5\frac{1}{2}$.
 Median Average, 4.

TABLE No. 6

Five Hundred Sex Offenders

A			B		
Age When Referred	No. of Cases	Per cent	Birthplace	No. of Cases	Per Cent
13	1	.2	Born in U. S.	347	69.4
14	2	.4	Foreign born	153	30.6
15	9	1.8	Austria	28	
16	91	18.2	Belgium	1	
17	130	26.0	Canada	3	
18	68	13.6	Denmark	1	
19	55	11.0	England	7	
20	36	7.2	Finland	1	
21	30	6.0	France	3	
22	21	4.2	Galicia	5	
23	19	3.8	Germany	12	
24	7	1.4	Hungary	10	
25	11	2.2	Ireland	5	
26 and over	6		Italy	20	
	500	100.0	Palestine	1	
			Poland	2	
			Porto Rico	3	
			Roumania	6	
			Russia	41	
			Scotland	2	
			Sicily	1	
			Spain	1	
				500	100.0

Average age, 19.9 years.

Median age, 17.3 years.

TABLE No. 7

Five Hundred Sex Offenders—Education

	No. Cases	Per Cent
Public School in U. S.—		
2A	2	.4
3B	13	2.6
4A	19	3.8
4B	13	2.6
5A	29	5.8
5B	21	4.2
6A	54	10.8
6B	38	7.6
7A	55	11.0
7B	54	10.8
8A	68	13.6
8B	21	4.2
High School—		
1 year	18	3.6
2 years	10	2.0
3 years	4	.8
Graduated	2	.4

TABLE No. 7—Continued

	No. Cases	Per Cent
School in Foreign Country—		
1 year	1	.2
2 years	1	.2
3 years	5	1.0
4 years	5	1.0
5 years	6	1.2
6 years	6	1.2
7 years	4	.8
8 years	2	.4
9 years	1	.2
10 years	2	.4
11 years	1	.2
12 years .....	..	...
13 years	2	.4
14 years	1	.2
High school in foreign country.....	2	.4
Illiterate	25	5.0
Unknown	10	3.0
	500	100.0
Industrial training	100	20.0

TABLE No. 8

*Five Hundred Sex Offenders—Main Occupation**Summary*

Agriculture	1	.2
Manufacturing	188	37.6
Transportation	10	2.0
Trade	45	9.0
Professional service	6	1.2
Domestic and personal service.....	133	26.6
Clerical	39	7.8
None	78	15.6
	500	100.0

TABLE No. 9

Five Hundred Sex Offenders—Institutional Experience

Time Spent	Dependent Cases	Custodial Cases	Reformatory Cases	Both Dependent and Reformatory Cases
1 year or less.....	25	4	58	2
2 years	9	..	18	2
3 years	15	..	21	5
4 years	10	1	5	3
5 years	3	..	2	..
6 years	6	..	1	1
7 years	5	..	1	3
8 years	9	..	..	4
9 years	5	..	1	4
10 years	4	..	..	2
11 years	2	..	..	..
12 years or more.....	7	..	..	2
	100	5	107	28

TABLE No. 10
Five Hundred Sex Offenders

Age First Sexually Delinquent	No. Cases	Per Cent
5	2	.4
6	1	.2
8	4	.8
9	5	1.0
10	6	1.2
11	5	1.0
12	12	2.4
13	20	4.0
14	37	7.4
15	70	14.0
16	97	19.4
17	91	18.2
18	46	9.2
19	27	5.4
20	15	3.0
21	9	1.8
22	3	.6
23	3	.6
24	3	.6
25	3	.6
26	2	.4
28	1	.2
29	1	.2
30	1	.2
36	1	.2
Unknown	35	7.0
	<u>500</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Average age, 16 years.

Median age, 16 years.

TABLE No. 11

Five Hundred Sex Offenders—Showing Average Chronological Age, Height and Weight at Given Mental Age

Mental Age	No. Cases	Average Age	Average Standing Height. Cm.	Average Weight. Kg.
6	3	20	1551	53.832
7	6	20	1554	50.113
8	43	19	1625	52.737
9	125	18.2	1594	54.528
10	171	18.2	1606	54.015
11	2	23	1650	56.230
12	102	18.8	1611	55.011
15	11	18	1608	55.319

TABLE No. 12
*Five Hundred Sex Offenders—Showing Average Mental Age, Height and Weight
 at Given Chronological Age*

Age	No. Cases	Mental Age	Average Standing Height. Cm.	Average Weight. Kg.
14	2	11	1584	47.620
15	7	10	1577	51.544
16	90	10	1589	52.717
17	114	10.1	1588	53.435
18	66	10.1	1618	54.854
19	51	9.9	1595	53.490
20	34	10.1	1618	56.593
21	32	9.7	1605	56.069
22	16	9.7	1613	57.210
23	15	10.6	1632	53.899
24	8	9.2	1622	50.406
25	11	9.8	1595	56.675
26	6	9.5	1635	58.210
27	1	11	1676	49.830
28	2	10.5	1549	65.645
29	4	9.2	1641	63.900
33	1	12	1701	66.140
36	2	11	1660	50.675
37	1	10	1600	49.830

TABLE No. 13
Five Hundred Sex Offenders—Age of Puberty—Entire Group

Age	No. Cases	Per Cent
9	2	.4
10	7	1.4
11	18	3.6
12	64	12.8
13	84	16.8
14	137	27.4
15	74	14.8
16	35	7.0
17	11	2.2
18	3	.6
20	1	.2
Unknown	62	12.4
Not matured	2	.4
	<u>500</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Average (in 436 cases), 13.7 years.

Age of Puberty—Foreign-Born Girls (153)

Age	No. Cases	Per Cent
10	3	1.9
11	5	3.2
12	18	11.7
13	20	13.0
14	29	18.9
15	27	17.6
16	11	7.1
17	6	3.8
Unknown	33	22.2
Not matured	1	.6
	<u>153</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Average, 13.8 years.