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# THE RELATION OF PSYCHOSIS, MENTAL DEFECT AND PERSONALITY TYPES TO CRIME<sup>1</sup>

WALTER BROMBERG<sup>2</sup> AND CHARLES B. THOMPSON<sup>2</sup>

This paper presents the findings resulting from the study of 9958 prisoners, conducted in the Psychiatric Clinic of the Court of General Sessions<sup>3</sup> for the past four years.

All prisoners<sup>4</sup> who have pleaded guilty or who have been convicted in this Court, are examined in the Clinic. The function of the Clinic is to select the psychotic and mentally defective individuals among the prisoners and, in addition, to attempt an investigation of the prisoners and the environmental and dynamic factors underlying their criminal conduct. Every prisoner is given a specially adapted psychiatric examination, together with physical and neurological examinations. Special cases are interviewed on several occasions and in staff conferences. Wherever hospital observation or laboratory testing is indicated, the prisoner is referred to the Bellevue Psychiatric Hospital, with which the Clinic is in

<sup>1</sup> Presented before the 438th regular meeting of the Society of Medical Jurisprudence, at the New York Academy of Medicine, May 11, 1936. From the Service of the Psychiatric Division of the Department of Hospitals, New York City, Karl M. Bowman, M.D., Director.

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<sup>3</sup> The Court of General Sessions is the largest criminal court in this country. The Psychiatric Clinic was established in December, 1931, as the result of the far-sighted action of the group which included Judge Cornelius F. Collins, Chairman of the Probation Committee of the Court of General Sessions; Dr. Vernon C. Branham, Deputy Commissioner of the Department of Correction; the Chief Probation Officer of the Court of General Sessions, Mr. Edwin J. Cooley and later Mr. Irving W. Halpern; Dr. Menas S. Gregory, then Director of the Psychiatric Division; Dr. William Schroeder, Jr., the Commissioner of Hospitals, who was succeeded by Dr. J. G. William Greeff; The Prison Association of New York; aided and endorsed by a committee of psychiatrists including Dr. C. Floyd Haviland, Dr. George H. Kirby, Dr. Sylvester R. Leahy, Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, Dr. Sanger Brown 2nd, Dr. William L. Russell, Dr. Mortimer W. Raynor and Dr. Lawson G. Lowrey, Mr. Edward R. Cass, President of the American Prison Association; as well as the State Crime Commission, Sub-Committee on Causes; The New York State Committee for Mental Hygiene, Commissioners W. L. Butcher and Miss Jane M. Hoey; the American Psychiatric Association; the Academy of Medicine and the National Probation Association. Further endorsements were made by Senator Hon. Caleb H. Baumes, Charman of the State Crime Commission, Hon. Newton D. Baker, Chairman of the National Crime Commission, Hon. George H. Wickersham, President of the National Probation Association, and Professor Raymond Moley of the Department of Public Law and Jurisprudence, Columbia University. The Clinic is operated by the Psychiatric Division of the New York City Department of Hospitals.

<sup>4</sup> Ninety-six per cent of the prisoners are male.

close affiliation. A report of the social and police investigations and previous court records where any exist, is furnished us by the Probation Department.

The heavy case load prevents an exhaustive study of every individual, but certain cases are given intensive study, especially where there is doubt as to the diagnosis. The examination of prisoners in this particular situation is favored in the two following ways: first, the prisoner is seen relatively soon after his arrest, while the memory of his life outside and its emotional color is still fresh and vivid; secondly, practically every prisoner is examined, so that the possibility is presented of making comparative reports and statistical studies.

Criminologic-psychiatric study during the last half century has evidenced a shift in emphasis from a search for feeble-mindedness and insanity to an analysis of personality problems. Actual careful examination of criminals began in Europe during the latter part of the 19th century. Probably the first vital and active study was instituted by Lombroso (1) and his "Positivist School," which was characterized by its insistence upon an attempt at objective study. He is best known for his early belief that crime is ascribable to individuals who represent a reversion to primitive anthropological types, although in his later writings he modified his theory and stressed a multitude of other factors, including social causes. Goring, (2) in England, in a careful statistical work which critically analyzed Lombroso's theories, drew attention to mental defect in the criminal. His work concluded that one vital mental constitutional factor in the etiology of crime is defective intelligence.

The early work in this country took its departure from the tendencies expressed in part by Goring's study. Beginning about 1916 or 1917, it was concluded that mental abnormalities characterized some 60% of the population of prisons, jails and workhouses, while certain examiners, (3) reported that from 28% to 50% of all prisoners were feeble-minded. The concept of psychopathic personality (moral imbecile, constitutional inferior, etc.), borrowed from clinical psychiatry, was then utilized to explain if possible the makeup of certain offenders. Glueck, (4) working at Sing Sing in 1916, published the following results: Mentally Diseased or Deteriorated, 12%; Mentally Deficient, 28%; Psychopathic Personality or Constitutionally Inferior, 19%. But the work of more recent observers indicates that those percentages are high. For example, Dr. Winfred Overholser, (5) Commissioner of the

Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases, points out that over a period of twelve years only 16.9% of all prisoners examined presented some suggestive or obvious mental abnormality.

The standards as to what constitutes mental defect have altered somewhat since the time of the studies quoted above. Individuals with a mental age of between 11 and 12 years were then considered to be defective. A less rigid classification is held at the present day. With this criterion, some 58% of those whom Glueck listed as defective would now be eliminated so that the defectives would comprise only about 7.3% of his total number.

Carl Murchison, (6) in his book "Criminal Intelligence" comes to the interesting conclusion that "the criminal group are superior in intelligence to the white draft group." In this latter sampling of the civil population represented by the results of the psychological tests made during the organization of the United States Army in 1917, about 7.1% were found to be defective.

#### I. MENTAL DEFICIENCY

It will perhaps assist somewhat if we explain that our results regarding mental defect are arrived at as follows:

Each prisoner who comes to the Clinic is examined by a psychiatrist, and in the course of the psychiatric interview, an approximate estimate is made of the intelligence level of each prisoner. These approximated estimates have been found to accord very closely with the final results of the psychological examination. No case is diagnosed as being mentally defective without having been tested by a battery of two or three or more psychological tests. A mental age of 10 years, 6 months and an intelligence quotient of 66 at the 16 year level is used by this Clinic as the upper border of mental defect. Added to those found defective in our Clinic, are the mental defectives who were examined by a Commission or at Bellevue Hospital and committed directly to an institution without ever having been referred to this Clinic. Those figures are the results of examinations of all prisoners indicted for felonies in New York County and who are convicted or who plead guilty before this Court. They cannot be compared with the results of clinics in which only those prisoners are examined who attract attention by some conspicuous feature of behavior or history. Comparable reports of routine examination of prisoners are to be found in Massachusetts, where all prisoners of a certain legal category<sup>5</sup> receive a

<sup>5</sup> All those who have been indicted for capital offense; those indicted or bound

psychiatric examination before trial, but there again the difference exists that many prisoners are thus examined who are later dismissed as not guilty by the court.

Our final results are as follows: of all the cases whom we have examined in the course of the past four years, totaling nearly 10,000 cases, the number of individuals with mental defect is 2.4% of the total.

TABLE I  
INCIDENCE OF MENTAL DEFECT

Year	Total No. Prisoners Seen in Clinic	Total No. Defectives of Court of General Sessions	Percentage
1932 .....	1910	49	2.6%
1933 .....	2475	61	2.5
1934 .....	2983	69	2.3
1935 .....	2590	61	2.4
	9958	240	2.4%

Very closely allied to the question of mental defect in relation to crime is the problem of mental dullness as associated with crime. For the sake of comparison, we have presented in the following table the distribution of mental levels of an unselected group of 4396 prisoners in this Court, compared with the distribution of intelligence as estimated in the tests of 94,004 white men drafted in the World War and published by Yerkes and his associates.

TABLE II

	Clinic Prisoners	Drafted Men
Very Superior and Superior.....	2.5%	12.1%
High Average .....	8.7	15.2
Average .....	42.9	25.
Low Average .....	17.1	23.8
Dull Normal and Borderline.....	26.3	17.
Mental Defective .....	2.2	7.1

It is clear from this table that the curve of distribution of intelligence among prisoners of this Court reaches its mid-point some distance below that of the average range. There are more individuals below average than there are above it, and few individuals

over to grand jury, who have previously been convicted of a felony, or who have been convicted more than once.

of high average or superior intelligence. What importance may be attached to this, however, we are not prepared to state.

It is to be noted that in our cases the high average, average and low average groups taken together comprise 68.7% of the total as compared with 64% among the drafted men. It must also be taken into account that the psychological tests measure but a very narrow field of the human function. These tests measure predominantly intellectual capacity and especially capacities that are alterable by the usual forms of education. Natural capacities of coordination and ability to adjust usefully in practical situations are not measured. Consequently, individuals who may have a high degree of artisanry, etc., can be rated as dull normal on the psychological tests. This applies especially to the handworkers and to the Negroes who, in many cases, have a high degree of natural muscular and neurological coordination but who often have relatively low mental capacity as rated on the formal tests. The emotional makeup, the traditions, the emotional stability or instability, aggressiveness or social adjustment all must be taken into account. Economic factors relating to employment must also come in for evaluation.

It is unsatisfactory to make comparisons in the distribution of intelligence among prisoners in the absence of standards among the non-criminal population. The best available statistics are those of Yerkes and his associates, as noted in Table II. His figures indicate a similar but less marked "skew" in the curve of distribution of intelligence toward the lower end; or, in other words, while they show a greater number of individuals with superior intelligence, they also show a preponderance of individuals below average in intelligence. The distribution of intelligence of this large non-criminal group corresponds in the main with the distribution of intelligence of our criminal group. The largest section as already noted is the average group which includes the high average, average and low average groups taken together (64%).

Our work does not support the view that there is a specific relation between mental inferiority and crime. It tends on the other hand to show that mental levels in the criminal and non-criminal population, with the exception of the superior groups, correspond closely.

## II. PSYCHOSIS

In Table III, we have listed all prisoners who have reached the Court of General Sessions and have been declared psychotic

whether by the Clinic, or by a Commission or by Bellevue Hospital. Psychotic individuals comprise 1.5% of all prisoners who were convicted or who plead guilty in this Court.

TABLE III

## INCIDENCE OF PSYCHOSIS

Year	Total No.		Per Cent of All Psychotic
	Prisoners Examined	Total Psychotic	
1932 .....	1910	45	2.3%
1933 .....	2475	41	1.6
1934 .....	2983	28	.9
1935 .....	2590	39	1.5
	9958	153	1.5%

## III. PSYCHOPATHIC PERSONALITY

Of the group of some 10,000 cases, 6.9% were diagnosed as belonging to the class of psychopathic personality. The term "Psychopathic Personality" is a psychiatric concept applied to individuals with recognized personality exaggerations and distortions. They are characterized by being so abnormal emotionally that they are undependable in regard to their statements, and unable to conform to the demands of conventional routine life. At the same time, however, they are not considered psychotic and do not come within the jurisdiction of the law governing commitment to an insane hospital. These individuals, however, are often very hard to deal with and may cause great difficulty and distress to those associated with them either through family relationship or in business transactions. The concept of psychopathic personality is reserved for those whose exaggerations of emotion are not only beyond the individual's control but are unmodified by present methods of treatment.

We do not assume that an antisocial life is sufficient evidence that the individual is of psychopathic personality. The antisocial attitude justifies as a complete plan of life such aggressive acts as are harmful to others and puts severe restrictions upon their rights and liberties. An antisocial attitude does not necessarily mean that the individual is emotionally unstable, paranoid or schizoid. Very often an antisocial individual cannot be distinguished by his appearance and ordinary behavior from those who occupy their regular place in the workaday world. To apply the term psychopathic personality because of "criminal" activity, as is often done, affords no

clue to the individual's reaction or the development of this reaction, and assists us no more than any other derogatory label. The notion "criminal" is a legal, not a psychiatric concept.

While authorities vary as to their conceptions of psychopathic personality, (7) the following commonly recognized types of psychopathic personality are included in the classification that is used in this Clinic:

#### *Schizoid Type.*

This grouping comprises those individuals who approach the type of psychosis known as Schizophrenia or Dementia Praecox, in that they are withdrawn, seclusive and introverted and have few social contacts. They have an active fantasy life but a markedly impaired contact with actuality. The past history as to school achievement, interests, social and sexual activity indicates that they have deviated from the expected social adjustment for the confirmation of the diagnosis of this type. Episodes of hallucinosis, delusions and ideas of reference sometimes occur with these individuals, but do not often last for any length of time.

#### *Paranoid Type.*

These individuals are usually suspicious, irritable, seeking constantly for slights and offenses, imagining that everyone in their environment desires to injure them. They are sensitive on special points. They may be said to carry their suspiciousness and sense of injury "on their sleeve." They not infrequently take their quarrels into the law courts; they may become involved in crimes of libel or assault, either as complainant or defendant.

#### *Cyclothymic Type.*

This individual has mood-swings ranging from elation to depression. The phase of mild elation is usually productive of anti-social conduct. The individual is over-optimistic, over-stimulated; he has a superabundance of self-confidence and can easily gain the confidence of others. In this particular mood the individual is prone to promote visionary, get-rich-quick schemes, the individual's euphoria dominating his judgment. Sometimes these individuals may be involved in very intricately planned financial transactions. The individual in a depressed phase of this reaction rarely comes into contact with the law.



*Sexual Type.*

The sexual type includes overt homosexuals, exhibitionists, sadists, masochists and voyeurs. Often those who commit sexual crimes, especially upon children, are of this type.

*Constitutional Inferiority.*

This is the type who show inadequate and incomplete development physically; they generally are of small stature, have poor bone development, vasomotor instability, etc. They may also show specific signs of incomplete development, as small cranium, cleft palate, ocular muscle defects or asymmetry of the face. There is an organic arrest of development combined often with a characterological deficiency.

*Drug Addiction.*

Chronic drug addicts often present definite regression or many neurotic conflicts. They require constant narcotization in order to feel comfortable. Their adaptation to the drug is interwoven with the deterioration of their personality. Therefore cures rarely have any but the most transient effect. These individuals as a rule prefer to avoid painful situations, and do not often venture into crimes requiring great risk or aggressiveness. They are more apt to be involved in crimes of deceit or stealth. In many cases where there is the involvement of drug addiction and criminality, it seem to have been merely a coincidence.

*Explosive (Epileptoid) Type.*

These individuals are characterized by apparently unprovoked and extreme outbursts of temper, at times accompanied by violence. This episode often subsides as quickly as it arises and the individual returns to a quiet, placid, easy-going state, without any memory of the attack of excitement. These attacks resemble the so-called "Epileptoid Equivalent," in which the epileptiform convulsion is replaced by a sudden outburst of violence.

The psychopathic personality sometimes enters upon a psychosis. This usually consists merely of an exaggeration of his outstanding traits, and as a rule is only transitory. Obviously the disposition of individuals with psychopathic personalities constitutes a very difficult problem. No permanent social restriction is put upon them until after some crime has been committed. The law does not rec-

ognize such individuals as being either irresponsible or incompetent.

Summing up to this point, our studies indicate that only 10.8% of our prisoners evidence gross mental abnormalities. Mental defectives comprise 2.4%, psychotics, 1.5%, and psychopathic personalities, 6.9%. (Chart V.—Should be IV.<sup>6</sup>)

#### IV. PSYCHONEUROSIS.

Between those individuals on the one hand who present mental abnormalities and those individuals on the other who are considered "normal" or average, we have placed the group comprising the psychoneurotic individuals.

The more extreme degrees of psychoneurosis, for example, severe compulsions, obsessions, or hysterias interfere markedly with the life of the defendant and approach quite closely the group described above as showing mental abnormality. Such individuals require intensive psychiatric treatment for the relief of their symptoms. On the other hand, there are individuals in this group whose neurotic traits are only of a mild character and do not interfere with their social adjustment. These mild neurotic traits are variously called "characterological defects," or "character neuroses" and may, when sublimated, make for socially useful or even outstanding accomplishments. Indeed, as a corollary to our present civilized life, many of us show such neurotic reactions and symptoms as the resultant of an emotional conflict. They may not cause us unhappiness nor mar our efficiency to such a degree as to compel us to seek psychiatric treatment.

The group of the neurosis constitutes 6.9% (or 490 cases) of 7100 cases studied. The class of psychoneurosis comprises, as has been noted, cases with widely varying symptoms. Psychoneurotics with deep compulsive or obsessional symptoms are relatively uncommon in our material. The cases of neurosis that we deal with are not so apt to obtrude on the individual's attention and time completely, but make themselves evident through his life activity.

One type of neurotic reaction is found in younger boys who express their inner conflicts in antisocial behavior. For example, in many adolescents the crime represents an over-compensation for feelings of inferiority. A case of this kind is that of a youth of 20, arrested for burglary committed with a brother 15 years old.

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<sup>6</sup>The authors wish to express their thanks for the technical assistance of Herman E. Krimmel and George A. Groht in the preparation of Charts IV, V and VI (corrected numbers).

This boy had previously received a suspended sentence for using a slug in a coin box. Three other brothers had been arrested and an older one, Emil, was in Elmira. He was considered by our offender an an important figure. Our patient said: "He has a picture in the middle page of the News on burglary because that is why he went to Elmira. It must have been important if they put his picture in the paper." Our patient was undersized; he had definite evidence of structural inadequacy, especially relating to his sexual organs. Although he was boastful and free in his talk, detailed study made it clear that he was a submissive personality type who tried to identify himself with his older brother. He replaces the older brother, Emil, in his unconscious by taking his younger brother along. In other words, he re-enacts in the present offense the psychologic situation which previously existed between the older brother and himself.

Another type is exemplified by a man of 43 of average intelligence who had been involved in at least 15 cases of larceny and forgery in which he passed bad checks. He was an infantile type with a deep sense of inadequacy who derived an expansive feeling of importance when signing these checks. This served to bolster his deeper sense of inferiority and inadequacy. All his life relationships—marriage, business, social—were based on the deeper pattern of need and support of his weakened ego.

#### V. THE AVERAGE OR "NORMAL" CRIMINAL.

The "normal" or average individuals comprise the remaining 82% of the prisoners. The "normal" group is by no means homogeneous. Human beings generally who are regarded as mentally normal fall within a wide spectrum of minor character differences. Similarly, when the normal criminals are studied at closer range, we find them also to be made up of many different types. In this report we present a survey of the individual differences of prisoners by classifying them in personality groups. Every individual is made up of countless psychologic constellations, emotional drives and instinctual responses which are interwoven with the conditioning exerted throughout life by his family setting, his school, his racial and national group and by society in general. In so complicated a field, we are forced to take the predominant personality characteristic as the one to categorize; never forgetting that every individual is an organism in which emotional, intellectual, physical and social factors join to form the complex whole.

Psychiatry is coming to regard patients more and more in terms of personality organization. Unfortunately, there is no study extant which classifies the personality type of the general population. Hence, the criminologic psychiatrist has only an empirical standard for the non-criminal population, which he has in mind from daily contact with office and hospital patients, school children, adolescent problems and society in general. Nevertheless, it is possible to classify many prisoners, at least tentatively, according to the psychologic pattern of their behavior reactions and social adjustment. Yet we cannot neglect the individual's environment which brings forth and modifies the individual's personal reactions. Furthermore, the psychiatrist recognizes the many defenses, conscious and unconscious, which the defendant may present during the period of the examination.

It was recognized early that the Clinic had to reckon with the psychological attitude assumed in the law and the psychology of offenders in relation to the law itself before we could speak of estimating personality types from clinical observation. The offender in prison is in a special situation that calls for a specific emotional reaction on his part. The irritability of the prisoner towards the psychiatrist who probed into his sexual life was a common defense reaction among the offenders. As a result of this reactive anxiety, many of our offenders at first were curt, self-contained, openly antagonistic, showing signs of emotional instability and reactions of embarrassment. The psychiatrist to them was an alien, sent to experiment on them and to take unwarranted liberties with their "personal" life. Although we may regard all offenders (with certain exceptions) as suffering from a type of social maladjustment, i. e., crime; and as such fit subjects for psychiatric investigation, the offender himself has no such conception. Our task has been in part to modify the offender's resistance to the examination, and in so doing we are utilizing a psychotherapeutic force.

The psychiatric examination must be modified for use with the "normal" or average offenders. For example, direct questions regarding hallucinations and delusions in the offender have been found to lead to information of little value, if not to emotional reactions obstructing further contact. An alteration of the psychiatrist's technique resulted in a diminution of the feeling of antagonism in many offenders, especially of the lower mental grades. In the more intelligent offenders this has almost disappeared, and they appreciate the attitude of psychiatry towards criminology. A spontaneous com-

ment made less than a week ago by an offender who was examined in 1933 and again in 1936 bears this out:

"I didn't know anything about this place then. They asked me personal questions, but I don't resent it now. I did then. They thought it was an experiment then. They figured that the doctors were probing on things that didn't concern them. They couldn't see the reason why the doctors asked about their relatives, if they stole a pocketbook. They come with the idea of lying. They feel now they better tell the truth."

We have studied the outstanding and characteristic reaction types which the prisoners present, and have made up a category of personality types. Chart V. details the diagnostic personality categories developed by Dr. Menas S. Gregory, (8) formerly Director of the Psychiatric Division of the Department of Hospitals, together with the staff psychiatrists of the Bellevue Psychiatric Hospital, Doctors N. Ross, B. Apfelberg, H. I. Gosline, F. Wertham, F. Curran, D. J. Impastato and S. Keiser.

#### *Aggressive Antisocial Type.*

This group comprises the aggressive individuals who are anti-social and inconsiderate: it forms 7.3% (528 offenders) of the total group studied. They have a ruthless aggressivity and readily adapt to a criminal life. They are the gunmen and racketeers and those who extort by violence. The differentiation between the explosive psychopath and the aggressive type is that the latter are *consciously* so. They are cool, callous, choosing the aggressive way of life by preference, whereas the explosive psychopaths, are uncontrolled only during the attack, and are often mild in temperament and tending to avoid violence.

#### *Aggression Released by Alcohol.*

A second type is represented by the individual whose aggression is released by alcohol (0.4% or 28 offenders). Many assaults, homicides and sexual attacks occur when alcohol removes the inhibitions ordinarily present in these offenders.

#### *Aggression in Reaction to Inferiority Feelings.*

A third aggressive type is that occurring in reaction to inferiority feelings. This is common in younger men. For example, a

Negro youth of 18 was arrested for felonious assault. His probationary period was stormy. He violated probation by engaging in a fight in a barroom. Several times he had caused trouble in this manner, once he broke a mirror, the second time the window glass; some time later he assaulted the proprietors. He is known to be irritable, pugnacious and to belong to a notorious gang in the neighborhood. At home he was said to be excitable and secretive. On examination he is a slight youth who presents a flippant attitude. Study shows that underneath this aggressive front he is quite sensitive. He resents slurs about his light mulatto color from white people and slurs about his West Indian origin from American Negroes. Aggressivity was his outward defense symptom to aid his inner sensitivity.

#### *Emotionally Unstable Type.*

These impulsive individuals constitute 11.3% (802 cases) of the whole. They are quick to react to any stimulus; they put into action immediately what they think at the moment. There is no deliberation preceding their actions. Their rage reactions are sudden, but in contrast to the epileptoid type, are of a natural order. Assaults are obviously frequent among this type.

#### *Hysterical-Swindler Type.*

The hysterical type (1.4% or 99 cases) is found very commonly among swindlers and confidence men. We do not include here people who are suffering from hysteria: the latter are truly neurotic since their conflicts are expressed in bodily symptoms known as hysterical conversion symptoms, as paralysis, inability to speak, etc. The term "hysterical-swindler" indicates to us an individual who is self-deceptive, a poser, a counterfeit. He utilizes the same mechanism the hysteric does, but half intentionally and usually not with the same result. He unconsciously takes over the role of some person higher in the social scale. The swindler acts out the assumed personality, submerging his own. Like the hysteric he can throw himself into another character, even to the point of half believing in his assumed role himself, because of the partial dissociation of the personality. On the surface he appears to have no conflicts and could be considered adjusted and successful. But study shows that his assumption of a pose as a bogus count, a banker, an international figure, a promotor of large business enterprises, and so on, is in

response to an inner need to bolster up his ego. In this respect swindlers are neurotic types of a specific kind. Every swindler does not belong here, but those whose life illustrates the constant need for dramatization do belong in this group. The type has been delineated because of the specificity of this kind of personality among many of our swindler cases, whom we have studied in some detail.

#### *Unethical Type.*

In the unethical group (2.5% or 177 cases), we have classified those who have given themselves completely to a professional criminal career. They are men who carefully plan their criminal activities and who probably would do well in any other business organization. Crime is their business; they are adjusted to it and prefer it with all its inconveniences and dangers. Often the professional gambler, including the "card-sharp" belongs in this group. To be included here are all the types of petty thieves, receivers of stolen goods, those who live off the proceeds of prostitution, professional Fagins, car-thieves, chronic flat burglars, pickpockets and the like. They are less assaultive physically than the aggressive group, but are none the less wedded to their way of making a living in spite of full knowledge of the consequences. They represent a specific psychiatric group with a complex personality that is difficult to study because of their distrust and obvious lack of cooperation.

#### *Shrewd Type.*

The shrewd type (1.7% or 120 cases) are individuals who are very close to the ordinary business man. They usually deal in legitimate business with occasional borderline activity, and come to court because they openly transgress the law in some sharp practice, or because some victim displays an unusual alertness. The psychology of this type would lead to a study of the business man in general, and at times comes close to the philosophy of socially acceptable business ideals.

#### *Adolescent Type.*

The adolescent group, including both the adolescent adventurous type and the adolescent immature type, comprise 7.2%, a total of 510 cases. They stand out because of their immaturity. They are often only temporarily antisocial. They do not understand the

need of repression of their desires according to society's demands. Naturally with the years they are apt to mature. The underlying psychologic mechanisms which make the adolescent so obviously immature stem from the feeling of power and unlimited accomplishment which is characteristic of the psychology of puberty. This depends upon the unfolding of the psychic energy from the enormously renewed libidinous drives that accompany puberty. The expression of this energy is both in the body structure, as shown by increased activity, strength and vigor, and in the intellectual field as shown by feelings of omnipotence and a new interest in world events. The adolescent feels that the problems of the world can be solved immediately provided he gives them enough attention. He does not wait to see the limitations of reality, nor look ahead to the time when various objections, counter-currents and opposing forces will keep him from accomplishing what he wishes. The adolescent wants final results. He is not content to carry things along step by step. For that reason his projects are usually fantastic and highly impractical to the mature mind. Thus, these boys want to be inventors, organizers, innovators. They want to do work, not of a tedious, laborious type, but of a broad, sweeping kind. The psychology of the adolescent has been worked out in this respect in another study. We quote a brief case report (9) from our Clinic. A boy of 19 was arrested for extortion. He wrote a letter demanding \$1000, threatening to kidnap his victim's daughter if the money were not forthcoming. On examination he proved to be an immature youth who showed clearly the over-stimulated psychic drive which we have just described. In his case it manifested itself as a speed mania. None of the adolescent's usual preoccupations—school, competitive sport, social contact with girls—interested him. He thought only of speed, of driving motor cars up to 120 miles an hour, of riding in planes at 400 miles an hour. His spontaneous conversation concerned itself with mechanical contrivances, aeroplanes, cars, popular engineering, constantly. He was not content to painfully acquire the mechanical knowledge he needed but skipped in his fantasy to the end result, namely, speed. Often, however, this type of adolescent matures with time.

#### *Adult Immature Type.*

In this group (3.1% or 220 cases), we find these same concepts, egocentricity and a lack of conventional sentiment, a utilitarian at-



titude, and demand for immediate gratification of their desires, carried over to adult life.

*Egocentric Type.*

The egocentric type (5.3% or 376 cases) includes the individual whose drives are centered on himself and are not modified by time or social pressure. We consider this a kind of character defect. Clothes, appearance and pleasure, in and of themselves, are the essential driving factors in their lives.

*Shiftless Type.*

We classify a large group (8.4% or 596 cases) of pleasure-loving, uninhibited individuals as of the shiftless type. They have psychic energy, but prefer to use it in pleasure-seeking. They gather from their environment the feeling that the most important thing is the satisfaction of their pleasures. They differ from the egocentric type in that this trait is chiefly the result of imitation, and does not indicate so deep a distortion of the personality. The significance of social situations and conditioning is seen in that Negroes transplanted to an urban environment comprise a large part of this group. Where there are social agencies which contribute to their support, such as the WPA, a premium is placed upon shiftlessness which causes rapid increase of this group. We consider, as is evident, that this characteristic is more modifiable by larger movements of social pressure than through imitation and adoption of social ideals.

*Suggestible (Submissive) Type.*

The suggestible (submissive) group (5.2% or 369 cases) are readily dominated by aggressive companions and are represented very frequently in crimes committed by codefendants. These individuals are of distinctly passive makeup and are easily recognizable types. They are followers rather than leaders, though they may nevertheless take part in quite desperate adventures.

*Adynamic, Dull Type.*

The adynamic dull type (2.3% or 177 cases) are anergic, show a lack of drive, especially industrially, are narrow and inadequate in their personality structure. Although not defective, they have some schizoid features and difficulty in economic adjustment.

*Nomadic Type.*

The nomadic group (.9% or 64 cases) comprises men who have not developed, nor do not feel the need of developing true home ties, or social or family attachments throughout their lives. They have schizoid tendencies but are not definitely schizoid. They are to be distinguished from itinerant workers who travel through necessity, as fruit pickers, etc., but include the frank vagrant.

*Primitive Type.*

The primitive type (1% or 71 cases) are usually Negroes from rural districts unused to the complex life and customs of the city. They are not of defective intelligence, but their behavior is simple and instinctive.

*Chronic Alcoholic Type.*

The chronic alcoholic group (2.5% or 177 cases) comprises those individuals who are periodic or steady drinkers, and who begin to show the definite, well known ethical deterioration found in toppers. These offenders appear in large proportion in the assault group, but often, as probable evidence of ethical deterioration are to be found among the burglars, larcenists and sex offenders.

*Organic Unstable Type.*

The organic unstable type (.4% or 28 cases), represents those individuals whose emotional instability is brought out by disease processes in the brain. The commonest of these conditions are cerebral arteriosclerosis, residual changes from old hemorrhages and paralyzes, sleeping sickness (encephalitis lethargica), occasionally syphilis of the brain which has not gone on to general paresis, and cases of traumatic head injuries. All these conditions, moreover, are affected adversely by alcohol, so that emotional excitement, ordinarily controlled may go on to a violent stage. Obviously this group is represented in large proportion among the assault and homicide offenses.

*Adjusted Type.*

This group constitutes 21% or 1490 cases. We speak of these individuals as being adjusted because they are adapted or adjusted to the conditions of the workaday world, they meet the demands of

routine work, maintain the usual social contacts and have the accustomed friendships and love-life of the majority of the population. There are also those who, adjusted to a low economic level, have a certain definite means of existence, which however, may pay very poorly, such as itinerant shoe-black or junk collector. The latter comprise 3.8% or 269 cases of the total.

Chart VI. depicts a study showing the comparative frequency of various personality traits in a few of the major crimes. It is not within the limits of this paper to analyze each factor or the correlations between personality diagnosis and type of crime in detail (Chart VI.). Nor do we mean to imply that any correlations that may be derived from these tabulations can be applied flatly to a psychiatric study of criminals. Certain general tendencies, however, appear to stand out. Some of the findings are what one would naturally expect. For example, under the personality category "aggressive," the offenders in the homicide group have the highest percentage frequency compared to the other crimes. Likewise, as is to be expected, in the personality category "emotionally unstable" the homicide group again leads. In the "adjusted" personality category, larceny has the highest percentage frequency. In other words, the psychology of larceny as a crime is closest to the psychology of the adjusted individual. Turning to the "neurotic" personality category, we have only one finding which may be of significance; that is, the larceny offense group is represented by the highest percentage frequency of neurotic individuals compared to other crimes.

#### SUMMARY

1. Psychiatric studies conducted on approximately 10,000 convicted criminal offenders in the Psychiatric Clinic of the Court of General Sessions reveal that Mental Defectives and Insane (Psychotic) offenders constitute a small proportion of the whole (2.4% and 1.5% respectively). Offenders diagnosed as Psychopathic Personality according to accepted psychiatric criteria comprise 6.9% of the total. The mentally abnormal group, including the psychoneurotics (6.9%) constitutes about 18% of the total. The remainder were found to be mentally normal.

2. The deductions to be made from our findings are that Psychosis, Mental Deficiency and Psychopathic Personality, play a relatively minor role in the causation of crime. Our studies contrast with the results quoted by other investigators, particularly a decade or two ago, in that we find a low percentage of individuals who evi-

dence mental abnormality. We consider the low ratio of mental defectives and insane prisoners to be especially noteworthy, in the criminal group. It brings out into relief the rather surprising finding that of our total number, 82% comprise the so-called normal or average group, and it is these that constitute the essential problem in criminology.

3. During the half century of psychiatric work with criminals, a shift in accent has been observed which is borne out by our experience. The concepts of anthropological reversion, insanity, mental defect and psychopathic personality have claimed less attention than that of personality makeup of the offender. We have continued the development of a personality classification initiated by Dr. M. S. Gregory and associates. The personality classification does not profess to be final, but helps immeasurably in standardizing the psychiatrist's notions of the individuals with whom he deals. The paradigm (Chart V), as can be seen, was developed with social and economic, as well as purely psychologic criteria in mind. Such a study indicates furthermore the many different psychologic routes by which individuals become anti-social, and the wide difference in personality makeup and types of reaction of criminals. It is a commentary on the inadvisability of considering all offenders as "criminals" in view of their diverse psychologic makeup.

4. We have made a differential chart (VI) which attempts to bring out personality characteristics in relation to specific crimes. This is an attempt to utilize the findings in a statistical way. For example, we find the aggressive type of personality to be represented most frequently in crimes of robbery and homicide, whereas the adjusted group is represented most frequently in larceny.

5. Psychiatry in the courts has several aims. It first segregates individual offenders with gross mental abnormalities—psychosis, mental deficiency and psychopathic personality. With the aid of statistical compilations it seeks to understand the distribution of these types of offenders as well as those belonging to the "normal" group. From individual studies of the offenders, there emerges a mass of material which helps us to appreciate the social-psychologic (10) interreactions of the criminals as a group.

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