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THE INDIVIDUAL STUDY OF THE YOUNG CRIMINAL.

WILLIAM HEALY.¹

The anti-social acts which we call criminal are just as much the outcome of physical and mental capabilities, of emotions, desires, obstinacies, weaknesses of character, imitation, submission to psychological influences of the crowd and other definite reactions to environment as are the more socially desirable aspects of conduct. In the face of such complex and obviously highly individualized phenomena a scientific inquirer is early forced to doubt the efficacy of investigating the causes of crime by any generalized method and by the same token he must question the system of treating the criminal through institutional life as such. In the study undertaken for our Institute into the beginnings of criminality, although, of course, we have ourselves been seeking viewpoints from which sweepingly to pierce the gloom which pervades the situation, we have grown by our very experiences extremely skeptical of generalizations concerning any portion of the subject. On the other hand, it seems to us that we get, by a fairly intensive investigation of the individual, his antecedents and his environment; familial, educational and otherwise, a quite unexpected degree of enlightenment upon the causative factors of his career. There is considerable analogy all the way through between crime, a so-called social disease, and bodily disease. To understand each there must be estimation of the normal as well as of the pathological, there must be study of etiology, symptomatology, diagnosis and, finally, of treatment. But the analogy must not be carried so far that crime is likened to a specific disease and the hope aroused that there may be found a specific treatment. It rather seems to me that crime is like some physically abnormal action of the individual, such as a peculiar gait, which might arise from a variety of causes, internal or external, weakness, intoxication, lesion of the nervous system, visual defect, local pain, an uneven sidewalk. The case consequently must require careful, individual diagnosis before the rational treatment can be instituted which is really adapted to its needs.

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When we realize the expense of crime, the costliest curse of civilization, and the well-known fact that the vast majority of confirmed offenders begin their careers in adolescence, the importance of a thorough-going study of the individual case at the period of life when something, if ever, can be done in the way of individual modification is at once apparent. Although, of course, the final aim of any such work as ours is estimation of the possibility and method of alteration of the individual, in this paper we shall deal only with the diagnosis of the underlying causes of the symptoms. We shall show the great complexity of etiological factors which exists—the hopelessness of treating the cases wholesale will then appear too obvious to need consideration—and we shall leave prognosis and results of treatment for further study.

As to method of inquiry: A scheme, more or less logical in scope, is of great value in investigation of a case, both as serving to aid an unprejudiced and impartial inquiry and as furthering the interests of a thorough bit of work by suggesting details that are well-nigh impossible to keep in mind. It is easy enough to overlook many unknown factors if one is strongly scenting some particular clue of possible causation. The use of a system, such as that embodied in the report of Committee "A" of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology, often brings to light a number of factors which are conjointly acting to produce the undesirable result. Once the facts are obtained as well as may be, then another and highly practical end is served by eliminating the negative ones and massing the others with as much validity as possible into the relationship of cause and effect. For the purpose of this paper I propose to take from our plentiful supply a few cases and make a short digest of the points which we have uncovered which seem to possibly stand in the relation of cause to the effect crime. That the complexity of causation may be shown most strongly, I have selected only those which have been brought in for stealing. Comments on the separate cases seem superfluous—the reader is able to make such for himself.

Case 1. Boy, 13 years old. Brought into court for stealing. Was with some other boys and they climbed a fire escape to the roof of a downtown building and took brass and copper and put it in a bag, but did not take it away because they slid to the roof of another building where there was a store room and stole \$250 worth of tableware. Their haul was taken to this boy's home, where it was discovered by the police. He has been several times arrested and has stolen so many times that he cannot remember all of them. He

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has made way with lead pipe from houses, has picked potatoes, has taken fruit, coal, candy and once a house-moving chain. Twice he has been sent to a corrective institution. For years has frequently played truant. Away from home for days at a time; sleeps in empty houses and other places.

This boy has bright eyes and an innocent, rather expressive face, quite unexpected from his record. He tells us that his father is a good man; his mother used to quarrel with her husband and she ran away six years ago because he painted the floor with varnish. She is living in a saloon with a man, not married to him, and she has a little girl since she left. This boy began to smoke and chew when he was six years old, but stopped a year ago. He goes with a bad crowd of boys. At school has only reached third grade. "I learn and learn and can't read." At the institution did not learn. The others get a fellow to chew and hit him out there. Wants now to go to some place where he can be away from the bad boys till he is able to go to work. "I just like to work anyway; I ain't lazy." The objective parts of the boy's statements were readily corroborated and altogether he seems frank. A teacher who has long known him says that the boy is simply a natural thief.

A brother, a little older, who has no bad record, was with him this time and is now held. The father was taken on account of the stolen goods being in his house and is now in jail. These three live together and the father gets the meals and is very good to them. They live in a crowded and poor neighborhood, but very near a fine city playground. This boy likes athletic games and has been to gymnasium classes; to nickel shows rarely; to melodramas more. Thinks "Convict 999" best play ever saw. Has been to church pretty regularly.

Examination from a medical standpoint reveals good nutrition, development and strength. Well-shaped head and face. All else negative. Psychological—emotions apparently normal; fair amount of humor and cries a little when speaking of his poor home. Memory decidedly good in language tests and otherwise. Perceptions, judgment, orientation, all apparently normal. Motor control good. Association processes evidently all right, language association test fairly, rapidly and accurately considering poor education. Formal education results atrocious; reads only monosyllables; adds by counting; knows only the simplest multiplication tables; subtraction of double figures, even in making change, is too hard. In our learning tests we are surprised to find that he did fairly well. His attention while with us was good. He played a moderately good game of checkers.

His general information is very poor indeed, even for a boy who has been in his environment. His brother has read to him about Jesse James and Buffalo Bill and he has relatively much more interest in these rather than in sports or machinery or traffic or the other interests of boyhood.

His brother, about two years older, an unusually frank boy, with good ability, tells us that this lad tries hard to learn, and the teachers like him, but he cannot succeed. Remembers pretty well for a while and then forgets. The reason he gets into so much trouble is that other boys tell him to do things and he obeys. A certain bad boy has much power over him in that way.

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Case 2. Girl, 14 years old, parents Protestant Irish-Americans. Brought into court for repeatedly stealing. Detailed account of her thieving is impossible, for it has been so frequent—she has stolen from houses and stores, and from her own mother; she has taken money and dry goods and groceries and jewelry. Recently she has been very familiar with boys and has been often going to a Chinaman's shop, but there is no evidence of anything immoral connected with it. She is a great liar.

This girl also has a remarkably innocent face. She has a regular, straight profile, a pointed chin, a firm mouth. In her expression there is much humor and apparent frankness. The bearing which this appearance of innocence has on the case will be seen later. During the course of several interviews one was able to develop with this girl a certain amount of psycho-analysis. She says that she has stolen things ever since she was a little bit of a girl, and has all along taken things for which she has had no need. She is here now because she went to a store and took a doll, gloves, two pocketbooks, ribbons and a handkerchief. "I wanted a doll for my little sister, and I didn't have no ribbons to wear," but the other things were evidently extras. When she sees things something makes her take them; it just pushes her on; "it seems as if it said, 'go on, get it.' I try to go away, and start to go, but just have to go back. I don't think about the thing, but I just go back, and there I am there." When she first saw the doll, she said to herself: "Mother will hit me if I take it." She went away, and then the first thing she knew she was back there again, and something had pushed her back. All of her story is much in the same tenor. Sometimes she is with another girl when she steals. She denies absolutely that she ever has anything to do with men or boys; "they are nasty." "I learned bad things from the other girls at the institution." This girl is the eldest of a family and should take care of two little ones for her mother, who is a widow, and who works every day. The mother tells me that this girl has been a terrible problem ever since she was six or seven, and has been in an institution already on account of stealing. She has repeatedly told her mother, "I did not want to take it—something tells me to take it." Her father was a strong man, at times a hard drinker, and once had delirium tremens. He was a first-class thief, but in his later years had kept out of trouble by being simply a "fence." Their boarders were thieves, and the mother was in constant terror. There is not the slightest evidence that this girl ever knew anything about her father's record or that he had any influence over her. He died when she was 11. The paternal grandmother was epileptic; all other information as regards heredity is negative. When this girl was born, the labor was very difficult, the baby weighing sixteen pounds. She has never been sick in bed. At seven years of age she began bad sexual habits. She taught her younger sister to steal and also, perhaps, this other bad habit. School record is not good, but she has been away much on account of taking care of the children. Her mother says the girl is real wild-looking at times. When she comes home trembling, the mother—who, by the way, is a pleasant and intelligent woman—knows she has been stealing, and demands that she tell. She has always been fond of playing boys' games with boys. The girl's smooth tongue and innocent looks win people. Once, after a store

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detective had taken her up to the proprietor's office with a lot of stolen things, she told such a good story that he not only forgave her, but handed her two pairs of new shoes (her sister was with her). The mother quickly returned them, because the family was not at all hard up, then.

Examination.—Nutrition fair, development medium, puberty not yet reached, breasts undeveloped. Tonsils large, but otherwise medical examination shows no peculiarity nor abnormality. Psychological tests, for the most part, done quite poorly, although the girl says she likes to study some things. She reads well, but otherwise the results of formal education are very poor. Her general information is very meager; she reads no books nor newspapers; very rarely goes to the theater. One would hesitate to draw conclusions from the separate psychological tests unless the girl could be studied at a period when she might be less nervous. She lives in a crowded neighborhood, but has had the advantage of a small park, where she swims and plays.

Case 3. Boy, 16 years old, parents Virginians for generations. Boy in court for burglary. Previously has been in trouble several times on account of bad behavior in school, truancy, rowdyism, loafing, stealing, etc. Was in court a couple of weeks ago for this same burglary, and was paroled, but broke the parole in less than two weeks by staying away from home all night. Never in an institution.

This boy has a rather strong face—high forehead and prominent chin—and a very soft, pleasant voice. He at first is not entirely ingenuous, but seen a few days later has changed his attitude and gives us the account of himself, which agrees with his mother's story. In talking he is restless when discussing himself, yawns, says that he wants to make good, and believes that perhaps he can make good; altogether he seems to be very much of a problem to himself. In school he always used to like to cut up and was blamed for most everything. Then he got running with a bad crowd, and especially with one "tough nut," an older fellow, who has already been sentenced in a criminal court. He has stopped going with him at times, but after a while has begun again. His mother is very good to him, his several sisters are nice, his father never bothers him one way or another. He was sent away for a year or so to another town to get him away from his old companions, and he made good while away. During a vacation there worked for three months steadily in one place. In response to a little bracing-up talk, he shows a very tired attitude and tries to change the subject and say some rather smart things. To more constructive proposals he shows receptiveness and grows apparently brighter and more hopeful. He says it is just no use trying to stay around where those other fellows are.

His mother, an intelligent woman, says he has grown beyond her, and she does not know any more what is in his heart. Up to a year or so ago he was honest and truthful, although mischievous. His father has done nothing for him. Both families are said to come from sturdy stock, with no taint of mental or physical defect. One of his sisters has epilepsy. The mother during her pregnancy worried and was neglected and developed some malicious impulses, which she was always able to resist. She thinks perhaps this affected him. He was never very sick. From the time he was

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one year old until two he had attacks when jerked, eyes rolled up, etc. For a time these occurred every day, but probably none for over ten years. Was always rather nervous and excitable.

Been to many schools, on account of conduct, and finally reached sixth grade. Has had several jobs, but loafed most of time since leaving school. Evenings, goes sometimes to the theater, but more often to library and boys' club. Reads very childish books, judging by titles given.

Examination.—Physically in good condition, strength fair. Psychologic—apparently normal in every way; no evidences of *petit mal* in his account of himself. Considerable ability and deftness in things in which he is interested, but in the more abstract tests either fails to try very hard or shows poor powers of comprehension. Does ordinary sixth-grade work; has considerable knowledge of facts derived from the newspapers and especially about disasters and the contents of the sporting page. Knows very little about the normal interests of boys—electricity, machinery, and the like. Likes outdoor games pretty well.

Case 4. Boy, aged 15, German parentage. Now in for stealing. Was in two years ago; the first time, for sexually mistreating a small boy, another time for stealing; for two years has been paroled to an officer. Is much disliked in his neighborhood. Great trouble to his family.

This boy is very dull looking. Says he can't help coming here; kids said he stole something. Wasn't there when they stole the stuff. Didn't do what they said he did when he came in the first time. Was hard for him to learn in school.

His mother, a well-intentioned woman, not very sure about details, says that the boy could not learn well; was only in third grade at 14. Is getting worse. Doesn't play with the bigger boys, but he is so easy that anybody can lead him. There have been seven children born; two are alive. All except first two born with the aid of instruments. Two died in young infancy, three lived to be six or seven years old. No miscarriages. Father is healthy and temperate. Family has a good reputation. No satisfactory account of heredity obtainable. This boy weighed 14 pounds at birth, was marked by the instruments; first teeth at four months, had convulsions then and a number of other times during childhood. Nowadays has spells, when he turns pale, then red, jerks a little, has to sit down, and doesn't know what he is doing. Very sick with diphtheria once. Pneumonia three times. Enuresis till seven years old. Walked and talked at about the usual age. Tried some light jobs, but could not succeed. Bad sexual practices began over a year ago. Has a good home. Does not read, go to theaters, does not go to playgrounds.

Examination.—Physical—slouchy, stoop-shouldered, dull expression, mouth-breather, breath offensive, bites finger-nails much. Long upper lip, retreating chin. Ears—upper part of helix crumpled, lobule deeply indented. Nutrition and development fair. Flat chest, poor expansion. Complains of headaches and vertigo. Psychological—in reading does not know many of even the shorter words. Can add a little, and knows some of the tables. General information very poor, indeed. Results of tests show that the boy is not definitely feeble-minded, but he is considerably below the normal in mental

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powers and acquirements. In some tests he demonstrates a fair degree of ability to learn.

Case 5. Boy, 14 years old. Came from Italy four years ago; now in for stealing; previously for stabbing twice. Used to be bad in school, but not lately.

This boy, with considerable humor and frankness, tells us that his first troubles came because he did not understand things in this country. All the boys were friends with each other and against him; once they beat him up. One boy who beat him he later stabbed severely. Now he is friends with the boys. He lately stole boxes of candy off of a wagon and got caught. "Wouldn't mind if we had eat some, but got caught before we eat any." His father likes him better than his mother does, but can't blame her, because he does not mind her.

Neither his father nor his mother can read or write; neither went to school. Very little family history obtainable, and that negative. Father temperate; home, fair condition, but in poor neighborhood. Mother says boy had meningitis some years ago, and since then has had fainting spells. In some ways has been good at home, and school report is excellent now.

Examination.—Physically good condition, but small. Eyelids not lifted well, but probably functional rather than real ptosis. Psychological—does some work better than third grade, although he has never gone beyond that in school. In our learning tests does only fairly well. Reads nothing except readers at school. Information not poor about the things which he might learn in school; otherwise his chief source of knowledge is evidently the nickel shows.

Case 6. Girl about 16. An impersonal case, but typical of a number. She has been arrested for obtaining goods of various kinds at the big stores downtown. She has abstracted them directly from the counter or has had them charged to some account to which she had no right. Her good appearance has prevented suspicion. She has a scheme that works sometimes and has occasionally been getting goods for months.

The parents are nice people and are terribly cut up over the affair. There is no blemish on the family record, and they are at a loss to know how their daughter could have done such a thing. She has been brought up well in home and church and school. In the last year she has been somewhat fonder of the skating rink and of parties than they wish she had been. The mother has to keep pretty busy at home, and the father is so absorbed in his work that they have not kept track of her so well as they used to do.

The girl herself appears very penitent and cries much at the disgrace of it all. She says that her father was not well enough off to buy such nice things as most of the other girls at high school wear, and she found that she could get some small things at the stores without detection, and so she went on for more expensive wares. It is not only her family, but there is a nice young man whom she hopes will never know that she has been in here.

Examination.—Physically in splendid condition, and she can lay claim to a fair amount of good looks. Psychologically, she does not appear to good

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advantage either in review of school work or in our tests, considering her chances. Her range of information is very poor for her age and schooling. She has read quite a number of novels, but they have hardly been classics. Her memory of the good works that were prescribed in her English courses is pretty vague.

Case 7. Boy, aged 13, English parents, lives in rather thickly populated suburban town. In for stealing and running away from home. Has been stealing for some weeks and ran away from home over night, on a previous occasion, several months ago. This time went to a neighboring state and was taken up by the police there for vagrancy.

This youngster has a very round, boyish face. When first seen he ingenuously informs us that he has started out to be a bad boy and that he intends to keep it up and that what he tells us will be lies. After a day or two his attitude changed, and he then wanted to confide in us. Out of a long story, the following are the salient parts of his statement: About a year and a half ago, while at a neighbor's house, he was told that his supposed mother was not his real mother at all. His own mother was killed in a terrible tragedy when he was an infant, and she herself saved him. This was a great blow to him. "I was so sore that I got terribly red and hot. The next day she started again to tell me, and I would not go there again." This knowledge the boy kept to himself till about three months ago. About the time that he learned this the family moved from a poorer neighborhood, where he was happy with the children, to a better place. Here he was persistently hazed by the boys; they even followed him to his own house. This has worn much on him. He says he does not care anything about his stepmother nor father. Does not know where he wants to go, except that he absolutely will not go home; would like to go out and live on a farm, "rather live in a shed than there at home." Speaking of reading, he says he likes the magazines, especially the advertisements. He reads every one, and something makes him turn back if he goes past any of them. At night he says he sees things on the wall. When he puts his head under the pillow, he can see all sorts of things; "moving pictures go past; cowboys ride by the houses and shoot off guns." When he failed on a certain psychological test that involved some visual memory, he said, "if it was night I could see that."

The father, a rather intelligent tradesman, came to see us frequently. When this boy was born it was a very difficult labor, but no apparent damage was done, and the boy has never been severely sick. He was the only child. The maternal grandfather was a crook and deserted his wife and children. Other heredity negative. Lately there has been much complaint from the boy's teachers—is bright, but lazy. He gives up things easily, either play or work. Has had tools, toys, music, etc., but nothing lasts long with him. He is no good at all at outdoor games, much to the disgust of his father, who used to be an athlete. The last few months he has shown in some ways considerable change in character; e. g., has recently told many lies. Has no ambition to do things. Does not want to help about the house, and has to be scolded much. Would seem to get mad and sensitive from scolding. Told boys in school that he was going to run away

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some days before he went. When taken by the police in the other state, for a time gave wrong name and address. Never would confide much in his father.

Examination.—Fair nutrition and development. Childish in appearance and actions. Gait, peculiarly loose-jointed—runs rather incoördinately. Bright deep-set eyes. Seems, generally, rather nervous. Complete physical examination otherwise negative. Psychological—is in fourth grade only, but has changed schools much. Can do long division, writes a scrawling hand, but spells well and shows considerable power of description in his letters. Memory for passages read or heard is fairly good; visual memory seems deficient, considering what he says about his night experiences. Fails even when he has a chance to show memory of the visual motor type. But where there are relationships to his own needs or experiences, his memory seems peculiarly good for his age, especially if he can bring it out in the form of a narrative. Emotions are certainly not what we should expect from a boy in the same circumstances. He is evidently carefully cultivating a feeling of bravado, and there seems to be a bit of exhilaration over having achieved something in the way of a devilish career. His father says that he always has been lacking in affection, apparently, never being willing to kiss anybody, for instance. His judgments seem normal enough, if we allow for his extreme ego-centric standpoint. Says he likes to work if he can do what he wants to. His attention is very good while with us. He is deeply interested in our instruments and tests. He is neither quick nor accurate in his perception and comprehension of relationships involved in several of our tests usually done well by much younger children. Verbal association processes are slow, but much more accurate. Motor control is not good for his age. In immediate learning of some figure associations he did fairly, but in a number of other tests for learning by perception of relationships he did very poorly. In another test he continued a method of trial and error day after day without perceiving certain almost obvious relationships which would have enabled him to make very much better time on the test. Information fair for age and strongest in rather unexpected places—on things he has observed and thought somewhat about, rather than on school work. Would like to be a cowboy, but has only a nickel-theater knowledge of the life. Cannot do anything well, doesn't stay long at anything. Has cut up dead cats to see what their insides were like, but could not look at it long enough to find out—it made him sick.

Case 8. Boy, aged almost 14. In for stealing and truancy. Ran away from home a number of times previously. Has stolen little things rather often. In twice before. Has once been in institution for truants for a short time.

This boy has bright, sharp eyes, quick actions and responses and shows in many ways a remarkable amount of intelligence. He says that he used to get into trouble in various ways, and his mother would whip him and he would run away. Once he ran away from a probation officer by slipping out of his coat while she was hanging on to it. He had read about doing that in a book. He never stole big things, so the coppers would get him. This time he went over to a power house, after he had been having trouble

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at school with the boys, who hit him a great deal, and told the night-man that he was afraid of getting pounded at school and at home, so he let him sleep around there for two nights. The next night he was given a flashlight to search for something, and "it looked too good to me." He went off on the streets with it in the middle of the night and was arrested. "I meant to bring it back when the battery ran out." He has an awful quick temper, that gets the best of him; he does not know what to do about it.

This boy is a son of a laborer who was a goose-herder in the old country and who never went to school. Mother had some schooling over there. Two children older and five younger than this boy are dead—all except the first died when only a few days old. Only two survive, the other boy being about 11, and evidently not very bright. The mother throws little light on the situation. The home is reported to be quite decent. Father drinks only occasionally. No intelligent history of infancy obtainable. No trouble at birth, never very sick.

Examination.—Nutrition and development poor. Small for age. Vision 10/25 both eyes. Regular and sharp features. Nervous, alert, responsive. Much use of upper facial muscles. Strength fair. Physical examination otherwise negative. Psychological—emotions and judgment seem to be normal in every way. Coördinations good. Powers of reasoning, memory and attention are very remarkable, considering his age, family and environment. His range and accuracy of information are no less noteworthy. He is delighted with all of our tests and asks what they are for. He wants to try the medical instruments. His actual record on the tests is exceptionally good all the way through. His information is both extensive and detailed in unexpected ways; knows about the telescope and the perceived image being inverted, draws a diagram of rays refracted through a lens. Also explains for us, with quite intelligent sketches, the construction of a dynamo and a locomotive. Knows the ordinary contents of the newspapers as well. Has quite a grasp of geography and history. How did he get all this, being only in fourth grade, and having been truant so much? He says that he did not like to go to school, but did like to read at the library, "and when I read about a thing I like to go out and see it with my own eyes." So he has been going over to the power house, and once got in trouble by short-circuiting a switch box. About his reading: He says that once he was going up a street and saw a queer looking store (a branch of the public library) and poked his nose in and asked if it was a church. "No," they said, "it was a library," and asked him to come in. After that he used to go almost every night (his mother thought that he was out with the bad boys) and read books through at the rate of one in every four or five days. The list that he has read is quite formidable for a little chap, and he has digested them well, too. He cannot pronounce correctly many large words that he knows the meaning of. Why did he take to such heavy subjects? "Want to read something that tells something, so that when I get through I will know something." Out at the truant institution, where he was before, the teacher said that this boy was the brightest boy she had ever seen and that if she could have him all the time she thought she could put him through a grade a month. He was especially good in English—writing remarkable essays

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that showed a distinct command of style. One particularly good one was on patriotism. But he was nervous and troublesome in class, always wanting to talk. The other boys did not like him. He told a good many lies for his own purposes.

Case 9. Boy, age 11, lives on outskirts of city, where he was born, of foreigners. He is in for stealing. Also said by his people to be incorrigible and is truant.

This little freckled, yellow-haired Teuton tells that he doesn't like to go to school because his eyes hurt. So he bums around looking at things, and lately he and another boy stole some little things. He always goes home in time to do the chores. His father beats him when he finds that he has been truant. His teacher thinks he is not just right.

The family have a little farm and the father works at a trade and the mother and the children do the work about the house. This boy has had diphtheria and measles and has for years not seemed so bright as the other five children, who do well at school. Is industrious. Father has bad temper. Drinks somewhat.

Examination.—Physical condition generally poor. Poor nutrition. Appears overworked. Vision only one-third normal in one eye and one-quarter in the other. One ear almost completely deaf. Large tonsils and adenoids. Arm muscles developed out of proportion to size of body. Psychological—tests involving visual perceptions or their memory done poorly. Others just well enough to make it clear that he is not subnormal. Range of information very slight. Has lived at end of cross-town car line, five miles from Lake Michigan, and has never seen it and does not know its name.

Case 10. Boy, age less than 15. Has been stealing more or less for years. Once ran away from home for a couple of weeks and camped out in the woods on a trip of adventure. Lately has been occasionally engaged in burglaries, some of which have been remarkably daring and resulted in good hauls of jewelry and money.

This youngster has been seen often by us and has dug away at his own history and desires and characteristics till we feel that we have a fair understanding of his inner nature. In general he is a very truthful chap; his parents are intelligent people and have corroborated most of what he has told us. In fact, they themselves brought him to us before he came through the avenue of the court. His people are fairly well-to-do and he has had practically everything that he has wanted except great adventures. The moral tone of the family is distinctly good, and healthy recreations, as well as schooling, have been afforded him. His father has been much his companion; he has been, it would seem, rather weak with him at times, but says that he has been guided by one experience when the boy, following a severe punishment, immediately started to leave home.

An interesting fact of heredity is that a grandfather, never even known of by the boy, was an excessive roamer by land and sea.

The boy is a trifle small for his age, but with the exception of about a diöpter of myopia, is sound and normal in every respect; he is a typical rosy-cheeked American boy. All our psychological tests uphold his school record, viz., that he is a lad of average ability in general and that he can

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do very well in things in which he is especially interested. He is a great reader, sometimes staying up nearly all night to finish a book. He has especially fed himself upon books of adventure, classics and boys' series and the lives of the bandits. At one time his depredations were limited by his frontiersman's interests; for instance, he was going past a house and saw a man cleaning a shotgun; he hardly rested till he had broken into that house and secured the gun. (Of course, his father always made quick return of goods stolen to the owners or to the police, or paid for the same.) The boy is by no means ashamed of his superior ability and tells frankly of his exploits. Without going into great detail, it may be said that the keynote of this boy's career is certainly to be found in his excessive love of excitement and adventure. "Oh, I just love excitement. Why, when there's a fire I want to be right up there on top of the building with an ax, chopping away." "Don't think I would ever rob poor people. I'd rather take from one of these people who don't miss it." "I tell you, it's exciting when you know that there are people in the next room. It makes your heart go pit-a-pat. Never got caught. Never carried a gun. Always sort of figured that the other fellow would be more scared than I was."

After this little survey of the criminal in the making—it must be remembered that we have been studying the repeated offenders, those who are the young recruits of our definitive criminal class—let us, just for the sake of enumeration, pick out the possible causative factors which show plainly and set them down in a list. We have, then:

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| Bad companions. | Recent immigration. |
| Immoral mother. | Densely ignorant family. |
| Poverty. | Desire for 'finery. |
| Mental subnormality. | Careless, not ignorant, parents. |
| Cheap plays and nickel shows. | Hypersensitiveness. |
| Bad heredity. | Stepmother. |
| Very poor education. | Mental peculiarities, perhaps the beginning of a psychosis. |
| Bandit ideas from books. | Teasing by other children. |
| Morbid impulsions—kleptomania. | Alcoholism of parent. |
| Mother away working—no one to look after the children. | High mental capacity, out of all proportion to his environ- ment. |
| Bad sexual habits. | Nervous irritability. |
| Congested neighborhood. | Poor general health. |
| Defective ante-natal conditions. | Defective vision. |
| Neglectful father. | Defective hearing |
| Innate laziness. | Great love of excitement and adventure. |
| Epilepsy. | |
| Difficult birth. | |
| Degeneracy with stigmata. | |
| Feeble-mindedness. | |

INDIVIDUAL STUDY OF THE YOUNG CRIMINAL.

In the above study we have taken a small group of delinquents and found them to have immensely varying needs, capabilities and adaptabilities. Commentary, in the light of these readily ascertainable facts, on the system which has mainly attempted reformation by mere restraint or, recently, somewhat by efforts at formal education or other classwork in custodial institutions is not necessary here, nor is it in place. We know by court records that old methods are largely a flat failure as a deterrent to crime. In place, then, of any policy of repression or effort at reformation in large groups, what are the more constructive methods that offer greater chances of success? The amount of alterability in the whole situation is, plainly enough, the sum total of the alterabilities of the individuals concerned. Then it follows that if, as we have seen, the needs and possibilities of these individuals are extremely various, greatly varying methods of meeting those needs and developing those possibilities must be inaugurated, if the full amount of modification of the situation is to be realized. Just how much alleviation the entire crime situation can be subjected to is, of course, altogether unknown, and it certainly will remain unknown until the most rational procedures of treatment follow the most rational methods of diagnosis—especially until the importance of the young criminal as a factor is realized, his importance as an individual at the age when the twig is bent, needing individualistic study and individualistic treatment.