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CRIME AND IMMIGRATION

(Report of Committee of the Institute)¹

KATE HOLLADAY CLAGHORN, Chairman

The report of Committee E consists of a study of a small group of foreign convicts, concerning whom original data have been gathered. This method of approach to the problem was undertaken this year primarily because a member of the committee, Dr. Bernard Glueck, gave us the advantage of original material at his disposition, and of his expert service in handling it. On the other hand, any plan for discussing the problem extensively, through statistics, was felt by a majority of the committee to be unsatisfactory. The statistical material already available is inadequate, affords no common basis for comparison, and the most important collections are now so old that the results have been thrashed over thoroughly to extract all possible grains of information. And the committee has no facilities for making original statistical investigations on any extensive scale.

The material upon which this study is based consists of records of 213 cases of foreign-born prisoners from among 608 studied, out of 683 consecutive admissions to Sing Sing Prison, New York State, during nine months, between August 1, 1916, and April 30, 1917, inclusive.

The information secured consisted of the results of the psychiatric examination of the 213 convicts in the Psychiatric Clinic under Dr. Glueck's direction, at the prison, and of facts about country of birth, age at commitment, nature of offense, type of offender (first offender or recidivist), education, economic status, habits, length of time in the United States, age at arrival, and citizenship.

It was originally planned to supplement the above sources of information through a field investigation, calling for facts about the convict's past life in the fullest detail: Family history, economic vicissitudes, and social environment, to be obtained by questioning the family, friends and acquaintances of each convict studied. But the

¹The membership of this committee is as follows: Miss Kate Claghorn, School of Philanthropy, New York City, Chairman; Robert Ferrari, of the New York City Bar; Gino C. Speranza, of the New York City Bar; Edward A. Ross, University of Wisconsin; Bernard Glueck, M. D., Psychopathic Laboratory, Sing Sing Prison; Raymond B. Fosdick, Social Hygiene Association, N. Y.; Miss Grace Abbott, Immigrants' Protective League, Chicago.

number of schedules we were able to collect with the force at our disposal was too small to be of value. We are therefore aware that while we have been successful, to a considerable degree, in estimating the constitutional factors that may have been responsible for the crime involved in this series of cases, we have been unable to make as thorough a study of the social factors involved as would be desirable. In fact, one of the most important conclusions arrived at, as a result of this study, is a further emphasis of the need of a thorough sociological study of this problem.

In estimating the intelligence in all the foreign-born prisoners studied, the factors of education, the length of residence in the United States, the age at arrival, and the language factor involved in the intelligence scale were taken into consideration. The measuring scale employed by us was the Yerkes-Bridges Point Scale, and, in a considerable number of cases, in addition, the Terman revision of the Binet-Simon Scale and some of the Healy construction tests.

Under the "Unclassified" column were placed all cases in which no evidence of distinct mental defect or deviation could be discovered. Special norms were used in grading these cases, in accordance with the Yerkes-Bridges Scale, that is, they were credited with two years additional to the actual performance.

Tested according to this method, 124 of the 213 foreign convicts, or 52.1% of the total, showed mental defect or deviation.

Two other classes of facts especially significant for the group of foreign convicts taken as a whole are age at commitment and type of offender.

AGE AT COMMITMENT

Taking the foreign group as a whole, the age of commitment ranges between 16 and 64, the most common age being 27. The most frequent age in 1,000 consecutive admissions, irrespective of race, was 24. For the 395 native-born inmates in this series of 608 cases, we find the ages ranging between 16 and 68, the most frequent age being 22. It would appear, therefore, that the average foreigner shows a tendency to get into a state's prison at a later age than does the average native-born, notwithstanding the fact that many of these foreigners came to the United States at a rather early age, the most frequent age of arrival in the 213 cases being 15.

RECIDIVISM

Of more interest is the comparison of the frequency of recidivism between the foreign-born and the native-born. Here we find that

whereas the percentage of recidivism among the native-born of these 608 cases was 75.9%, in the foreign-born it was only 49.8%, or 106 out of 213 cases. Intimate study of the individual foreign-born inmate bears out the contention that in a far greater number of instances one is dealing here with the so-called "accidental offender," adverse social and environmental conditions frequently adding to the chances of committing an offense.

RATIO OF CRIMINALITY AMONG FOREIGN AND NATIVE-BORN

According to an estimate made for us by the Federal Bureau of the Census, the 683 cases admitted to Sing Sing during the period between August 1, 1916, and April 30, 1917, constituted but .029% of the total male population of 16 years of age and over of the counties from which Sing Sing derives its prisoners (683 out of 2,343,087).

Of this total, 1,223,311 were foreign-born whites or 52.21%, whereas they constituted only 35.03% of the total admitted to Sing Sing. The foreign-born therefore not only show much less a tendency to recidivism than do the natives, but they are also much less likely to come in conflict with the law at all.

Coming now to a discussion of the foreign convict according to country of birth, it is found, first, that of the 213 foreigners, 68, or 31.9%, were from Italy; 58, or 27.2%, were from Russia; 25, or 12%, were from Germany; 18, or 8.4%, were from Austria-Hungary. The remaining 44 foreign convicts were scattered among 20 different countries of birth—6 were Irish, 5 from the British West Indies, 4 each from Greece, Canada, and Roumania, 3 from England, 2 each from Cuba, France, Denmark and Holland, and 1 each from ten other countries.

Thus it will be seen that Italy and Russia furnish by far the most significant share of the foreign population in these 213 cases. At the same time, it must not be lost sight of that the Italians and Russians constitute unquestionably the bulk of the foreign population in the Metropolitan district from which the greater proportion of the Sing Sing population is drawn.

Let us see now what can be shown for the different nationality groups. First, the Italians, as the most numerous.

THE ITALIAN GROUP

Practically all of the 68 cases belonging to this group came from Southern Italy, and in 43, or 63.2%, a classification in terms of mental anomalies was possible, as follows:

Dementia Praecox	1
Organic Disease of the Central Nervous System.....	2
Psychopathic	7
Defective	33
	—
Total	43

Of the 33 defectives, 21 showed a degree of intelligence commensurate with the intelligence of the average normal American child of ten years or under, while in no instance did they reach an intelligence beyond that shown by the average normal American child of twelve years of age.

While the percentage of recidivists in the entire group was 22 out of 68, or 32.4%, it was 12 out of 43, or 27.9% of the 43 classified mentally. This rather high percentage of mental deviations, and particularly the very low level of intelligence manifested by these individuals, emphasizes strongly again the necessity of proper procedure in admitting immigrants to the United States.

Dr. Glueck was stationed at Ellis Island during the year 1913, and, according to a study made at that time, the average time allowed for the examination of an immigrant was something like nine seconds. Obviously, it is ridiculous to expect to detect the undesirable immigrant with such a brief period of time allowed for the examination. Be it said to the credit of the United States Public Health Service that considerable progress in this particular phase of its work has been made in the last few years.

SOCIAL FACTORS

Naturalization and Americanization.

It is astounding, indeed, that notwithstanding the fact that the length of sojourn in the United States in these 68 cases varied all the way from one to 36 years, and that 44 out of the 68 have been in the United States ten years or over, the degree of acquirement of the English language is very insignificant, so much so that in many instances no examination could be carried out without the aid of an interpreter. This, of course, must be explained by the tendency which the Italians manifest to herd together in certain districts where Italian is practically the only medium of expression; but, at the same time, one cannot escape the conviction that had a greater effort been displayed by the various social agencies which come in contact with these groups in time of need, to introduce the English language into these communities, a great deal of anti-social behavior would have been prevented.

Although 60 of the 68 Italians were eligible, by age and length of sojourn in the United States, to citizenship, only four had become naturalized and only eight had signified their intention of becoming citizens. This finding is quite in line with the transitory nature of the Italians' sojourn in the United States. Many of them, although here for many years, leave their families in Italy with the hope that some day they will have accumulated sufficient funds to return and resume their life in an Italian village. Of the 68, 16 were under 14 years of age at the time of emigrating to the United States and could have benefited to a considerable extent from our public school system. Seven of the 68 have been here less than 5 years, and, under the provision embodied in the new Immigration Law recently passed by Congress, could be deported to Italy.

EDUCATION

Of the 68, 25, or 36%, were illiterate. Of the remainder:

- 2 attended school for only a few months.
- 4 attended school for about 1 year.
- 7 attended school for about 2 years.
- 4 attended school for about 3 years.
- 6 attended school for about 4 years.
- 4 attended school for about 5 years.
- 2 attended school for about 6 years.
- 3 attended school for about 7 years.
- 1 attended school for about 8 years.
- 3 attended school for about 9 years.
- 2 attended school for about 10 years.
- 1 attended school for about 13 years.
- 2 graduated from Grammar School.
- 1 graduated from High School.
- 1 no information.

The extremely high percentage of illiteracy and the very meagre education of those who did attend school, undoubtedly accounts, in a measure, for the generally low level of intelligence as disclosed by the intelligence tests.

It is problematical to just what extent the new Immigration Law will tend to eliminate Italians from our prisons, but it cannot be doubted that the higher standard of education which foreign countries like Italy and Russia will have to acquire as a result of this law will affect materially the volume of crime among the foreign population of our large cities. The process of socialization and acquaintance with American customs and ideals will likewise be more assured as a result of this, and one of the desirable consequences of this socialization will eventually be a reduction in the volume of crime.

ECONOMIC STATUS

A detailed and useful estimation of the economic factor involved in the problem which these 68 Italians present would necessitate a much more thorough and dependable field investigation than we were able to carry out. Such facts as were elicited are believed to be reliable, however.

Of the 68, 34, or 50%, were skilled mechanics, 32, or 47%, were unskilled laborers, and in 2 instances no reliable information could be had.

Fifty-three out of the 68, or over 77%, were employed at the time of the commission of the crime, while 12, or 17.6%, were unemployed when arrested. In three instances no reliable information could be had.

HABITS

One hesitates considerably in endeavoring to estimate the factor of alcohol in the crimes of these 68 cases without a thorough social investigation, but those who admitted drinking, or intoxication, at the time of crime, were 6 out of the 68, or less than 1 per cent. Five of the 68 showed an excessive addiction to gambling.

TYPE OF OFFENSES

There is no particular virtue in classifying the offenses for which these convicts were sent to prison in accordance with the legal definition of crime. In fact, there is very little real basis for such classification beyond statutory definition. It would seem more justifiable to base the classification in accordance with the instinct from which the impulse to the act was derived. Thus, most of the crimes as defined by statute could be classified in accordance with several generally accepted primary instincts.

In the Italian group this factor was represented as follows:

Crimes having their impulse in the instinct of pugnacity. (All offenses against the person, exclusive of sex offenses).....	31
(In four instances the assault led to homicide.)	
Crimes having their impulse in the instinct of sex.....	9
(One of these was the raping of one's own daughter.)	
Crimes having their impulse in an abnormal sex instinct. (Sodomy)....	4
Crimes having their impulse in the acquisitive instinct.....	24

It is interesting to note the particular forms which the expression of the acquisitive instinct takes in Italians. Of the 24 cases thus classified

- Selling of cocaine was resorted to in two instances.
- Compulsory prostitution in two instances.
- Kidnapping in two instances.
- Extortion in one instance.
- Arson in one instance,
- Dynamiting in one instance.

The end in all these types of crime was the same, namely, the gaining of money.

It will be seen, therefore, that crimes against the person other than sex, deriving their impulse from the instinct of pugnacity, which comes into play so strongly in this class on account of a nonstable, nervous make-up and lack of inhibition, constitute the most frequent offense, namely, 45.5% of all offenses. Another significant fact is that four of the sixty-eight, or 5%, were found guilty of sodomy.

To sum up, then, of the 608 cases studied, out of 683 admitted to Sing Sing between August 1, 1916, and April 30, 1917, inclusive, 68, or 11.01%, were Italians, most of whom came from Southern Italy. The level of intelligence of these 68 cases was very low, 21, or 30.8%, of them showing an intelligence under ten years of age, and 25, or 36%, of them being illiterate. Only 4 out of the 60 eligible for citizenship became citizens, and only 8 had declared their intention of becoming citizens. The economic level of these 68 was only fair; 47.1% were unskilled laborers, and the most frequent crime to which they were subject were crimes against the person—45.5%. In 43 cases out of the 68, or 63.2%, a classification in terms of deviation from normal mental health was possible.

THE RUSSIAN GROUP

Of the 213 foreigners, 58, or 27.2%, came from Russia. This constitutes 9.5% of the total 608 studied. In studying this group it must be remembered that it includes persons of diverse racial stocks and social and economic characteristics. One racial group, however, dominates to such an extent that we may regard the results reached as in general characteristic of that group. These are the Hebrews, who made up 40 of the 58 "Russians," or 68.9%.

Proceeding with the analysis with this distinction in mind, we find that of the 58 Russian immigrants, 31, or 53.4%, were classifiable in terms of anomalous mental states, as follows:

Arteriosclerotic deterioration	1
Organic disease of the central nervous system, syphilitic	1
Paranoid state	1
Dementia præcox	1
Psychopathic	6
Intellectually defective	21

Of the defective group, 12 possessed an intelligence equivalent to the intelligence of the average normal American child of ten years, or under, while in no instance did the intelligence reach above twelve years of age of the average American child.

Compared with the Italian group, this group shows a considerably lower percentage of mentally classifiable cases: 53.4% to 63.2%, while at the same time it shows almost double the percentage of recidivism, as follows:

The percentage of recidivism in this group was 60.3% as compared with only 49.8% in the entire group of immigrants, and 32.4% in the Italians. This decidedly high percentage of recidivism in this group, as compared with the Italian group, becomes still further illuminated when we consider the types of offenses manifested in this group. One can hardly escape the conviction that there seems to be a very decided tendency for certain races to show a definite selectiveness in their expression of anti-social tendencies. It would lead one entirely beyond the scope of this report to enter into a detailed discussion of the possible factors of constitutional make-up and environment that may influence this selectiveness. We have seen that in the Italians, crimes which have their impulse in the instinct of pugnacity are the most frequent crimes. It would not be entirely true if one were to attribute this solely to the well-known nervous instability and impulsiveness which is common among the Italians, especially the Southern Italians. It would seem that the low grade of intelligence, and extremely limited degree of education deprives these people of many outlets for the solution of their grievances, which the educated and more intelligent person may have at his disposal, and, in consequence, they show a tendency to settle their difficulties in the crude and most natural way, namely, physical assault. As we shall see below, the most frequent crimes in the Russian group are crimes which have their impulse in the instinct of acquisitiveness. It is well known that the conditions under which the Russian Hebrews are obliged to live in Russia, make their struggle for existence an extremely keen one, and is it not likely that the explanation of the prevalence of this type of crime among them may be looked upon as a compensatory expression of an instinct which found a meagre outlet heretofore?

SOCIAL FACTORS

Naturalization and Americanization.

Of the 58, 48 were eligible for citizenship because of age and length of sojourn in the United States. Of these, 10 had become citizens and 6 had signified their intention of becoming such.

It will be seen, therefore, that compared with the Italian, the Russian shows a more pronounced tendency to permanency of residence in the United States and to Americanization. Of the 58, 31 were under 16 years of age at the time of arrival in the United States. The length of sojourn in the United States, at the time of admission to Sing Sing, ranged all of the way from less than one year to thirty-five years. Thirteen of the convicts have been here less than five years and come under the provision of the new Immigration Law for the deportation of criminals.

EDUCATION

Of the 58 cases, 14, or 24.1%, were illiterate, as compared with 36% illiterate in the Italians. Of those who attended school

- 2 could read and write.
- 2 attended school for 1 year.
- 9 attended school for 2 years.
- 1 attended school for 3 years.
- 7 attended school for 4 years.
- 4 attended school for 5 years.
- 6 attended school for 6 years.
- 3 attended school for 7 years.
- 4 attended school for 8 years.
- 2 attended school for 9 years.
- 1 attended school for 10 years.
- 1 attended school for 12 years.
- 2 graduated from Grammar School.

ECONOMIC STATUS

Skilled	33	Employed at time of crime.....	27
Unskilled	21	Unemployed at time of crime...	27
No information	4	No information	4
—		—
Total	58	Total	58

HABITS

Here, too, one doubts the justifiability in even touching on this factor, since we do not feel that our field investigations were sufficiently thorough or complete, but in 7 instances, out of the 58, drinking or a state of intoxication at the time of the crime was brought to light. It is significant that in 4 out of these 7 cases the crimes were either sex or assault. On the other hand, gambling to an unusual degree was manifested as a pernicious habit in 10 cases out of the 58. In 9 instances the offenses in these cases has acquisitiveness as its motive. It is not at all unlikely that these pernicious habits lead in some instances to a criminal career of an acquisitive type.

TYPE OF OFFENSES

Crimes having their impulse in the instinct of acquisitiveness.....	44
Crimes having their impulse in the instinct of pugnacity.....	11
Crimes having their impulse in the instinct of sex.....	3

Thus it will be seen that in 75.8% of the cases, the crime had as its goal acquisitiveness, the means employed in most instances being the ordinary crimes of burglary, grand larceny (in the form of pocket picking, chiefly), and robbery. In two instances the form of offense was compulsory prostitution. Two of the six crimes were cases of bigamy.

Compulsory prostitution was resorted to in two instances.
Bigamy was a sex offense in two instances.

To summarize, we find that of the 213 cases of foreigners, 27.2% come from Russia, 68.9% of whom are Jewish faith; the entire group constituting 9.5% of the 608 studied. The level of intelligence of these 58 cases was somewhat higher than the intelligence of the Italian group. At the same time the percentage of recidivism was almost double that exhibited by the Italians. The predominating type of offense was of an acquisitive nature, and gambling was a rather frequent habituation. The tendency to become permanently Americanized and naturalized as citizens was considerably higher than in the Italian group. The percentage of illiteracy was considerably lower, and in 53.4% of the cases, as against 63.2% of the Italians, a classification in terms of deviations from normal mentality was possible. With the increase in the percentage of recidivism there also went a more or less corresponding increase in the percentage of unemployment and idleness.

THE GERMAN GROUP

Of the 213 foreign cases, 25, or 4.1% were immigrants from Germany, and of the 25 Germans, only 8, or 32%, were classifiable in terms of deviation from normal mentality, as follows:

Psychopathic	3
Alcoholic deterioration	2
Dementia præcox	1
Organic disease of the central nervous system.....	1
Defective	1

On the other hand, recidivism was shown in 68% of the cases; 17 out of 25. It is also significant in this group that with the large percentage of recidivism, the education of the group was considerably higher as compared with the rest of the immigrant population.

SOCIAL FACTORS

Naturalization and Americanization.

Of the 18 out of the 25 who were eligible for citizenship, 7 had become naturalized and 1 had declared his intention of becoming a citizen. Only two were under 16 years of age on arrival here. The length of sojourn of the 25 was between 2 and 28 years; 12 had resided in the United States 10 years or more, and 4 had resided in the United States less than 5 years and are deportable under the new Immigration Law.

EDUCATION

Out of the 25

- 1 attended school for 7 years.
- 9 attended school for 8 years.
- 1 attended school for 10 years.
- 1 attended school for 12 years.
- 6 graduated from Grammar School.
- 7 attended High School.

ECONOMIC STATUS

Skilled	21	Employed at time of crime.....	13
Unskilled	4	Unemployed at time of crime.....	12

HABITS

Four out of the 25 were drinking or in an intoxicated state at the time of the commission of the crime.

TYPE OF OFFENSES

Crimes having their impulse in the instinct of acquisitiveness.....	20
Crimes having their impulse in the instinct of pugnacity.....	4
Crimes having their impulse in the instinct of sex.....	1

Thus, briefly summarized, this group, which made up 4.1% of the foreign convicts studied, showed the highest level of education, the lowest percentage of psychopathologically classifiable cases, and, at the same time, the highest percentage of recidivism of all the immigrant groups. Like the Russian group, whose intelligence was considerably higher than that of the Italian group, the Germans showed a predominant tendency to crimes of an acquisitive nature.

THE AUSTRIAN GROUP

Of the 18 Austrians, who constituted 2.9% of the total 608 cases studied and 8.1% of the 213 immigrants, 13 were classifiable in terms of deviations from normal average mentality, or 72.3%, as follows:

Dementia præcox	4
Psychopathic	2
Intellectually defective	7

Of the 7 defectives, 4 showed a mental age of under 10 years, while none reached beyond the age of 12. One was a case of imbecility, showing a mentality equivalent to the mentality of an average American child of 6 10/12 years. Thus far this group shows the highest percentage of mental deviations, and 22.2% of distinct mental disease. Ten of the 18 were recidivists, or 55.5%.

SOCIAL FACTORS

Naturalization and Americanization

Of the 16 cases eligible, by reason of age and length of sojourn in the United States, for citizenship, 3 were naturalized and 5 had declared their intention of becoming citizens. Six were under 16 years of age on arrival in the United States. The length of sojourn in the United States was between 3 and 26 years. In 5 instances the length of sojourn was under 5 years, and these would have come within the provisions of the new Immigration Law.

EDUCATION

Out of the eighteen

- 2 were illiterate.
- 2 attended school for 1 year.
- 2 attended school for 3 years.
- 4 attended school for 4 years.
- 1 attended school for 6 years.
- 1 attended school for 7 years.
- 3 attended school for 8 years.
- 1 graduated from Grammar School.
- 2 graduated from High School.

ECONOMIC STATUS

Skilled	10	Employed at time of crime.....	12
Unskilled	8	Unemployed at time of crime.....	6

TYPE OF OFFENSES

Crimes having their impulse in the instinct of acquisitiveness.....	13
Crimes having their impulse in the instinct of pugnacity.....	2
Crimes having their impulse in the instinct of sex.....	2
Abandonment	1

This group, which only comprises 18 individuals, is made up of a number of races and no general conclusions concerning it are justifiable.

THE MISCELLANEOUS GROUP

Of the remaining 44 cases, no single nationality is represented by a sufficiently large number to justify a separate consideration. Of the

44 cases, 29, or 68.1%, were classifiable in terms of deviations from normal mentality, as follows:

Dementia præcox	3
Arteriosclerotic deterioration.....	1
Organic disease of the central nervous system (syphilitic)	3
Alcoholic Deterioration:	
Ireland	2
Canada	1
France	1
	— 4
Psychopathic	6
Defective	12

SOCIAL FACTORS

Naturalization and Americanization

Of the 36 cases eligible for citizenship, 13 have become citizens and 2 had signified their intention of becoming citizens. Nineteen arrived in the United States under 16 years of age and the length of residence has been between 1 and 44 years. Twenty-six have been in the United States 10 years or over. Six have been in the United States less than 5 years and are deportable under the new Immigration Law.

Of the 44 cases, 22, or 50%, were recidivists, and 22, or 50%, were first offenders.

EDUCATION

Of the 44	4 were illiterate.
	1 could read and write.
	1 attended school less than 1 year.
	2 attended school for 1 year.
	2 attended school for 2 years.
	4 attended school for 3 years.
	2 attended school for 4 years.
	3 attended school for 5 years.
	2 attended school for 6 years.
	1 attended school for 7 years.
	6 attended school for 8 years.
	5 attended school for 9 years.
	1 attended school for 10 years.
	1 attended school for 12 years.
	1 attended school for 13 years.
	4 graduated from Grammar School.
	3 graduated from High School.

The percentage of illiteracy in the group was 9%.

ECONOMIC STATUS

Skilled	23	Employed at time of crime.....	25
Unskilled	21	Unemployed at time of crime....	19

TYPE OF OFFENSES

Crimes having their impulse in the instinct of acquisitiveness.....	26
Crimes having their impulse in the instinct of pugnacity.....	9
Crimes having their impulse in the instinct of sex—	
Rape	3
Sodomy	1
Incest	1
Abduction	1
Bigamy	1
	— 7
Abandonment of children.....	2

Owing to the very small number of individuals representing any given nationality, no general conclusions are justifiable.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions which one might be justified in drawing from a study of the immigrant population among 608 cases of adult male felons out of 683 admissions to Sing Sing Prison between August 1, 1916, and April 30, 1917, inclusive, are as follows:

1. Out of the 608 cases, 213, or 35%, were foreign-born, 11.01% of the total number coming from Italy and 9.5% from Russia.
2. Of the 213 cases, 124, or 58.2%, were classifiable in terms of deviation from average normal mentality. This point becomes especially significant when one remembers that the majority of these cases belonged in classes excluded by law, at the time of their arrival in the United States, and makes urgent a demand for facilities at immigration stations to make an adequate mental examination before the emigrant is admitted.
3. The native-born seem to have a greater tendency to come into conflict with the law than do the foreign-born, and they show a much higher percentage of recidivism than the foreigners.
4. This study would indicate that the immigrants showing a higher level of intelligence, likewise show a predominant tendency to crimes of an acquisitive nature, while those whose intelligence is on a lower level were most frequently guilty of crimes against the person and sex crimes.
5. Under the new Immigration Law, 44 of the 213 would have been excluded on account of illiteracy and 35 were deportable for coming in conflict with the law within five years after arrival in the United States.
6. Only a very slight tendency was manifested to naturalization. Out of 178 eligible for citizenship, or 83.5% of the entire group, only

27, or 12.6%, had become naturalized and 22, or 10.3%, had declared their intention of becoming citizens.

7. Bearing in mind that the members in the different race groups are so small as to warrant absolutely accurate conclusions, significant correlations between recidivism and other factors are shown. Recidivism is often taken as a measure of the seriousness of the criminal problem, and we see from this study that of the native-born convicts in the whole group studied, 75.9% were recidivists, while of the foreign-born only 49.8% were recidivists.

From further analysis of the figures we see, however, that recidivism is associated with specific kinds of crime in such a way as to leave doubts as to whether it may be taken wholly as a measure of depth or gravity of criminality. Taking the four racial groups studied in detail, it is found that as the percentage of recidivism increases, the percentage of acquisitive crimes out of the total crimes committed by the racial group increases.

This seems to indicate that the Italians who commit the largest proportion of passion crimes, are the least prone to recidivism partly because crimes of violence generally (as shown by our Federal statistics, at least) are punishable by longer sentences. Crimes against property, being less severely punished, afford the criminal more of an opportunity to repeat his offense. This does not controvert the idea advanced in the beginning of this report that the foreigner is a more "accidental" offender, in that he is not so prone to recidivism as the native-born, but it does show that the seriousness of his crimes is not altogether measured in terms of recidivism.

Further light is thrown by correlations between recidivism and unemployment. Again taking the four groups in order, it is found that as recidivism increases the percentage of unemployed at time of committing the crime increases. This may be interpreted as indicating the evil effects of being out of a job. Taken in connection with the correlation with type of crime and others to be noted in a moment, however, it admits of the opposite interpretation—that the tendency to recidivism causes the lack of employment. In other words, the recidivist is not really "unemployed"; he is carrying on crime as a business for gain. Another correlation tends to substantiate this. At first sight there appears to be no correlation between mental defect and recidivism. But leaving out cases of mental aberration (the abnormal) and taking only those classified as of defective mentality (the subnormal) a perfect inverse correlation with recidivism is shown. In other words, the gainful criminal needs intelligence in his business and this is further

shown by an almost complete inverse correlation between illiteracy and recidivism. That is to say a man may have mental disease and yet have sufficient intelligence to carry out plans; the man who is mentally defective is to that extent less able to do so.

These considerations may help in solving a difficulty which comes up in the study of such a group as the Germans, for example, through which one might be tempted to doubt the factor of illiteracy and lack of culture, as well as the factor of mental deviations as influencing the volume of crime. This group of 25, which shows on the one hand the lowest percentage of psychopathologically classifiable cases, and on the other hand represents perhaps the highest culture of any group, shows at the same time the highest percentage of recidivism of all the foreigners.

The general conclusion to be drawn would seem to be that lack of mental endowment and equipment are found associated with crimes of passion and that these are found exemplified most completely in the Italians of any of the groups studied; that we find an increasing amount of mental endowment and equipment with an increasing percentage of gainful crimes exemplified most completely in the Germans.

Finally, one feels that this study further emphasizes the great need of more thorough investigation of the problem of crime among the immigrant population, especially of the social and environmental phases involved.

Such field investigations as were made, although too few in number and too incomplete to present here, afforded most suggestive glimpses of influences at work upon the criminal that are not shown at all in such statistics as we can gather, and the committee feels that results of great value could be gained if an investigation of the type planned by it could be carried out more completely.

Appended are tables giving in statistical form the facts presented in this report:

TABLE I.
COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF OFFENDERS

Country.	No.	Per cent.
Italy—(Practically all came from Southern Italy)...	68	31.9
Russia—(40 of whom are Russian Hebrews).....	58	27.2
Germany	25	11.7
Austria-Hungary	18	8.4
Ireland	6	2.8
British West Indies.....	5	2.3
Greece	4	1.9

Canada	4	1.9
Roumania	4	1.9
England	3	1.4
Cuba	2	.9
France	2	.9
Denmark	2	.9
Holland	2	.9
Mexico	1	.5
Porto Rico	1	.5
Brazil	1	.5
Scotland	1	.5
Turkey	1	.5
Switzerland	1	.5
Norway	1	.5
Sweden	1	.5
China	1	.5
Finland	1	.5
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	213	100.0

TABLE II.
PSYCHOPATHOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION

	Italy	Russia	Germany	Austria- Hungary	Misc.	Total
Dementia præcox	1	1	1	4	3	10
Organic disease of the central nervous system	2	1	1	..	3	7
Psychopathic	7	6	3	2	6	24
Defective	33	21	1	7	12	74
Arteriosclerotic deterioration. ..	..	1	..	..	1	2
Paranoid state	1	1
Alcoholic deterioration	2	..	4	6
Unclassified	25	27	17	5	15	89
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	68	58	25	18	44	213

TABLE III.
TYPE OF OFFENSES

	Italy	Russia	Germany	Austria- Hungary	Misc.	Total
Pugnacity	31	11	4	2	9	57
Sex	9	3	1	2	7	22
Abnormal sex	4	..	..	..	..	4
Acquisitiveness	24	44	20	13	26	127
Abandonment .....	..	..	..	1	2	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	68	58	25	18	44	213

TABLE IV.

TYPE OF OFFENDERS

	Italy		Russia		Germany		Austria- Hungary		Misc.		Total	
	Per		Per		Per		Per		Per		Per	
	No.	Cent	No.	Cent	No.	Cent	No.	Cent	No.	Cent	No.	Cent
First offenders.	46	67.6	23	39.7	8	32.0	8	44.4	22	50.0	107	50.2
Recidivists	22	32.4	35	60.3	17	68.0	10	55.6	22	50.0	106	49.8
	68		58		25		18		44		213	

TABLE V.

COMPARISON BETWEEN FOREIGN AND NATIVE-BORN

	Foreign		Native		Total	
	Per		Per		Per	
	No.	Cent	No.	Cent	No.	Cent
First offenders	107	50.2	95	24.1	202	33.3
Recidivists	106	49.8	300	75.9	406	66.7
	213		395		608	

TABLE VI.

EDUCATION

	Italy	Russia	Germany	Austria- Hungary		Misc.	Total
				No.	Cent		
Illiterates	25	14	..	2	..	4	45
Can read and write.....	..	2	..	..	..	1	3
School for only few months..	2	..	..	..	..	1	3
About 1 year.....	4	2	..	2	..	2	10
2 years	7	9	..	..	..	3	19
3 years	4	1	..	2	..	4	11
4 years	6	7	..	4	..	2	19
5 years	4	4	..	..	..	3	11
6 years	2	6	..	1	..	2	11
7 years	3	3	1	1	..	1	9
8 years	1	4	9	3	..	6	23
9 years	3	2	..	..	..	5	10
10 years	2	1	1	..	..	1	5
12 years .....	..	1	1	..	..	1	3
13 years	1	..	..	..	..	1	2
Grad. Grammar School.....	2	2	6	1	..	4	15
Grad. High School.....	1	..	7	2	..	3	13
No information	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
	68	58	25	18	..	44	213

TABLE VII.
ECONOMIC STATUS

	Italy	Russia	Germany	Austria- Hungary	Misc.	Total
Skilled mechanics	34	33	21	10	23	121
Unskilled mechanics	32	21	4	8	21	86
No information	2	4	..	..	..	6
Employed at time of crime...	53	27	13	12	25	130
Unemployed at time of crime.	12	27	12	6	19	76
No information	3	4	..	..	..	7

TABLE VIII.
NATURALIZATION AND AMERICANIZATION

	Italy	Russia	Germany	Austria- Hungary	Misc.
Years in U. S.	1-36	1-35	2-28	3-26	1-44
In U. S. 10 years or more.....	44	..	12	..	26
In U. S. 5 years or less.....	7	13	4	5	6
Under 16 on arrival.....	..	31	2	6	19
Under 14 on arrival.....	16	..	..	..	..
Eligible for citizenship.....	60	48	18	16	36
Became citizens	4	10	7	3	13
Signified intentions of becoming citizens	8	6	1	5	2

TABLE IX.
RECIDIVISM RELATED TO NATURE OF OFFENSE AND INTELLIGENCE

Country of birth	Recidivist	Committing gainful crimes	Unemployed at time of offense	Showing mental deviation and defect (all kinds)	Showing mental deficiency only	Illiterate
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Italy	32.4	35.0	17.6	63.0	48.0	36.0
Austria-Hungary ..	55.6	72.0	33.0	72.3	39.0	11.0
Russia	60.3	75.0	46.0	53.4	36.0	24.0
Germany	68.0	80.0	48.0	32.0	4.0	0.0