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## Reviews and Criticisms

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## REVIEWS AND CRITICISMS

THE HOBO. By *Nels Anderson*. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago, 1923. Pp. XV + 302. \$2.50.

Mr. Robert E. Park, editor of a series of prospective studies of the urban community and of city life, of which the present volume, *The Hobo*, is the first of the series, writes that it is "the purpose of these studies to emphasize not so much the particular and local as the generic and universal aspects of the city and its life, and so make these studies not merely a contribution to our information but to our permanent scientific knowledge of the city as a communal type" (p. VIII). The present volume was made possible through the creation of a Committee on Homeless Men by the Executive Committee of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies in order "to study the problem of the migratory casual worker. . . . Mr. Nels Anderson, a graduate student in sociology in the University of Chicago, was selected to make the study. Mr. Anderson was already thoroughly familiar with the life of the migratory casual worker" (p. IX). *The Hobo* is the result of the commission given to Mr. Anderson.

This work of Mr. Anderson, although thoroughly objective, does not sacrifice interest of treatment to its objectivity. It is really the first attempt to study, extensively, the problem of the homeless worker through the analysis of individual cases. The work itself resembles the classical essay by Parker—*The I. W. W.* Mr. Anderson's study, however, is based upon many more examples. He, like Parker, comes to the same conclusion—his hobo and Parker's casual worker are the same; they are both the result of a state of mind (Ch. V; see also pp. 166-167 and 230-235). The interplay of organism and environment produces the state of mind in question and, also, such other strange forms of human behavior as that exemplified in the K. K. K. or the business man who becomes a violent anti-labor-union fighter.

Mr. Anderson finds that the hobo (of Chicago) falls into five groups: (a) The seasonal laborer; (b) the migratory, casual laborer, the hobo; (c) the migratory non-worker, the tramp; (d) the non-migratory casual laborer, and (e) the bum (p. 89). The first three groups are usually the victims of industrial conditions. The causes which produce the "hobo" are (a) unemployment and seasonal work, (b) industrial inadequacy, (c) defect of personality, (d) crises in the life of the person, (e) racial or national discrimination, and (f) wanderlust (p. 61). Mr. Anderson finds that the majority of the homeless are American citizens of native stock (p. 150).

The social agencies established to deal with the "hobo problems" have for the most part been remedial rather than preventive. Here work is mostly haphazard and unorganized (p. 269; Ch. XVII). Mr. Anderson recommends that the hobo situation should be met as a national problem (p. 121). The hobo situation is primarily a problem for industrial reconstruction—it is unemployment, seasonal work, labor

turnover and the abuse of power which are productive, in the main, of the class of people commonly known as the homeless migratory worker (pp. 269-270). Mr. Anderson's point of view, in this respect, also, is the same as that of many other writers, such as Veblen, Hobson, Parker and Bertrand Russell.

The book, which adds to its analysis an extensive bibliography, will be found very useful.

Northwestern University.

A. J. SNOW.

THE UNADJUSTED GIRL. Criminal Science Monograph No. 4 of American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. By *W. I. Thomas*. Little, Brown & Co. (Boston, 1923). Pp. XVII + 257. \$3.00.

Mr. Thomas is to be commended for making such effective use of case histories in his work. Such use keeps healthy contact with reality in speculating on human behavior. A foreword by Mrs. W. F. Dummer, herself instrumental in the establishment of the Chicago Juvenile Court, is one of the most stimulating portions. In the transference of the sense of value from property to humanity, we must approach each personality with the utmost reverence, and accept it for values and possibilities which, when developed, displace asocial behavior. Like Spinoza, we are neither to condemn nor ridicule, but to try to understand.

Mr. Thomas finds human behavior to spring from four fundamental urges or wishes. First is the *desire for new experience*—the crowd around a dog-fight, the "pursuit" element, whether in hunting, in courtship, in the vagrant, or in scientific research, the grail hunters and dragon slayers of all ages. The desire for new experience is related to anger; it invites death, expresses itself in courage, advance, attack, pursuit; it implies motion, change, danger, instability, and relative irresponsibility. The *desire for security*, on the other hand, is based on fear; it avoids death, and is expressed in timidity, avoidance, flight. Those whom it dominates are cautious, conservative, apprehensive, of regular habits, systematic workers, accumulators of property, and Philistine rather than Bohemian. The *desire for response*, related to love, seeks and gives signs of appreciation and affection, as in the mother-child relationship or between the sexes in mating. It may be fixated on a child or a member of either sex; its themes in art outweigh all other themes together. *The desire for response is the most social of the wishes!* It makes selfish claims, but on the other hand it is the main source of altruism. Fourth, *the desire for recognition*, for prestige and position, for a recognized, enviable, and advantageous social status; fashion, distinction in war, sports, exploration, science, fame, stage, pulpit, or press. Even humility, self-sacrifice, and martyrdom may lead to distinction. Lack of recognition and status and fear of never obtaining them are probably the main source of those psychopathic disturbances which the Freudians treat as sexual in origin; the individual has real need of them for the development of his personality.

Whether given wishes tend to predominate in this or that person is dependent primarily on what is called temperament, apparently a chemical matter, dependent on the secretions of the glandular system. Character is but the organization of the wishes resulting from temperament and from the sum of experience. For wishes of the same general class may be totally different in moral quality, as witness the desire for new experience in the hobo and in the searcher for new truth. This expression of the wishes is profoundly influenced by the approval of the man's immediate circle and of the general public. However, an individual life cannot be called normal in which all four types of wishes are not satisfied in some measure and in some form.

Preliminary to any self-determined act of behavior there is always a stage of examination and deliberation, the *definition of the situation*. Gradually the whole life-policy and personality of the individual follow from a series of such definitions as given by family, playmates, school, Sunday school, community, reading, formal instruction, movies, newspapers, magazines, informal signs of approval and disapproval, by the lover, the alley-gang, by all the multitude of social contacts, and by the profiting of his own experience.

The group has to provide a code (a series of definitions of situations) which applies to everybody and lasts longer than any individual or generation. Thus it suppresses wishes and activities which are in conflict with the existing organization and encourages those required by the existing social system. Where it succeeds, as among savages, Mohammedans, and until recently among European peasants, no appreciable change in the moral code or in the state of culture is observable from generation to generation, new experience of the individual being sacrificed for the sake of the security of the group.

The modern revolt and unrest are due to the contrast between the paucity of fulfillment of the wishes of the individual and the apparent fullness of life around him, enriched as it has been by the rapid movement of the nineteenth century. This unrest is felt most by those who have heretofore been most excluded from general participation in life, the mature woman and the young girl—and he might have added certain classes of labor—and it renders them open to new definitions of the situation more favorable to the fulfillment of their wishes. With social evolution thus rapid, no agency has been developed to regulate behavior in the new conditions, to analyze and replace old standards with new. There is no universally accepted body of doctrines or practices. Churchman, scientist, educator, and radical leader are so far apart they cannot even talk with each other, not to mention the schisms within their respective camps or the more widely diverging definitions of the situation by society pleasure-seeker or industrial profit-maker. There is no such unanimity as obtained in the village of even half a century ago and there is no scientifically established code which does not *assume* authority, but which, by observation and measurement of the results of actions, *demonstrates* the validity of its standards. No present code is therefore self-evident or universally binding; some situations were once defined, but have become vague again; some have arisen and have never been defined; there are rival definitions of the

situation and none of them is binding. As a result the motion picture, the newspaper, the light periodical, street conversation, dance halls, automobile parties, the "high school bunch," and all the thousand and one influences in the community get their varying definitions more or less accepted, and the preliminaries to wrongdoing are the apparently accepted manners of the time.

A considerable amount of individualization of standards must thus be reckoned with. There are whole strata of society where people do not fall; they have never risen; where they are not immoral but a-moral, never having had the code by which they are judged. [This individualization of standards has been affected in part by the individual for himself, always handicapped by ignorance, often in rebellion. It needs to be done by some agency which can scientifically determine the most harmonious synthesis between the needs and capacities of the individual as his constitution and experience have left him and those of society as a whole in its successive stages of change. This implies a flexible standard and recognition of the relativity of moral values, a scientific measuring of the results of actions under varying conditions.]

Bad family life, in its economic limitations, in its paucity of culture and of healthy interests, in the anti-social character of the parents, and in early incest experiences, is a large feeder to the delinquency of girls. But since, in general, good families do not yield bad individuals, social agencies strengthen the family which is about to be wrecked both for its own sake and for the security of the children; to save the individual member. Sometimes the child is replaced in a different family. But if they treat her half as servant, half as family member, or patronize and exhort her, it is difficult always to secure results. Though sometimes a single influence, perhaps the effect of another personality, redefines the situation, brings the counterpart of conversion, and she begins to reorganize her life spontaneously.

But penitentiaries and reformatories which represent the legal concept of crime and punishment and the theological concept of sin and atonement, wherein punishment is supposed to atone for the offense and affect the reformation, have never been generally successful in reorganizing the attitudes of their inmates on a social basis. The Juvenile Court, which has dispensed with lawyers and legal technicalities, and which treats the child as far as possible as an unruly member of a family, not as a criminal, has begun to influence both penal institutions and general education. Departments of child study, children's welfare committees, bureaus of children's guidance, institutions for vocational guidance, and the like, attempt, without resort to the court and the consequent court record, to forestall delinquency by working on the maladjusted, neurotic, predelinquent child.

Mr. Thomas proposes that these functions, together with those of the juvenile court, be gradually taken over by the school, so that the child could be taken in charge as soon as it shows any tendency to disorganization. Not a natural organization like the family, the school would be more capable of rapid changes and adjustments, would have

almost the freedom of a scientific laboratory. More than any other agency it could socialize society. But the question of its adaptation to the welfare of the child involves the question of change and reform in the school itself. For not infrequently in the past the iron-clad uniformity of its educational moulds, its grading system, its lack of appeal to the creative and plan-forming interests of the child have made the school a cause of maladjustment rather than a cure. To remedy this, not only must the informational side of the school be made of more spontaneous interest, but it must also learn to develop the emotional and social life of the child as well.

The whole criminal procedure is based on punishment, and yet we do not even know that punishment deters from crime. We need a *science* of human behavior which by scientific methods—observation, measurement of results, even experiment!—shall yield inescapably substantiated standards and a more rational and adequate control. The chief obstacle to this has been our confidence that we already had an adequate system for behavior control, and our emotional prepossession for standards, more or less inflexible, which we have inherited from times when they might have been appropriate.

Knowledge of our own natures, like knowledge of natural forces, will yield a commensurate control over them, and we shall probably find that there is no individual energy, unrest, or type of wish which cannot be sublimated and made socially useful. From this standpoint the problem is not the right of society to protect itself from the disorderly and anti-social person, but the right of every person to harmonious adjustment. For the character of a given person is a result of his original temperament, the definitions of situations given by society during the course of his life, and his personal definitions of situations derived from his experience and reflection. And the problem is to define situations in such ways as to produce attitudes which direct the action exclusively toward fields yielding positive social values. Problems of abnormality, of individualization, of nationalities and cultures, the problem of the sexes, and a multitude of economic problems impinge upon us. And up to the present, society has not been able to control the direction of its own evolution or even to determine the form of life and relationships necessary to produce a world in which it is possible and desirable for all to live. But with knowledge and control of our own natures, the appropriate change of attitudes and values may be attained which shall subordinate all other things to the recognition of human values.

Mr. Thomas' is a contribution of distinct value to the growing literature in the study of the delinquent.

Northwestern University.

JAMES W. WOODARD.

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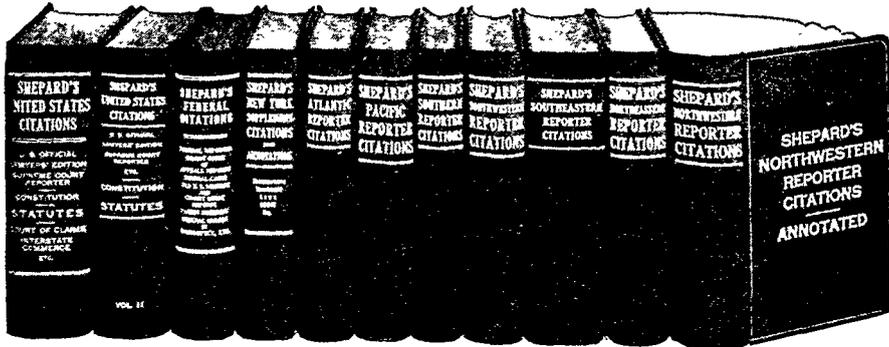
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