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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WAR AND CRIME IN THE UNITED STATES

BETTY B. ROSENBAUM*

The effects of demoralizing social and economic influences such as the ineffective functioning of the family, life in zones of delinquency with their improper housing facilities and poverty, economic depressions, and the like have all been given consideration in attempting to explain the causation of crime. One demoralizing social phenomenon, which is part and parcel of the same social structure giving rise to the above influences, and which has perhaps been given less emphasis than it merits in this realm of thought, is war. It is the purpose of this paper to define the relationship between war and crime and delinquency in the United States.

"Human conduct, normal and abnormal, is largely a product of the interaction of the forces of personality and environment."¹ Anti-social human conduct, then, characterized by its aggressive, competitive nature and its indifference to social welfare, results from the conditioning of the personality by society.² Anti-social individuals have found it more convenient not to conform to society's ethical code. But sometimes society alters its code of conduct and permits behavior which she formerly punished severely. "Society has its mass-homicides called wars, its mass-robberies called invasions, its wholesale larcenies called empire building."³ Under conditions of war, then, behavior formerly called criminal, i.e., killing, is now considered good and commendable. When the war is over and man returns to the every-day civil competition of life, it is inevitable that war-ethics should have left their mark upon him. The necessary conditions can call them into action again.

In the realm of man's ideas concerning property, marked changes are invited by war. The Borstal Association, for instance, reports the following out of the World War experience: "In our vast armies there are thousands of lads living in clothes and on

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¹ Anderson, Henry W., Separate Report. *National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement Reports, Report on the Causes of Crime*, Vol. 6, No. 13. 1931, p. xvi.

² Thompson, Charles B., "A Psychiatric Study of Recidivists." *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, Vol. 94, No. 3, Nov. 1937, p. 604.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 603.

food which are dealt out to all alike, and developing casual habits as to the preservation of their own belongings or respect to those of others. . . The coming of peace can, therefore, hardly fail to bring a peaceful readjustment of ideas based on these conditions, and a corresponding increase in conflict with laws designed for normal conditions."⁴

"War does not develop the virtues of peace. . . It is not a school that teaches respect for the person or property of others." Men return from war with a new outlook and habits of violent and forceful acts.⁵

"When the rules of civilized society are suspended, when killing becomes a business and a sign of valor and heroism, when the wanton destruction of peaceable women and children becomes an act of virtue, and is praised as a service to God and country, then it seems almost useless to talk about crime in the ordinary sense."⁶

The idea has been aptly expressed that, "If, during the war, the government should be run by exploiters of humanity who seek to gain their own selfish ends by political and financial profiteering, then the influence on the public at large who are making the sacrifices and paying the bills of the war, is very significant."⁷ Criminal tendencies may develop among those who, lacking moral resistance, make the above conditions the excuse for their actions.

H. C. Engelbrecht, too, makes the point that "Robbery in a legal way is practiced as a fine art by the war profiteers, that is, practically all of Big Business. Outright fraud and deception are not uncommon. Little wonder lawlessness spreads to large elements of the population which have never been involved before."⁸

Prof. Sorokin's description of what occurs during revolutionary strife may be transposed to the realm of war in general. He states that there is ". . . an obliteration of all the religious, moral and legal habits which acted as a barrier against acts of murder or of aggression against personal inviolability."⁹

According to John R. Oliver, the criminologists have neglected to learn an important lesson from war, namely that certain mental

⁴ Abbott, Edith, "Crime and the War," *Journal of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. 9, No. 1, May, 1918, p. 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁶ Parsons, Charles, Rev., "The Influence of the War on Crime," *American Prison Association Proceedings*, 1917, p. 266.

⁷ Blackmar, F. W., "Does War Increase Crime?," *National Conference of Social Work Proceedings*, 1918, p. 121.

⁸ Engelbrecht, H. C., *Revolt Against War*, Dodd, Mead and Co., New York, 1937, p. 187.

⁹ Sorokin, Pitirim A., *The Sociology of Revolution*, J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1925, p. 139.

states are the result of intense emotional stress. "The killing of a man in war," he says, "cannot be emotionally so very different from the killing of a man under peace conditions."¹⁰ An illustration of this is found in the writings of Lombroso. He cites Holtzendorff's description of a murderer, formerly a soldier, who excused his crime by saying that he had seen so many men killed during the Austrian war in 1866 that one more or less didn't matter very much.¹¹

Perhaps we may say, then, about war what Prof. Ploscowe says concerning demoralizing social influences in general,—". . . that all these demoralizing influences create a set of attitudes and values which are the reverse of those of the conventional society, and these attitudes and values in part explain the failure, and sometimes the complete subversion, of the aims of penal treatment."¹²

In discussing the relationship between war and crime in the United States, the writer has confined herself to materials on the Civil War and the World War, as very little information could be found concerning the Revolutionary Period. There were, however, valuable references to the latter in Allan Nevins' *The American States During and After the Revolution, 1775-1789* which will serve to introduce the subject.

Dr. Nevins states that during the confusion of the war there was a great increase in horse-stealing all over America, accompanied by a movement in Pennsylvania and New Jersey to make the crime punishable by death. In the latter state, the penalty went into effect, "and thenceforth New Jersey had more horse-thieves than Pennsylvania."¹³ In 1780 Pennsylvania passed a law calling for the branding of H T on the forehead of second offender horse thieves.¹⁴ A Revolutionary veteran, describing conditions in South Carolina after the war, wrote, ". . . highway robbery was a common occurrence, and horse-stealing so frequent that the Legislature made it a crime punishable with death, in order to protect the poor farmer who, at the very season for ploughing his crops, might be reduced to the want of food by his only horse having been stolen from him."¹⁵

¹⁰ Oliver, John R., *Emotional States and Illegal Acts,* Jr. of *Am. Inst. of Cr. Law and Crim.*, Vol. XI, May, 1920-February, 1921, p. 79.

¹¹ Lombroso, Cesare, *Crime, Its Causes and Remedies*, Little, Brown, and Co., Boston, 1911, p. 202.

¹² Ploscowe, Morris, "Some Causative Factors in Criminality," *National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Reports, Report on the Causes of Crime*, Vol. 6, No. 13, 1931, p. 139.

¹³ Nevins, Allan, *The American States During and After the Revolution, 1775-1789*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1924, p. 454, citing Bradford, William, "An Inquiry How Far the Punishment of Death Is Necessary," 1793.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 454.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 454, citing Johnson, Joseph, "Traditions and Reminiscences," p. 400.

Passing now to the Civil War material, we find first of all a decrease in punished crime during the years 1861-1865.¹⁶ The Prison Commissioner of Wisconsin, writing after the war, said that the number of convicts in prison during the war decreased one hundred per cent, ". . . not because there was less crime but because there were less convictions."¹⁷ E. C. Wines, speaking at the National Congress on Penitentiary and Reformatory Discipline in 1870 said, "There was a great diminution of commitments to our prisons during the late civil war, owing probably to the fact that many desperate characters enlisted in the army, and others followed the armies to ply their vocation on a new field."¹⁸

"Immediately after the establishment of peace, however, there was a great increase in crime and disorder not only in the south, where conditions were abnormal, but throughout the north as well. And a very large proportion of the new offenders in the northern states were men who had 'worn the blue'. To some, the large numbers of soldiers and sailors in prison was a 'new occasion for denouncing the war and those who carried it on'.¹⁹

Officials of the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania reported a large influx of prisoners in the last three months of 1865, most in poor physical condition, and nine-tenths incapacitated and demoralized by the war. They "attributed the increase in lawlessness to the disbanding of the army." In 1866 they reported an unprecedented influx. Three-fourths of the men had fought in the war and were shattered.²⁰ Many pardons were granted to first offenders, young men who fell in with evil companions on their return from the war, and who "were easily led into crime by the wild and reckless habits there contracted."²¹

It was estimated that in 1866 two-thirds of all commitments to state prisons in loyal states were men who had seen service in the army or navy.²² In 1867, the figure was put at nearly half of the existing prison population.²³ Of 179 male convicts in Connecticut Prison, 97 or 54 per cent saw service. ". . . there cannot be less than *five or six thousand* soldiers and sailors who fought for the

¹⁶ Abbott, E., *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁸ Wines, E. C., "The Present Outlook of Prison Discipline in the United States," *Transactions of the National Congress on Penal and Reformatory Discipline*, Albany, 1871, p. 18.

¹⁹ Abbott, E., *op. cit.*, p. 41.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

²² *The North American Review*, Vol. CV, Ticknor and Fields, Boston, 1867, pp. 580-581.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 581.

Union now confined in the state prisons of the Union; to say nothing of the tens of thousands besides, who during the year have been confined in the lesser prisons."²⁴

E. C. Wines, in 1870, stated that after the war, "there was a heavy increase of crime, and our prisons were filled to repletion; but within the last year or two it has receded to its former rate."²⁵

The number of prisoners of all classes (including those imprisoned for non-payment of fine) increased from 60.7 per hundred thousand population in 1860 to 85.3 in 1870.²⁶

In 1867 a prison reform movement resulted out of sympathy for former soldiers and sailors then in jail. We do not ". . . like to see the comrades of Grant and Sherman, of Foote and Farragut, exchange the blue coat of victory for the prison jacket," was the way one prison reform group expressed it.²⁷ Herbert C. Parsons tells us that humane sentiments released by the war and a reluctance to punish men who had just fought for their country may have helped give birth to the reformatory in the period immediately after the Civil War.²⁸

The *North American Review* for 1866 writes the following, "The most marked circumstance in the prison annals of America for the past ten years has been the diminution of punished crime since the war began in 1861, and its rapid increase since April, 1865. This might have been anticipated, but perhaps not to the extent which was actually noticed."²⁹

In the following tables figures are given to show the changes in representative institutions before and since 1865.³⁰

Decreases in Average Number of Convicts Up to 1865

	1858	1860	1861	1865
State Prison of Massachusetts,				
Charlestown			520	359
Massachusetts County Prisons. 1,957				1,050
Ohio Penitentiary		932		567 (x)
New York State Prisons.			2,762	1,826 (y)

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 581.

²⁵ Wines, E. C., *op. cit.*, p. 18.

²⁶ Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, *Prisoners, 1923, Crime Conditions in the United States As Reflected in Census Statistics of Imprisoned Offenders*, 1926. p. 7. These figures, however, are too incomplete and unstandardized to be considered absolutely reliable. *Ibid*, pp. 5, 7.

²⁷ Abbott, E., *op. cit.*, p. 42.

²⁸ Parsons, H. C., "Effect of the War on the Reformatory Probation and Suspended Sentence," Report of Committee "B" of the Institute. Jr. of Am. Inst. of Cr. Law and Crim., Vol. 6, No. 3, Nov. 1918, p. 421.

²⁹ *The North American Review*, Vol. CIII, p. 408.

³⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 408-409.

(x) = exclusive of military prisoners.

(y) = partly military prisoners.

Increases in Number of Commitments Since 1865

State Prison of Massachusetts (x)

April-October, 1865	40	commitments
October-April, 1866	80	"
July-December, 1866	179	"

(x) = two-thirds are returned prisoners

Auburn Prison of New York

October, 1864-April, 1865.....	91	commitments
April-October, 1865	114	"
October-August, 1866	440	"

Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania

October, 1864-April, 1865.....	56	commitments
April-October, 1865	134	"
October-April, 1866	200	(not less than)

Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania

October, 1864-April, 1865.....	49	commitments
April-October, 1865	52	"
October-April, 1866	217	"

However, this authority is careful to state that the increase in crime is not necessarily caused by war, and points out that there was a steady growth of crime for five years preceding the war. It also cites the rapid acceleration of commitments for civilians as well as former soldiers. "In the Auburn prison, the number of civilian commitments has not simply doubled, but quadrupled, and similar facts are observed elsewhere."³¹

In the 38th Annual Report of the Inspectors of the State Penitentiary for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania for March, 1867, the Inspectors "deeply regret, that during the last year, crime has so noticeably increased, not only in our own State, but throughout the country."³² They present the following statistics comparing the population increase of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania with the number of prisoners received from 1830 through 1866. (The Penitentiary opened in 1829.)³³

Year	Population of Eastern District	Number of Prisoners Received
1830	755,577	49
1840	1,168,300	139

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 409-410.

³² *The 38th Annual Report of the Inspectors of the State Penitentiary for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, March, 1867, p. 6.*

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

1850	1,568,737	150
1860	2,000,811	259
1866	2,263,400	364

Thus, the population of the District increased more than 300 per cent, whereas admissions of prisoners increased over 700 per cent, ". . . and the indications of the last two years are that the percentage of convicts will not diminish."³⁴

Charles Loring Brace gives some interesting statistics concerning arrests in New York City taken from police reports for the period we are discussing.³⁵ The following figures for arrests of pick-pockets show a sharp drop from 1861-1865 and a marked rise again in 1867.³⁶

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Arrests</i>
1861	466
1862	300
1865	275
1867	345
1868	348
1869	303
1870	274
1871	313

In the field of juvenile and female delinquency, the records show a large increase in arrests, rather than a decrease. For instance, the *North American Review*, 1866, reports that in 1857 the average number of women in Sing Sing Prison was 84, whereas in 1865 it was 169.³⁷ The Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania as early as 1863-1864 reported an increase in juvenile offenders.³⁸

The following table shows the number of women confined in Massachusetts county prisons.³⁹

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Women</i>
1860	2,000
1864	3,500
1865	2,700
1866	still less

The same authority indicates, however, that such an increase was not universal during the war.⁴⁰

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 12.

³⁵ Brace, Charles L., *The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years' Work Among Them*, Wynkoop and Hallenbeck, New York, 1872, pp. 434-438.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 438.

³⁷ *The North American Review*, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

³⁸ Abbott, E., *op. cit.*, p. 44.

³⁹ *The North American Review*, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 409.

New York officials in the late 1860's confessed to 697 disorderly houses and 2,574 prostitutes, but a less conservative authority put 757 houses and 12,000 prostitutes as nearer the truth.⁴¹

Brace, on the other hand, states that since the beginning of the war there was a marked decrease in committed female vagrants, i.e., streetwalkers, prostitutes and homeless persons.⁴² For female juvenile delinquents (those guilty of "any form of youthful offense not embraced in other terms"), in 1860 the prison records reveal 240 commitments; in 1870, 59.⁴³

To understand the conditions giving rise to the increases in female and juvenile delinquency in those places where it did appear, it is only necessary to examine the economic conditions existing after the Civil War. The acute shortage of labor produced by and remaining after the Civil War drew many women and children into the factories. Here they had to meet the competition of the returning soldiers, and were forced lower in the economic scale. Their wages were very little (from \$2.50 to \$5 a week), and their existence a miserable one.⁴⁴ It is no wonder that they were driven into anti-social behavior in an attempt to subsist.

A summary of the conditions of the Civil War given by Herbert C. Parsons in 1918 follows:⁴⁵ "There was a marked increase in juvenile delinquency and it was found to be due to the disturbance of home conditions, the absence of the father and elder brother, the employment of the mother in other than domestic pursuits and the interruption of school attendance. There was an increase in the number of women offenders, both actually and, of course, tremendously more, proportionally. There was a marked decrease in adult male offending and a corresponding falling off in prison population, traceable, of course, to the fact that a large proportion of the male population was occupied in war."

Mr. Parsons comments on the close similarity between the conditions described above and those brought into existence by the World War. One would expect them to be on a more extensive scale following the Civil War, since the fighting took place on our own soil and involved more soldiers. However, the post-World War scene does not suffer by comparison.

For instance, Hugo Pam, in the annual address of the President

⁴¹ Nevins, Allan, *The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1927, p. 325.

⁴² Brace, *op. cit.*, pp. 434-435.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 436.

⁴⁴ Nevins, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

⁴⁵ Parsons, H. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 420-421.

of the Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology in 1919, made the following statement: "Last year saw the ending of the war. From England, from France, and in our own country, statistics have been gathered which show that serious crime which had been on the decrease during the period of the war was again stalking in the foreground. No longer did the activity of the war serve as a release of those elementary passions and pent-up energies which in the case of many men, unless directed into proper channels, lead to the commission of acts either criminal or of such violence and force that unless curbed and restrained lead to acts of crime . . . The newspapers are filled with accounts of crimes of such daring and boldness as to make the average citizen stand aghast at the manner in which the security of life and rights of property are ruthlessly disregarded and imperiled."⁴⁶

In the actual process of the World War, however, the phenomenon of the decreasing prison population of the Civil War repeated itself. For example, *The Survey* sent out questionnaires and received answers from 21 prisons, 19 reformatories and 12 police departments giving figures for four years up to October, 1918.⁴⁷ Their answers revealed a marked decrease in penal populations during the War, beginning in 1915. The reasons given by the institution authorities for the decrease are: better employment and wages, "increasing restrictions on the liquor traffic," the induction into military service of young men from whose ranks come offenders, and the increasing use of probation and parole. These conditions were counteracted somewhat, however, by adverse influences which made for increased juvenile delinquency, augmenting the number of younger admissions to reformatories. (Boys under 21 were not liable to the draft.)⁴⁸ The following tables set forth the compiled statistics:⁴⁹

Total Population in

Year	21 prisons	19 reformatories (x)	both
1915	24,222	10,981	35,203
1916	23,934	9,957	33,891
1917	22,570	9,557	32,127
1918	19,869	9,122	28,991

(x) 6 reformatories reported stationary populations, 11 reported decreases.

⁴⁶ Pam, Hugo, "Annual Address of the President of the Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology," *Jr. of Am. Inst. of Cr. Law and Crim.*, Vol. X, No. 3, Nov., 1919, p. 327.

⁴⁷ "Less Crime During the War," *The Survey*, March 29, 1919, vol. 41, pp. 919-920.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 919.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 919.

Total Population Decrease in Percentages

<i>Years</i>	<i>21 prisons</i>	<i>19 reformatories</i>
1915-1918	18%	17.0%
1917-1918	12%	4.5%

Federal commitments, on the other hand, increased because of special war laws.⁵⁰

Federal Prison Commitments

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>
July 1, 1917	3,713
June 30, 1918	4,482

The twelve police chiefs who replied reported a general decrease in total arrests for the first ten months of 1918. Many of them stressed the importance of liquor restrictions in this reduction, and the following figures are given to show what happened in several cities that went "dry" in 1918:⁵¹

<i>City</i>	<i>Number of Arrests</i>		
	1916	1917	1918
Detroit, Michigan		54,633	10,107
Grand Rapids, Michigan.....		3,162	1,829
Austin, Texas		1,129	444
Ft. Wayne, Indiana.....		2,382	1,568
Atlanta, Georgia		14,049	15,510
St. Louis, Missouri	32,250	45,896	41,550

They conclude that these statistics stress the truth of the statement that poverty and drink are important causes of crime.

There is some question as to whether or not there was an absolute increase in crimes committed in the United States after the World War. Slosson is of the opinion that despite the cry of "crime wave," the lack of reliable records of the number of crimes committed in the United States makes it impossible to state whether or not there was an increase in law violations.⁵²

Dr. Engelbrecht believes that "In spite of the difficulty of interpreting crime indices correctly, it is evident that the World War was a breeder of crime and lawlessness. In this country, the period from 1910 to 1923 was marked by a disturbing growth in various kinds of crime; forgery increased 68.2 per cent, homicide 16.1 per cent, rape 33.3 per cent, violation of the drug laws 2,006.7 per cent and robbery 83.3 per cent."⁵³

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 920.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 920.

⁵² Slosson, Preston, William, *The Great Crusade and After 1914-1923*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1931, p. 95.

⁵³ Engelbrecht, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

A comparison of homicide rates before and immediately after the war shows a fairly stationary condition, while the suicide rate dropped sharply in the same years.⁵⁴ The figures follow:

*Death Rates per 100,000 for Suicide and Homicide, Respectively,
1911-1919*

<i>Cause of Death</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Industrial Department</i>
<i>Suicide</i>	1911	13.3
	1912	12.4
	1913	13.5
	1914	12.3
	1915	12.2
	1916	9.8
	1917	9.3
	1918	7.6
	1919	6.8
<i>Homicide</i>	1911	7.2
	1912	6.7
	1913	7.2
	1914	7.0
	1915	6.9
	1916	6.9
	1917	7.4
	1918	6.2
	1919	6.9

According to the United States statistics on the prison population, there was a decrease in the number of prisoners per hundred thousand population between January 1, 1910, and January 1, 1923. On the former date the total number under sentence (exclusive of those in military and naval prisons and insane asylums) was 111,498, or 121.2 per hundred thousand. In 1923, the corresponding numbers were 109,619 or 99.7 per hundred thousand.⁵⁵

Dr. Slosson states that "What even the incomplete and partial statistics available demonstrate beyond dispute is the permanently low standard of public security in the United States as compared with any other country of comparable civilization . . . The typical American slayer was also a robber . . . The real problem was the

⁵⁴ Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, *Statistical Bulletin*, June, 1920, pp. 3-4. The reasons given for the marked suicide rate decline are: the many opportunities for war service, the deflection of morbid introspective tendencies, and the sudden diffusion of prosperity among wage-earners.

⁵⁵ Bureau of the Census, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

professional bandit who killed with the sole motive of overcoming resistance or of removing a witness to his theft."⁵⁶

In 1914 premiums paid on account of burglary insurance amounted to \$1,377,000; whereas in 1924 they increased to \$26,-513,000. Losses in 1914 totalled \$508,000; in 1924, \$11,812,000.⁵⁷ Robberies increased annually in their frequency and boldness.⁵⁸ The increase for robbery between 1910 and 1923 was especially large,⁵⁹ while that for robbery commitments in the same period was over 50 per cent.⁶⁰

"In general, therefore," reads the Census report quoted above, "there was a marked increase in the commitments for crimes of violence, and for violations of drug and liquor laws, but a more marked decrease in the commitments for most minor offenses."⁶¹ It is believed that many habitual criminals switched from the field of certain gainful property offenses to the field of liquor and drug selling made especially profitable by the Federal prohibitory legislation.⁶²

The development of the high-power motor car and the automatic gun, together with prohibition and its machine-gun gang warfare and the unrestricted manufacture and sale of deadly weapons which followed after the World War, are given by Kirchwey as causative factors in our "crime wave."⁶³

The racket game is cited by Slosson as the outstanding characteristic in American crime in this period.⁶⁴

An examination into the ex-service men in United States prisons was attempted in September, 1922, by the Wisconsin State Board of Control.⁶⁵ Information was received from 12 state reformatories and 19 penitentiaries. The percentage of ex-service men in these institutions varied from 4.71 per cent (Nevada Penitentiary) to 33.33 per cent (Washington Reformatory) and averaged 18.12 per cent for all. The report states, however, that the data is inadequate to draw any reliable conclusions; that it would be necessary to know first the percentage of age groups under army draft in the

⁵⁶ Slosson, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

⁵⁹ Bureau of the Census, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁶³ Slosson, *op. cit.*, citing Kirchwey, G. W., "What Makes Criminals," *Current History*, vol. 27, 1927, pp. 316-317.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁶⁵ Hochstein, Irma, *Ex-Service Men in Prison in the United States, Summary of Questionnaire Sent Out by State Board of Control*, Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library, Madison, October, 1922, pp. 1-2.

total prison population, as well as the prison records of these men before entering service. It mentions the greater leniency that may be shown to ex-service men in court, for which there is no tangible data, which would cut down the number of convictions. The only conclusion drawn from this survey is that there is a larger percentage of ex-service men in the reformatories (an average of 23.97 per cent) than in the penitentiaries (an average of 14.65 per cent), "due undoubtedly to the fact that the age limit at reformatories is, in general eighteen to thirty years, i.e., the age of the first draft service men."⁶⁶

A specific study of ex-service men in the penal institutions of Wisconsin in the latter part of 1922 revealed a total of 300.⁶⁷ Of these 290 were examined; 134 in the state prison, 65 in the house of correction, and 91 in the state reformatory. About 300 more had already served time since the demobilization of the army in 1919. The Wisconsin army quota was 120,000. On this basis one-half of one per cent "of those who served with the military forces in the World War were sentenced to penal institutions during a three-year period following their discharge from military service."⁶⁸ For the entire country, an estimation of 20,000 ex-service men in penal institutions was considered correct.⁶⁹

This incidence of criminality is considered far above that ordinarily found in the civilian population for the age group concerned, 19-51 years.⁷⁰

Twelve per cent of these ex-soldiers had formerly been in industrial schools and the like, whereas 19 per cent (none of whom were at the reformatory) had previous convictions.⁷¹

They found that in a number of cases the economic stress of these men was ". . . both the result of general unemployment and of the actual physical disability or handicap of service origin."⁷² Twenty-five per cent (73 cases) had physical disabilities which were traceable to military service.⁷³

The authors of this study offer as one aspect of the influence of military experience and training on subsequent criminality the belief that a "certain disregard of property rights . . . especially

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 2.

⁶⁷ Lorenz, W. F., "Delinquency and the Ex-Soldier," *Mental Hygiene*, vol. 7, 1923, pp. 472-484.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 472.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 472.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p. 472.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p. 480.

⁷² *Ibid*, p. 482.

⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 476.

overseas . . . commonly practiced and occasionally sanctioned by those in authority was not conducive to respecting property rights at home."⁷⁴ Immature or badly trained persons might receive a harmful moral twist by such experience.

Of even greater significance than the fate of the veterans was the rising tide of delinquency among the younger strata of the population both during and after the War. Summarizing the causes of this rise in England, Cecil Leeson says: "If you take away the child's father, either completely into the Army, or almost completely by allowing him neither opportunity or leisure to exercise his parental duties; if you take away his mother and set her to outside work; if from the child himself you take the companionship to which he is accustomed, to which his conduct hitherto has been attuned, and compel him to associate, in school and out of it, with other and less desirable companions, to whom his ordinary habits and actions appear priggish; if you lower the standard of his school-life and give him a teacher whose authority he does not respect; if you halve the child's school hours, or, if he be at work, double his wages, and then leave him with neither hero to worship nor example to follow, with no one to rouse his indignation over a wrong thing, none to point out to him a right one—if you do these things, what can you expect for juvenile "crime"? Had we set out with the deliberate intention of manufacturing juvenile delinquents, could we have done so in any more certain way? Childhood is a time of many adjustments—adjustments of a delicate mechanism to an increasingly complicated society. Even for adults, the world of the moment is a harder place to do well in than it was two years ago: it is not likely to be less hard for inexperienced children from whom guidance is withheld."⁷⁵

Some of the factors at work in England were operating on a lesser scale in the United States. For example, the draft reached fewer men with children old enough to violate the law, and the schools were less disrupted because most of our teachers were women.⁷⁶ However, the other destructive factors were all at work to a greater or lesser degree.

The bad psychological effects of the War on young and plastic minds were recognized by several writers as a dangerous influence. Lewis Terman, after giving credit to the theory that young people

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 481.

⁷⁵ Leeson, Cecil. *The Child and The War*, P. S. King and Son, London. 1917, p. 46.

⁷⁶ Lane, Winthrop, D., "Making the War Safe for Childhood; Delinquency in War-Time." *The Survey*, vol. 38. August 25. 1917, p. 452.

had more energy available (as a result of better wages and nourishment), more opportunities for misapplied energy, and less of the ordinary restraining influences, goes on to wonder ". . . whether the situation is not in part accounted for by psychical contagion, by the moral chaos of Europe finding its reflection in the conduct of children. Morals do not easily rise higher than their source . . ." ⁷⁷

As one minister put it, "The frequent accounts and vivid enactments of scenes of carnage, destruction of property, life and a disregard for individual rights has had a tendency to inflame juvenile minds to acts of destruction and violence bordering on criminality." ⁷⁸

Dr. A. A. Brill expressed the same idea: "The boys who are killing now were seven, eight, nine and ten then. They waged mimic wars with tin soldiers and they chose for hero-worship the man who had brought down 15 enemy planes, who had bayoneted 20 foemen in a bull rush across to the waiting trench. One inhibition was swept away . . . when a nation which held murder in horror broke out in steady anthems of praise for killers and killings." ⁷⁹

In the summer of 1917 it was observed that "Already probation officers in New York City are reporting an increase in the number of juvenile offenders; last year more cases were handled in the Children's Court than in the year before, and this is attributed by the officers themselves to the unsettlement of life and thought caused by the war." ⁸⁰

In the Eleventh Annual Report of the New York State Probation Commission, the Commission reports that ". . . the number of young girls placed on probation from the courts of the state began to increase markedly at about the time that the United States entered the war, and that the number remained abnormally large ever since." ⁸¹ They blame the increase on the presence of soldiers' camps and the attraction of young girls to uniforms. Other reasons which have been listed to explain the increased delinquency of girls are: false patriotism, desire for excitement, and "the psychological effects of war spirit." Also girls filled men's positions, became financially independent and broke from parental discipline. ⁸²

⁷⁷ Terman, Lewis M., "Juvenile Crime and The War," *The Journal of Delinquency*, May, 1917, vol. 2, pp. 169-170.

⁷⁸ Parsons, Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

⁷⁹ Englebrecht, *op. cit.*, p. 190, cited in H. C. Brearley, *Homicide in the United States*, p. 31.

⁸⁰ Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

⁸¹ "Child Delinquency and The War," *The Survey*, vol. 40, May 4, 1918, pp. 131-2.

⁸² Faulkenor, Leon Charles, "Effect of The War on Juvenile Delinquency," *American Prison Association Proceedings*, 1919, p. 157.

In the year ending June 30, 1917, there were 21,847 persons on probation in New York State, an increase of 13 per cent over the year before, and the greatest increases were among girls and men. In 1917 there were 6,820 children under 16 years on probation.⁸²

A. C. Crouse, chief officer of the Court of Domestic Relations of Hamilton County, Ohio (containing Cincinnati), states that juvenile delinquency increased 21 per cent in that county since the United States entered the war. The first three months of 1917 saw a decrease in juvenile court cases. But from April 1 to November 1, there were 384 cases, compared with 316 in the same period in 1916.⁸⁴

From Chicago came a report that in one month in 1917 the number of petitions filed for delinquent children in the Juvenile Court of Cook county was 54 per cent greater than in the same month in 1916. The following figures tell the story:⁸⁵

Delinquency Petitions Filed

<i>Month</i>	1916	1917
April	195	232
May	196	303
June	281	326
July	234	292

A total of 14,519 children came before the Children's Court of New York City in 1917, which was 2,094 more than appeared in 1916.⁸⁶ "It was stated that toward the end of 1917 there was a perceptible increase, due to the scarcity of food and fuel and the difficulty of making proper provision for some children."⁸⁷

In 1918 the Federal Children's Bureau sent inquiries to the judges of juvenile courts and probation officers in twenty cities. The overwhelming majority of the cities reported an increase in juvenile delinquency.⁸⁸

In Iowa during the year preceding our entry into the War, 208 boys were admitted to the State Training School for Boys at Eldora; in the following year, 210 boys were admitted. There does not seem to have been much of an increase as a result of our entry into the War. However, in the year ending August, 1914, only 160 boys were admitted. This might indicate "that we had already been

⁸² "Child Delinquency and The War," *op. cit.*, p. 132.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁸⁸ Faulkenor, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

affected by the high prices and social unrest incident to the war, before our country entered into it."⁸⁹

Solon Vial, the State Agent at the Eldora School, describes their attempts to steer parolees away from the "easy money" jobs, the hotels and taxi-cabs, and persuade them to return to school or to work for reliable firms. "We have had a number of cases where a clever boy took home more money than the father's \$18.00 or \$20.00 a week and as rent and food prices are high, the parents welcomed the money and resented any interference in his occupation. The boys, too, having purchased their independence of home restrictions by this importance, were also reluctant to yield."⁹⁰

After studying the fate of children in several foreign countries, as a result of the World War, the United States Children's Bureau made the following statement of precautions this country should take to forestall harmful developments:⁹¹ "Home life and community activities must, therefore, be upheld in wartime. When so many fathers are absent in the service mothers are needed at home even more than in normal times. And in the searching for additional labor to meet war demands the mothers of young children should be considered a last resort. School life and play life should be undisturbed. Now, more than ever, the children who are without proper guardianship need individual care and training, and those who have become unruly need the attention which special courts can give."

In conclusion and retrospect, then, war and crime are closely interwoven. The combination of a breakdown of ordinary peacetime restraints and the increased pressures of wartime existence (economic, emotional and social) is often more than the ordinary man, woman or child can withstand. Add to these the post-war disillusionment, depression, insecurity and the disintegration of inhibitions carried over from the war-days, and the result must inevitably be increased apprentices in crime.

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⁸⁹ Vial, Solon C., "The Effect of War on Juvenile Delinquency." *Bulletin of State Institutions, Iowa*, Vol. 20, No. 3, July, 1918. p. 168.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁹¹ Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, *Juvenile Delinquency in Certain Countries at War*, A Brief Review of Available Foreign Sources, p. 24.

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