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Book Reviews

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BOOK REVIEWS

AN EXPERIMENT IN THE PREVENTION OF DELINQUENCY: The Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study. By *Edwin Powers and Helen Witmer*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1951. Pp. xliii, 649. \$6.00.

Within the past two years three important and carefully constructed volumes on juvenile delinquency have appeared. In the first, W. H. Sheldon and his associates in *Varieties of Delinquent Youth*, applied their specialized talents to locating causes of delinquency by means of constitutional psychiatry. In the second, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, in one of the most carefully organized and meticulously analyzed of their many publications, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*, sought to discover causation through examining every aspect and factor that could be related to delinquent conduct. After intensive analysis and correlations involving home conditions, family life, school experience, community influences, physical conditions, constitutional factors, intelligence, character and personality, and "dynamics of temperament," they concluded that the "causal complex" was "multidimensional" and "derives from an interplay of somatic, temperamental, intellectual, and socio-economic forces." In short, our knowledge of the causes of conduct defined as delinquent remains strictly tentative and statistical. The third is the volume under consideration, wherein a totally different approach to the problem and a completely different philosophy of research were established. Both the method and philosophy were derived from the point of view set forth by the late Dr. Richard Clarke Cabot, Professor of Social Ethics and of Clinical Medicine of Harvard University. For the purpose of testing his hypothesis that "directed friendship" with young boys might be successful in preventing delinquency, Dr. Cabot outlined a plan of research among selected boys in the cities of Cambridge and Somerville in Massachusetts, and provided funds to carry on such a project. To use the words of Dr. Gordon W. Allport, in his admirable foreword, Dr. Cabot wished to test his theory that "delinquency can be prevented by establishing a sustained friendly ego-ideal for boys in trouble."

Two main objectives were set up: (1) Prevent delinquency through employment of friendly counselors dealing with selected boys over a long period of time; (2) Measure the effectiveness of counseled boys with a similar control group who received no guidance from the Study.

The first task confronting the organizing committee was to determine where to find the boys and select those for treatment and those who would be their "twins" in the untreated or C-group. The use of T-group (those in the Study) and C-group (those who received no guidance) will be used in this review to distinguish these two matched groups. It was decided to select only those boys who were attending the public and parochial schools in Cambridge, Massachusetts. By December, 1935, cooperation was secured with the school authorities and 150 names of boys were submitted to the Study group. In the fall of 1937 (when boys in the Somerville schools were included) the Study was finally set for action, but not until May, 1939, were the 325 selected who were to comprise the T-group.

In the development of the project nine steps were necessary: first, finding the boys; second, investigation or collecting information about the boys; third, pre-selection—more than three times the number to be included had been submitted, so 650, or 325 in the T-group and 325 in the C-group, were screened; fourth, the use of names remaining after the pre-selection process for classification on an eleven-point scale ranging from practically certain

delinquency to practically certain non-delinquency; fifth, out of the total 782 boys so classified (including the 650 already mentioned) 325 matched pairs were selected by two psychologists; sixth, as the boys were matched and allocated to the T-group, counselors were assigned to work with the boys, assignment beginning November, 1937, and completed in May, 1939; seventh, the treatment process begins; eighth, in 1941 a re-classification was undertaken whereby the "high-average" boys were retired, cutting the counselor's case load, and "dropping" boys who had died or moved away. Due to personnel shortage and war conditions and "retirements" and "droppings," 75 boys were carried to the end of the Study, 6 years and 9 months, with an average for the 325 boys of 4 years and 10 months. Step nine, the Study closed in 1945, three, or four years sooner than anticipated.

In securing boys for the project, principals and teachers from the kindergarten to the third grade were asked to nominate boys below the age of ten who showed habits or traits which indicated they might be considered difficult boys. In addition, other agencies were requested to submit names of boys, following the same general instructions. The total from all sources was approximately 1,800.

After final selection of the 650 boys, the question of satisfactory matching was analyzed. The variables to be considered in the matching process which were essential were physical health, I.Q., ratio of emotional outlets and tension, the selection committee rating, the boy's home as a place likely to produce delinquency, and neighborhood. To these were added thirteen more variables: educational quotient, standard of living, occupation of father, school occupation level, trait record card and descriptive rating scale, a composite rating omitting home visitors' rating of the home, mental health, social adjustment, social aggressiveness, acceptance of authority, goodness of discipline, delinquency in the home, and disruption of the home. "Throughout, the matchers emphasized the fact that the individuals to be matched must have likenesses similar in psychological configurations of growth and style of living. They should then be 'prognostic twins.'" In addition, five "accessory factors" were considered: dominant stock, religion, public or parochial school, types of interests, and co-operativeness of the home with the Study. The one "special constant" was age, and the matched pairs in 24 cases were identical for age while 267 pairs did not differ more than 11 to 12 months. Matching was carried out boy for boy for a number of cases and then sub-groups were matched. Whether any particular boy was to be in the T-group or C-group was arbitrarily determined by the flip of a coin. Verification of selection was made by comparing their average score on some of the variables. The groups, as groups, differed "by less than one-tenth of one scale point on the variables in question." The T-group resembled the C-group most closely in delinquency in the home, occupation of father, school occupation level, and "the TZF formula relating to delinquency-proneness."

Ten counselors were asked to state their preferences and prejudices with reference to their case assignments. The number of boys for each of nine counselors was 34-35, and 18 for a part-time counselor. Attempts were made to assign counselors with special qualifications for specific types of difficulties—for example, boys with serious physical handicaps were treated by a counselor with training as a nurse. The oldest male counselors were assigned to boys whose fathers were not living or were unable to provide adequate guidance to their sons. Older boys, as a rule, were assigned to men counselors. The average age of boys assigned to women counselors was 10 years, 5 months, and to men counselors 11 years, 5 months. The average age of the 325 boys

in the T-group was 11 years, 1 month, as of May 30, 1939, when the last counselor was assigned and treatment started. Of the 325 boys, 117 had native-born parents and 124 had parents born outside the United States. There were 27 Negro boys.

Thus far we have tried to present the basic outline of the procedures and purposes of the Study. How were these purposes to be achieved? It seems to this reviewer that "social contagion," conduct "by example," played a very large part in the attempt to test Dr. Cabot's hypothesis of "moral suasion,"—counselors who would set an example in their own conduct and attitudes, and assist the boy, whether through tutoring him in school subjects he found distasteful or difficult or taking him to ball games, over-night camping, or arranging for medical care—the aim was to establish intimate personal relations whereby conflicts, worries, anxieties, fears, or any other uncertainty the boy felt would be shared with a sympathetic and informed friend. The term "pal" appears, but such a relationship does not seem to be what Dr. Cabot had in mind. Sincerity, honesty, and square-shooting, and at the same time tactful and indirect guidance which promoted sound social growth, were essential in short-circuiting present delinquency and preventing future misconduct. Not all counselors were successful; in fact, it appears that not all counselors were overwhelmingly interested. To maintain a high degree of enthusiastic co-operation with a boy who violates one's trust may be asking too much of anyone, even a parent.

As the Study progressed there was a reformulation of objectives from preventing delinquency, since many boys showed no tendency in that direction, to helping "the growth of character in children." So in 1941 "growth," social, spiritual, physical, and intellectual, was emphasized in order that these boys would be assets rather than sources of trouble to the community.

In a chapter entitled "What Makes Them Delinquent" Mr. Powers, the Director of the Study, concludes that "the child's greatest need within the family circle is the affection of his parents. The deprivation of parental affection early in life we found to be a common phenomenon in the lives of many of our most serious delinquents." This may be and probably is true, but precisely how affection is to be defined remains the function of the child. Discipline which involves a sound thrashing for cause, such cause believed by the child to be just, may be one means of proving to the child that the parents really do care for him; whereas a violation of a repeated warning which results in no notice being taken by parents may be interpreted by the child as indifference or even rejection. Such generalizations about the causes of delinquency must remain philosophic conclusions which can be validated largely by repetition and declamation. What is a good home? What constitutes parental affection? Common sense offers no clue and science can have no answer. Maybe the boy knows! Most children are happy in proportion to the degree they are intelligently controlled, guided, directed, and inhibited from socially disapproved conduct. "Belonging" may be equated with penalties fairly and justly imposed.

The influence of the neighborhood, as analyzed by Mr. Powers, affects boys differently. Deteriorated and unwholesome though a slum may be, its influence by itself does not necessarily produce delinquent children. While more delinquents by adjudication may come from less attractive areas of the city "we also find the most delinquent boys do not always live in the worst areas." It would be interesting to have an analysis of causes of delinquency written by an informed person who was born, raised, and still resides in the slum areas. There may be a class bias on the part of middle-

class authors who set up indices of "good" areas in terms of their own status or preferences. Part of the picture of delinquency "in the run of the mine" delinquents was found in the social habits of young people and their friends.

Mr. Powers eloquently points out that "to determine why any given boy is delinquent we must study that particular boy." This is sound sense and acceptable science, if we may add that "that boy" includes relationships, traditions, taboos, injunctions, attitudes, restrictions, ambitions, and a never-ending change and definition of all of these in relation to "that boy."

As to the effectiveness of the Study—was delinquency prevented? In general the answer is "No." The boys in the T-group apparently were no better at the end of the Study period than were the boys of the C-group who received no counseling. To isolate the effect of counseling so as to determine the extent to which it helped or harmed the boys in the Study is impossible. According to Mr. Powers, more T-boys appeared before the Crime Prevention Bureau than C-boys. Slightly more T-boys appeared in court than C-boys. The trend toward more serious offenses seemed to indicate that the C-boys who received no treatment were involved slightly more often. In other words, the more serious offenders were found among the C-group, but the difference was not large.

In Part II, Dr. Helen L. Witmer presents a clinical evaluation of the Study and in general her conclusions are negative. It is only fair to Mr. Powers to say that whereas he is restrained and cautious in claiming any positive improvement in the T-group, Dr. Witmer is cavalier and to this reviewer displays an hauteur all too common in modern social case work for any research which does not bear its imprimatur and *nihil obstat*. She states that the results do not show that the Study is useless "but that its usefulness is limited, and that no such generous, ambitious, but professionally rather naive program can diminish to any considerable extent that persistent problem, juvenile delinquency." Her evaluation undertook to find out which boys, with what characteristics, in certain relationships, under given circumstances, through what kind of counseling, gave evidence of being helped by what may be called an index of adjustment. Where "growth" was stressed by Mr. Powers, "adjustment" was emphasized by Dr. Witmer. Professor Allport took issue with Dr. Witmer saying that while he had no better concept to offer, "adjustment" tended to emphasize the status quo rather than the dynamics of growth. Her final statement is worth reporting: ". . . the chief lesson of this experiment is that there is no one answer, no one form of service by which all manner of boys can be helped to deal with the difficulties that stand in the way of their healthy incorporation of social norms, which is the essence of good social adjustment." Thus there is no basic quarrel between the trained psychiatric social worker and the professionally naive layman who believes he may be able to help this particular boy if he knows what is troubling him and can secure his co-operation. Neither worker can substitute enthusiastic idealism and love of children for a thoroughgoing knowledge of what bothers this particular youngster regardless of what problems are the common lot of all juveniles in a competitive society where delinquents and social workers both strive and groan for status. Even if the experiment proved nothing and prevented nothing, its heart was in the right place.

University of Pennsylvania

J. P. SHALLOO

MR. JUSTICE SUTHERLAND. By *Joel Francis Paschal*, Princeton University Press, 1951. Pp. 267. \$4.00.

Mr. Paschal, a North Carolina lawyer with a Ph. D. from Princeton, has

added to the growing list of judicial biographies, a readable and competent survey of the life and thought of Mr. Justice Sutherland. The author rather persuasively traces Sutherland's passionate advocacy of economic individualism to the early influence of Herbert Spencer, certain Mormon doctrines and particularly the Mormon, Karl T. Maeser of Brigham Young Academy, and T. M. Cooley who was Sutherland's law teacher at Michigan. The reader also learns that some important activities in Sutherland's professional career are quite at variance with a laissez-faire philosophy. The author has made use of the justice's personal papers, and interesting intimate glimpses of the public life of the period are afforded. The Appendix even includes a memorandum that Sutherland had prepared for the Chief Justice in 1928, describing the various attitudes shown at that most guarded of institutional mysteries—a decisional conference of Supreme Court justices.

Law School, University of Wisconsin

SAMUEL MERMIN

KRIMINOLOGIE. By *Wilhelm Sauer*. Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin, 1950. Preface, xxvii, Pages 637.

The author of this book who has been working in the field of philosophy of law since 1923 and published a textbook of legal and social philosophy in 1929 is one of the representative German authors.

The present book is a good example of the methodical exactness and also of the occasionally non-rewarding circuitousness of the German style and thought. Characteristic of this criminology is an intellectualist psychology which has become somewhat alien to the modern dynamically oriented American mind. An example of this is the construction of the criminal deed from the first impulse *via* motive and intent to purpose and aim.

The most rewarding part of this book is a chapter called *Gesamtkriminalitaet*, in which the author tried to give a picture of the criminal status of the German nation, through the history, especially of the last 40 years. Statistics as such with its mere figures cannot give a sufficient picture of the sum total of criminality; criminality has to be weighed and evaluated in connection with the civilization as a whole. After pointing out that since the time of Goethe individualism has lost ground in Germany the author shows that under the influence, not so much of the war as the increase of politics, especially under Hitler, a certain type of egotistical crimes has increased. German criminal statistics is fraught with particular difficulties as there have been a number of very far reaching amnesties before trial. War as such does not render the individuals more brutal, on the contrary: the "refined crimes" fraud, embezzlement, theft show an increase in connection with war. It is also pointed out that in the beginning of Hitlerism crimes against morality reached an astonishing high peak, and this not because of the new crime against the purity of German blood (*Blutschande*). It seems that carnal abuse of children and rape play the leading role. While the statistical basis for this picture may not be beyond doubt, this part of the book (Pp. 440-615) is recommended to students of German war and post-war civilization and criminality.

New York

W. ELIASBERG

PAROLE CHIEF. By *David Dressler*. New York, The Viking Press, 1951. Pp. 310. \$3.50.

What is a parole system and what does it seek to accomplish? What sort of individual is a parolee? What happens when the criminal comes out of

jail? How many ex-felons out on parole go straight? Does the former convict harbor a contempt for the law? How secure a parole risk is the professional lawbreaker, the crime careerist? Do our prisons in truth reform? Why do human beings become criminals in the first place? Here is only a sampling of the questions upon which David Dressler, former executive director of the New York State Division of Parole, has a comment, a point of view, or an explanation.

This book is a rather slick and anecdotal study of the true-life dramas of people out on parole with a dash of serious (though perhaps over-simplified) comment about the specific problems they illustrate. Dressler has gathered well an exciting collection of stories about confidence men, underprivileged youths, shoplifters, pickpockets, underworld passions, and high-type offenders. Some of the parolees with whom he associated are as colorful as the characters of a Damon Runyon story—Harry the Ape, Hot Lips, Eddie the Eel, Maxie the Goniff, Pumpkin Pie Kid, Dapper Dan Collins, Yellow Kid Weil—and all were problems for the parole officer.

The parole system, as Dressler sees it, has a two-fold function: to help an offender who has been released conditionally from prison to adjust into lawful society; and to protect the community from the criminal backslider. To these ends, the parole officer must deal with a self-righteous, egocentric, persuasive person who has recently served time in a "place of abnormality, of degradation, of hopelessness, and often of perversity," the typical American prison. Ninety-five percent of these ex-felons, in the experience of the author, hate and fear an officer of the law. Many of them are professional criminals who never intend to quit the mode of life which they have deliberately chosen for themselves. Dressler bluntly maintains that on parole, these professionals are dubious risks requiring constant and intensive supervision. Many parolees resort to crime again. The author advances no hypothesis on why, but it is so: women revert less frequently than men; adult males less than adolescents; feeble-minded criminals least of all.

Seventeen years in parole work qualify Dressler to face philosophically the over-all problem of crime. No one is born a criminal or foredoomed to criminality. In his opinion, the absence of family love and security in youth is the most prominent factor in making an individual criminal. Although he declares that crime may be prevented by "intelligent planning on a broad scale," the author fails to suggest a program for action. Dressler emphasizes that he personally was free from political pressures in his daily work, but this does not invalidate the general influence of politics on parole and parole administrators, a problem which should have been more realistically considered.

The general reading public will like David Dressler's entertaining stories and chatty prose. The student of criminology, however, will have to wait for David Dressler's forthcoming study on *Probation and Parole Practice* to get a clearer account of the technical fruits of his experience.

The Ohio State University

HAROLD M. HELFMAN

FESTSKRIFT TILLGNAD KARL SCHLYTER, DEN 21 DECEMBER 1949. Edited by *Svensk Juristtidning*. Stockholm, Isaac Marcus, Boktryckeri-Aktiebolag, 1949. 413 p.

In honor of the seventieth birthday of its editor, Dr. Karl Schlyter, the Swedish law journal *Svensk Juristtidning* published a collection of 35 essays on criminal law, procedure and penitentiary problems, introduced by a por-

trait and an appreciation of Schlyter's personality and work (by Thore Engströmer) and concluded by an impressive list of seventeen pages of his publications from 1907 to 1949 (compiled by Britta Ersman).

Karl Schlyter, former Minister of Justice and President of the Court of Appeals, who has been editor of *Svensk Juristtidning* since its founding in 1916, is one of the outstanding Scandinavian jurists and a brilliant leader in Swedish penal reform. The volume is a significant tribute to Dr. Schlyter and numbers among its authors international leaders in the fields of criminal law and penology. The majority of the essays are written in Swedish, Danish and Norwegian by men like Ivar Agge, Johs. Andenaes, N. Gärde, Hardy Göransson, Maths Heuman, Brynolf Honkasalo, Stephan Hurwitz, Olaf Kinberg, Vilhelm Lundstedt, Ivar Strahl, Veli Verkko. There are, in addition, three contributions in French, two in English and one in German.

Marc Ancel, *Conseiller à la Cour d'Appel de Paris* and Secretary-General of the Institute for Comparative Law at the University of Paris, sketches in *L'évolution de la notion de defense sociale* the development of the concept of social defense since the end of the last century as opposed to the traditional concept of penology. Paul Cornil, Secretary-General of the Belgian Ministry of Justice and Professor at the *Université Libre* of Brussels, writes on the problem of *L'individualisation pénitentiaire*. He examines rather sceptically the problem of individual treatment as it developed after the publication of R. Saleilles' classical treatise *L'individualisation de la peine* (Paris, 1898) from social, vocational, moral and medical points of view. Henri Donnedieu de Vabres (University of Paris), comments on the question of the preliminary hearing (*L'instruction préparatoire*) in the draft project of the French Code of Criminal procedure which was prepared by a commission under his chairmanship, and Dr. Gerhard Simson (Stockholm) evaluates, in an essay written in German, the influence of Franz von Liszt on Swedish criminal procedure and penal reform. Franz von Liszt (1851-1919), the famous leader of the German sociological school of criminal law and co-founder of the *Internationale Kriminalistische Vereinigung* (1889), was most instrumental in promoting modern criminal law reforms. This essay is of interest also because of the centennial of Liszt's birth; it is reprinted in the *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Strafrechtswissenschaft* (vol. 63, no. 3, 1951) which Liszt founded in 1881 and edited until his death.

The two contributions in the English language are by Lionel W. Fox, Chairman of the Prison Commission, London ("The Swedish Prison Act, 1945 and the English Criminal Justice Act 1948") and by Professor Thorsten Sellin, University of Pennsylvania ("Status and Prospects of criminal statistics in the United States"). Mr. Fox, after pointing out some differences in the two Acts which are partly the result of the different legal systems of the two countries, notes a large amount of interesting agreement between the two penal systems. Professor Sellin evaluates critically the status and problems of criminal statistics in USA and concludes that "ground has been lost so far as national statistics are concerned and no great gains can be reported in the states, without which there is little hope for progress on a national scale."

Elbert H. Gary Library,
Northwestern University

KURT SCHWERIN