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EMOTIONAL BACKGROUND OF WHITE SLAVERY: TOWARD THE PSYCHOGENESIS OF SO-CALLED PSYCHOPATHIC BEHAVIOR

Benjamin Karpman

This is another of several articles already published in this JOURNAL in which it is the author's purpose to interpret modern psychiatry in terms that are easily understood by members of the legal profession. He is not asking for merciful treatment of wrong-doers. The roots of criminality in the cases he describes are so deep they can not be reached by the usual measures of punishment. The case described in the article that follows is to the point.—EDITOR.

I

Introduction

In a previous communication on the subject¹, I submitted some considerations tending to show the greater need for closer understanding and cooperation between Law and Psychiatry, so that out of the combined efforts may come a superior approach in dealing with the growing problem of crime. In particular, I tried to point out the need for considering the primacy of emotions rather than of intelligence in our life; of deep-seated motivation rather than mere causation, of emphasizing the doer rather than the deed, of the total setting as against the immediate situation. This was not a plea of a humanitarian for greater mercy, but of a scientist and clinician who sees in crime an illness *sui generis*, a psychic disease in its own right, with a special etiology and pathology, and requiring, by reason of this, specialized forms of treatment because these conditions can not be reached by the usual punitive or correctional measures. These considerations are not theoretical or abstract, but flow out essentially from a practical clinical study of a large number of criminal cases that have actually been cured by this approach.

Culpable indeed is the crime of robbing a man of his possessions, for this threatens his livelihood and security. Inhuman and dastardly is he who will kill another fellow being, especially if the murder be for profit. Most reprehensible of all is the crime of rape, that forces male lust upon a defenseless woman. But most dastardly, culpable, contemptible, evil and reprehensible of all is the crime of trafficking in a woman's honor; send-

¹ "An Attempt at a Re-evaluation of Some Concepts of Law and Psychiatry." This JOURNAL, XXXVIII, 3, September, 1947, 206 ff.

ing her into prostitution. For a man is robbed or is killed, once, or the woman is violated once; but in white slavery the insult continues for weeks, months and years, to the degradation of all.

For present study and illustration, I wish to submit herewith the case of an individual charged with white slavery. The factual data of the case as obtained by the police show unmistakably that the man has sent his wife into prostitution for what seemed the deliberate and obvious purpose of replenishing his finances. Though the man denied the charge, I am entirely willing to accept the official records at their face value. The man was such a liar and tried so hard to talk himself out of the guilt and responsibility connected with the situation, that his word was not to be trusted. And yet the same man, in telling of his early background, has given us a recital which is most sordid and shocking. One would suppose that an individual who would thus try to extricate himself from an unpleasant situation by deliberate lying would also try to present a picture of environment and background that would give a much better impression and one remote from reality. So the fact that his background does emerge as one that is sordid justifies one's belief that while he lied on some occasions, he was probably quite truthful on others. However, and in any event, there is no intent to present a picture that is either good or bad, to support preconceived conclusions. To be sure, as a psychiatrist, I am committed to a large extent to the psychogenetic approach, but I ignore neither the contributions of heredity or physical factors, nor the significance of social and cultural factors in the development of mental illness and human behavior in general. By no means do I wish to prove that criminality is always, universally and without exception, a psychic disease; but rather I wish to determine in every case *how much* psychogenetic factors contribute to criminal behavior. No doubt in some cases the physical factors loom large. And I don't see how one can escape the conclusion that social and cultural factors do contribute significantly to crime; but equally I know that psychogenetic factors often play, not only a large, but a determining and definitive role, and it is my aim to determine more definitively the role they play. I shall therefore present for the consideration of the reader all the emotional factors involved in this case, his background, early life and development through adolescence and adulthood until the commission of the crime. We shall take a look at the man behind the deed in a way not ordinarily accorded in an open court of justice. We shall attempt to search for the causative as well as the motivating influences in his life; and lastly, we shall try to appreciate the setting in which

the past anti-social behavior developed and which gave rise to the crime he presently was charged with. I shall present that, not in extenuation of his crime, nor in a plea for the mitigation of the sentence. I have no guilt to prove, no innocence to defend. I shall take the reading public as my court and jury and, with such knowledge as I have to present, call upon the mercy and the understanding of the court. All I plead for is knowledge and more knowledge, for knowledge is our only hope in the understanding and treatment of crime.

The Subject

This is the case of a 28-year-old white male, married, who was twice sent to St. Elizabeths Hospital from the Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, where he was serving a ten-year sentence for violation of the Mann Act.

Although the offense for which he was convicted appears to be the only one for which he has served time (excluding an early residence at a reformatory to which he was committed by his mother), his own narrative discloses a history of vagrancy, theft, and other anti-social behavior consistent with his meager education and generally unsatisfactory personality development.

Family History

Patient's maternal grandfather was half-Indian, high-tempered, opinionated, vindictive and quarrelsome. He had three wives one of whom died. The others left him because they couldn't get along with him. Paternal ancestry is negative in so far as we know. The patient's father was a poor, hard-working farmer, who died, when the boy was twelve years old, during an epidemic of influenza. From the patient's account, the mother appears to have been a woman of unstable emotions, and she may have been mentally abnormal. There were nine children of whom the patient was the first. We have almost no information concerning his siblings except that, according to the patient, none of them could get along with their mother after they had begun to grow up. The patient's relations with them appear to have been amicable.

Personal History

The patient's personal history is based primarily on his own narrative, which often seems to be of questionable authenticity. There are undoubtedly many omissions, and probably there is considerable distortion of many facts.

As a baby he had frequent spasms, but was healthy after his second year. He suffered from enuresis until he was five years old. His parents were poor and had only the necessities of life. Although he was frequently punished by his father, his childhood does not appear to have been particularly unhappy. He began school at the age of seven but attended only a portion of each term because it was necessary for him to help his father each spring and fall on the farm. At the age of fourteen he had only finished the third grade. This marked discrepancy from normal progress cannot be altogether due to his enforced absence from school to help his father. Lack of application or lack of mental ability, or both, must lie additionally behind this record of abnormally slow educational progress.

There are a number of other indications that he was not entirely normal mentally as a child. On one occasion he set fire to the barn, and on another killed a neighbor's turkey. These are not actions which one expects of a boy raised on a farm and suggest some cryptic motive or a defect of judgment. (Viewed in terms of emotional motives the arson would appear to be related to his enuresis, for the two are often associated (Stekel). He also says that "every man and boy in the country was after me because I would do anything they told me to," and adds that "those men had me fighting and stealing and doing everything that was wrong." They encouraged him to steal candy, chewing gum, etc., from the store and fruit from the neighboring farmers. (This indicates a greater suggestibility than is normally found and might be a part of a hysterical make-up). His reaction to the situation is interesting. He says:

I knew that the things I was doing were wrong, but I never felt that I should stop doing them, for I wanted the people to say that I was a man, and that was what they did say. I did not want to cause father any trouble, but I would do anything to cause mother to worry about me. I never loved her as I should and never could treat her right. She would bawl me out for these things, but I liked to spite her.

Here we have the first sign of something wrong in the mother-son relationship. One gets the impression that he did not get sufficient affection from her and he did many things to spite her (revenge out of refused love) and also to cause her to worry about him—her mind would at least be on him one way or the other. All his comments on his mother are charged with marked ambivalence (mixed feelings). The patient says that his mother discriminated against him to such an extent that he sometimes entertained doubts of her actually being his mother. He claims that after his father died his mother "never seemed to care what I knew about her . . . and would take a bath in the room

with me." He intimates that she all but invited him to have sexual relations with her. He says:

There was one way that I could get along with Mother. . . If I would hold her in my arms and love her as though she were my sweetheart, she was all right, but I could not do this very much because I tried to respect her and felt just as though I was being mean to her when I would do this.

(If this statement be true, it suggests then the boy's reaction was between wanting to do it and not wanting to do it because of social prohibitions connected with such behavior. It is also possible that this statement may be the boy's rationalization of his own unconscious interest in his mother.)

After the father's death, his place on the farm was taken by the maternal grandfather with whom the boy could not get along. The grandfather shot his dog, and the boy got a gun and waited in hiding with the intention of shooting his grandfather. Someone finally took his gun away from him, and nothing came of his murderous intention. A later altercation with his grandfather resulted in his leaving home and going to work on the farm of an aunt until summer, when he secured work in the wheat harvest. Then his mother sent for him and told him that if he didn't come home soon she would "send the law" after him. He left his job but did not go home. He got another job in some oil fields until he had saved eighty-five dollars, then left it, spent all of his savings in a short while on clothes, transportation, whisky, shows and running a car. He and a friend then got a job in the hay fields, and when this work ran out, he agreed to accompany his friend to another place where they would pick cotton. He claims to have made a brief visit to his home in between with this friend and says that his mother did not then object to his leaving; but not long after this he was arrested and taken to jail. Here he was taken sick and asked for his mother, but says that she would not come to see him or send him any message. It developed that he was on his way to the State Training School to which, presumably, his mother had committed him. His whole account of this period is vague, and we suspect the existence of numerous facts which he has not told.

II

In the State Training School

His account of life in the State Training School is a story of heartless and stupid brutality—as is the story of life in most institutions of this character. He was frequently and brutally punished, and his account tells of the killing of one boy by a drill master, which resulted in his arrest and an investigation

of the institution by the State authorities. He wrote to his mother to help him get out of the place, but she wrote back that she couldn't do so and wouldn't if she could. Other relatives advised him that they had tried to persuade his mother to get him out but that she would do nothing. We are at a loss to know whether this boy's mother was vindictive to the point of obsession, or whether the circumstances preceding his commitment to this institution were more complicated than he has led us to believe. After he had been there for a year and a half he was discharged, being then seventeen years old. He says:

My experience in the jail and the school had made me angry at the world, and I felt that I was branded and could never be with good people any more, but rather than get into more trouble, I thought that I would stay at home. I was sure I could get along with mother and do what she told me to, and not care for anything, even her bawling me out. She had made a great mistake, however, in sending me to the reform school, for I learned lots of things there about stealing and hold-ups and different kinds of crime that I hadn't known before, and I had reached the point where I didn't care much or fear anything.

Here we see again that in spite of his ill feelings against his mother, his first reaction after release from reformatory is distinctly nostalgic—he wants to go back home to his mother and make good. His mother received him kindly, but her mood did not last long. Each time he wanted to go anywhere, she would forbid him to leave the house and threaten to send him back to the reformatory. So he finally ran away.

He then tells a strange story of coming in contact with a man, his wife and their daughter who were traveling in a wagon. He traveled with these people and stole provisions for them. According to his story, this couple encouraged him to have sexual relations with their daughter and afterwards tried to coerce him into marrying her. This does not sound very plausible. He managed to elude them, stole some cotton, sold it, and finally reached a town where he got a job working for a railroad company. He then says, "I just felt that I wanted to see my brothers and sisters again, and I thought I would go home and leave again before the law got me." His mother was agreeable to him for a while, and by the time her temper changed, he had succeeded in filling out parole papers and securing an official discharge from the State Training School. His continuing narrative tells of leaving home again after quarreling with his mother; of staying with a married friend and having intercourse with his wife; of working in the harvest fields; and finally returning home once more.

With a friend, he then went to work for the railroad again. This friend stole a purse containing \$180.00 and with this they

departed for another town where they met a woman who proposed to make use of them in connection with filling-station hold-ups. They pulled off three hold-up jobs for this woman, but backed down when she wanted them to hold up a restaurant, and left her. In another town, he attempted to pick a man's pocket at a circus, was discovered, and fled before he could be captured.

His further adventures with his friend culminated in an undetected murder resulting from an altercation with a stranger at a railroad station, who threatened him with a knife and whom he brained with a railroad spike. While this murder was apparently committed in self-defence, the circumstances which led up to it are not at all clear. The patient says that:

this strange man and I got into an argument about where I was going. He wanted me to go one place and I wanted to go another, and he insisted that he was going to make me go where he wanted to . . . The man got so mad when I told him that I would not go with him that he got his knife out of his pocket and said he would cut my throat.

What the true facts of the case are, we don't know, but the reason ascribed for the man's assault is certainly unconvincing. The patient's assault on him, with its fatal result, is likely enough, but something which he has not told about must have preceded this fight. The other man may have made homosexual advances to him, or they may have previously planned some criminal activity together.

Later on, he and his friend separated, and we find him taking up with someone else in whose company he makes an unsuccessful attempt to hold up a gambling house and then to rob a still. He does steal a diamond ring and gets away with it. In another town, he is arrested by railroad detectives and given thirty days on a chain gang, from which he escapes. He continues going from town to town, working a short time at this and that. In one place he works in a restaurant and sells whisky on the side for a policeman. Nostalgic again, he pays a short visit to his home but soon sets out on the road again.

III

Now begins a strange story which while not improbable, does not ring quite true. He says he was accused of being the father of a child to which one Mr. B's daughter had given birth; that the girl's father threatened to kill him if he didn't marry her; that although the girl told him that he was not the father of her child, nevertheless she wanted him to marry her; and that after some persuasion, he decided to do so. Contrasted with this we have a report from the Department of Justice which

states that the patient, at the age of 13, while living at the home of this girl's parents, "had intercourse with her as a result of which she gave birth to a child."

The account of his married life becomes confused and is probably not at all in accordance with the facts. According to him, he and his wife lived for a while with her parents and then for a while with his mother. Finally, as the result of an altercation with some man during which the patient drew a knife on him, both he and his wife ran away to avoid arrest, and on their journey he entered a store and rifled the cash register. He then tells of getting work, of taking a young girl to board with him and his wife, of having sexual relations with this girl and causing her to become pregnant. He tells of participating in the hold-up of a filling-station with another fellow. While his wife was in a hospital where she gave birth to a second child, he obtained work on a farm and had an affair with a girl who was employed there. He then got another job, this girl followed him, and their affair continued.

The next related episode involves the passing of counterfeit money, and it appears that he later learned how to make counterfeit money himself. According to his story, he then returned to his wife, and he admits that he forced her to engage in prostitution, but claims that this was necessitated by his condition at the time, he having contracted gonorrhea and being unable to work. The essential difference between his story and that told by the Department of Justice lies in the point of view. To hear the patient's account of it, he was the victim of circumstances; while according to the official account he was a selfish and cold-blooded procurer. He then began selling whisky for another man, began to drink himself and became worse physically. According to him, his wife again came to the rescue by offering to make money by prostitution. At this point, he was arrested and turned over to a United States Marshal on a charge of white slavery, to which he pleaded guilty after his wife had signed a statement confirming the charge. The report furnished by the Department of Justice, in contrast to the story told by the patient, states that:

at different cities in the State of Texas during a period of about a year, C. insisted that his wife should engage in commercial prostitution with other men for the purpose of making money. All the money which she made by prostituting herself she turned over to her husband. The defendant, C., at the time he entered his plea of guilty and was sentenced by the court, interposed no defense other than that the reason he had committed the acts as charged was that he was out of work and could not get a job and that they needed the money to pay their living expenses.

The Hospital record contains the further statement that:

The patient's wife, when questioned about the verity of the charge and the details of the proceedings, wrote that the charges against her husband were true; that is, that although she was really married to him, he insisted on her being immoral, so that he could live without working. She also indicated that he was unkind to her and the baby, deserting her four times, and wanting to give the baby away. She said that he was arrested because she reported him to the sheriff.

In prison Cleary apparently suffered a severe psychotic episode of the situational type, but he was convalescent by the time he reached St. Elizabeth's and did not appear to be in need of further treatment. He was returned to prison at his own request because he had hopes of obtaining a parole. While he was in the hospital, his wife secured a divorce.

His application for parole was denied, and he says that his mother wrote him that there were other charges against him; that he had lied to her about them; that he was no good in any way, and that she never wanted to see him again. He then made a suicidal attempt by taking bichloride of mercury tablets, but they made him sick and his nausea saved him. This attempt was apparently genuine, but later on he faked a second one and then proceeded to fake insanity in order that he might be returned to the hospital.

Following his second admission to the hospital it was concluded that, despite the patient's statement that he had more or less brought about the transfer himself, the background of constitutional inferiority contributed to an emotional instability in connection with which the additional pressure of prison environment has caused him to develop a psychosis of some degree; and that it would be wiser to keep him in the hospital until the expiration of his sentence. The diagnosis rendered at this time was: Psychosis with Psychopathic Personality (Situation Psychosis). Throughout his second hospitalization his condition remained practically the same, the general impression being one of childishness. At the expiration of his sentence, he was discharged.

Sex Life

From what we have already learned of the patient's personal history, it is evident that his sex life was characterized by a complete lack of restraint, inhibition or judgment. Masturbation, however, does not seem to have ever been a problem with him and there is nothing in his material to indicate that he had any homosexual interests. He says that although he had many opportunities to engage in homosexual practices in prison, it did not appeal to him. He also professes extreme disgust at perverse sexual acts with women. He had sexual intercourse,

however, before he was capable of experiencing orgasm. There was apparently some sadistic element in his early sex life, for he says:

I don't know why, but I wanted to see all girls hurt in sexual relations and enjoyed hurting them in this way, but did not want to hurt them in any other way.

At the age of thirteen he lost interest in sex and says,

I think it was especially because of my experience and disappointment in mother that my attitude toward girls was different. I was not bashful, but there was just a lack of desire. I didn't want to see anyone suffer as before, and wanted to be good to all the girls.

It was at the age of thirteen that he first experienced orgasm. There is apparently nothing abnormal in his sex life beyond the fact that it has no guiding principle; that he follows the line of least resistance at all times, never allows any consideration for anyone else to enter into his activities and that he appears to be unable to develop any definite attachment for the opposite sex.

Personality Make-up

In the light of his material, this man's personality make-up is somewhat difficult to determine. Certainly it contains psychopathic-like traits. He presents himself to us always as the victim of circumstances. There is no denying that he was the victim of circumstances to a certain extent, but we feel that his manner of telling us about himself involves at least a consistently misplaced emphasis and frequently an outright distortion of facts.

He apparently came honestly by his bad temper, for his father was decidedly the victim of the same over-mastering emotion; but we do not so often find the patient giving vent to anger without cause as losing all control over it once the cause has been furnished. He tells of beating a mule when a boy, of his father's taking him to task about it, as a result of which he told his father to go to hell, whereupon his father "Sure gave me all I was looking for and had the blood running out of my legs and back." In the episode of the grandfather's killing his dog we have a valid cause for anger and resentment, but there is also a disproportionate reaction to the situation, and we see how near the patient came to committing murder. In the case of the murder which he actually did commit, while his anger was probably not without cause, there also appears to be a disproportionate reaction; but this whole episode is shrouded in mystery, and while the story of the actual killing sounds natural enough, the account of the circumstances preced-

ing it is altogether incomplete and most unconvincing. In prison he ground a piece of steel to make a knife with which to kill a fellow prisoner who had told on him; but this occurred after his first hospitalization, so that his reaction on this occasion may have been part of his psychotic disturbance. From all this one gets the impression that patient's temper is higher than that of the average normal person, his emotional reactions being out of proportion to the situation; that is essentially neurotic.

Feelings of inferiority have little to do with actual inferiorities. There is little doubt that Cleary was in many ways inferior; but that wasn't the reason that he felt inferior. He often felt and acted self-condemnatory and guilty, the feeling coming from deeper sources of his personality. In connection with his arrest and imprisonment he indulges in numerous self-condemnatory expressions about the way in which he had treated his wife, but we cannot be at all sure that they are sincere. Following a reaction of anger to the receipt of a letter from his wife while he was in prison, he says he finally reached the conclusion that "I was no good anyway." There is an account of a suicidal attempt when he was only twelve years old because "I got mad at mother and . . . thought that she did not care for me, and I wanted to get out of her way." He took sugar of lead, but "got good and sick and vomited everything up." It was at this time that he experienced "depression and . . . loss of sexual desire" and "came to have a distaste for girls." He also says that

I was very much disappointed in mother because I thought that a mother should be the most loving person in the world, and my mother was loving only about one month out of four.

His suicidal gestures appear to be the result of a mixture of motives: of frustration to unrequited affection (mother), heightened guilt feelings arising from inability to live up to mother's expectations of him (violation of super-ego dictates) and perhaps also as a reversal of homicidal attempts, in which he turns upon himself the fury which he cannot vent upon others.

Dream Life

While he was in the hospital the patient recorded twenty-eight dreams. Most of them are bare of imagery or emotion. It is strange that the dreams which are attended with more emotional reaction than any of the others are those about his baby. The largest number of dreams possessing a common element are heterosexual in character. The few anxiety dreams are more suggestive of worry over past misdeeds than of any fear of

the future (guilt). There is one clearly defined homosexual dream in which he performs pederasty as the result of a dare, but even in the dream the act is distasteful and "I told them that . . . I would never do this again." In associating to this dream he repeats his statement that he never had any homosexual relations, and in view of the material in the case we are disposed to accept this statement as true. The other dreams which carry homosexual suggestions are merely such as we would expect to find in any neurotic individual with a repressed homosexual component.

The "baby" dreams would seem to be a form of compensation for his realization of his former neglect and, as such, are indicative of some degree of remorse for his past behavior where his children are concerned. It is a fact that his principal worry following his hospitalization was occasioned by his doubt as to his child's whereabouts and welfare. In one of these "baby" dreams he remarries his wife, who has both the children with her. There are other children in the dream, also, and a number of small animals, and "everyone was happy." Then they all disappear and he is left alone and goes about looking for them. In this dream his latent paternal instinct seems to be working overtime. In some of the dreams the accent is on the wish-fulfilling picture of paternal and domestic happiness. It is more of an echo of the old home and wish to re-live his childhood which seemed happy to him in spite of the difficulties he has had.

There is only one dream about his mother. In it she repudiates him and turns him out of the home. Her attitude in the dream is similar to the real attitude of his mother-in-law who informed the Hospital that the patient's presence in the community would be unwelcome. This same dream also involves a man who "said that people did not like him" and told lies about him "to keep him from working." His attitude is similar to the patient's and the man in the dream probably stands for the patient, who would have us believe that he is not responsible for his plight but that it is the fault of others.

The most important feature of the dreams appears to be the awakening of the patient's conscience and the indications of remorse. While his conscious remarks along this line may be questioned with respect to their sincerity, we cannot bring this objection against his dream. Dreams do not lie. Dreams of this character tend to contradict any assumption that the patient is a true psychopath. While they are prison or hospital dreams and are the product of reflection in a punitive environment, after all the damage has been done and all the milk spilt; they do

nevertheless dispose us to entertain some hope for the man's improved future because of the presence of guilt feelings. It is rather doubtful that he will revert to the same irresponsible behavior which characterized his past. According to our present information about him, he has not been involved in any further difficulties.

The Total Picture

This case presents a number of mysteries which the material does not quite solve. We cannot be certain about the patient's mother, who, if we accept his account of the matter, must have been mentally abnormal herself. At the same time, there is little doubt that he had any erotic interest in her and that his account of her erotic interest in him may well be a reversal of the facts and is given to cover his own unconscious Oedipal conflict, based upon an incestuous interest in her.

The man comes from a generally inferior environment where the people might well be described by the familiar phrase "poor white trash." It is also apparent that from an early age he showed poor judgment, was abnormally impressionable, and lacked either the will or the sense with which to oppose the anti-social suggestions of others. And though the father appears to have tried to inculcate in him some standards of decency and proper behavior, there seemed little else in the environment to have guided him and helped him cultivate higher social gifts. Suggestively, there have been no difficulties while his father was still living. He appears to be entirely lacking in the predatory disposition of the psychopath. His acute reaction to his first arrest, which made him physically ill with fear; his nostalgia and frequent returns to his own home, when one would have expected him to keep away from it; his depressions and suicidal attempts and his worry about his child, are all inconsistent with a psychopathic picture. On the contrary—they suggest a neurotic make-up, a conscience and a functioning sense of guilt. His attitude toward his wife is puzzling unless it can be explained by abnormally strong attachment to his mother which led him in consequence to have little regard for women in general. He used them for a purely physical purpose to satisfy the more sensuous aspect of his sexual drive, reserving the spiritual side for his mother. This is a rather common mechanism in neurotics. The more the neurotic can degrade other women, the higher he can keep his mother on the pedestal he erected for her. It is perhaps in this light that one may find a clue to the crime for which he was serving a sentence. If in the light of his incestuous attachment, women are to him but of two types:

Mary (mother) and Magdalene (prostitutes), then it is understandable how for purely emotional unconscious reasons, it would not be difficult for him to send his wife into prostitution, social prohibitions notwithstanding, for neurotic drives are often stronger than social prohibitions. Another psychological mechanism is possible here. In any incestuous situation, the emotional attitude is always an ambivalent one: on the one hand, the neurotic child wants to get all the affection he possibly can get from his mother. But as he is insatiable, the affection he gets falls quite short of his demands; hence hostility toward the beloved parent out of refused love. At this point, some neurotics feel that they can't afford to hate the beloved parent, for that threatens their basic love and security. Whereupon they split the reaction into two: they keep the love for their mother, disposing of the hostility component by attaching it or displacing it on another object or objects, in this case other women. In the present instance, the patient gave vent to his basic hostility on his wife, and in hating her he satisfied his hostility component toward his mother. With this component out of the way, he can keep his love for his mother, pure and unsullied.

Accepting the official story as opposed to that which he tells us, it is apparent that he deliberately forced his wife into a career of prostitution, rather than merely countenancing such activity on her part because of their lack of money. In this connection we must also remember that he married her against his will, and part of his reaction may have been dictated by revenge for this unwelcome situation. To him she was already "damaged goods," a prostitute in the making. Too, to one of his low social standing, prostitution may not seem to be so bad as a means for taking care of his family.

While he has engaged in an unusual amount of varied criminal activity, we never get the impression that he was interested in crime for its own sake or that he would not have abandoned it for some legitimate activity, if he were properly directed into the latter and if it were to be had without too much trouble or hard work. His criminality seems to be always a matter of following the line of least resistance. Another thing that stands out is the virtual lack of guidance; or was it that he refused to be guided? There is also the possibility that his criminal behavior corresponded to certain periods of over-activity as opposed to alternating periods of apathy or depression; and this same fluctuation seems to have existed in his sex life. His acute prison reaction to his mother's repudiation of him, which led to one of his suicidal attempts, is also inconsistent with true

psychopathic behavior. All along the line, he appears to lack the positively aggressive traits of the psychopath. His attitude is always a more or less negative one. He possessed no vision, no life plan and no special egoism. He had been too badly whipped down from the beginning to develop any positive attitude toward life. Flogged by his father, hated by his grandfather, repudiated by his mother, brutally mistreated in the reformatory, hunted by the law, homeless and frequently penniless, he became fundamentally passive; but while his passivity was punctuated by periods of bitterness and sporadic outbreaks of intense personal hatred, he never engaged in a positively aggressive anti-social campaign such as we discovered in the bona fide criminal. While he sought from time to time to get the better of his environment by indirect and dishonest means, such attempts were always temporary; and in the light of the environment in which he lived, not much out of the way or wrong. The oppressive and dismal history of his childhood and youth, with its lack of any educational opportunity and guidance exercised a deterministic effect which precluded any such visions of power as those which have upheld and urged on many desperate and daring criminals. What sort of knowledge of right and wrong, and responsibility, could he have developed in the environment in which he lived? We cannot escape the conclusion that this man is no true criminal type, in spite of his numerous criminal acts. Proper training and half an economic chance might have tipped the scales far enough in the other direction to have kept him on the side of the law-abiding, for we have seen the man experiencing on occasions deep feelings of guilt and remorse. What he needed was not a prison sentence which only kills guilt and remorse, but a rehabilitation program that would cultivate the already existing nucleus of guilt and conscience and thus help him to redeem himself not only in the eyes of society, but above all in his own eyes. While it is apparent that he has made frequent attempts to smooth over the history of his past, this action does not appear to have any ulterior motive or practical aim, but rather to spring from some internal conflict between his knowledge of what he has been and his idea of what he should have been. There seems to be an element of inferiority in it, and also an element of shame; and these are not feelings ordinarily found in the psychopath. Moreover, his intermittent excursions into crime are not characteristically psychopathic. He and his friend successfully held up three filling stations and then arbitrarily refused to hold up a restaurant. Later on, after a successful holdup, he

refused to participate in any more because he "didn't want to take such a big chance for so little money." He lacks any progressive criminal instinct. Crime, to him, is merely a short-cut to some needed cash. That alone compelled him and not a deep-seated anti-social feeling.

With respect to the specific crime for which he was sent to prison, we can only see the influence of warped emotional drives plus a complete failure of pride and a general let-down in environmental interest corresponding perhaps to one of his periods of apathy. A man with aggressive criminal intent would not have been satisfied merely to become a pimp for his wife; he would have enlarged his sphere of activity and have engaged in some prostitutional scheme on a bigger scale. There is nothing to be said in extenuation of his behavior, which was disgusting and despicable; but it was the behavior of an illiterate neurotic, coming from a bad environment, the victim of unresolved hatred, predicated most probably on the frustrated incestuous love of his mother. As such, it was the result of blind emotional turmoil and the obsession of a sick mind made worse at the particular time by more or less continual indulgence in alcohol. We are confronted here with a case of mental illness in an inferior individual, and not with the predatory scheming of a cunning, criminal psychopath.

Summary and Conclusions

We are dealing here with a near illiterate white male whose maternal ancestry shows definite suspicion of a psychotic strain. His father died when he was twelve. He had only finished the third grade when he was fourteen. He was the oldest of nine children, and from early years exhibited indications of a developing neurosis: enuresis, pyromanic reactions and extreme suggestibility, being susceptible to all the anti-social suggestions of the older men in the community, who took delight in encouraging him to fight and steal. Further, the relationship between him and his mother strongly savor of incest. His account of his mother's relation to him intimates that she regarded him incestuously, but this is probably the reverse of the true picture and represents rather the projection on her of his own incestuous interests.

His mother had him committed to the State Reformatory under circumstances which the narrative does not quite make clear. There he experienced all the brutality which is characteristic of such institutions, and further trained him along criminal lines. His criminal activities included stealing cotton,

stealing provisions, holding up three filling stations (in the company of another youth), an undetected murder following some altercation at a railroad station in which another man drew a knife on him; an attempt to hold up a gambling house, the theft of a diamond ring, the passing of counterfeit money, and finally forcing his wife, whom he had been forced to marry, into a career of prostitution. This last offense is the only one for which he was ever convicted. It is suggestive that he has never quite been able to separate himself from his home, for whether released from a reformatory or otherwise away, at the first opportunity he would return home to his mother.

In prison he suffered a psychotic episode of the situational type and was sent to St. Elizabeths, but appeared to be convalescent by the time he reached there and was subsequently sent back to prison at his own request because he had hopes of obtaining a parole. When his application for parole was denied, he became depressed and attempted suicide, and then engaged in consciously malingered erratic behavior with a view of again being returned to the hospital. On his second admission it was decided to retain him until the expiration of his sentence.

His sex life was precocious. He had sexual intercourse before he was capable of orgasm. It was consistently heterosexual, however; he showed no homosexual interests and never masturbated to any unusual extent. The material in his narrative suggests that in a typical neurotic fashion he has split his sex life into two distinct and separately operating components, namely: the physical or the sensuous, and the spiritual or the psychic, the former being given to women in general whom he held in low esteem, but the latter was reserved for his mother whom he idolizes and puts on a pedestal. This explains why he has not been able to develop binding attachments toward the opposite sex. Furthermore, his sex life was marked by alternating periods of aggression and apathy or depression, and there is some indication that the same thing was true of his criminal activity, and probably for his entire personality.

He is an obviously inferior individual. The general impression created while he was in the hospital was one of childishness and immaturity. There are several instances of anger disproportionate to the situation. There were three suicidal attempts, one when he was only twelve years old. Two were genuine; the third was part of his malingered insanity prior to his second hospital admission. The two genuine suicidal attempts appeared to climax frustration.

His dreams were consistently heterosexual. Most of them were

bare of imagery or emotion. The outstanding dreams indicating emotional factors were concerned with his baby, and gave some indication that, after imprisonment and hospitalization, he had given considerable time to reflection and developed a good deal of remorse for his past mistreatment of his wife and his neglect of his children.

His account of the circumstances preceding his arrest is at variance with the official reports. While he tries to make it appear that he consented to his wife's prostituting herself because they were without money, it is officially maintained that he deliberately forced his wife into a life of prostitution. The official report appears to be correct and the patient's narrative an attempt to gloss over the uglier features of the case. Psychologically, his cruel and callous attitude toward his wife can only be explained as a projection upon her of the hatred (out of refused love) which he felt toward his mother, revenge for having been forced to marry augmented by the hopelessness of his defective occupational adjustment and the brutality which he had experienced first in his home and then in the reformatory. It is further conceivable, in the light of his possible incestuous attachment to his mother that he looked upon other women as degraded and inferior creatures who were only fit to be prostitutes, this contributing additional motivation for his sending his wife into prostitution.

While he unquestionably exhibits many psychopathic traits, the total picture is a distinctly neurotic one. He lacks the predatory aggressiveness of the true psychopathic criminal; there is no consistent progress in his criminal behavior; and in all of his anti-social activity he appears to have followed the line of least resistance rather than any pre-determined criminal bent, weak rather than bad. His emotional reactions are more consistent with the prevailing picture of an inferior individual suffering from neurotic conflicts than with that of a true psychopath, who is instinctively predatory and emotionless.