Underlying Causes and Practical Methods for Preventing Crime

by

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The causal factors that enter into every form of human behavior, whether criminal or otherwise fall into two groups: psycho-physical and environmental. Thus it is, in part, one's mental or physical make-up, or both mental and physical make-up combined, that determine how one will behave. If one's nervous system is badly out of gear so that nerve impulses, in one part of the system or another, become sidetracked or retarded or accelerated, the parts of the system must fail to work together harmoniously at least, just as an organized body of men fail when there is lacking a co-ordinated system by which the purposes of the organization may be carried into effect. In order, therefore, that one may make intelligent forecast respecting the behavior of a given individual who is about to go forth into the midst of surroundings to which he has not until now been accustomed, or in which he has hitherto failed to fit himself with approximate nicety, it is necessary for one to know, in the first place—first only for convenience of statement—whether that individual has a nervous system so substantial and so nice in its adjustments that it can withstand strains and meet emergencies. It is information of the same nature that one seeks when one has in contemplation the purchase of a new typewriter. If any comment upon the parallelism implied here is required, we have only to say what is perfectly patent to a student of behavior: that man is a machine to a greater degree than he realizes. One needs to know whether this mechanical system is infected with destructive poisons; whether the muscular system is such as to favor adjustment to the conditions of life, and whether the activities of alimentation are capable of supplying the organism with energy producing food. Where all other factors in determining behavior and successful adjustment to the conditions of social life are equal, the conditions implied in the above questions may be wholly decisive.

In the second place—second, again, only for convenience of statement—we want to know whether the individual whose future behavior we would foresee is mentally equal to meeting the difficulties that are incident to living in the sphere to which he belongs. Many, though not all forms of mental alienation, and incapacity, disqualify him for facing those difficulties. Self-control is very largely a matter of emotional control; of attention; of persistence; of ideals and of practical judgment. Deficiencies in one or another of these respects, particularly in emotional control, control of attention, and in persistence, usually go hand in hand with profound defects in the nervous organization.

Studies in the psycho-physical nature of the individual delinquent, therefore, are the cornerstone of investigations in the field of criminology. In the work upon which we are making report in the following pages we have given considerable attention to the psycho-physical problem. The first division is wholly devoted to this problem, and to an estimate of the probable adaptability of groups of women and men to a normal social environment, afflicted as they are with profound nervous disorders, destructive infections, phychoses and feeble-mindedness.

In each of the remaining sections of the report the psycho-physical factor receives more or less attention. It is particularly emphasized in the first three sections of the third division, where we set forth the results of our examinations of 63 boys in the John Worthy School; our follow-up of certain juvenile cases whose psycho-physical conditions were determined in the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute in the years 1910, 1911 and 1912, and our study of the psycho-physical condition and the behavior of Cook County boys who are now in the State Reformatory at St. Charles, Illinois.

At the outset in this introduction I gave the environmental factor a place as a cause of every form of behavior. From this the psycho-physical cause is never isolated. Behavior, whether of a saint or a sinner, of an imbecile or a savant, is invariably modified by the conditions that surround the actor, if it is not wholly occasioned by external stimulation. What we shall do, and for that matter what we shall become, is the resultant of two forces: our disposition or our psycho-physical nature on the one hand, and on the other hand the stimulations that we receive from our friends and our enemies, our books and playthings, the houses in which we live, the streets in which we walk,
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the work of our hands, etc., etc. Were it not so we should dispense with our schools.

In the faith that the environmental factor does contribute to behavior or actually determine its character; that the behavior of the delinquent and the upright alike is a reaction of an individual with given disposition and capacities, stable or unstable, normal or distorted as they may be, to the stimulations afforded by the surroundings in the midst of which he lives; in this faith we set about to arrange the surroundings or the environment of our wards to the best of our ability—to control the stimulations, in other words, so as to get the kind of behavior that we approve, and in getting that behavior, ultimately to develop the dispositions in those with whom we deal that will guarantee approved behavior in future. This is what we are doing when we improve our school buildings, devise school curricula, assign tasks, etc., to our children; we are arranging the external or environmental conditions of behavior so as to get certain desired responses, e.g., familiarity with numbers and facility in handling them, habitual co-operation with others, etc., etc. We are doing all this in our schools, to repeat, in the expectation that we may develop habits or dispositions that will guarantee future behavior. Happy are we if our educational experts can tell us in particular instances what are the dispositions and capacities upon which we may begin our building.

It is precisely the same problem in which the student of criminology is involved. The question is not only as to the present psycho-physical nature of the delinquent. This, it is true, may be a burden transmitted to him from a tainted ancestry. If not so the question is as to the environmental stimulations that have played their part in occasioning the behavior of the delinquent and ultimately, it may be, the delinquent disposition.

Furthermore, when we are confronted by thousands of criminals of all ages the very critical question arises as to how we can so arrange the external conditions into which we place these people as to secure the utmost human salvage possible through a modification of their dispositions and their behavior consequently. This is a question of social protection as well as of reformation, and it is not essentially altered in the face of that host of delinquents who are undoubtedly unredeemable.

The above considerations are reflected in the following report in the second division entitled, Adult Probation and later in the third division in the section on the employment of juvenile delinquents, in which we are interested in the development of an educational system and a plan for vocational guidance that will minimize the chances of the youth's entering upon a career of truancy, juvenile delinquency and crime. In that section, too, our thought is directed toward surrounding the youthful delinquent with such an environment of occupations and practical schools as will give material assistance in the development of dispositions toward the behavior that society approves.

To some it will appear that in what follows we are perniciously confusing juvenile delinquency, which is not crime with adult delinquency which is crime. Such a criticism is likely to arise from those who are troubled, even though unwittingly, with the ancient and speculative problem of individual responsibility. It is just as in the broad sense of the word that we are justified in assuming an attitude toward youths that is different from that assumed towards adults. We have no more necessarily to do with responsibility here than has the teacher in the school room. In dealing with pupils in school or children at home we administer praise or blame or punishment, corporal or otherwise, such as experience suggests may produce desirable reactions, and desirable dispositions finally, on the part of individuals whose psycho-physical natures are more or less well known to begin with. Such is (or will be) our attitude toward delinquents, old or young. This justifies the discussion of juvenile delinquency in our report.

Furthermore the development of a full blown criminal is like the development of a professional man. He grows out of the youth. If it is our design to develop a strong lawyer we control the environment of a youth who has been selected for the purpose. If we would prevent the development of other professional men and women called criminals we will look again to the control of the surroundings of our plastic youths—and we cannot know too much about their psycho-physical nature. The proper study of criminology is our youth in their reactions to their environment throughout a period of development. In this sense it is precisely analogous to our study of the lawyer or
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any other professional or business man. Every complex is best studied from its beginnings and throughout its developmental period.

The report does not refer specifically to the problem of alcoholism in relation to crime. No search for such a relationship was made. From the work that we have done, however, one or the other of two inferences may be drawn: that habitual indulgence in alcohol will load an organism with poisons, disorganize the system, produce mental weakness, and so render one unreliable in one's responses to environmental stimuli; or that such mental weakness and lack of resistance as are directly the cause of crime express themselves also in alcoholic indulgence. For that matter both these inferences may be drawn. Alcoholism undoubtedly is both effect and cause of some weaknesses that are directly the cause of crime. Studies of the problem that show the relatively high degree of alcoholism among criminals really go no further than is indicated here, excepting to show that alcohol, even when it is not taken in such quantity or so persistently as to produce degeneration, causes crime by breaking down normal inhibitions and arousing passion consequently.

The number of annual convictions in Germany could be reduced one-fifth by killing the abuse of alcohol. (Aschaffenburg, Crime and its Repression, p. 228.)

On the basis of all the information that is available at present relating to the causal relation of crime and venereal or other infections we can make no statement different from that above concerning alcoholism. These inferences are both effect and cause of some of the weaknesses that are directly responsible for criminal behavior.

The economic question invites investigation also. One is tempted often to believe that if the economic strain could be lightened crime would be sensibly diminished. No doubt there are hundreds of cases in which an unusually adverse economic situation has stimulated men and women and children to the performance of acts of delinquency. Breckenridge and Abbott in "The Delinquent Child and the Home" showed a striking parallelism between poverty and juvenile delinquency. If both father and mother must work away from home all day in order to buy food, the opportunities for truancy among the children, and consequently for the development of irresponsible and reckless dispositions, multiply.

It is a fair question whether the relief from economic strain, such as is effected by the system of Mother's Pensions, will correct juvenile delinquency in the homes that profit by the pension. An unequivocal answer to this question would bear upon the causation of delinquency and consequently of crime. Whatever correction of this sort may be found, of course, could not be attributed without question to economic relief. It might be due as well to the friendly supervision of the officer which is always available with the relief.

We made a preliminary attempt at this problem. For our purpose we selected 100 families from the pension list, families that were especially low on the economic scale, and compared them with an equal group from the non-pensioned County Agent's list from the point of view of the prevalence of delinquency. The County Agent's families selected were technically eligible to the pension. But we could not find in the pension list a sufficient number of families in which delinquency had appeared to make a comparison fruitful. We were unable to follow up the families from the County Agent's records, and in a few cases the delinquents on the pensioned list attained the age of 14 and automatically passed out from the influence of the Pension Department so soon after the family was admitted to its benefit that, whatever the development of the youth, it could hardly be laid to the credit or to the discredit of the Pension system. We are not, therefore, in a position to offer a report on this question. We believe, however, that the method of investigation that we have followed in this preliminary inquiry is one that promises to supply reliable scientific data if only a thousand or more families can be brought under observation and kept under observation for a prolonged period.

This brings us to a consideration of the economic situation as a cause of the crimes of adults. On this point we have made no investigation whatever. Our statistics of unemployment, of wages and the cost of living, not to speak of our criminal statistics, are in such an undeveloped state that one is in the realm of opinion only when one expresses a decision in the matter without prolonged and exhaustive investigation of our conditions here at home. If we are justified in saying, as we have said in the earlier part of this introduction, that infections, etc., that reduce the adaptability of an organism favor the
yielding to opportunities and the committing of crimes, then we are undoubtedly justified in saying that lack of sufficient food will have a similar effect, and that consequently unemployment or low wages and high costs, making it impossible to procure food and other necessaries of life, are causes of a certain weakness that is itself directly a cause of crime. Similarly we could go further, and with good logic to say that even after the very necessaries of life are provided economic pressure may be made, by our desire for luxuries, too intense for us to bear, until the breaking point is reached and crimes, therefore, committed. Such discussion as this, however, does not allay one's scientific craving. For satisfaction we turn to European literature where we find how involved the question really is, and even that authorities are contradictory.

We find Garofalo, for example (Criminology, Criminal Science Series, Boston, 1914, p. 165) saying, "the economic condition of the proletariat . . . is entirely without influence upon criminality, as a whole; its influence is exerted only upon certain special forms which constitute the specific criminality of the lower classes. . . . Extreme indigence ordinarily results in mendicancy, sometimes in vagabondage; the only crimes for which it is clearly accountable are such trivial offenses as the stealing of firewood, articles of food and other articles of insignificant value." But economic status, does not end with those who receive low wages. Garofalo says further: "There is nothing to show that the disproportion between desires and the means of satisfying them is any greater in any one class than in another." (P. 148.) Hugo Stinnes, who discusses the economic status of the people in relation to criminality in Austria, says that such atavistic forms of criminality as deeds of violence, theft and robbery are directly dependent on the prices of food. Those offenses, however, that are better adapted to modern conditions, in which falsehood and deceit, instead of violence, are employed, have left this primitive dependence on the price of food behind them, and seek their opportunity in the complex life of the modern business world. (Monatsch. f. Kriminal Psychol, II, 292. See Aschaffenburg, Crime and Its Repression, Criminal Science Series, 1913; p. 117.) The decrease in theft and the increase in fraud and embezzlement that go along with increasing freedom from the economic pressure in the struggle for the necessaries of life, balance each other. This suggests certain data that is presented by Aschaffenburg relating to Juvenile Offenders in Germany (ibid., p. 149). Since 1892, German youths have been increasingly active in remunerative occupations. But notwithstanding their steadily improving economic condition, juvenile offenses during the period have alarmingly increased; assault and battery by 123 per cent; breach of the peace by 128.6 per cent; fraud and embezzlement by 40 per cent; theft by but 8 per cent. Only the statistics relating to thieving by juveniles deny the general increase of juvenile offenses in the face of their improving economic conditions. It seems that if youth are given the means of "enjoying life" they lose their blameless reputation. Their felt needs grow with prosperity more rapidly than their inhibitions, and the dancing hall, the picture show and the saloon too soon become habits of life. "More important," says Aschaffenburg, in speaking of the general situation (p. 114) "than absolute need is the inability to adapt one's self to changed conditions. Whoever is accustomed to spend a good deal on amusement cannot easily give up doing so when times are hard. The more a man earns, the greater are his demands," etc.

This all seems to me to throw us back for reliance upon the training and education of the home, the school, the church and other educational agencies. These in the long run must control crime, by means of developing adaptable, self-controllable individuals and equipping them with the work habit.

It follows from all of this that the improvement of the economic status of the home in which there are growing children will afford a better opportunity than otherwise exists for these educational agencies to perform their normal function, always assuming that the heads of the family are capable of using the advice wisely in the interest of the children. This, in respect to the preceding subject, is precisely what our system of mother's pensions seeks to guarantee. With every grant of a pension there goes the certainty of supervision by a probation officer who attends to it that a family budget is properly prepared and followed, and that the children are made primarily the beneficiaries through the increase of their educational opportunities. It follows, too, that the improvement of the economic status of adults will favor-
ably affect their own behavior at once only if their native and acquired dispositions are favorable to begin with.

Our conclusion on this point is that economic conditions may and should be made to afford opportunities for the development of dispositions that can withstand the strain of living; that to improve the economic condition in advance of the disposition—which includes the capacities, judgment, motives, ideals, etc.—of an individual is not a measure for social protection; that the improvement of the economic condition of the home, by any system, in behalf of the children is a measure for social protection against the development of criminals, provided the system provides careful supervision of the way in which the economic advantage is employed.

Finally, attention must be drawn to means for protecting the offender against the unscrupulous who pose as his defender, but who in their greed exploit the offender, make him resentful, deprive him of confidence in men, take away his courage and make him in future ten times the menace he has been before. On this point we present a section on The Defense of Poor Persons Accused of Crime in Chicago. We acknowledge indebtedness to Harry K. Herwitz for the data and composition of this portion of the report.

This report on the Causes of Crime in Chicago covers at best but a beginning of investigations in a very few subjects. The field is so large and complex that a few months is as nothing compared to the time that is required for a thorough study of a limited area. We have attempted to make the work, as far as possible, a study of individual cases. This is necessarily a slow and tedious procedure.

We present our results as follows:

FIRST.—Investigations among prisoners confined in the House of Correction. (a) Mental and physical examination of 61 female prisoners in the House of Correction; (b) An investigation of insane prisoners in the House of Correction.

SECOND.—A study of adult probation.

THIRD.—Some studies of juvenile delinquents in Chicago. (a) Mental and physical examination of 63 boys in the John Worthy School; (b) effectiveness of Juvenile Court procedure considered in relation to certain groups of offenders; (c) study of Cook County boys now in St. Charles Reformatory; (d) delinquent boys in employment.

FOURTH.—Defense of poor persons accused of crime in Chicago.

FIFTH.—General summary of conclusions and recommendations in above investigations.
INVESTIGATIONS AMONG PRISONERS CONFINED IN THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION

Every considerable group of prisoners that has been the subject of investigation includes many who, by reason of either mental or physical deficiency or both, are unable to adjust themselves to the conditions of normal life, once they are released from prison. This is the conclusion of students of criminology in all parts of the world who have given time to this problem. Wherever such persons are found, therefore, in our prison population, we are likely to find a large degree of recidivism, provided they are committed to prison for a short term on account of the minor offenses of which so many of them are guilty, and released again indiscriminately at the expiration of their term. If this is the case, it is probable that our prisons, as far as they affect certain classes of prisoners at any rate, prevent crime only while these prisoners are in confinement. It is appropriate then to inquire what is the mental and physical condition of certain classes in the Chicago House of Correction.

We report in Section A on the condition of 61 women prisoners who are addicted to the drug habit in one or another form. Our means for identification of offenders in Chicago are so unsatisfactory that it is not possible to say to what extent these people are recidivists. Putting together, however, what records are available with the prisoners' statements, it is safe to say that considerably more than half of the cases have been arrested heretofore and committed several times here or elsewhere.

The medical examination consisted in an investigation of the condition of the sense organs, vital organs and reflexes as indicative of the condition of the nervous system. What other examinations were made including the Wasserman test, are indicated in the analysis below. The mental status was determined by the Binet test. The physical and mental examinations were made by Dr. H. C. Stevens of the University of Chicago.

A

A MENTAL AND PHYSICAL EXAMINATION OF 61 FEMALE PRISONERS IN THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION

The statistics of recidivism suggest an inquiry into the mental and physical condition of adult prisoners who have been convicted more than once. Such investigations conducted elsewhere show that persons who have been convicted several times are, on the whole, of such a nature that they cannot be expected to respond normally to their environment. Persons who have been convicted more than three times in Prussia, e.g., are regarded as not capable of being rehabilitated. Dr. Paul Bower's study of the diagnosis of 100 recidivists in the Michigan City, Indiana, prison, who had been committed four or more times, reveals a condition that leaves no hope for improvement.

If these statements truly represent the case it is probable that our prisons prevent crime—in the case of many people—only while the prisoners are confined. This thought, or question rather, prompts the investigation that is reported below.

The general outcome of this study, which is only as yet a preliminary investigation, shows:

1. That the mentality of the female prisoners is of the moron class.
2. That there are evidences of serious disturbances of the nervous system in at least 50 per cent of the cases. The disturbance of the nervous system are such that prolonged treatment will be necessary to cure them.

The detailed report which follows includes the results of the investigation of:

1. Mental age of 126 female prisoners, as determined by the Binet test.
2. Neurological examination of 61 female prisoners.
3. The Wassermann test on the blood serum of 11, and the Wassermann test on the spinal fluid of 9 female prisoners.
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4. Venereal infection in 45 female prisoners.
5. Gynecological examination of 17 female prisoners.

BINET TEST.
The mental age of 126 female prisoners was determined by means of the Binet Test. The co-operation of the prisoners with the examiner was good. In only two instances was there any refusal on the part of the prisoner to answer the question. These two instances are not included in the report. There is no pretense that the result of this test is the last word relating to the psychological status of these adult women. It is entirely probable, however, that our data on this point is not far from correct. The results of this test are shown in the following summary:

SUMMARY.

| Number ranking between 5 and 6 years | 1 |
| Number ranking between 6 and 7 years | 1 |
| Number ranking between 7 and 8 years | 8 |
| Number ranking between 8 and 9 years | 8 |
| Number ranking between 9 and 10 years | 32 |
| Number ranking between 10 and 11 years | 29 |
| Number ranking between 11 and 12 years | 36 |
| Number ranking between 12 and 13 years | 12 |
| Number ranking between 13 and 14 years | 2 |
| Refused to answer | 2 |
| **Total** | **138** |

It will be seen from this summary that 86 per cent of these women fall between 9 and 13 years of mental age. Probably some correction in favor of the women should be made on account of illiteracy, due to the lack of opportunity. There can be no doubt, however, that the result of the test is in general a fair indication of the mentality of the prisoners.

NERVOUS SYSTEM.
The condition of the nervous system was evidenced by changes in the reflexes, sensation and muscular power. Sixty-one women were examined with reference to these three points. These 61 cases have been grouped according to offenses for which the prisoner was committed. The classification is as follows:

| Drug Addiction | 13 |
| Alcoholism | 20 |
| Disorderly Conduct, Vagrancy and Soliciting | 25 |
| Larceny | 2 |
| **Total** | **61** |

The incidence of nervous systems is shown in per cent in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Symptoms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drug Addiction</td>
<td>Nervous Per Cent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholism</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disorderly Conduct, Vagrancy and Soliciting</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the number of cases is not sufficient to justify general conclusions, it is significant that 50 per cent of these women show nervous symptoms of a marked sort.

WASSERMANN TEST.
The blood serum was taken for examination for the Wassermann test in 11 cases. Nine of the 11, or 82 per cent, gave a positive reaction. Four of these cases have been diagnosed as syphilitic. The result of the Wassermann reaction was never contradictory to the clinical diagnosis. In 9 cases the spinal fluid was taken for examination for the presence of syphilis. In one case only was the Wassermann reaction positive. This case is undoubtedly an early case of cerebro spinal syphilis.

VENEREAL INFECTION.
The results given in this portion of the report were derived from the records of the Women's Hospital in the House of Correction. An examination for the presence of venereal disease is made only in those cases in which the patient complains of trouble. The results are as follows:
Gonorrheal infection alone.............................. 24
Syphilitic infection alone.............................. 9
Gonorrhea and Syphilis Chancroid...................... 11
Chancroid .............................................. 1

Total ............................................... 45

The distribution of venereal infection, according to the offenses for which the patient was committed, is shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offense</th>
<th>Venereal Infection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drug Addiction</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholism</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disorderly Conduct, Vagrancy and Soliciting</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RECOMMENDATION.

Such prisoners as these, because they, in all probability have not the mental and physical stamina to bear up under unfavorable conditions, and to adjust themselves to normal society, should be segregated on farm colonies or in hospitals until cured. The medical staffs of our penal institutions should be empowered to commit such patients to appropriate institutions. (See conclusion to Sec. B following and Sec. A, Part III.)

B

AN INVESTIGATION OF INSANE PRISONERS IN THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION

We present herein data showing the number of insane of all types who have been discovered by the hospital staff in the House of Correction between January 1, 1914, and August 20, 1914. The total number is 132. Of these, 56 were in such condition that by the usual process of law, namely, by the jury that acts on such cases, it was possible to send them immediately to one or another of the state institutions for the insane.

I. SHOWING THE MENTAL CASES EXAMINED IN HOUSE OF CORRECTION FROM JAN. 1, 1914, TO AUG. 20, 1914, AND SENT THERE TO DETENTION HOSPITAL FOR COMMITMENT TO INSTITUTIONS FOR INSANE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diagnosis</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Paresis</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dementia Precox</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paranoia</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholic Hallucinosis</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Cases</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total ........................................ 56

II. SHOWING THE MENTAL CASES EXAMINED IN THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION FROM JAN. 1, 1914, TO AUG. 20, 1914, AND KEPT THERE TO SERVE OUT THEIR SENTENCES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diagnosis</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>of Term.</th>
<th>Range.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Paresis</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>108 days</td>
<td>33 days to 213 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dementia</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>106 days</td>
<td>33 days to 213 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paranoia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>122 days</td>
<td>63 days to 180 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imbeciles</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>59 days</td>
<td>10 days to 6 mo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcoholicics</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>163 days</td>
<td>23 days to 1 year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Cases</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>210 days</td>
<td>53 days to 1 year</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total .................. 76

The remainder of this group, 76 in all, are positively determined to be suffering from mental diseases. They are victims of paranoia, of general paresis, and of practically every other form of insanity in the catalogue. They are not, however, in such condition that it is possible to have them committed by a jury of laymen to an institution for the insane. They are a part of the great army of borderland cases whose mental alienation is not readily apparent to a layman. When they shall have served the term in the House of Correction for which they were committed, the duration of which varies from a month to a year, or more than a year in some cases in which a heavy fine
has been assessed in addition to the House of Correction sentence, they will once more be free men in the streets. Experience both in this city and elsewhere indicates that there is a strong probability that these offenders will be repeated transgressors against the law. They will probably return again and again to such institutions as the House of Correction or the state penitentiary, a constant burden upon taxpayers of the city or the state, and a source of danger as well to law abiding members of the community.

It must be borne in mind that the patients referred to above are by no means all of such cases that could be found by definite diagnosis in the House of Correction. That total of 132 diagnoses are only those that were made for one reason or another by the hospital staff. In many cases, the friends of the prisoners requested the examination. In a few cases the diagnosis was made at the request of the prisoner himself. The remainder of the examinations were conducted on the initiative of the hospital staff, or on the suggestion of guards or other prison officials, who observed some striking peculiarities in the prisoners. The only way to determine the full number of mentally deranged cases in the House of Correction is to make a careful, painstaking diagnosis of the 2,000-odd inmates of the institution. That is a task so exacting as to be beyond the ability of the staff, confronted as it is with a vast amount of professional work that requires, day by day, immediate attention. Indeed, it would hardly add to the force of this section of our report to show the full number of prisoners in this institution who are of the types designated. It is sufficient to know that there is a considerable number of these cases, and furthermore, that they are a source of recurring offenses and consequent prosecution and imprisonment. That this is a correct statement of the case is sufficiently indicated by the following brief descriptions of typical cases:

CASE 1. Has been in and out of the House of Correction during a period of at least 14 years. Cherishes the delusion that she is the rightful owner of a great estate that is being withheld from her. Paranoiac. She is usually committed for a term of a few months on charges of disorderly conduct. When she has served her term she is able to live within the law for but a few months at most, when she is returned as a prisoner charged with a new violation. The beautiful symbolic embroidery that she produces impresses the uninitiated as evidence of a high degree of intelligence and artistic skill. She is one of the great army whose repeated minor offenses retard the courts, add to our sense of social insecurity and to the financial burdens of the municipality.

CASE 2. This patient was last arrested on a charge of soliciting. She has been positively diagnosed as a victim of General Paresis. She was sent to the Detention Hospital, where the jury refused to commit her to an institution for the insane. After a few months she had served her term and was out again in the street. She will never be fit to be at large.

CASE 3. This patient has been arrested 15 times in Syracuse, N. Y., four times in Chicago, and several times in other cities. There are definite indications of General Paresis in her case. She is, furthermore, alcoholic. Her erratic condition indicates that there is no possibility of her ever being able to adjust herself to normal life.

CASE 4. This woman led a decent life until four years ago, when she suffered an injury to her skull, and thereafter, as is often the case, developed alcoholism. For four years she has been in and out of the institution. It is a case of mental aberration following head injury. She will surely continue as a repeatedly disorderly person.

These are not extreme cases. They are typical of a great number, any one of which could be appropriately selected in this connection. Dr. Sydney Kuh, the alienist on the staff of the House of Correction, is authority for the statement that each week as many as 25 such characters as the above are committed to the House of Correction. Only those who are especially noticeable or disturbing elements in the institution are brought to the attention of the medical staff. Undoubtedly the majority of those other extreme cases of recidivism, the statistical consideration of which enters into Miss Abbott's report to your committee, are sufferers from one or another type of mental aberration. We are wasting our human and financial resources by handling the problem they present as we are doing today. What is to be done?
RECOMMENDATIONS.

In the Illinois Revised Statutes, 1913, Ch. 85, Sec. 12, relating to the transfer of certain prisoners in the State Penitentiary to the asylum for insane criminals, we have the following language:

"Insane convicts in the State Penitentiary may be committed to the asylum for insane criminals, without formal inquest, on the certificate of the penitentiary physician."

It would seem that a simple amendment to this law would make it applicable to such institutions as the Chicago House of Correction as well so that prisoners in such institutions who suffer from mental disease might, without appeal to a jury, be sent to an institution for the insane, to be kept there until cured. In our judgment this should be done. Protection against the unjustified use of such power in the hands of a prison physician or medical staff can be secured by requiring that penal institutions to which the law is to apply should maintain a certain standard of fitness in its psychopathic or medical department.

There is sufficient precedent for such a procedure as that recommended here. In the Revised Statutes of Connecticut, 1902, Sec. 2782, we have language to this effect: That when the jailer of any common jail believes that a prisoner has become insane he may report to the Governor of the state, whose duty it then becomes to appoint a commission of three experts to examine the prisoner. On their report, if affirmative, the jailer is authorized to commit the prisoner to the state hospital for the insane. California provides a procedure to the same end, which, at any rate, to a large extent, avoids the necessity of taking cases before a lay jury.

Furthermore, the difficulty of getting a lay jury to commit to an insane asylum many of our most troublesome borderland cases could be obviated in a very large measure by the appointment of a commission on insanity to sit at the House of Correction, subject to whose findings alone a patient could be sent to an appropriate institution or held at the House of Correction. This commission could not handle the case that demands a jury hearing. Neither could the prison physician or medical staff. Such a one must go to the jury according to the present practice, but undoubtedly hundreds would not demand such a hearing, and we would therefore find substantial relief.

If some such procedure as the above were adopted, and if our penal institutions were equipped with adequate medical staffs, it would be possible to stop up a large source of supply of our criminal population.

In an ideal system those offenders who were suffering from mental alienation at the time of trial would be detected in the court and committed directly to an institution in which they could receive proper attention and remain until cured. This requires the equipment of the courts with facilities for making psycho-physical examinations, and the equipment, as well, of a detention hospital in which those offenders who are suspected of being victims of insanity may be kept for as long a period as may be necessary to satisfy the psychopathologist in attendance of his real condition.

The first requirement for relief in our city, to conclude, is such an amendment to our state law as would enable our medical staff, in default of an appeal for a jury hearing, to commit an insane prisoner to an institution for the insane. If such a provision should become effective, however, it would be necessary for the state immediately to enlarge her facilities for caring for patients of this character.

The farm colony plan has been found useful in handling the class of cases described herein, and we recommend that the plan be adopted here. (See the preceding Section and especially the third division of this report.)