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THE ADOLESCENT CRIMINAL

A MEDICO-SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY
OF 4,000 MALE ADOLESCENTS

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“ Let us then make it our concern to know what is knowable and to know it better and, on the basis of this knowledge, to do what ought to be done and do it better.” JOHN A. RYLE, M.D.,
“ Of Life and Living.”

FOREWORD

THAT persons found guilty of criminal offences are, for the most part, ordinary folk, seldom showing abnormal characteristics, is one of the first things noted by everyone who is brought into contact with a considerable number of offenders. In a prison one prisoner differs from another as one clerk or one labourer differs from another, but between a hundred prisoners and a hundred persons chosen at random from the street outside the resemblances are more noticeable than the differences. In each group there will be found a similar mixture of good and bad qualities, strains of kindness and streaks of selfishness, companionable fellows and self-centred people, masterful personalities and weaker characters, a few who are specially intelligent and a few who are noticeably dull. In each group there will be some accustomed to comfortable circumstances and many who are poor. Perhaps among the prisoners the proportion of noticeably egotistic and noticeably shiftless characters will be higher than in the other group, but otherwise the ordinary observer will find it hard to discover differences between the two groups.

- If, however, knowledge is to be acquired as to the causes of crime, as to the social and economic conditions which conduce to it, and as to the penal methods which are appropriate for checking it, efforts must be made to pierce through these superficial resemblances and to discover what attributes are characteristic of the law-breaking section of the community. This is a difficult task, because the conduct of each individual is the resultant of numerous combined factors. Social and economic conditions, educational influences, domestic circumstances, and methods of penal treatment have different effects on individuals of different temperaments and minds. To look for the dominant factors which are likely to have contributed substantially to the criminal conduct of an individual it is necessary to combine with a skilled examination of his mind and character much information as to his history and circumstances.

For both parts of this task competent workers are hard to find, but by good fortune the Prison Commissioners were able to use for a scheme of scientific research a team of workers whose original co-operation was designed for a purely practical purpose. Frequently when a youth is found guilty of a criminal offence, the court before deciding what course to take with him remands him to prison for a report, particularly as to

his suitability for Borstal treatment. In the preparation of such reports on youths remanded to prison in London the Prison Governor and Medical Officers receive much help from the women visitors, who establish friendly contact with the young offenders, gain insight into their minds and have developed a skilled technique in preparing summaries of their histories and characters. The existence of this corps of women workers, co-operating with the Prison Medical Officers, enabled the Prison Commissioners to contemplate a scientific investigation of the characters and histories of a large number of young offenders committed to their custody, and thanks are due to the public-spirited women whose help made such an investigation practicable.

For the general oversight and direction of an investigation planned on scientific lines it was equally fortunate that the help of Dr. East was available. One of the many public services rendered by Dr. East has been his inculcation by example and precept of the doctrine that the Prison Medical Officer should combine with his duties as an official his responsibility as a man of science to assist in developing the science of criminology. Dr. East brought to the task not only long practical experience as a Prison Medical Officer and Prison Commissioner but years of work in which he had unceasingly combined scientific studies and researches with his official duties.

As a former colleague with Dr. East in the Prison Service, where I learned to value highly his help and advice, I am glad to have this opportunity of putting on record the thanks of the Home Office to him for his ability and care in organising the enquiry and for his tireless labour in analysing and preparing for publication the mass of material which the enquiry produced

A MAXWELL.

HOME OFFICE,
LONDON:

PREFACE

THE study of crime involves many difficult problems, and the treatment of the criminal presents many perplexing dilemmas; moreover, although the amount of serious crime in the country affords no ground for pessimism, constant vigilance is required to keep it in check. Further, there is no justification for complacency, inasmuch as crime is evidence of the failure of the offender in his relation to society and punishment is an indication of failure on the part of the State in its relation to the individual offender.

Indeed, the amount of crime present in a community is some indication of its moral health, and its social health may be judged, to some extent, by the precautions taken to prevent crime and by the treatment allotted to the criminal.

If these premises are accepted the importance of considering crime and criminals with dispassionate detachment is emphasized.

The fatalistic doctrine which regards man as an elaborate piece of mechanism without the power of voluntary decision, clashes in practice with those fundamental factors of human endeavour which are expressed in the terms idealism, duty, faith, religion and the like. But the speculations of philosophers and metaphysicians must not hamper the criminologist in his search for practical guidance. In his effort to prevent and correct anti-social behaviour, by investigating the phenomena of criminality, the criminologist must take a broad view of life in all its aspects if his work is to clarify present problems, and provide opportunities for comparison with the results of workers in other departments of science.

In some of these departments exact knowledge regarding specific items may be lacking, and positive statements may be unwarranted. Modern psychiatry and psychology, for example, are still in their adolescence, but with the aid of biology and the social sciences they can sometimes assist in bringing about improvements which are overdue. Indeed modern developments in psychological medicine are increasing our knowledge and understanding of human behaviour and influencing our manner of approach towards bio-social problems.

The student of crime is rightly concerned with scientific theories and the light they may throw on the behaviour of the criminal whose

treatment must remain his primary consideration. Science is occupied with the causal explanation of phenomena, and social science is particularly interested in developments which further the practical application of remedial measures and the elimination of injurious effects. These measures are more likely to be successful if they are based upon incontrovertible facts, and statistical probability will be more reliable than mere opinion with its inevitable opportunities for error.

It might be thought that an investigation which considers some of the causes of adolescent crime should explore the influence of religion in the prevention of crime, and the absence of religion in encouraging it. This was not done in the present study. Whilst recognizing the fact that religious principles affect the conduct of life of many, regard was given to the fact that religious values cannot be tested or verified with exactness, neither has a truly scientific study of religion yet produced impressive results. For these reasons immorality is only briefly discussed, and in a strictly limited sense, in Chapter III; and attention is called in Chapter IX to the impossibility of measuring attitudes and reactions with a mathematical yard-stick.

It is the purpose of the scientist to explore and explain, it is the duty of the physician to comfort and cure. This study was undertaken in the spirit of the scientist-physician who sets out to examine with cold precision a limited number of facts and circumstances in order to apply to the common good such of his findings as are useful.

The investigation arose out of consultations between Mr Alexander Paterson and myself, and has been conducted under the auspices of the Home Office. It is the result of team-work. As stated in the introductory chapter, many women visitors took part, acting under the leadership of Mrs L. le Mesurier and Mrs N Hagedorn. The medical examinations were carried out by Drs. S. W. Davies, J. McL. Johnstone, J. J. Landers, J. C. McL. Matheson, F. E. Norris, W. F. Roper, G. Scott and F. H. Taylor, when serving as medical officers at Wormwood Scrubs Boys prison. Dr. H. T. P. Young, the senior medical officer, supervised the work at the prison, and Dr. Percy Stocks, medical statistician at the General Register Office, who was assisted in the earlier stages of the work by Miss L. Verling-Brown, tabulated and analysed the statistical data.

Having directed the investigation throughout I was asked to prepare the material for publication, and am deeply grateful to Drs. Stocks and Young for their untiring assistance in this undertaking. I should add that they are in general agreement with the opinions expressed in the text, but these do not necessarily represent official views.

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For the benefit of the non-technical reader I have omitted, as far as possible, the statistical material from the discussions and summaries of the chapters, but some general observations are included in the statistical sections.

My obligations to various writers are indicated in the text. I am greatly indebted to my friend Dr. Alfred E. Russell, Consulting Physician, St. Thomas's Hospital, for help with the proof reading. Thanks are again due to Mr. J. Rivers for his valuable help at all times during the progress of the book through the press, and to the Publishers for their co-operation and advice.

W. NORWOOD EAST.

CROWTHORNE.

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THE ADOLESCENT CRIMINAL

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I. The History of the Enquiry

THE scientific study of the criminal has become increasingly important during the present century, and social science has combined with the practice of medicine in a sustained effort to clarify some of the legal, administrative and other problems which arise as a result of criminal conduct. Forensic psychiatry and the study of personality abnormalities have gained much during this period from the modern interest in the individual offender and in the treatment of crime.

Some of the research work on crime and criminals carried out by Prison Medical Officers in this country has been published in the medical journals from time to time, and has generally been the result of individual study. In June, 1902, however, the Prison Commissioners inaugurated an anthropometrical investigation in the convict prisons, and thereafter statistical data were collected simultaneously by some of the medical officers attached to those establishments. The late Dr. Charles Goring of Parkhurst Convict Prison was entrusted with the analysis of the results of this teamwork and tabulated the material at University College, London, with the assistance and under the direction of the late Professor Karl Pearson. The work was published in book form in 1913 under the title of "The English Convict."

• In the year 1922 the reception class for lads who had been sentenced to detention in a Borstal institution was transferred from the Borstal institution at Feltham to the detached prison at Wandsworth, and a prison medical officer, Dr. J. J. Landers, was appointed Governor. In this detached prison, which came to be known as the Boys prison, were assembled the lads who had been sentenced to Borstal detention, together with those from the London area and surrounding districts who received very short sentences of imprisonment, and those who were on remand or awaiting trial. A number of capable women visitors were attached to the establishment; they had personal interviews with the lads and visited their homes in order to ascertain further details concerning their previous careers, parentage and home surroundings. The informa-

INTRODUCTION

tion obtained, and the results of a series of medical examinations, were considered at several meetings held by Mr. Alec Paterson and myself with the official and unofficial workers concerned. Methods of investigation, details to be ascertained and the records to be kept were discussed and determined with some precision.

In the early discussions with Mr. Paterson and myself, Doctors A. C. Pearson, J. J. Landers and W. F. Roper made valuable suggestions, as did Mrs. L. Le Mesurier, the leader of the women visitors. The object in view was to maintain a scientific study of these young offenders and, if possible, to determine from the results of the investigations the most important causes of their anti-social behaviour and the best methods for their treatment.

As the work progressed it was found that the medical officers were hardly able to cope with it, and that the lads were being detained rather too long at the Boys prison before being transferred to the several Borstal institutions. The delay was largely due to the time occupied in carrying out individual intelligence tests. Some experimental work was therefore carried out at Brixton prison in group testing which proved satisfactory. Thereafter the Columbian Group Tests of Professor Ballard were introduced at the Boys prison and only those lads who scored insufficiently in the group test, or whose level of intelligence did not appear to be justly represented by the test, were subjected to an individual intelligence test.

In the year 1928, Doctors Landers and Roper, who were engaged in the work at that time, suggested an amended scheme of investigation which was introduced after consideration by Mr. Paterson and myself. In the year 1929, the Boys prison was transferred from Wandsworth to Wormwood Scrubs for reasons of administrative convenience. The investigation continued, and in the year 1930 a further revision of the scheme of investigation was made in which we were assisted by Dr. H. T. P. Young, the senior medical officer of Wormwood Scrubs prison, and Doctors Landers and Roper.

I have directed the investigation throughout and Dr. Young has been connected with it since 1930, but as time passed the personnel of the medical officers engaged in the enquiry necessarily changed. Their names will be found in the Preface. The women visitors also changed from time to time, and in 1932 Mrs. L. Le Mesurier retired after many years work as leader, and was succeeded by Mrs. N. Hagedorn. The many ladies who gave their services voluntarily to this onerous and continuous task maintained a high standard of efficiency throughout and made the investigation possible.

In the amended scheme of 1930, it was decided to restrict the investigation to lads in the London and surrounding area whose homes had been visited. This was adhered to. Slight alterations in the forms used at this time were made, in order to facilitate the rapid entry of the data thereon. Towards the end of the year 1934, a statistical card was designed to which the data from the investigation form could be transferred and summarised, and in July, 1936, Miss E. Verling-Brown, B.Sc., was attached to the staff at Wormwood Scrubs prison as assistant statistician to Dr. Percy Stocks of the General Register Office, Somerset House, who undertook the investigation of the statistical material.

In the autumn of the year 1936, it was thought that the final scheme was sufficiently advanced to enable a preliminary test to be made by Dr. Stocks. This was carried out on 500 cases, and as a result it was decided to proceed with the analysis of 4,000 cases. It was thought that this number was large enough to give reliable results, and it was agreed that to collect further material would unduly delay the final analysis.

II. The Objects of the Enquiry

The objects of this somewhat ambitious enquiry were four. Three were immediate in purpose: it was desired, first, to obtain the fullest information which would enable ample consideration to be given to each case before recommending the lad to the Court of Trial as a suitable subject, on general grounds, for detention in a Borstal institution; second, to ascertain the presence of any mental defectiveness or other mental abnormality which should be reported to the court; third, to utilise the medical data and other factors in the life histories of the lads to assist in the classification of the various types of offenders and to ensure their transfer to the appropriate Borstal institutions. At the same time, this reduced the risk of contamination to a minimum and facilitated the application of different methods of training to the different types of offenders. At one end of the scale is a Borstal institution which receives the lads who have most experience in criminality, at the other end is an institution which receives lads in the initial stages of crime. In one institution the older lads are collected, in another those who require special attention on account of some physical disability or personality abnormality. The importance of detailed information in connection with the above will be seen from the fact that during the years 1930 to 1937, when the 4,000 cases were collected, some 21,512 lads received into Wormwood Scrubs prison were examined as to their fitness for Borstal detention.

INTRODUCTION

The importance of the immediate problems connected with the adolescent offender may be gathered from the Criminal Statistics, which show that the number of youths between the ages of 16 and 21 years found guilty of indictable offences was 10,700 in 1930; 11,130 in 1931; 12,663 in 1932; 11,165 in 1933; 10,757 in 1934; 10,712 in 1935; 11,907 in 1936; and 12,988 in 1937. The number of receptions into Borstal institutions and prisons of lads under 21 years of age during the same period was :—

Year	Borstal Detention	Imprisonment	Total
1930	725	1,872	2,697
1931	873	1,883	2,756
1932	1,011	2,653	3,664
1933	854	2,253	3,107
1934	793	1,894	2,687
1935	686	1,608	2,294
1936	823 ⁽¹⁾	1,237	2,060
1937	1,063 ⁽²⁾	1,276	2,328

¹ Includes 47 males in the age group 21 to 23 years

² Includes 178 males in the age group 21 to 23 years

The fourth object of the investigation, with which we are here concerned, was, as already stated, to apply modern scientific methods to the elucidation of some of the causal factors which contribute to adolescent criminality.

III. The Method of the Enquiry

A lad was usually interviewed by the woman visitor the day after his reception into the Boys prison, after which she visited his home and interviewed his parents and, if necessary, had a further conversation with him. She then submitted a full report on her findings and the conclusions to be drawn therefrom. Her assessment of the personality of the lad, after having seen his relations and home surroundings, was most instructive. Her information was for official use only and was considered by the governor and medical officer when estimating the character and mental state of the lad.

A preliminary medical examination was made of the lad on the day he was received into the prison. The next day, or as soon after as possible, group tests were carried out, and a full medical examination was made and the physical and mental conditions of the lad were considered. If necessary, individual intelligence tests were made by the medical officer and further medical examinations were conducted if required for general or special reasons, and when desirable the lads were admitted to the prison hospital for continuous observation.

In the meantime enquiries of the parents, schoolmaster, employers probation and police officers were instituted. If the lad had been in prison previously his record was consulted. His parents were invited to state on a form whether they had ever thought there was anything wrong with their son's mind, and, if so, to give the reason; to set out, as far as possible, a record of his previous occupations, the wages earned, and the reason for leaving each situation; to state the manner in which his spare time was spent; and to give any other information which might be useful, such as his prospect of future employment or the names of persons who could give further details concerning him. It may be stated here that the parents usually co-operated in these matters to the best of their ability as soon as they understood that the information was required to assist in the future welfare of their son.

The schoolmaster was asked to supply information concerning the lad's scholastic attainments and to state whether he showed evidence of any special ability or defect of physique or intelligence which hindered his educational development. He was also invited to give an opinion on his character and industry and any information which might be useful in determining whether the lad was a suitable subject to be trained in a Borstal institution.

Employers were requested to state the nature of the employment in which the lad was engaged when serving with them, their views as to his character, whether they were prepared to offer him future employment, or were able to give other information likely to be useful when applied to his future. If he had served in the Army or other branch of H.M. Forces, details of his character and conduct were available for that period.

The probation officer—if the lad had been previously on probation—submitted a report on his former history including information concerning his home, school life and employment, his companions, habits and general interests; and whether further probation should be considered in preference to a period of detention in a Borstal institution.

The police forwarded reports including a summary of the lad's history, occupation and associates, and the record of any previous convictions and sentences.

The data from these various sources and different angles of approach, together with the results of the personal interviews, generally enabled a clear presentation of the offender's personality to be made. It is unnecessary to refer to these data in any detail here as they will become apparent in subsequent chapters.

The practice of medicine, for the most part, is engaged with end results, for patients do not usually seek advice until the disease process,

whatever it may be, is on the way to become firmly established. In this lies one of the difficulties of medical practice. Crime should not be regarded as a disease, or as the result of a disordered condition of body or mind, unless there are well-attested reasons for arriving at such a conclusion; but criminal conduct has this in common with disease—the sooner treatment is commenced, the more satisfactory is the result likely to be. Further, just as the treatment of disease is likely to be more precise if its causes are known and understood, so is it with the initial stages of criminality.

Experience shows that many factors which have no validity are occasionally alleged to be the cause of particular diseases; for example, at one time it was suggested that cancer was caused by eating tomatoes. Negative results, therefore, may occupy an important place in certain lines of research. They do so in the present investigation, and their value is beyond dispute.

The scientific study of the criminal is essentially clinical in character. In the Romanes Lecture for the year 1932, the late Lord Moynihan discussed *The Advance of Medicine* and the following passage in his address is significant in the present context.—

“The picture, that is to say, presented to the clinician is infinitely complex, made up of a number of factors, not only interrelated, but interacting. To recognise these factors, to appraise their value, to indicate their significance is not enough. Each individual factor must be separated from the result, its qualities studied by appropriately directed experiment, so that the law of nature attaching to it may be learnt while it is unaffected by the influences which other factors in the clinical picture exert upon it. We train the power of observation in our students; we neglect to teach the value of reason and relevant experiment. We teach the Hippocratic method; we neglect the Galenic. The method of Hippocrates implies the observation of phenomena, of symptoms and signs, in the apparently random conditions in which they present themselves, unaffected by any control exerted by the investigator. The Galenic or experimental method relies upon the observation of conditions after specific influence has been directed and consciously exerted upon them by the investigator. Control is the essence of the difference in the method. The Hippocratic method must study events in the casual and seemingly haphazard manner in which they present themselves in nature. In surveying a large field it attempts to recognize ‘groups of events of which the items are significantly related to each other,’ to discover similarities, uniformities or discordances; to make com-

parisons and establish classifications, through perception of common attributes ; to reason from these, and so to establish general laws. The Galenic method sets up its own inquiries, isolating the events to be investigated, reducing them in each individual example to the simplest terms in order to obtain an unequivocal reply when submitting them to the simplified, precise and narrow methods of the laboratory."

This investigation of the adolescent offender proceeded inevitably according to the Hippocratic method, for we were unable to control or experiment with the various facts that were collected. Our duty, here, is " to make comparisons and establish classifications, through perception of common attributes, to reason from these, and so to establish general laws," if possible.

It should be noted, however, that the Galenic, experimental, method of studying the offender may be well served by an investigation on Hippocratic lines if this introduces new suggestions for treatment, or adduces facts which go to show that the established experimental methods of dealing with crime are founded upon incorrect premises.

It must be at once admitted that the statistical method of approach to humanistic problems is unattractive to most people. Dr. Bradford Hill introduces his book on " Principles of Medical Statistics " with these words :—

• " Statistics are curious things. They afford one of the few examples in which the use, or abuse, of mathematical methods tends to induce a strong emotional reaction in non-mathematical minds. This is because statisticians apply, to problems in which they are interested, a technique which we do not understand. It is exasperating, when we have studied a problem by methods that we have spent laborious years in mastering, to find our conclusions questioned, and perhaps refuted, by someone who could not have made the observations himself. It requires more equanimity than most of us possess to acknowledge that the fault is in ourselves."

Nevertheless, although simple methods of examination may be sufficient to assess numerically the significance of some data, it must be remembered that in dealing with human affairs, it is seldom possible to restrict the observations to one factor, and it is generally accepted that more elaborate statistical methods are essential when the object of the enquiry is the accurate presentation of the effects of several causes which co-exist and are not homogeneous.

Charles Singer¹ has referred to the fact that " there is a common

¹ " A Short History of Medicine " (1928).

and rather foolish saying that statistics may be made to prove anything." He adds: "This is true, but it is true only in the sense that evidence may be made to prove anything. The matter turns on the questions, firstly whether the evidence is of a good or a bad order; and, secondly, whether the investigation is in a good or bad position to interpret the evidence."

It will become apparent in what follows that the statistical method alone can present the diverse material collected during the course of this enquiry.

We have no data from a non-criminal group which could be used in comparison with those set out in this investigation. Indeed, to compare this selected group, which is not necessarily representative of the "universe" of adolescent offenders in this country, with a non-criminal group might be fallacious unless a very large number of cases were examined. No one could say how many lads in a non-criminal control group had committed undetected crimes, or how many would commit crime in future. The data, however, enable a comparison to be made between the lads with previous convictions and those of the same ages with none.

IV. Summary

A statistical enquiry concerning male habitual criminals and habitual criminality was completed and published in the year 1913 under the title of "The English Convict." The present enquiry is concerned with the male adolescent offender at the beginning of his career and with the factors which contribute towards adolescent criminality. Four thousand lads were examined for this purpose during the years 1930 to 1937; they were taken from the London and surrounding areas in order that their homes could be visited and their relations interviewed. The lads, therefore, are a selected urban group, and some were received during a period of economic depression. They were not, however, selected in any other respects than those of age, the region in which they resided and the period of time covered by the investigation, and within these limits represented 4,000 consecutive cases received from the Courts. The enquiry was inaugurated to elucidate, if possible, some of the causal factors which contribute to adolescent criminality. It served also as a means to consider more fully the suitability of the lads for Borstal detention, to amplify the reports of the medical officers to the Courts, and to improve the classification and allocation of the lads to the appropriate institution if a sentence of Borstal detention was imposed on conviction. In addition to the medical examination and the personal interviews with

each lad by the governor of the Boys' prison and the woman visitor, and the visit of the latter to his home, information relating to the lad was forwarded by the police, and questionnaires were sent to parents or other relation or guardian, to the headmaster of the school the lad attended, to his employers and to the probation officers if he had been placed on probation at any time. Other enquiries were made as occasion arose, the object being to have as comprehensive a picture as possible of the lad's history and environment. A statistical investigation was the only scientific method available to correlate the various data thus collected. The importance of negative as well as of positive results was recognized.

CHAPTER II

THE GROUP INVESTIGATED

1/ The Age of Criminal Responsibility

BEFORE the group investigated in this study is considered, a brief reference to the age of criminal responsibility and to the detention of adolescent offenders in this country is necessary.

(In the tenth century, Athelstane¹ enacted that "men should slay none younger than a fifteen winters man," and provided that "if his kindred will not take him, nor be surety for him, then swear he as the bishop shall teach him, that he will shun all evil and let him be in bondage for his price. And if after that he steal, let men slay him or hang him, as they did his elders."

In the Middle Ages a desire to discriminate between the young offender and the adult criminal is manifest, for it is recorded in the Year Book of Edward I² that judgment for burglary was spared a boy of twelve years.

Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832)³ wrote concerning the proper age of legal responsibility: "Within what limits ought this ground of extenuation to be restricted. A limit sufficiently reasonable seems to be the epoch at which enough of mental maturity is presumed to release a person from pupilage, and to render him master of himself. Before that period he is not thought to have sufficient understanding to be entrusted with the management of his affairs.

"It is not intended that the ordinary punishment ought necessarily to be diminished in the case of every offence committed before the age of majority. That diminution ought to depend upon all the circumstances of the case. What is intended is, after that epoch is passed, punishment shall no longer be liable to diminution under the plea of childhood."

Until recent times no act done by a person under seven years of age was a crime in this country, and no act done by any person over seven and under fourteen was a crime unless it was shown affirmatively that such person had sufficient capacity to know that the act was wrong. It

¹ "Judicia Civitatis Londoniæ sub rege Æthelstano edita Cod Ross," f88.

² "Year Book," 32 Edw. I, rot. 13.

³ "The Theory of Legislation"

was held that under the age of seven years there could be no *mens rea*, that is to say, a guilty or culpable condition of mind. Between the ages of seven and fourteen years that presumption was no longer conclusive. The Children Act, 1908, without reference to the question of criminal responsibility, prescribed a clear distinction between offences committed by children, that is to say, persons under the age of fourteen, and young persons between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years. After the date of that Act no child under the age of fourteen years could be sent to prison, and young persons could only be sent on the Court giving a certificate that such a course was rendered necessary owing to the unruliness or depravity of the young person.

In the year 1927, the Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders reported that they considered the age of criminal responsibility could be safely placed at eight years. They also recommended that the age of prohibition should be raised from sixteen to seventeen years, and that the exceptional cases for which it might be necessary to provide imprisonment should be sent, as formerly, under a certificate given by the Court.

The Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, gave effect to these recommendations. Section 50 states :—" It shall be conclusively presumed that no child under the age of eight years can be guilty of any offence." In the Third Schedule of the Act the expression " child " is stated to mean a person who, in the opinion of the Court before whom he is brought, is under the age of fourteen years, and a " young person " is defined as a person who, in the opinion of the Court, is of the age of fourteen years and under the age of seventeen years.)

II. The Detention of Adolescent Offenders¹

Borstal institutions were established in the year 1908 by the Prevention of Crime Act, section 4, and followed experiments partly carried out in what was at that time Borstal prison, near Rochester, by the Prison Commissioners within the limits of the former penal code for separating youthful from adult offenders. The institutions are described in the Act as places in which young offenders, whilst detained, may be given such industrial training and other instruction, and be subjected to such disciplinary and moral influences as will conduce to their reformation and the prevention of crime. The age limits for detention in a Borstal institution at the present time are sixteen and twenty-three years. The upper age limit of twenty-three years applies only to persons convicted

¹ See also Chapter XI.

on indictment under section 1 of the Prevention of Crime Act, 1908, and sub-section (1) states: "Where a person is convicted on indictment of an offence for which he is liable to be sentenced to penal servitude or imprisonment and it appears to the Court (a) that the person is not less than sixteen nor more than twenty-one years of age; and (b) that, by reason of his criminal habits or tendencies, or association with persons of bad character, it is expedient that he should be subject to detention for such term and under such instruction and discipline as appears most conducive to his reformation and the repression of crime; it shall be lawful for the Court, in lieu of passing a sentence of penal servitude or imprisonment, to pass a sentence of detention under penal discipline in a Borstal institution for a term of not less than one year nor more than three years. Provided that, before passing such a sentence, the Court shall consider any report or representations which may be made to it by or on behalf of the Prison Commissioners as to the suitability of the case for treatment in a Borstal institution, and shall be satisfied that the character, state of health, and mental condition of the offender, and the other circumstances of the case, are such that the offender is likely to profit by such instruction and discipline as aforesaid" Sub-section (2) states: "The Secretary of State may by order direct that this section shall extend to persons apparently under such age not exceeding the age of twenty-three as may be specified in the order, and upon such an order being made this section shall, whilst the order is in force, have effect as if the specified age were substituted for 'twenty-one.' Provided that such an order shall not be made until a draft thereof has lain before each House of Parliament for not less than thirty days during the session of Parliament, and if either House, before the expiration of that period, presents an address to His Majesty against the draft or any part thereof, no further proceedings shall be taken thereon, but without prejudice to the making of any new draft order." (See also Borstal Extension of Age Order, 1936, S. R. and O., 1936, No. 839.)

For persons otherwise convicted and sentenced to Borstal detention the upper age limit is twenty-one years. A person cannot be sentenced to Borstal detention who has reached the upper age limit on or before Commission day.¹

There is no modified Borstal system, but prisoners under the age of twenty-one years serving a sentence of imprisonment for one month and over were formerly transferred to certain prison centres, where the ordinary prison régime could be modified to some extent. The sentences, however, were served under prison conditions, and a person within the

¹ *R. v Scoffin* (1930), 1 K. B. 741, Digest Supp.

limits of age in which a person may be ordered a sentence of Borstal detention, but who for any reason could not be sent to a Borstal institution, could not be given a longer sentence than was appropriate to the particular case in order that he might get the benefit of the modified Borstal system (so-called) as administered in prisons.¹

The Criminal Justice Act, 1914, section 10 (1) states: "Where a person is summarily convicted of any offence for which the court has power to impose a sentence of imprisonment for one month or upwards without the option of a fine, and (a) it appears to the court that the offender is not less than sixteen nor more than twenty-one years of age; and (b) it is proved that the offender has previously been convicted of any offence or, that having been previously discharged on probation, he failed to observe a condition of his recognisance; and (c) it appears to the court that by reason of the offender's criminal habits or tendencies, or association with persons of bad character, it is expedient that he should be subject to detention for such term and under such instruction and discipline as appears most conducive to his reformation and the repression of crime; it shall be lawful for the court, in lieu of passing sentence to commit the offender to prison until the next quarter sessions, and the court of quarter sessions shall inquire into the circumstances of the case, and, if it appears to the court that the offender is of such age as aforesaid and that for any such reason as aforesaid it is expedient that the offender should be subject to such detention as aforesaid, shall pass such sentence of detention in a Borstal institution as is authorised by Part II of the Prevention of Crime Act, 1908, as amended by this Act; otherwise the court shall deal with the case in any way in which the court of summary jurisdiction might have dealt with it."

Section 32 (2) of the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, states: "Where a person apparently under the age of seventeen years having been apprehended is not so released as aforesaid,² the officer of police shall cause him to be detained in a remand home until he can be brought before a court of summary jurisdiction, unless the officer certifies (a) that it is impracticable to do so; or (b) that he is of so unruly a character that he cannot safely be so detained; or (c) that by reason of his state of health or of his mental or bodily condition it is undesirable so to detain

¹ *R. v. Oxlade* (1919), 2 K B 628, c c a, 14 Digest 469, 5006, and *R. v. Lee* (1913), 30 T. L. R. 1, 14 Digest 481, 5248

² That is to say, as in Section 32 (1) which authorizes a superintendent or inspector of police or other police officer of equal or superior rank, or the officer in charge of a police station to which the offender is brought, to release him on recognizances for such an amount as will secure his attendance upon the hearing of the charge, except in cases of homicide, or other grave crime, or where it is necessary to remove him from the association of any reputed criminal or prostitute, or when it is considered that his release would defeat the ends of justice.

him, and the certificate shall be produced to the court before which he is brought."

Section 33 (1) of the same Act states: "Any court on remanding or committing for trial a child or young person who is not released on bail, shall, instead of committing him to prison, commit him to custody in a remand home named in the commitment, to be detained for the period for which he is remanded or until he is thence delivered in due course of law: provided that (a) in the case of a young person it shall not be obligatory on the court so to commit him if the court certifies that he is of so unruly a character that he cannot safely be so committed, or that he is of so depraved a character that he is not a fit person to be so detained; and that (b) nothing in this sub-section shall affect any power of a court of summary jurisdiction under section 10 of the Criminal Justice Administration Act, 1914, to commit a person who has attained the age of sixteen years to prison until the next assize or quarter sessions with a view to his being sentenced to detention in a Borstal institution."

Section 33 (2) states. "A commitment under this section may be varied, or, in the case of a young person who proves to be of so unruly a character that he cannot safely be detained in such custody, or to be of so depraved a character that he is not a fit person to be so detained, revoked, by the court which made the order, or if application cannot conveniently be made to that court, by a court of summary jurisdiction having jurisdiction in the place where the court which made the order sat, and if it is revoked the young person may be committed to prison."

Section 52 (3) states: "A young person should not be ordered to be imprisoned for an offence, or be committed to prison in default of payment of a fine, damages, or costs, unless the court certifies that he is of so unruly a character that he cannot be detained in a remand home or that he be of so depraved a character that he is not a fit person to be so detained." . . .

The foregoing refer to the methods of detention available for the adolescent offenders at the time of this enquiry.

The Criminal Justice Bill, 1938, had as one of its main objects "the abolition of imprisonment as a method of treatment for young offenders convicted of such offences as are dealt with by courts of summary jurisdiction, and to substitute alternative methods."¹ Remand centres were recommended to which persons between seventeen and twenty-three years, or persons between fourteen and seventeen years who were certified by the court to be of so unruly or depraved a character that they cannot be detained in a remand home, were to be sent, remanded or committed

¹ See Explanatory and Financial Memorandum, Criminal Justice Bill.

for trial in custody, instead of to a prison, not only for the purpose of custody but for making medical and other investigations. State Remand Homes were recommended for persons under seventeen requiring special medical observation; Compulsory Attendance Centres for persons between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one, and Juvenile Compulsory Attendance Centres for persons between the ages of twelve and seventeen were recommended whereat offenders of those ages should attend, without so far as was practicable interfering with their school or working hours, for supervision, occupation, and instruction; residential control in Howard Houses was recommended for young offenders between sixteen and twenty-one years of age who during working hours of the day could go out to ordinary employment. The adolescent group with which we are concerned was investigated before these advances were considered and it is unnecessary to discuss them further here.

III. General Observations on the Group Investigated

The group investigated in this study were adolescents, that is to say, the lads were passing through the period of life between childhood and maturity when the manner in which their physical, mental and moral development takes place will largely determine their future success or failure in life. The dispositions towards social order or anti-social discord are becoming unfolded and revealed, and efforts are necessary to correct, without delay, any criminal tendency which may appear and prevent the formation of a criminal habit. It is a matter of common observation that during this period the rate of physical and mental growth is often most uneven, and difficulties may arise when they do not proceed *pari passu*. The emotions of the adolescent are often unstable, experience uncertain, and confidence between the younger and older generations often doubting in character and halting in purpose. The attitude of the adult to the adolescent is often lacking in encouragement and sometimes displays a degree of intolerance, or overt indifference, which is likely to be resented and may invite retaliatory behaviour.

The importance of the biological aspect of criminality is shown by the fact that during adolescence the inborn instinctive tendencies, with which the student of criminal behaviour is chiefly concerned, namely those of sex, self-preservation, acquisition, aggression, assertion and gregariousness become more direct, commanding and importunate. A. A. Roback¹ states: "The essence of character is the inhibition of the

¹ "The Psychology of Character" (1931).

instincts," and we cannot disregard the fact that with the independence and freedom enjoyed to-day youth may reject former judgments and prohibitions and accept a standard of conduct which is determined by indulgence and desire.

During childhood various forces oppose free sexual development along both normal and abnormal lines. On the one hand is the general disapproval and condemnation of overt sexual behaviour, and on the other hand the general pressure exercised by social convention in an endeavour to make sexual conduct correct and socially acceptable according to current standards.¹ By the time adolescence is reached the normal sexual goal is usually known and more or less understood. Nevertheless, the associated phantasies still tend to exert their influence on conduct, and sexual feeling may become attached to normal or abnormal objects. Whereas everyday knowledge and experience concerning the other instinctive tendencies referred to are acquired with more or less ease, and standards of correct behaviour are formulated, the average man, in sexual matters, has little cognisance of the deviations that may occur, and is apt to judge the sexual conduct of others by a personal, and often unduly narrow, standard.

The self-preservative instinct is no less, if no more, forceful in the average criminal than in the ordinary man. The related emotion, fear, may be less pronounced in the adolescent than during childhood, but many anxieties and fears beset the former at times and must be laid aside if the happiest results are to be attained; for the timorous man loses much on account of his disability, and the man who realizes that uneasiness of mind is often unwarranted and may be avoided by challenging facts and shunning escape is on the way to become the master of his own destiny. A common escape reaction to detected crime in both adolescents and adults is denial and subterfuge, but, on occasion, the situation may be so overwhelming that the offender commits suicide and avoids the realities of life in the finality of death.

The unrestrained acquisitive instinct is a frequent cause of crime. It may lead to theft, to advertising worthless goods, to burglary and rarely to hoarding stolen property. The last two examples illustrate the fact that different instincts may be excited simultaneously and result in crime. The burglar sometimes satisfies the aggressive as well as the acquisitive instinct in the course of his often dangerous pursuits, the miserly thief who steals articles and stores them away, without converting them into money or utilizing them in some other practical manner, may

¹ See also "The Psychological Treatment of Crime," by W. Norwood East and W. H. de B. Hubert (1939).

thereby satisfy his acquisitive and self-assertive instinct and counteract a feeling of inferiority.

On the other hand, criminal conduct may be avoided if the emotional components of inter-reacting instincts cancel out each other, as when, for example, the fear of results prevents an acquisitive, aggressive or sex offence from being committed.

The aggressive instinct is clearly exhibited in many crimes of violence, and it is perhaps in this class of offence particularly that the removal of inhibition by the abuse of alcohol is most apparent. This is usually less noticeable in the adolescent than in the adult, but pugnacity in either may determine a vocation in life for some and a criminal career for others.

The normal youth seeks an audience and is often just as anxious to attain the limelight as many of his elders. There seems to be little doubt that assertive crime may provide the offender with much gratification if it arouses a measure of publicity, and that this is sometimes its main purpose.

The importance of the gregarious instinct in relation to adolescent crime is twofold. On the one hand is the desire to be admitted to the community on equal terms, which acts as an incentive to the development of socially acceptable conduct; on the other hand if the youth becomes absorbed into a smaller group within the main body, and some of its members show criminal tendencies, disaster may occur, for the suggestibility of group fellowship leads its members to commit acts which they would otherwise fear to carry out. Moreover, it is a matter of common observation that a certain type of youth is attracted to a smaller group within the herd if it affords an opportunity to attain prominence without the application and labour essential for achievement in the main body. In other words, a certain amount of adolescent criminality is the result of vanity and sloth.

Reference will be made in later chapters to certain instincts connected with adolescent crime, and to other factors concerned with the formation of character and conduct. It is enough to state here that the period of adolescence is admittedly one of difficulty and is frequently associated with instability and criminality, for the instinctive urges which are then felt with full force are not easily controlled, fierce competition in many directions is not always accepted as inevitable, and sustained purposive effort may break down in the presence of temptation." ¹ The confidence, optimism, altruism, promise and energy of youth are yet untested by events, and truth is still disguised by inexperience.

¹ W. Norwood East, "Report of the Commissioners of Prisons" (1936).

IV. The Ages of the Group

The age of a person up to maturity can be estimated approximately from an examination of his teeth, skull and other bones, but it can only be assessed in general terms from a consideration of his mental development and the extent to which his character is formed. Even if one considers an attribute of the mind which can be tested with some degree of precision, such as intelligence, little assistance is gained, for it is found that the mental age of the average man as measured by ability or speed in the performance of simple intelligence tests corresponds to that of a child of about fourteen years. Nevertheless, age appears to be an important factor in the causation of crime. The number of male offenders found guilty of indictable offences per 100,000 of the population is greater in the age group fourteen and under sixteen years than in the age group ten and under fourteen years. After the age of sixteen years the rate per 100,000 shows a decrease in each successive age period.) Thus in the years 1930 to 1937 the average number of offenders of the ages ten and under fourteen years per 100,000 of the population in that age group was 788; at the ages of fourteen and under sixteen years, 882; at sixteen and under twenty-one years, 708; at twenty-one and under thirty years, 446; at thirty years and over, 171; whilst the average for all ages of the male population over ten years of age was 354 per 100,000.¹

(These figures, and practical experience, suggest that some of the crime producing personal factors become less, and those which contribute towards social order become more dynamic as the individual passes from puberty to adolescence, early manhood and maturity.)

Moreover, the offences in the younger age groups are more qualitatively limited than in the older age groups. For example, children may be truants and thieves, but are less likely to commit embezzlement, fraud, rape or murder because they lack the desire, opportunity or power to commit these crimes.

The Criminal Statistics for England and Wales, 1937, show that for males the most lawless age in that year was thirteen. Of every thousand boys aged thirteen years, there were 13.5 found guilty of offences. Among boys aged fourteen and fifteen years, the proportion was 11.2 per 1,000; among boys of sixteen it was 10.2; among boys of seventeen, 8.2; and of eighteen, 8.0. Among youths of nineteen it was 6.8; of twenty, 5.7; and among young men aged twenty-one to twenty-five, 5.3. Among men aged twenty-five to thirty the proportion was 4.0 per 1,000; among men aged thirty to forty, 3.0; and among men aged forty to fifty it was

¹ "The Criminal Statistics" (1937).

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1.8 per 1,000. The figures suggest the age of thirteen is three or four times as lawless as the age of thirty, but it would seem probable that the results at the earlier ages are to some extent affected by the comparative inability of the boy offender to escape detection.

Table I sets out the distribution according to age and number of previous offences in the group investigated. It will be seen, that 1,769, or rather less than half the number of lads had been previously convicted,

TABLE I

Distribution according to Age and Number of Previous Convictions

Age last birthday	Number of Lads against whom the Number of Previous Convictions shown at the heads of the columns were recorded.											Total
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
16 years	159	164	54	16	7	-	-	1	-	-	-	498
17 "	514	271	97	10	8	2	-	-	-	-	-	917
18 "	560	248	100	29	16	5	1	-	-	-	1	960
19 "	522	231	107	27	10	3	4	-	-	-	-	904
20 "	376	204	85	37	10	7	1	-	-	-	-	721
Total	2231	1115	444	134	61	17	6	1	-	-	1	4000

TABLE II

Percentage Distribution according to Age and Number of Previous Convictions

Age last birthday	Percentage at each Age according to the Number of Previous Convictions shown.						Percentages and Standard Errors with	
	0	1	2	3	4	5 or more	No previous convictions	Two or more previous convictions
16 years	62.01	32.33	10.84	3.21	1.41	0.20	52.01 ± 2.24	15.66 ± 1.63
17 "	56.06	29.56	10.68	2.73	0.87	0.22	56.06 ± 1.64	14.40 ± 1.16
18 "	58.33	26.83	10.42	3.02	1.67	0.73	58.33 ± 1.89	15.84 ± 1.18
19 "	57.74	26.56	11.84	2.99	1.11	0.77	57.74 ± 1.64	16.71 ± 1.24
20 "	52.15	28.29	11.93	5.13	1.39	1.11	52.15 ± 1.86	19.53 ± 1.48
16-17 "	54.63	30.53	10.67	2.90	1.06	0.21	54.63 ± 1.33	14.84 ± 0.94
18-19 "	58.05	25.70	11.11	3.00	1.39	0.75	58.05 ± 1.19	16.25 ± 0.85
16-19 "	56.57	27.78	10.92	2.96	1.25	0.52	56.57 ± 0.87	15.65 ± 0.63
16-20 "	55.78	27.87	11.10	3.36	1.27	0.63	55.78 ± 0.79	16.35 ± 0.58

* The standard error is a measure of the variability that a statistical value would show in taking repeated samples from the same "universe" of observations, e.g., it shows how much variation in the frequency of a characteristic might be expected to occur merely by chance in samples drawn at random from one and the same population. The standard error of a percentage is calculated from the formula $\sqrt{p \times q \div n}$, where p is the percentage in the sample having the characteristic which is being discussed, q is the percentage not having the characteristic and n is the number of observations, comprising the sample, $p + q$ must equal 100. If s_1 and s_2 are the standard errors of two percentages p_1 and p_2 found in two samples the standard error of the differences $p_1 - p_2$ is $\sqrt{s_1^2 + s_2^2}$.

but there were reasons to believe that many of the 2,231 other lads showed recidivist tendencies. It will be noticed, also, that the incidence of crime at the different ages does not correspond to the figures of the Criminal Statistics, 1937, which refer to the "universe" of male offenders.

A comparison of the percentages in the last two columns of Table II shows that the proportions of first offenders were significantly greater at the ages eighteen and nineteen than at the ages sixteen and twenty, for the amount of excess exceeds twice its standard error in each instance and by convention not less than twice the standard error is taken as the criterion of significance—but there was no consistent increase or decrease of the proportion with advancing age. The proportion with two or more previous convictions was greater to a significant degree at the age of twenty than for the residual group comprising ages sixteen to nineteen, but there was no significant variation in this proportion with age between sixteen and nineteen.

TABLE III

Calculated Frequencies according to Number of Previous Convictions assuming that the proportionate distribution had been the same at each age as in the whole 4,000 Lads without age distinction. Significance of association between Number of Previous Convictions and Age as measured by the χ^2 test

Age last birthday	Calculated Frequencies with Number of Previous Convictions shown at the head of column					Totals	Comparison with observed distribution		
	0	1	2	3	4 or more		Degrees of freedom	χ^2	Probability of such a difference P
16 years	277.8	138.8	55.3	16.6	9.5	498	4	6.82	.23
17 "	511.6	255.6	101.8	30.7	17.4	917	4	6.97	.14
18 "	535.4	267.6	106.6	32.2	18.2	960	4	6.01	.21
19 "	504.1	252.6	100.3	30.3	17.2	904	4	4.11	.39
20 "	402.1	201.0	80.0	24.2	13.7	721	4	12.57	.014
Complete distribution at the five ages						4000	16	20.55	less than .05

The application of the χ^2 test to comparisons between the observed frequencies in Table I and the frequencies which would have resulted if the distribution by number of offences had been the same at each age as in the whole 4,000 lads leads to the results shown in the last columns of Table III.¹ The probability that so large a divergence as is observed

¹ " χ^2 " represents the summation of the values of the square of the difference between the observed and the calculated frequency divided by the calculated figure in each instance, for the age in question and for all other ages (combined) than the age in question. "P" is the probability that so large a divergence between the observed and calculated distribution at the age in question would occur by chance. If P is less than 1 in 20 the divergence is, by convention, regarded as "significant" since the odds against it being due to chance are

between the complete distributions in Tables I and III could arise by chance is found to be just less than 1:20 ($P < .05$). Comparison of the actual and calculated distributions at each age separately shows that there was no significant departure from expectation at the ages sixteen, seventeen, eighteen or nineteen (P being .23, .14, .21, .39), but the distribution at the age of twenty was abnormal to a significant degree ($P = .014$). This must be borne in mind when measuring the association of any factor with the number of previous convictions if that factor is affected by age.

TABLE IV

Distribution according to Age and Number of Previous Convictions of Lads with Records of Offences against Property (with or without Offences against Discipline), but without Records of Offences against the Person or Sexual Offences

Age last birthday	Totals at each Age recording the number of Previous Convictions shown at head of column										Total	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10
16 years	226	153	62	16	7	-	-	1	-	-	-	455
17 "	451	264	92	22	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	828
18 "	506	230	94	26	15	4	1	-	-	-	-	876
19 "	461	218	101	24	9	3	4	-	-	-	-	820
20 "	332	181	81	33	10	6	-	-	-	-	-	643
Total	1976	1036	420	121	48	16	5	1	-	-	-	3622

Age last birthday	Percentage at each Age recording the Number of Previous Convictions shown						Percentage and Standard Errors with -	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	No previous convictions	Two or more previous convictions
16 years	49.67	33.63	11.43	3.51	1.54	0.22	49.7 ± 2.3	16.7 ± 1.7
17 "	54.47	30.68	11.11	2.66	0.84	0.24	54.5 ± 1.7	14.9 ± 1.2
18 "	57.76	26.26	10.73	2.97	1.71	0.57	57.8 ± 1.7	16.0 ± 1.2
19 "	56.22	26.58	12.32	2.93	1.10	0.85	56.2 ± 1.7	17.2 ± 1.3
20 "	51.63	28.15	12.60	5.13	1.56	0.93	51.6 ± 2.0	20.2 ± 1.6
16-17 "	52.77	31.72	11.23	2.96	1.09	0.23	52.8 ± 1.4	18.5 ± 1.0
18-19 "	57.02	26.41	11.50	2.95	1.41	0.71	57.0 ± 1.2	16.6 ± 0.9

In Tables IV to VII, analysis is made according to the age of the lad on his last birthday at the time of the examination following the latest conviction, and according to the number of previous convictions, for each of the following groups ("record" including the latest offence) :-

Lads with a record of one or more offences against property, with or considerable, 19 to 1 or more. "n" is the number of elements making up the total distribution of 4,000 which can be varied independently (e.g. the complete distribution in Table III consists of 25 elements, but since the totals of the lines and the columns are fixed only 4 of the 5 figures in each line or column are capable of variation independently giving only 16 "degrees of freedom"). When χ^2 has been calculated and n is known, the corresponding value of P is found from special tables.

without offences against discipline but without a record of offences against the person or sexual offences. This group, shown in Table IV, will in subsequent Tables be designated "Property."

Lads with a record of one or more offences against the person or against property and the person, with or without offences against discipline but without a record of sexual offences. This group, shown in Table V, will be designated simply as "Person."

Lads with a record of one or more sexual offences with or without other kinds of offence. This group, shown in Table VI, will be designated "Sexual."

Lads with a record of offences against discipline only. This group, shown in Table VII, will be designated "Discipline."

It is to be noted that offences against discipline in this and subsequent Tables include breach of recognizances (other than committing fresh offences), absconding from a Home Office school, some cases of wilful damage, using insulting words and behaviour, obstruction, road traffic offences, refusing labour, causing the police unnecessary trouble and Army offences, for example, mutiny.

It must be remembered that the very nature of the definitions of these four groups involves differences in the proportions with 0, 1, 2, etc., previous convictions. The discipline group, for example, is limited to histories of one type of offence only, and, therefore, tends to have a high proportion of first offenders.

In Table IV the perceptages at ages sixteen and seventeen years do not differ significantly from one another, neither do those at the ages of eighteen and nineteen, but the percentage of first offenders at sixteen is significantly below that at eighteen or nineteen (differences 8.1 ± 2.9 ; 6.5 ± 2.9), and the proportion at twenty is significantly below that at eighteen (difference 6.2 ± 2.6). Also the percentage with two or more previous convictions at twenty years differs significantly from those at seventeen and eighteen (differences 5.3 ± 2.0 ; 4.2 ± 2.0). This "Property" group should, therefore, be divided into the age groups sixteen to seventeen, eighteen to nineteen, twenty, when measuring the association between number of offences and any factor known to be affected by age.

No significant differences between the proportions of first offenders at various ages appear from Table V, but the percentage of lads with two or more previous convictions at ages eighteen to nineteen years is significantly higher than at other ages (excess over ages sixteen to seventeen is 17.5 ± 8.4 , and over age twenty years is 17.3 ± 8.0). The "Person" group should, therefore, be dealt with in the same way as the "Property" group when relating to any factor considerably affected by age.

AGES OF THE GROUP

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TABLE V

Distribution according to Age and Number of Previous Convictions of Lads with Records of Offences against the Person or against Property and the Person (with or without Offences against Discipline, but without Record of Sexual Offences). The numbers without offences against Property included in the figures are given in brackets.

Age last birthday	Total at each Age according to the Number of Previous Convictions shown at head of column										Total	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		10
16 years	5(3)	4(1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9(4)
17 "	8(7)	9(3)	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	21(10)
18 "	16(15)	9(3)	6	3(1)	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	37(19)
19 "	13(11)	7(1)	5	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	28(12)
20 "	18(15)	14(3)	2	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	37(18)
Total	60(51)	43(11)	16	7(1)	3	1	1	-	-	-	1	132(63)

Age last birthday	Percentage at each Age recording the Number of Previous Convictions shown						Percentages and Standard Errors with:-	
	0	1	2	3	4	5 or more	No previous convictions	Two or more previous convictions.
16 years	56.56	44.44	-	-	-	-	55.6 ± 16.6	0
17 "	38.09	42.86	14.29	-	4.76	-	38.1 ± 10.6	19.0 ± 8.6
18 "	43.24	24.32	16.22	8.11	2.70	5.41	43.2 ± 8.1	32.4 ± 7.7
19 "	46.43	25.00	17.86	7.14	3.57	-	46.4 ± 9.4	28.6 ± 8.5
20 "	48.65	37.64	5.41	5.40	-	2.70	46.6 ± 8.2	13.5 ± 5.6
16-17 "	43.33	43.34	10.00	-	3.33	-	43.3 ± 9.0	13.3 ± 6.2
18-19 "	44.62	24.61	16.92	7.69	3.08	3.08	44.6 ± 6.2	30.8 ± 5.7

TABLE VI

Distribution according to Age and Number of Previous Convictions of Lads with Records of Sexual Offences (with and without other kinds of Offences)

Age last birthday	Totals at each Age recording the Number of Previous Convictions shown at head of column						Total	Percentages with Standard Errors	Percentages with	
	0	1	2	3	4	5			No previous convictions	2 or more previous convictions
16 years	14	3	2	-	-	-	19	73.68 ± 10.1	15.79	10.63
17 "	29	6	1	2	-	-	37	76.67 ± 7.1	15.22	8.11
18 "	16	6	-	-	-	-	21	76.19 ± 9.3	23.81	-
19 "	19	3	-	1	-	-	23	82.61 ± 7.9	13.04	4.36
20 "	14	6	3	2	-	-	25	56.00 ± 9.9	24.00	20.00
Total	91	23	6	6	-	-	126			
16-17 "	42	9	3	2	-	-	56	75.00 ± 5.8	16.07	8.93
18-19 "	35	9	-	1	-	-	44	79.55 ± 8.1	18.18	2.27

THE GROUP INVESTIGATED

Table VI shows that the percentages at nineteen and twenty years differ considerably, and that at ages eighteen to nineteen years there was only one lad with two or more previous convictions.

No significant differences between the age groups in the "Discipline" group appear from Table VII.

TABLE VII

Distribution according to Age and Number of Previous Convictions of Lads with Record of Offences against Discipline only

Age last birthday	Totals at each Age recording the Number of Previous Convictions shown at head of columns.						Total	Percentages and Standard Errors with	Percentages with	
	0	1	2	3	4	5		No previous convictions	One previous conviction	2 or more previous convictions
16 years	14	1	-	-	-	-	15	95.33 ± 6.4	6.67	-
17 "	27	2	1	1	-	-	31	87.10 ± 6.0	6.45	6.45
18 "	22	4	-	-	-	-	26	84.62 ± 7.1	15.38	-
19 "	29	3	1	-	-	-	33	87.88 ± 5.7	9.09	3.03
20 "	12	3	-	-	-	1	16	75.00 ± 10.8	18.75	6.25
Total	104	13	2	1	-	1	121	85.95 ± 3.2	10.74	3.31

V. The Status of the Group

The legal categories assigned to the lads appear under this head. It is to be noted, however, that the category applies only to the time of examination, and has no further implication since the remand of to-day may be later committed for trial, and at a still later date be sentenced to detention in a Borstal institution.

TABLE VIII

Status at time of Examination and Age

Status.	Distribution according to Age last birthday					Totals.
	16 YEARS.	17 YEARS.	18 YEARS.	19 YEARS.	20 YEARS.	
Remand	438	791	804	749	580	3362
Trial	21	67	77	62	71	318
Section 10 G.J.A. Act	3	8	12	8	7	38
Young Person	6	9	12	24	26	77
Borstal detention	28	37	52	32	36	185
Not recorded	2	5	3	9	1	20
Totals.	498	917	960	904	721	4000

STATUS OF THE GROUP

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Tables VIII, IX, X and XI are introduced in order to complete the general survey of the material. Table VIII sets out the status of the lads; Table IX the nature of the offence, status and number of previous offences; Tables X and XI the countries of birth and residences of the lads. It should be noted that a significant excess in the number of convictions per head occurred in lads with a history of birth or residence at any time in Scotland, Ireland, or other English-speaking countries abroad.

TABLE IX

Nature of Offences in Record, Status, and Number of Previous Convictions (all Ages)

Nature of offences in Record	Status	Distribution according to Number of Previous Convictions.									Totals
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	10	
Against Property only or Property and Discipline	Remand	1770	846	295	78	22	9	4	-	-	3024
	Trial	150	90	43	11	4	3	-	-	-	301
	Sec.10 C.J.A. Act	7	8	11	9	2	-	-	-	-	37
	Young Person	27	22	13	4	2	-	1	-	-	69
	Borstal detention	14	53	98	19	17	3	-	1	-	173
	Not recorded	8	7	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	18
Totals		1976	1036	420	121	48	15	5	1	-	3622
Against the person with or without offences against Property or Discipline	Remand	50	38	11	4	2	1	-	-	-	106
	Trial	6	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
	Sec.10 C.J.A. Act	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Young Person	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
	Borstal detention	-	2	3	3	1	-	1	-	1	11
	Not recorded	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Totals		60	43	16	7	3	1	2	-	1	132
Sexual offences with or without other offences	Remand	82	21	3	5	-	-	-	-	-	111
	Trial	6	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
	Sec.10 C.J.A. Act	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Young Person	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
	Borstal detention	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	Not recorded	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Totals		91	23	6	5	-	-	-	-	-	125
Against Discipline only	Remand	104	13	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	121
	Trial	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Sec.10 C.J.A. Act	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Young Person	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Borstal detention	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Not recorded	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals		104	13	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	121
All types	Totals	2231	1115	444	134	51	17	6	1	1	4000

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TABLE X

Distribution of Age, Nature of Offences in Record and Number of Previous Convictions, according to Country of Birth and Residence

Country of Birth	With Period of Residence in--	Age Group - Years					Nature of Offences in Record				No of Previous Convictions.				Totals
		16	17	18	19	20	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline	0	1	2	3 or more	
England or Wales.	No other country	482	881	925	871	582	5474	129	122	116	2151	1075	421	194	3841
	Scotland (only).	-	1	-	1	2	4	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	4
	Ireland (only).	-	-	1	1	2	5	1	-	-	3	2	1	-	6
	Other English speaking countries	-	7	4	9	9	26	1	-	2	15	4	6	7	29
	Europe	-	6	8	8	3	22	-	2	1	17	5	3	-	25
	Elsewhere	-	2	2	1	3	8	-	-	-	2	5	1	-	8
Scotland	England or Wales	2	3	5	-	2	12	-	-	-	7	2	1	2	12
	England and abroad.	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Ireland	England or Wales	2	4	3	3	4	13	1	1	1	8	3	5	2	16
	England and abroad.	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2
Other English speaking countries	England or Wales	3	-	-	1	1	7	-	-	-	2	1	2	2	7
European	ditto.	1	5	6	4	3	18	-	-	-	9	7	1	1	18
Elsewhere	ditto.	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Not stated	Not stated.	6	7	3	6	8	28	-	-	-	14	10	4	1	29
Totals.		498	917	959	905	721	3622	132	125	121	2231	1115	444	210	4000

TABLE XI

Recorded Total Number of Convictions of Lads Born and Resident at some time in certain Countries compared with Calculated Numbers if frequency of Convictions had been uniform in all Groups.

Country of Birth	With a Period of Residence in--	Number in group	Total Number of Convictions		Variation from expectation
			Recorded	Calculated	
England or Wales.	No other country.	3841	6448	6479	significant excess
	Scotland or Ireland.	10	20	16.9	
	Other English speaking countries.	29	66	48.9	
Scotland.	England or Wales.	14	29	23.6	significant excess
Ireland.	ditto.	18	35	30.4	
Other English speaking countries.	ditto.	7	18	11.6	
European.	ditto.	18	30	30.4	

VI, Summary

No child under the age of eight years can be guilty of any offence, and no child under the age of fourteen years can be guilty of a crime unless it can be shown affirmatively that such person had sufficient capacity to know that the act was wrong. A person under the age of seventeen cannot be sent to prison on remand or committed for trial, or serve a sentence of imprisonment unless the court certifies that he is of so unruly or depraved a character that he is not a fit person to be detained in a remand home ; or, unless he is summarily convicted of an offence and is committed to prison in order that the next court of quarter sessions may sentence him to detention in a Borstal institution. The biological aspect of criminality is emphasized and the incidence of crime at various ages considered. The distribution according to age and number of previous offences in the selected group is discussed and the offences are classified under four headings : Property, Person, Sexual and Discipline.

The number of lads who had at any time been convicted of offences against Property but not of Sexual or Person offences was 3,622 ; convicted of offences against the Person but not Sexual, 132 ; convicted of Sexual offences, 125 ; and of offences against Discipline only 121. The numbers at ages sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, nineteen and twenty years were 498, 917, 960, 904 and 721 respectively, and were not proportionate to the total incidence of crime among all males of these ages in England and Wales, which declines between the ages of sixteen and twenty. The proportion of first offenders in the whole group investigated was about 56 per cent. ; of lads with a record of one previous conviction, about 28 per cent. ; and of lads with two or more previous convictions, about 16 per cent. The proportion of first offenders was significantly greater at ages eighteen and nineteen than at sixteen and twenty, and the proportion with two or more previous convictions was appreciably greater at twenty than at the earlier ages, but there was no significant variation with age in the latter proportion between sixteen and nineteen years. The proportion of lads with two or more convictions in the offences against the Person group at the age eighteen to nineteen years was significantly higher than at other ages. Of the total number of lads, 3,913 were born in England or Wales, 14 were born in Scotland, 18 in Ireland, 7 in other English-speaking countries, 18 in European countries, and one elsewhere. In 29 cases the country of birth was not recorded.

CHAPTER III

HEREDITARY AND FAMILIAL FACTORS

I. Discussion

✓ A CRIME is an act or omission forbidden by law under pain of punishment¹ and may be regarded as conduct which the State considers to be opposed to the general welfare of the community it governs. It varies with the society and the time in which it is prohibited. It is to-day a social and not a moral concept, and the moral character of an act is immaterial in determining whether it is a crime or not ; many acts which are immoral in the broad sense of the term are not criminal, and some which are not immoral in the general meaning of the term are crimes. The origin of a criminal act is intimately connected with its motive and intention. The prevailing mental condition of the offender at the time the act is committed provides the motive for a crime, and the aim of the offender to produce thereby certain consequences supplies its intention. In general, motive is subjective and intention objective.

✓ Individuals are not isolated samples of the world in which they live, for they are genetically related to their predecessors and successors. Moreover, they are unable to live apart from their surroundings, and, although the result of the continuity of living matter transmitted from the male and female reproductive cells of previous generations, they depend at first for their existence upon the special media surrounding the parental germ cells after their fusion is effected.

✓ The behaviour of an individual, whether socially acceptable or criminal, is determined in part by the character traits and other peculiarities he inherits; and in part by the functional activities of his bodily organs including those of reproduction, by the general pattern and periodicity of his physical and mental reactions, and by the effect of past experiences upon the various situations he is called upon to face. In other words, behaviour is determined by individual as well as environmental factors. It should be noted that the individual factors include not merely inherited features and physical and mental characteristics, but also the effects of past experiences and that the environmental factors are not necessarily wholly immediate, for the individual may be

¹ Mann and Owen (1829), 9 B. & C. 599, 602.

affected by the incidents of former situations even when they are not consciously remembered. The environmental factors are usually more modifiable than those which are inherited, but there is always interaction between inheritance and environment, although similarity in external conditions tends to produce uniformity of response within certain limits only.

A happy illustration of the way in which environment can modify characters which are normally strictly genetic is supplied by Eldon Moore¹: "The little fresh-water shrimp, *Gammarus chevreuxi*, affords an excellent instance of how a single pair of genes² governing the rate of development can be productive of two distinct varieties. The common wild type of this shrimp has black eyes, while there is also a rarer form with red eyes which is simply recessive when the two are crossed. When it was possible to watch the black-eyed type during pre-natal development, it was found that it, too, started with red eyes which, however, darkened rapidly through the deposition of melanin (black pigment). Further, it was observed that the eyes of even the red type darkened as they grew towards old age. The difference between the two types, in short, is due to the fact that in one the deposition of melanin takes only a few hours, and in the other several weeks. Finally, by raising the temperature, it is possible to turn red eyes into black, and by lowering it to keep potential black eyes in their pre-natal stage of redness."

Unfortunately, every practical criminologist can recall many instances when changes in the environment, experimentally induced, failed to improve inherited anti-social traits of character.

We are not concerned in this study with the various hypotheses used in the solution of problems of inheritance, neither need we delay to consider the established facts of heredity. It was realized long ago that men do not "gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles," and all recognize to-day that the breeder's art, whether directed to the production of horses for speed or cows for their milking qualities, is concerned with selecting the most suitable mates for the object in view, and that although we can form an opinion as to the manner in which a thoroughbred animal will develop we can have little idea of the characteristics of an unborn mongrel of the same species.

Formerly, although people accepted the importance of heredity and environment, some laid stress on one factor and some on the other, and were guided by individual prejudices rather than by well-considered

¹ Eldon Moore, "Heredity Mainly Human" (1934).

² Gene, the physical basis of heredity. They have been located in the chromosomes which appear in the nucleus of the germ cell before its division.

opinions. This was understandable, as it is clearly simpler to assess the significance of visible happenings than to delve into the hidden mysteries of nature and science. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt to-day that most thoughtful people accept both heredity and environment as causative factors of endowment, character and conduct. Legislation, however, is still mainly directed to effecting changes in the environmental factors of life and the public still hesitates to urge enactments which are founded on hereditary principles—for example, the recommendations of the Departmental Committee on Sterilisation have yet to bear fruit.

Sir William Osler¹ called attention to the fact that Plato recognised certain crimes to be manifestations of insanity and in the Laws addressed the incurable criminal thus: "Oh sir, the impulse which moves you to rob temples is not an ordinary human malady, nor yet a visitation from heaven, but a madness which is begotten in man from ancient and unexpiated crimes of his race." It would seem from this that Plato also acknowledged a hereditary factor of recidivism.

Henry Maudsley² referred to the close association between moral defect and criminal behaviour and considered crime was in certain cases the result of inherited qualities. He concluded that a true reformation of the nature of an individual entailed its *re*-formation and questioned whether that which has been forming through generations could be *re*-formed within the term of a single life.

Charles Goring³ in the statistical study of the English Convict, stated: "The criminal diathesis, revealed by the tendency to be convicted and imprisoned for crime, is inherited at much the same rate as are other physical and mental qualities and pathological conditions in man."

The following opinion is given by W. Healy⁴: "Altogether there seems to be no proof whatever from our extensive material that there is such a thing as criminalistic inheritance apart from some otherwise significant physical or mental trait, which in the offender and his forbears, forms the basis of delinquency. When it comes to the question of indirect inheritance we have an entirely different statement to make. Our summary of causative factors by groups showed that while in no case could we feel justified in demonstrating heredity the immediate and main factor of delinquency, yet in 61 per cent. distinct defects in the family antecedents were noted."

[The doctrine of the Lombrosian school, which taught that criminality

¹ William Osler, "Æquanimitas" (1905).

² Henry Maudsley, "Responsibility in Mental Disease" (1906).

³ Charles Goring, "The English Convict" (1913).

⁴ William Healy, "The Individual Delinquent" (1915).

was derived from heredity alone led, as Charles Mercier¹ pointed out, to such patent absurdities that its opponents flew to the opposite extreme and asserted that criminality was the product of environment alone. According to this school, criminals were not born but were made criminals through poverty, bad homes, lack of education, and so on.) The doctrine of the anthropological school made the criminal irresponsible, on account of his birth and inability to alter his innate proclivities, whilst the environmental school placed the blame for criminality upon the society which permitted him to be brought up in adverse conditions. Mercier stated his own view thus: "Crime—and in crime I now include offences of all kinds—is due to temptation or opportunity, the environmental factor or stress, acting upon the predisposition of the offender, the inherent or constitutional factor. The more potent the one factor, the less of the other will be needed to bring about the result. . . . For crime, as for madness, every man has his breaking strain, and will give way under stress if the stress is sufficiently powerful and of the right kind."

As a result of his studies on young offenders, Cyril Burt² concluded: "Crime in itself, therefore, is not inherited. The hereditary constitution of the criminal such as it is, we can regard as having at most but an indirect effect. The family temperament, first manifested in the lawlessness of his parent, is not, at bottom, an essentially criminal nature, transmitted as such, but a vague and more general endowment, analogous rather to the congenital enfeeblement that may affect temperament, intelligence, or physique as a whole—extreme degrees of common weakness to which in a restricted measure we are all more or less susceptible. Such weaknesses, when excessive, may favour a moral lapse in later life, they in no way constitute a fatal and inexorable propulsion towards it."

Johannes Lange³ has made a valuable contribution to the subject in his study of criminal twins. His method involves an investigation into the behaviour of monozygotic twins, dizygotic twins and other siblings.⁴ Monozygotic twins are the result of the fission of a single egg, and dizygotic twins develop from two separate eggs and their inherited qualities are no more alike than those of siblings who are not twins. The childhood environments of both classes of twins, however, are likely to be similar. If so, and if hereditary factors dominate behaviour, a closer likeness of conduct may be expected in monozygotic twins than in dizygotic twins. It would seem that in the field of criminal behaviour, if the hereditary factor is of little importance the criminality of pairs of

¹ Charles Mercier, "Crime and Criminals" (1918)

² Cyril Burt, "The Young Delinquent" (1925).

³ Johannes Lange, "Crime as Destiny" (1929)

⁴ Siblings, or sibs, i.e., brothers and sisters.

monozygotic twins will show no more similarity than in pairs of dizygotic twins, and that the dissimilarity in the criminal behaviour of monozygotic twins would provide material which would enable the environmental factors to be assessed. Moreover, since the environmental factor would be more nearly the same in dissimilar twins than in any other pair of siblings, whilst the hereditary endowment would be the same, differences between the behaviour of the former and the latter pair would tend to increase as the influence of the hereditary factor decreased. If, however, the hereditary factor was important and the environmental factor unimportant the criminal behaviour of monozygotic twins would be more alike than that of dizygotic twins, and that of the latter would show no more similarity than is found in any other pair of siblings.

Largely, with the help of the Bavarian Ministry of Justice and the Institute of Criminal Biology at Straubing prison, Lange found thirty pairs of twins of whom thirteen were monozygotic and seventeen were dizygotic. Of the thirteen monozygotic pairs, both twins had been sentenced in ten cases, and in three cases only one twin had come into conflict with the law, while the other had not done so. Of the seventeen dizygotic twins both twins had only been sentenced in two cases, whilst in all the rest only one twin had come before the courts whilst the other had not. Further, a comparison between the criminality of dizygotic twins with the criminality found in ordinary siblings showed that both of a pair of dizygotic twins were not sentenced more frequently than was expected. Lange concluded that "heredity does play a role of paramount importance in making the criminal. Our rough figures also permit the conclusion that heredity alone is not exclusively a cause of criminality, but that one must also allow a certain amount for environmental influences. Even our monozygotic pairs did not by any means show complete agreement in their attitudes to crime. The fact that in about one-quarter of the cases only one of the monozygotic twins was sentenced must be interpreted as showing that in these cases some environmental influence or other determined the criminal behaviour."

A. J. Rosanoff, L. M. Handy and I. A. Rosanoff¹ found in 97 pairs of twins in an adult criminality group 33 pairs of male twins who were probably monozygotic. In 22 cases both twins were criminal, in 11 only one was criminal, the other not. There were 23 pairs of dizygotic male twins in the group, and in only 3 cases were both of the twins criminal. A similar result was found for female monozygotic and dizygotic twins.

Heinrich Kranz² found in 32 monozygotic twins, 21 (66 per cent.)

¹ A. J. Rosanoff, L. M. Handy and I. A. Rosanoff, "Criminality and Delinquency in Twins," *American Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Jan.-Feb., 1934.

² Heinrich Kranz, "Zebensschicksale Krimineller Zwillinge" (1936).

were concordant—each twin of the pair having a criminal record—and 11 (34 per cent.) were discordant. Of 43 dizygotic twins of the same sex, 23 (54 per cent.) were concordant, and 20 (46 per cent.) were discordant; and of 50 dizygotic twins of different sex, 7 (14 per cent.) were concordant, and 43 (86 per cent.) discordant. He adds: "This indicates that of the monozygotic twins, about two-thirds were concordant in respect of criminality, of the same sexed dizygotic about one half were concordant, and of the different sexed twins about one-seventh were concordant."

Friedrich Stumpf¹ found in a recent study that the number of criminal pairs was 11 out of 18 identical pairs, and 7 out of 19 fraternal pairs.

These results indicate the importance of the hereditary factor of crime. But the fallacies of the twin method are recognized by the investigators. Dizygotic twins may be mistaken for monozygotic twins, and when very unlike the fact of their twinship is liable to escape notice, information may be withheld by relatives and others, and the criminals may make misleading statements. As Lange points out, "the twin method can merely teach us that the tendencies which lead to anti-social behaviour develop in the domain of heredity."

(The importance of heredity and environment in the causation of criminal conduct is practical as well as academic. Most observers now accept the view that in determining the probability that a given individual will commit crime the hereditary factor is of primary importance while the environmental influences determine the form the crime will take. At the same time we must accept the fact that certain crimes are almost entirely endogenous as, for example, some directly due to insanity; conversely perfectly normal people may be impelled to commit crime by exceptional circumstances. Further, personal characters in the parents may be socially acceptable but lead to crime when synthesized in their children.)

(Parents not only transmit hereditary physical and psychological features, but also help to mould the characters of their children by precept and example and the formation of a family tradition which, for better or worse, is founded upon their worldly and spiritual aims and the general pattern of their lives. In the criminal world, for instance, heredity and environment may be so closely interwoven that discrimination between them is impracticable; violent tempered parents may not only transmit temperamental defects, but create so disturbing an atmosphere in the home that impulsive emotional reactions in the children result; the

¹ F. Stumpf, "Die Ursprünge des Verbrechens dargestellt am Lebenslauf von Zwillingen," Leipzig (1936).

children of thieves may become thieves, not because of specific inherited traits of character, but because stealing is a home industry.)

A brief reference is due to those workers who consider the functioning of the endocrine glands the most important factor in criminal behaviour. Among them, L. Grimberg,¹ in his clinical study of five hundred criminals in the making, considers most delinquents to be constitutionally defective in mentality and emotions, and that this is due to inherited endocrine imbalance. We have as yet, however, insufficient knowledge of the manner in which the endocrine glands affect ordinary conduct, and further research is necessary before we can determine with any precision their role as a crimogenic factor.

No attempt was made in this enquiry to apportion the influence of endogenous and exogenous factors in the production of crime in general. Its purpose was limited to the ascertainment of the connection between inherited and familial defects and the offences committed by the special adolescent group with which we are concerned, and to establish any practical findings which appeared.

II. Definitions and Material

The definitions of the grouping employed in the tables in this chapter are as follows :—

<i>Group.</i>	<i>Defect recorded as having been present in :</i>
Paternal and maternal ...	Both parents or relatives of both parents or one parent and a relative (other than child) of the other parent.
Father (not mother) ...	Father but not mother (with or without other paternal relatives, siblings or stepmother).
Other paternal relatives ...	One or more of the father's relatives, but no parent or sibling of the offender.
Mother (not father) ...	Mother but not father (with or without other maternal relatives, siblings or stepfather).
Other maternal relatives ...	One or more of the mother's relatives, but no parent or sibling of the offender.
Brothers and/or sisters (single)...	One sibling, with or without parental relatives, but neither parent.
Brothers and/or sisters (multiple)	More than one sibling, with or without parental relatives, but neither parent.
Brothers and/or sisters ...	Combination of the last two groups above.
Total with family history ...	Total of the above groups.
Step-parent or half sib ² ...	Stepfather, stepmother and/or one or more half-brothers and half-sisters only.

¹ L. Grimberg, "Emotion and Delinquency" (1928).

² The last of these groups is not regarded for the purpose of these tables as "family history" of the defect and cases of this kind are included amongst "numbers without family history."

By "calculated distribution," is meant the distribution within the group defined at the head of the column which would have resulted if the proportions with each kind of family history had been the same as in all the columns of that part of the table combined. Except where a particular group according to "nature of offences" is being separately analysed, the proportions used in obtaining the calculated figures are the "proportions per 1,000" in the whole 4,000 as shown in the top right-hand columns of the tables.

The material may be conveniently considered under three main headings: Character Disabilities, Mental Disabilities, and Physical Disabilities.

III. Character Disabilities

It is desirable to consider the meaning of the word character before the disabilities of character analysed in this investigation, namely, criminality, immorality and quarrelsomeness are examined.

Character and personality are sometimes regarded as synonymous terms. Hollingworth¹ defines character as "a characteristic mode of human behaviour." Morton Prince² says, "personality is the sum-total of all the biological innate dispositions, impulses, tendencies, appetites, and instincts of the individual and of all the acquired dispositions and tendencies. It would seem then that the personality is the reservoir of elements the integration of which, with emphasis on some or others, constitutes the formation of character. Hence the character of the one is said to be 'good tempered,' the other 'bad tempered.' Yet every normal personality will manifest anger in some situation."

A. A. Roback³ criticizes this view and states: "Prince's distinction between the inscrutable, potential personality and its actual and observable phase is valid, but why call the latter character and reserve the term personality for that which furnishes only the raw material for personality, when the derivation of the word personality is clearly to be connected with the word which means a mask? . . . I find it difficult to subscribe to the definition of character as the characteristic mode of human behaviour on another ground. *Many are the modes of human behaviour which though characteristic are not significant* (italics in original text). Under character we should understand reactions or traits of paramount importance. The various idiosyncrasies, peculiarities and habits that are associated with different individuals while forming an integral part of the personality are not generally regarded as entering into that complex

¹ H. L. Hollingworth, "Judging Human Character."

² Morton Prince, "The Unconscious."

³ A. A. Roback, "The Psychology of Character" (1931).

which we call character. The manner in which a person holds his pen or pencil, his individual gait, his tendency to lisp are characteristic, but what have they to do with character? He continues: "*Character is a characteristic mode of human behaviour in that sphere which distinguishes man from animal*" (italics in original text); and again, "character is that part of the personality which remains after the cognitive, affective and physical qualities have been abstracted. Character, then, covers the volitional and inhibitory phases of behaviour; and yet it is dependent on intelligence to a large extent, and is affected by temperament in some measure, or at least it bears some relationship to it." He defines character as "an enduring psychophysical disposition to inhibit instinctive impulses in accordance with a regulative principle."

Character is defined by William Brown¹ "as an organization of individual life," and he considers that "people differ in character to the extent to which the organization of their activities varies." He adds, "we may forthwith identify character with will," and he uses the word will as "the totality of the mind in its organization, and in its lack of facing reality with a united or relatively united front."

William McDougall² pointed out that a large number of sentiments of like and dislike for normal qualities of character and conduct are traditional in every nation, and that the permanent social groups within the nation have their own peculiar moral traditions. In tracing the development of moral sentiments in the child he stated: "... in the end, the moral sentiments of the group in which his life is mainly passed tend to mould him into conformity with themselves; for his group enforces its traditional code with rewards or punishments, praise or blame, admiration or scorn and ridicule, according as he conforms in word and deed, or rebels and stands apart." The sentiments for McDougall were the units of which character is constituted: "Character is the system of directed conative tendencies. It may be relatively simple or complex; it may be harmoniously organized or lacking in harmony; it may be firmly or loosely knit; it may be directed in the main toward lower or toward higher goals. Character of the finest type is that which is complex, strongly and harmoniously organized, and directed toward the realization of higher goals or ideals."

Character and temperament are terms loosely used by Cyril Burt³ "... to designate the sum-total of those personal qualities of mind which do not constitute, or are not pervaded by intelligence. In technical

¹ William Brown, "Mind and Personality" (1926).

² William McDougall, "An Outline of Psychology," 4th edit. (1928).

³ Cyril Burt, "The Young Delinquent" (1925).

terms they may be said to cover all tendencies composed in their essence of affective and conative elements rather than by cognitive; they are marked by feeling rather than by knowledge, by will rather than by skill," and he states elsewhere¹: "Will must represent the keystone of character, not its foundation or base. It denotes an organizing or consolidating factor, or rather the fact of organization or consolidation itself, and is thus a late and complex product, not an innate or initial quality of the individual mind." He points out,² that if any division is to be made between the words "character" and "temperament," the former may be used where reference is primarily to moral and acquired factors, the latter when the reference is primarily to emotional and inborn factors.

Summarizing the nature and inter-relations of character and personality, J. R. Kantor³ states: "Character traits may be regarded as a class of activities developed in the individual's lifetime and conditioned by innumerable social, personal, economic, and historical circumstances. The class of character traits is therefore co-ordinate with every other trait class under the general rubric of personality. Personality is the collective name for all traits, no matter how they are classified for particular purposes."

Enough has been said to indicate the general trend of modern thought in regard to character. Its foundations lie in the inherited instincts and their accompanying emotions and it is expressed by conduct, excluding reflex actions, but including actions which are under voluntary control, the keystone, as well as instinctive actions—the inherited specific patterns of behaviour directed to certain ends.

(a) Criminality

Some writers use the euphemistic term delinquency⁴ when referring to crime committed by young persons. But juvenile and adolescent crime may include murder, manslaughter, arson, sexual offences, and other grave crimes and no useful purpose is served to society, to the victim or his relations, or to the offender if hard facts are distorted; and since the borderline between delinquency and crime is not established authoritatively it depends upon personal interpretation, and its use is sometimes ambiguous and misleading. The word criminality is used here to include both major and minor acts of omission or commission forbidden by law.

¹ Cyril Burt, *The Factorial Analysis of Emotional Traits*; "Character and Personality," Vol. VII, No. 3 (1939).

² Cyril Burt, *ibid.*

³ J. R. Kantor, Art. "Character and Personality," Vol. VI, No. 4 (1938).

⁴ The derivative significance of the word "delinquency" has been extended by custom to include acts of commission as well as omission.

TABLE XII

Criminal Family History, Recorded and Calculated Frequencies with Relatives involved according to Age, Nature and Number of Convictions of Lads examined

Relatives affected	Recorded Numbers at Ages Shown					Totals	Proportion per 1000		
	16	17	18	19	20				
Paternal and maternal.	1	-	4	1	-	6	1.50		
Father (not mother).	4	9	11	8	4	36	9.00		
Other paternal relatives.	-	-	-	1	-	1	0.25		
Mother (not father).	-	2	2	-	3	7	1.75		
Other maternal relatives.	-	1	3	1	-	5	1.25		
Brothers and sisters (Single.	22	39	23	28	21	133	33.25		
Multiple.	2	6	5	7	1	21	5.25		
Totals with family history.	29	57	48	46	29	209	52.25		
Step parent or half-sib.	1	-	1	-	-	2			
Others without family history.	468	860	911	858	692	3789			
Totals.	498	917	960	904	721	4000	1000		
Calculated Distribution at Same Ages.									
Totals with family history.	26.0	47.9	50.2	47.2	37.7	209			
Numbers without "	472.0	869.1	909.8	856.8	683.3	3791			
Recorded Number by Nature of Offences									
	Recorded Number by Nature of Offences				Calculated Distribution in the Same Groups.				Totals
	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Dis-ci-pline	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Dis-ci-pline	
Paternal and maternal.	6	-	-	-	5.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	6
Father (not mother).	33	1	1	1	32.6	1.2	1.1	1.1	36
Other paternal relatives.	1	-	-	-	1.0	-	-	-	1
Mother (not father).	7	-	-	-	6.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	7
Other maternal relatives.	5	-	-	-	4.5	0.2	0.2	0.1	6
Brothers and/or sisters.	149	2	2	1	139.4	5.1	4.8	4.7	154
Totals with family history.	201	3	3	2	189.3	6.9	6.5	6.3	209
Numbers without "	3721	129	122	119	3452.7	125.1	118.5	114.7	3791
Frequency by Number of Previous Convictions in the Property Group (1)								Totals	Pro-portion per 1000
Recorded Numbers				Calculated Distribution					
	0	1	2 or more		0	1	2	3 or more	
Paternal and maternal.	3	-	1	2	3.3	1.7	0.7	0.3	6
Father (not mother).	10	13	7	3	18.0	9.5	3.8	1.7	33
Other paternal relatives.	-	1	-	-	0.6	0.3	0.1	-	1
Mother (not father).	4	2	-	1	3.8	2.0	0.8	0.4	7
Other maternal relatives.	1	4	-	-	2.7	1.4	0.6	0.3	6
Brothers and/or sisters.	59	43	37	16	81.3	45.6	17.3	7.8	149
Totals with family history.	77	63	38	22	109.7	57.9	21.3	10.5	201
Numbers without "	1899	974	361	168	3566.3	978.5	335.7	179.5	3421
Totals.	1976	1036	420	180					3622

¹ In the remaining groups there were 3 with father but not mother affected (1 with 0, 1 with 1, 1 with 3 or more previous convictions), 5 with brothers or sisters affected (2 with 0, 3 with 1 previous conviction), and 370 without family history (252 with 0, 75 with 1, 24 with 2, 19 with 3 or more previous convictions)

A criminal history in the father was recorded in 9 per 1,000 of the lads investigated in this study (see Table XII), from the mother's side of the family in 3, and from both sides in 1.5 per 1,000. In addition about 38 per 1,000 had siblings but not parents affected, giving a total proportion with a family history of crime of 52 per 1,000. The frequency

was rather higher at ages sixteen to seventeen (61 per 1,000) than at ages eighteen to twenty, but the excess is not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 2.22$, $n = 1$, $P > .1$). A criminal family history was not so frequent among those with a record of offences against the person or against discipline only or sexual offences as in the large group with record of offences against property (21 per 1,000 compared with 55). In the property group a criminal heredity (chiefly in the father or siblings) was significantly associated with a history of more than one conviction ($\chi^2 = 35.41$, $n = 3$, $P < .01$). Of this group, 124 had been previously convicted, and 77 were first offenders compared with an expected distribution, based upon the whole 3,622 lads in this group, of 91 and 110 (that is to say, a ratio of 64 to 77).^{*} This suggests that for at least 60 lads a criminal family history was a causative factor in the commission of further offences after the first conviction. The property group as a whole recorded 6,163 convictions amongst 3,622 lads, or 1.702 per head, and on this basis the expected total number of convictions amongst the 201 with a criminal family history would be 342, whereas actually they had a record of 420 (77 with 1, 63 with 2, 39 with 3, 15 with 4, 4 with 5, 2 with 6, and 1 with 8 convictions), an excess of 78 convictions. In the other groups, of 378 lads only 8 had a criminal family history, of whom 5 had been previously convicted.

It should be noted also that a criminal family history may on occasion deter an adolescent from committing crime because the penalties and imprisonment imposed upon his relations appear to outweigh the possible advantages of a criminal career. A result, however, which is not to be inferred from the Table.

(b) Immorality

The term immorality is used here in a limited sense to connote sexual conduct which, although not necessarily criminal in character, differs from the ordinarily accepted standards of rectitude to such an extent as to gain general disapproval and justify inclusion within the rubric. Such conduct may not appear immoral to the principal actors. For example, when members of the family by force of circumstances sleep in the same room, proximity may lead to incestuous relations between them and be regarded as a natural and blameless sequence of their habitation. Non-sexual forms of immorality have been excluded for want of precise definition, and for the same reason persons to whom the term irreligious may be applied, although the irreligious, the immoral and the criminal are character selected groups, and each in a different way renounces the tradition of the society in which it lives. The

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outstanding difference between the criminal or the immoral and those who disregard religion lies in the fact that the character and conduct of the latter group may be admirable and gain the respect of its contemporaries.

Criminal and immoral persons have certain features in common. Both exemplify the negation of self-control and of character formation; in both conduct is detrimental to their own welfare and to that of the community in which they live, and both receive the general disapproval

TABLE XIII

Family History of Immorality, Recorded and Calculated Frequencies with Relatives affected according to Age, Nature and Number of Convictions of Lads examined

Relatives affected	Recorded Numbers at Ages Shown					Totals	Proportion per 1000
	16	17	18	19	20		
Paternal and maternal.	-	6	4	-	3	12	3.00
Father (not mother).	3	14	7	12	8	44	11.00
Other paternal relatives.	-	-	-	1	-	1	0.25
Mother (not father).	9	11	11	11	8	50	12.50
Other maternal relatives.	-	2	-	1	-	3	0.75
Brother or sister.	3	2	4	8	1	18	4.50
Totals with family history.	15	34	26	30	20	125	31.25
Step-parent or half-sib.	-	1	-	-	1	2	
Others without family history	483	882	934	874	700	3873	
Totals.	498	917	960	904	721	4000	1000

Totals with family history	Calculated Distribution at Same Ages.					Totals
	15.6	28.7	30.0	28.2	22.5	
Numbers without "	482.4	888.3	930.0	875.8	698.5	3875

	Recorded Numbers by Nature of Offences				Calculated Distribution in the Same Groups.				Totals
	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Disci-pline	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Disci-pline	
Paternal and maternal.	9	1	1	1	10.9	0.4	0.4	0.3	12
Father (not mother).	39	1	2	2	39.8	1.5	1.4	1.3	44
Other paternal relatives.	1	-	-	1	0.9	-	-	0.1	1
Mother (not father).	44	3	2	1	45.3	1.6	1.6	1.5	50
Other maternal relatives.	8	-	-	-	2.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	3
Brother or sister.	14	-	-	-	13.6	0.5	0.4	0.5	15
Totals with family history	110	5	5	5	113.2	4.1	3.9	3.8	125
Numbers without "	3512	127	120	116	3508.8	127.9	121.1	117.2	3875
Totals.	3622	132	125	121					4000

	Frequency by Number of Previous Convictions.								Totals
	Recorded Number				Calculated Distribution				
	0	1	2	3 or more	0	1	2	3 or more	
Paternal and maternal.	6	4	2	-	6.7	3.4	1.3	0.6	12
Father (not mother).	21	17	4	2	24.5	12.3	4.9	2.3	44
Other paternal relatives.	-	-	-	1	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.1	1
Mother (not father).	25	14	4	7	27.9	13.9	6.6	2.6	50
Other maternal relatives.	3	-	-	-	1.7	0.8	0.3	0.2	3
Brother or sister.	6	4	3	2	8.4	4.1	1.7	0.8	15
Totals with family history	61	39	13	12	69.7	34.8	13.9	6.6	125
Numbers without "	2170	1076	431	198					
Totals.	2231	1115	444	210					4000

of society. Moreover, since indulgence increases desire and habit weakens the will, both are strangers to wise living; further, immorality and criminality in the parents and others in the home may, directly or indirectly, induce criminal behaviour in other members of the family.

It will be seen from Table XIII that a history of immorality from both sides of the family was present in 3 per 1,000, from the father alone in 11 per 1,000, from the mother's side alone in 13 per 1,000, and siblings but not parents were affected in about 4 per 1,000, giving a total of 31 per 1,000 with this family history. The frequency did not differ significantly with age, nor was there any significant difference according to the nature of the offences in the record. There was a noteworthy excess with 3 or more previous convictions among those with a history of immorality in the mother (7 cases out of 50), this excess being probably significant. The total convictions recorded by the 125 lads with any kind of family history of immorality number 283 compared with 211 which would have resulted if the distribution according to number of convictions had been uniform (that is at the rate of 1.687 convictions per head as in the whole 4,000). This suggests that an immoral heredity was a causative factor for at least 72 of the convictions (after the first) which occur in these records.

(c) Quarrelsomeness

Harmonious surroundings are generally all-important for the advantageous development of character, but opposition and disharmony must be faced by most of us at some time or other, and it becomes important for the growing child and developing adolescent to meet such situations. The effect of censure on youth when appropriately applied on suitable occasions is beneficial, for the impressions produced by well-conceived opposition contribute towards the establishment in future of tolerance, rectitude, effort, obedience and ability to command.

The position, however, is very different when discord in the environment is more or less constant during the period of development. The resulting fear and irritation produce a condition of emotional tension in the more sensitive members of the family which tends to suppress the development of character according to socially acceptable principles. A "tough-minded" member of the family constantly involved in the family quarrels has his combativeness aroused and the accompanying emotion of anger, although possessing a survival value, tends to become so forceful that it easily gets beyond control and induces criminal conduct, directly or indirectly, if the subject becomes habitually irritable and pugnacious as a result. The "tender-minded" and submissive person in similar

circumstances is apt to develop a feeling of inferiority which may prove a handicap to future success in life. Further, as a result of the strained atmosphere of the quarrelsome home, those members of the family who are neither "tough" - nor "tender"-minded may come to manifest a lability of feeling which encourages impulsiveness and its attendant disadvantages.

TABLE XIV

Family History of Quarrelsomeness, Recorded and Calculated Frequencies with Relatives affected according to Age, Nature and Number of Convictions of Lads examined*

Relatives affected	Recorded Numbers at Ages shown.					Totals	Proportion per 1000
	16	17	18	19	20		
Paternal and maternal.	1	1	1	4	-	7	1.75
Father (not mother).	11	20	23	22	21	97	24.25
Mother (not father).	1	3	1	1	-	6	1.50
Brothers and (Single sisters. (Multiple.	1	3	2	1	4	11	2.75
	-	-	-	2	-	2	0.50
Totals with family history.	14	27	27	30	25	123	30.75
Step-parent or half-sib.	2	2	1	3	1	9	
Mos. without family history	482	888	932	871	695	3868	
Totals.	498	917	960	904	721	4000	1000
Calculated Distribution at Same Age.							
Totals with family history	15.3	28.2	29.5	27.8	22.2	123	
Numbers without "	482.7	888.8	930.5	876.2	698.8	3877	

Relatives affected	Recorded Number by Nature of Offences				Calculated Distribution in the Same Groups.				Totals
	Prop-erty	Per-sonal	Sex-ual	Disci-pline	Prop-erty	Per-sonal	Sex-ual	Disci-pline	
Paternal and maternal.	5	1	-	1	5.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	7
Father (not mother).	79	8	3	7	87.9	3.2	3.0	2.9	97
Mother (not father).	6	-	-	-	5.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	6
Brothers and/or sisters.	13	-	-	-	11.8	0.4	0.4	0.4	15
Totals with family history	103	9	3	8	111.4	4.1	3.8	3.7	123
Numbers without "	3519	123	122	113	3510.6	127.9	121.2	117.3	3877
Totals.	3622	132	125	121					4000

	Frequency by Number of Previous Convictions in Property Group. (1)								Totals	Pro-Portion per 1000.
	Recorded Numbers				Calculated Distribution.					
	0	1	2	3 or more	0	1	2	3 or more		
Paternal and maternal.	2	3	-	-	2.7	1.4	0.6	0.3	6	1.38
Father (not mother).	38	30	6	5	43.1	22.7	9.1	4.1	79	21.81
Mother (not father).	4	2	-	-	3.3	1.7	0.7	0.3	8	1.68
Brothers and/or sisters.	8	3	2	-	7.1	3.7	1.5	0.7	15	3.59
Totals with family history.	52	38	8	5	56.2	29.8	11.9	5.4	103	28.44
Numbers without "	1924	998	412	185	1924.8	1005.6	408.1	184.6		
Totals.	1976	1036	420	190					3622	

* In the remaining groups there were 2 with paternal and maternal heredity (1 with 0, 1 with 1 previous convictions), 15 with the father but not the mother affected (12 with 0, 3 with 1 previous conviction), and 358 without family history (242 with 0, 75 with 1, 23 with 2, 18 with 3 or more previous convictions).

The value of family life rests, to some extent, upon unity of purpose, but discord creates disunion and may disrupt the even growth of youth.

Similar aims lessen the opportunities for misunderstandings and promote a spirit of reasonableness which is too often absent from the homes of badly assorted and ill-tempered folk. At the same time it must be recognized that the quarrelsome person not only affects others adversely, but is often himself the product of adverse circumstances, so that his disposition is little more than the expression of constant economic frets and apprehensions.

It should not be inferred from the above, that anger properly controlled and properly expressed on lawful occasions is to be discouraged. Its survival value has already been mentioned, and, as far as we can see into the future, healthy youth and manhood will never successfully cope with life if peaceful submission in all things is the accepted standard of conduct. Nevertheless, many of the disputes which recur in some families serve no useful purpose and are ill-advised, since neither party can convince the other that he is right or prove his point of view.

Reference to Table XIV shows that a family history of quarrelsomeness was present in about 31 per 1,000, the father being the chief offender (24 per 1,000). The frequency did not vary significantly with age. The groups with record of offences against the person, or against discipline alone, showed a significant excess with a quarrelsome father (15 compared with 6 expected), so this may have been a causative factor for about 9 of them. Of these, together with the sexual offence group, 13 out of 20 were first offenders, a normal proportion in those groups. The property group shows no abnormality in distribution according to the number of convictions (174 total convictions in the group of 103 compared with 175 expected).

IV. Mental Disabilities

The mental disabilities under consideration include insanity and psycho-neurosis, mental defectiveness and retardation, epilepsy, inebriety and drug addiction. The interplay between heredity and environment is effective, here as elsewhere, in establishing the disability present. Environmental factors account for much in some forms of mental disability, and the hereditary factor is not necessarily predominant. Discussing the inheritance of mental diseases—the insanities and psycho-neuroses—Aubrey Lewis¹ quotes Rudin who enumerates the theoretical requirements for considering an anomaly suitable for genetic investigation:—

“1. Familial occurrence of a disorder for which any exogenous etiology is improbable, especially where the members live far apart and under different conditions.

¹ Aubrey Lewis. *Art. Inheritance of Mental Disease.* “The Chances of Morbid Inheritance,” edited by C. P. Blacker (1934).

- " 2. Increased incidence of the disorder where there is inbreeding (endogamy), and coincidence with other inherited disorders.
- " 3. Diminished incidence with exogamy.
- " 4. Continuous occurrence over generations, even without inbreeding.
- " 5. Tendency of affected siblings to alternate with healthy ones in the sequence of births.
- " 6. Frequent contemporaneous occurrence of the anomaly in question in both of uniovular twins.
- " 7. A certain homogeneity of the syndromes found in the different families is desirable as a basis for genetic investigation."

We are not concerned here with the physical aspects of an epileptic attack as much as the mental disability arising from the disorder. Epilepsy has therefore been considered in this rather than in the section on physical disabilities, although the physical manifestation of an epileptic attack may lead to loss of employment and consequent economic difficulties and crime. Similarly, alcohol and drug addiction may appear as manifestations of character disability and might have been discussed under that heading, but it has seemed more convenient to deal with them in relation to the mental disability which results from indulgence in one or the other.

(a) Insanity and Psycho-neurosis

The clinical association of crime with insanity and the psycho-neuroses will be discussed in a later chapter. Here we are concerned with the inherited and familial aspects; in other words, with the tendency of a particular kind of mental reaction to be inherited and with the effect on other members of the family if one of them is so affected. It is only necessary to mention in regard to the latter that an insane or neurotic member may adversely affect others in the family by his aberrant behaviour and by adding to the stress and discomfort in the home.

The commonest forms of psychoses associated with adolescent crime are schizophrenia and manic-depressive disorder. In the former as Aubrey Lewis¹ points out, "the hereditary relations are unusually difficult to determine because of the ever-changing clinical views of what constitutes the disorder." The relationship between unequivocal cases of schizophrenia and the eccentric, retiring, suspicious and introverted individuals who form the schizoid group is still uncertain. Numerous studies point to schizophrenia being an inherited anomaly and schizoid

¹ Aubrey Lewis. *Art. Inheritance of Mental Disorder*. "The Chances of Morbid Inheritance," edited by C. P. Blacker (1934).

states to be closely related to schizophrenia, and to occur frequently in families presenting abnormal personalities and psychopaths of various kinds.

The limits of manic-depressive disorder are not clearly outlined. On the one hand is the unequivocal psychosis, and on the other the mild degrees of affective states which do not materially interfere with conduct or the ordinary affairs of life—the cycloid group. It appears that there is no evidence for regarding manic or depressed states as separately transmissible, but that the abnormality which constitutes manic-depressive disorder may be transmitted.

Aubrey Lewis¹ states: "Of the children of a schizophrenic 8–10 per cent. will probably themselves be schizophrenic; 34–42 per cent. will show schizoid personality (eccentricity); only about half will be mentally normal. This represents 10 times as great an incidence of schizophrenia and 25 times as great an incidence of schizoid psychopathy as may be expected in the offspring of healthy parents, taken at random. If both parents are schizophrenic, half the children will be schizophrenic, and only one-fifth of the children normal. . . .

"Of the children of a manic-depressive parent a third will have the same disorder. This represents a tremendous disproportion to the figures for the average population, in whom the frequency of manic-depressive disorder is only 0.4 per cent. Another sixth of the children will show milder mood-disorders. If both parents have manic-depressive illness, two-thirds of the children will be manic-depressive, and the remaining third will show milder affective psychopathy."

The tendency of current opinion regarding paranoia and paranoid states is to consider them as clinical varieties of a large group having a hereditary constitution. E. Mapother and Aubrey Lewis² consider it unprofitable to think of them as syndromes in their own right and of the same order as schizophrenia or manic-depressive disorder and regard them as being on the same subsidiary level as stupor, hypochondriasis, anxiety and depersonalisation. Lewis³ states: "The sharply defined, but very rare 'paranoia' as described by Kraepelin, has been carefully studied on unexceptionable material (Kolle), and it has been found that among the relatives of paranoiac patients, paranoia is extremely uncommon, as is manic-depressive psychosis, whereas schizophrenia occurs twice as frequently as in the average population, though not so frequently as in the classical dementia præcox group; in a minority the schizophrenia is

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² E. Mapother and Aubrey Lewis. *Art. Psychological Medicine. Price's "Text Book of Medicine," 5th Edition (1937).*

³ Aubrey Lewis, *ibid.*

of a paranoid type. There is no ground for supposing a special gene, with paranoia as its exclusive manifestation, though constitutional and other modifying factors are detectable in paranoiacs and their relatives." He quotes Kehrér who found in a group of paranoid disorders that a paranoid psychosis occurred infrequently among the relatives, whereas paranoid constitution was frequent.

A hereditary factor appears probable in many cases of hysteria and obsession. E. Mapother and Aubrey Lewis¹ record a group of hysterics who were pathological liars and were compared with the average population in respect of the proportion of their brothers and sisters who were in mental hospitals, it was five times as great, and of the parents of the group, a sixth were psychopathic. The same authors state that a third of the parents of obsessional patients, and a fifth of the siblings have themselves shown pronounced obsessional traits; the proportion is in each case higher if all forms of mental abnormality are included," since both schizophrenia and affective illnesses occur with more than average frequency in families of obsessionals.

The hysteric and obsessional person may not be considered mentally ill by himself or his relatives and may not seek advice concerning his condition, and the mode of transmission and the nature of what is transmitted remains uncertain. At the present time it seems justifiable only to infer the transmission of some hereditary factor.

It would be inappropriate to the purpose of this enquiry to consider the inheritance of other forms of psychiatric disorder. Suffice it to say that the hereditary factor in schizophrenia and manic-depressive disorder is not usually regarded as a general neuropathic taint, but as a specific tendency to one or other mental abnormality; that our knowledge is incomplete since an inheritable trait may be present although unrecognized; that a transmissible tendency may involve no more than a special type of personality; that schizoid, cycloid, paranoid, obsessional and hysterical types may escape gross mental illness; that if mental illness occurs it is likely to assume the type associated with the personality; and that circumstances in the life of the individual may determine whether a psychotic disorder will develop, and, if so, whether crime will result.

Table XV shows that a history of insanity from both sides of the family was present in 1 per 1,000, from the father's side alone in about 25, from the mother's side alone in 30, and from siblings in about 8 per 1,000, giving a total of 64 per 1,000 with this family history. The proportion with any such kind of family history did not vary significantly with age,

¹ E. Mapother and Aubrey Lewis, *ibid.*

but there was a significant excess of fraternal insanity at the age of twenty compared with other ages ($\chi^2 = 6.84$, $n = 1$, $P = .01$).

There was significant excess of insanity in the family in the group with record of sexual offences compared with the other groups taken together ($\chi^2 = 6.76$, $n = 1$, $P < .01$), and an excess of doubtful significance in the group with record of offences against the person compared with the other groups taken together ($\chi^2 = 2.63$, $n = 1$, $P = .11$). The four-

TABLE XV

Family History of Insanity, Recorded and Calculated Frequencies with Relatives Affected according to Age, Nature and Number of Convictions

Relatives affected	Recorded Numbers at Ages shown					Totals	Proportion per 1000		
	16	17	18	19	20				
Paternal and maternal.	1	-	1	1	1	4	1.00		
Father (not mother).	4	13	10	10	6	43	10.76		
Other paternal relatives.	9	12	15	13	10	59	14.75		
Mother (not father).	5	13	6	12	12	48	12.00		
Other maternal relatives.	12	16	14	19	11	72	18.00		
Brother and (Single.	2	4	6	5	11	28	7.00		
sister. (Multiple.	-	-	1	1	-	2	0.50		
Totals with family history	33	58	53	61	51	256	64.00		
Step-parent or half-sib.	-	-	-	-	1	1			
No. without family history	465	859	907	843	669	3743			
Totals.	498	917	960	904	721	4000	1000		
Calculated Distribution at Same Ages									
Totals with family history	31.9	58.7	61.4	57.9	46.1	256			
Numbers without " "	466.1	858.3	898.6	846.1	674.9	3744			
Relatives affected	Recorded Number by Nature of Offences (1)				Calculated Distribution by Nature of Offences				Totals.
	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Disci-pline	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Disci-pline	
Paternal and maternal.	4	-	-	-	3.6	0.2	0.1	0.1	4
Father (not mother).	36	1	6	-	38.9	1.4	1.4	1.3	43
Other paternal relatives.	46	4	6	3	53.4	1.9	1.9	1.8	59
Mother (not father).	42	2	2	2	43.5	1.6	1.5	1.4	48
Other maternal relatives.	64	4	1	3	65.2	2.4	2.2	2.2	72
Brothers and/or sisters.	28	2	-	2	27.2	1.0	0.9	0.9	30
Totals with family history	218	13	15	10	231.8	8.5	8.0	7.7	256
Numbers without " "	2404	112	110	111	3390.2	123.5	117.0	113.3	3744

¹ Comparison with calculated distribution gives $\chi^2 = 10.70$, $n = 3$, $P = .014$.

Relatives affected	Frequency by No. of Previous Convictions.								Totals
	Recorded Numbers ⁽¹⁾				Calculated Distribution				
	0	1	2	3 or more	0	1	2	3 or more	
Paternal and maternal	1	2	1	-	2.2	1.1	0.5	0.2	4
Father (not mother).	26	10	3	4	24.0	12.0	4.8	2.2	43
Other paternal relatives.	32	18	6	3	32.9	16.5	6.5	3.1	59
Mother (not father).	26	18	6	-	26.8	13.4	5.3	2.5	48
Other maternal relatives.	45	16	9	2	40.2	20.0	8.0	3.8	72
Brothers and/or sisters.	17	10	2	1	16.7	8.4	3.3	1.6	30
Totals with family history.	147	72	27	10	142.8	71.4	28.4	13.4	256
Numbers without " "	2084	1043	417	200	2088.2	1043.6	416.6	196.6	3744
Totals.	2231	1115	444	210	2231	1115	444	210	4000

¹ Comparison with calculated distribution gives $\chi^2 = 1.33$, $n = 3$, $P > .7$.

group distribution shows significant departure from uniformity, as the value of P in the footnote to the Table indicates. In the sexual offences group it was insanity in the father or paternal relatives which accounted for the excess, 12 out of 125 giving such a history instead of an expected number between 3 and 4, and the figures suggest that insanity on the father's side may be held responsible for at least 8 of the lads committing such offences. In the person group, the excess is distributed over various relatives, and its significance is in doubt; if the excess is a real one, it suggests that an insane heredity might have been responsible for 4 or 5 of the lads committing offences of this class. In the group with record of offences only against discipline the excess was insignificant and distributed over various relatives.

There is no evidence in the whole material of any association between an insane heredity and the number of convictions, the 1,769 multiple offenders having 62 per 1,000 with such a history compared with 66 per 1,000 of the 2,231 first offenders. Of the sexual group only 4 out of the 15 with a family history of insanity were multiple offenders (105 out of 241 in the other groups).

About 8 per 1,000 of the family histories recorded psycho-neurosis from the father's side alone, 9 per 1,000 from the mother's side alone, 1 per 1,000 from both sides, and in 2 per 1,000 only siblings and not parents were affected giving a total of 20 per 1,000 with a family history of psycho-neurosis. The frequency of psycho-neurosis did not vary significantly with age, with the nature of the offences committed nor with the number of previous convictions (see Table XVI).

(b) Mental Defectiveness and Retardation

From time to time confusion arises when figures relating to mental defectiveness are considered as some writers use the term loosely and appear to adopt a personal standard as to what constitutes the condition. The term "mental defectiveness" is used here in the legal sense and according to the definition in the Mental Deficiency Act, 1927, namely: "A condition of arrested or incomplete development of mind existing before the age of eighteen years, whether arising from inherent causes or induced by disease or injury." As the condition is again referred to in a later chapter, it is only necessary to state now that the idiot is not seen in prison, but the other three types of defectives, namely, the imbecile, the feeble-minded and the moral defective are not infrequently under mental observation in prison and are found guilty of various forms of crime.

TABLE XVI

Family History of Psycho-neurosis, Recorded and Calculated Frequencies with Relatives affected according to Age, Nature and Number of Convictions

Relatives affected.	Recorded Nos. at Ages Shown with Psycho-neurosis in family					Totals	Proportion per 1000
	16	17	18	19	20		
Paternal and maternal.	-	2	-	2	-	4	1.00
Father (not mother).	6	7	5	9	6	33	8.25
Other paternal relatives	1	-	1	-	-	2	0.50
Mother (not father).	3	9	7	9	2	30	7.50
Other maternal relatives	1	1	2	-	-	4	1.00
Brothers and (Single sisters (Multiple.	-	1	3	2	1	7	1.75
Totals with family history	11	20	19	22	9	81	20.25
Numbers without "	487	897	941	882	712	3919	
Totals.	498	917	960	904	721	4000	1000
Calculated Distribution at Same Ages.							
Totals with family history	10.1	18.6	19.4	18.3	14.6	81	
Numbers without "	487.9	898.4	940.6	885.7	706.4	3919	

Relatives affected	Recorded Numbers by Nature of Offences.				Calculated Distribution by Nature of Offences				Totals
	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline	
Paternal and maternal.	4	-	-	-	3.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	4
Father (not mother).	28	2	2	1	29.9	1.1	1.0	1.0	33
Other paternal relatives.	2	-	-	-	1.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	2
Mother (not father).	26	1	2	1	27.2	1.0	0.9	0.9	30
Other maternal relatives.	4	-	-	-	3.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	4
Brothers and/or sisters.	8	-	-	-	7.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	8
Totals with family history	72	3	4	2	73.4	2.7	2.5	2.4	81
Numbers without "	3550	129	121	119	3548.6	129.3	122.5	118.6	3919
Totals.	3622	132	125	121	3622	132	125	121	4000

Relatives affected	Recorded Numbers by No. of Previous Convictions				Calculated distribution by No. of Previous Convictions				Totals
	0	1	2	3 or more	0	1	2	3 or more	
Paternal and maternal.	3	-	1	-	2.2	1.1	0.6	0.2	4
Father (not mother).	20	5	6	3	18.4	9.2	3.7	1.7	33
Other paternal relatives	1	1	-	-	1.1	0.6	0.2	0.1	2
Mother (not father).	16	12	2	-	16.7	8.4	3.3	1.6	30
Other maternal relatives	2	2	-	-	2.3	1.1	0.4	0.2	4
Brothers and/or sisters.	4	3	1	-	4.5	2.2	0.9	0.4	8
Totals with family history	46	23	9	3	45.2	22.6	9.0	4.2	81
Numbers without "	2185	1092	435	207	2185.8	1092.4	435.0	205.8	3919
Totals.	2231	1115	444	210	2231	1115	444	210	4000

The term " mental retardation " is used to include those persons who do not come within any of the legal criteria of the different forms of mental defectiveness but, nevertheless, are subnormal in intelligence and below the average in ordinary social capacity. In some examples it is found that the condition is not permanent, and although mental development may be delayed the patient in course of time reaches the ordinary level of intelligence and social adaptability for his station in life.

The mentally retarded group, therefore, includes those who are interposed qualitatively between the high-grade feeble-minded and

normal persons, and incline to one or other; and those in whom the efflux of time suggests that the distinction from normality was more or less artificial.

Mental defectiveness is sometimes referred to as primary or secondary. The former is due to factors affecting the germ and is presumably transmissible, the latter is due to environmental factors operating after fertilisation, and, presumably, is not transmissible. There is some reason to believe that conditions operating during the intra-uterine period of life may also produce mental defectiveness. In certain rare forms of mental defectiveness hereditary transmission has been proved to be on Mendelian lines. Low-grade defectiveness is found to be more frequently associated with environmental factors than high-grade defectiveness, and in many cases of mental defectiveness there exists in the family some other form of mental abnormality, for example, insanity, psycho-neurosis or subnormality. Whether the cause of the defect be bad heredity or adverse environmental conditions, or both, the children of parents one or both of whom are mentally defective are, on the average, below the normal, and nearly one-third of their children who survive are likely to be defective, and more than two-fifths must be expected to exhibit some degree of mental abnormality.¹

Apart from considerations of heredity, a mentally defective parent is usually less likely to occupy successfully a position of authority in the home and establish a good family tradition than one who is mentally normal, and mentally defective siblings may lower the standard of conduct in the home if their defect is unrecognised and its effects condoned. Here as elsewhere, precept and example secure for the child and adolescent a basis of future behaviour.

It will be seen in Table XVII that one or more brothers and sisters were mentally defective in 21 per 1,000 of the families, the father in one instance and the mother in five out of the whole 4,000. The total frequency did not change significantly with age. A history of mental defectiveness in siblings but not in the parents was significantly more frequent in the group with a record of offences only against discipline (7 out of 121 or 58 per 1,000), and it occurred in four of those convicted for one or more sexual offences (2.6 expected). Of these 11 lads, 10 were first offenders, but it must be remembered that lads in such families tend to be mentally subnormal themselves in which case some might be placed under supervision after the first conviction. The figures suggest that a family history of mental defectiveness may be held responsible for about six lads committing offences in these groups. Among the groups with a

¹ Report of the Departmental Committee on Sterilisation (1934).

TABLE XVII

Family History of Mental Defectiveness, Recorded and Calculated Frequencies with Relatives affected according to Age, Nature and Number of Convictions

Relatives affected	Recorded Numbers at Ages					Totals	Proportion per 1000		
	16	17	18	19	20				
Father (not mother).	-	-	-	1	-	1	0.25		
Other paternal relatives.	3	-	-	-	-	3	0.75		
Mother (not father).	3	1	1	-	-	5	1.25		
Other maternal relatives.	-	2	1	2	1	6	1.50		
Brothers and (Single.	11	15	14	22	12	74	18.50		
sisters (Multiple.	2	2	1	3	1	9	2.25		
Totals with family history	19	20	17	28	14	98	24.50		
Step-parent and half-sib.	-	1	1	1	-	3			
Nos. without family history	479	896	942	875	707	3899			
Totals.	498	917	960	904	721	4000	1000		
Calculated Distribution at Same Ages									
Totals with family history	12.2	22.5	23.5	22.1	17.7	98			
Numbers without "	485.8	894.5	936.5	881.9	703.3	3902			
Recorded Numbers by Nature of Offences. Calculated Distribution in the Same Groups.									
	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Dis-cipline	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Dis-cipline	Totals
Father (not mother).	1	-	-	-	0.9	0.1	-	-	1
Other paternal relatives.	2	1	-	-	2.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	3
Mother (not father).	4	-	1	-	4.5	0.1	0.2	0.2	6
Other maternal relatives.	6	-	-	-	5.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	6
Brothers and/or sisters.	70	2	4	7	75.2	2.7	2.6	2.5	83
Totals with family history.	83	3	6	7	88.7	3.2	3.1	3.0	98
Numbers without "	3539	129	120	114	3533.3	125.8	121.9	118.0	3902
Totals.	3622	132	126	121					4000
Frequency by No of Previous Convictions in Property and Person Groups (1)								Totals	Pro-portion per 1000
Recorded Numbers.								Calculated Distribution.	
	0	1	2	3 or more	0	1	2	3 or more	
Father (not mother).	1	-	-	-	0.6	0.3	0.1	-	1
Other paternal relatives.	1	1	1	-	1.6	0.9	0.3	0.2	3
Mother (not father).	3	-	1	-	2.2	1.1	0.5	0.2	4
Other maternal relatives.	4	2	-	-	3.3	1.7	0.7	0.3	6
Brothers and/or sisters.	37	21	7	7	39.0	20.7	8.4	3.9	72
Totals with family history.	46	24	9	7	46.7	24.7	10.0	4.6	86
Numbers without "	1990	1055	427	190	1989.3	1055.3	426.0	188.4	3668
Totals.	2036	1079	436	203					3754

¹ In the other groups there were 1 (first offender) with mother but not father affected, 11 with brothers or sisters affected (10 with 0, 1 with 1, previous convictions), and 244 without family history (184 with 0, 35 with 1, 8 with 2, 7 with 3 or more previous convictions).

record of offences against property or the person no significant association with the number of previous convictions was evident, 46 out of 86 being first offenders, which agrees approximately with the expected proportion.

The figures in Table XVIII relating to mental retardation and subnormality show that about 9 per 1,000 families gave a history of mental subnormality on the father's or mother's side, and 7 per 1,000 in siblings but not parents, giving a total frequency of 16 per 1,000 with any such kind of family history. There was no significant change in this frequency with age. The group with a record of one or more sexual offences included seven with a family history of mental retardation

TABLE XVIII

Family History of Mental Retardation or Subnormality not amounting to Mental Defectiveness, Recorded and Calculated Frequencies with Relatives affected according to Age, Nature and Number of Convictions

Relatives affected.	Recorded Numbers at Ages Shown					Totals	Proportion per 1000
	16	17	18	19	20		
Paternal and maternal.	2	-	1	1	-	4	1.00
Father (not mother).	3	1	2	1	-	7	1.75
Other paternal relatives.	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.25
Mother (not father).	4	5	4	6	2	23	5.75
Other maternal relatives.	1	-	1	-	1	3	0.75
Brothers and (Single sisters. (Multiple.	2	6	7	7	4	26	6.50
Totals with family history.	12	13	15	17	8	65	16.25
Numbers without "	486	904	945	887	713	3935	
Totals.	498	917	960	904	721	4000	1000

Calculated Distribution at Same Ages.								Totals.	
Recorded Number by Nature of Offences					Calculated Distribution in the Same Groups.				
Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Disci-pline	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Disci-pline		
Paternal and maternal.	2	1	1	-	3.6	0.1	0.1	0.2	4
Father (not mother).	6	-	1	-	6.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	7
Other paternal relatives.	1	-	-	-	0.9	-	0.1	-	1
Mother (not father).	19	-	3	1	20.8	0.6	0.7	0.7	23
Other maternal relatives.	3	-	-	-	2.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	3
Brothers and/or sisters.	21	1	2	3	24.5	0.9	0.8	0.8	27
Totals with family history.	52	2	7	4	58.9	2.1	2.0	2.0	65
Numbers without "	3570	130	118	117	3563.1	123.9	116.0	115.0	3935

Frequency by No of Previous Convictions in Property and Person Groups. (1)								Totals	Pro-portion per 1000	
Recorded Numbers.				Calculated Distribution.						
No	1	2	No%	No	1	2	No%			
Paternal and maternal.	2	1	-	-	1.6	0.9	0.3	0.2	3	0.80
Father (not mother).	4	2	-	-	3.3	1.7	0.7	0.3	6	1.60
Other paternal relatives.	1	-	-	-	0.6	0.3	0.1	-	1	0.27
Mother (not father).	8	4	6	1	10.3	5.5	2.2	1.0	19	5.06
Other maternal relatives.	1	2	-	-	1.6	0.8	0.4	0.2	3	0.80
Brothers and/or sisters.	12	8	1	1	11.9	6.3	2.6	1.2	22	5.66
Totals with family history.	28	17	7	2	29.3	15.6	6.3	2.9	54	14.38
Numbers without "	2008	1062	429	201	2006.7	1055.5	429.7	200.1	3700	
Totals.	2036	1079	436	203					3754	1000

¹ In the other groups there were 1 with paternal and maternal heredity (first offender), 1 with father but not mother affected (first offender), 4 with mother but not father affected (2 with 0, 2 with 1 previous conviction), 5 with brothers or sisters affected (all first offenders), and 235 without family history (186 with 0, 34 with 1, 8 with 2, 7 with 3 or more previous convictions).

(one with both parents, one with father, three with mother, two with siblings, but not parents), a significant excess of five over the expected number. The group with record of offences only against discipline also showed an excess (four compared with two expected). Of these 11 lads, nine were first offenders. These figures suggest that mental retardation in the family may be held responsible for about seven of the lads com-

mitting offences in these groups. Among the groups with a record of offences against property or the person no significant association with the number of previous convictions was apparent, 28 out of 54 being first offenders, which agrees approximately with the expected proportion.

(c) Epilepsy

Epileptics may be divided socially into three classes: (1) those who are free from any mental abnormality, are socially competent and engage in ordinary occupations; (2) those who can only adapt themselves and find companionship in the so-called "social problem group"; and (3) those who require care and treatment in a colony or institution. The disorder may be accompanied by mental defectiveness and by many is regarded as evidence of a familial neuropathic taint, including insanity, mental defectiveness and inebriety. Its mode of inheritance is admittedly uncertain and estimates of the importance of the hereditary factor vary. Henderson and Gillespie¹ quote Myerson's view that it is rare to find brothers and sisters epileptic, and this fact suggests that epilepsy is an affair of the individual and not of the stock.

James Collier and F. M. R. Walshe² state that the direct transmission of epilepsy from parent to child is exceptional. They quote a recent review of the subject by Cobb who says that on so-called eugenic grounds as high a proportion as 90 per cent. of epileptics cannot reasonably be advised against marriage. Russell Brain³ found in a series of 200 patients that the proportion of epileptics with one or more relatives also suffering from epilepsy was 28 per cent., a figure which is in substantial agreement with that given by Turner, Echeverria, Gowers and Bennett. Brain agrees with Gowers that an estimate of one-third of all epileptics with a family history of the disorder is too low, and he considers it reasonable to assume that approximately 50 per cent. of epileptics have affected relatives and that the expected incidence of epilepsy in the children of an epileptic parent is 10 per cent.

A statistical examination of 257 pairs of twins, not collected from the literature, was made by K. Conrad⁴ as a government study of eugenics into the meaning of heredity in relation to epilepsy. Among 30 pairs of similar or uniovular twins with epilepsy both were affected in 66.6 per cent. Among 127 pairs of dissimilar twins with epilepsy both were affected in 3.15 per cent. Conrad separated the cases into essential and

¹ D. K. Henderson and R. D. Gillespie, "Text Book of Psychiatry," 3rd Edition (1932).

² James Collier and F. M. R. Walshe Art Epilepsy. Price's "Text Book of Medicine," 5th Edition (1937).

³ Russell Brain. Art. Epilepsy. "Chances of Morbid Inheritance." Edited by C. P. Blacker (1934).

⁴ K. Conrad, "Deut. Ztschr. f. Nervenhe.," 139, 77-81, Jan., 1936.

TABLE XIX

Family History of Epilepsy, Recorded and Calculated Frequencies with Relatives affected, according to Age, Nature and Number of Convictions

Relatives affected.	Recorded Number at Ages shown					Totals	Proportion per 1000
	16	17	18	19	20		
Father (not mother).	6	7	5	2	2	22	6.50
Other paternal relatives.	4	5	4	1	1	13	3.25
Mother (not father).	5	5	5	4	4	23	5.75
Other maternal relatives.	8	10	7	8	5	38	9.50
Brothers and (Single.	10	17	20	27	18	92	23.00
sisters (Multiple.	1	1	1	1	1	5	1.25
Totals with family history.	34	43	42	43	31	193	48.25
Step-parent or half-sib.	-	2	-	-	1	3	
Nos. without family history.	464	672	918	861	689	3804	
Totals.	498	717	960	904	721	4000	1000
Calculated Distribution at Same Ages.							
Father (not mother).	2.7	5.0	5.3	5.0	4.0	22	
Other paternal relatives.	1.6	3.0	3.1	3.0	2.3	13	
Mother (not father).	2.9	5.3	5.6	5.2	4.1	23	
Other maternal relatives.	4.7	8.7	9.1	8.6	6.9	38	
Brothers and/or sisters.	12.1	22.7	23.3	21.9	17.5	97	
Totals with family history.	24.0	44.2	46.3	43.7	34.8	193	
Numbers without "	474.0	672.8	913.7	860.3	686.2	3807	
Recorded Number by Nature of Offences at Two Ages							
	Property, Person and Sexual				Calculated Distribution by Nature of Offences at Two Ages		
	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	16-20	21-25	26-30
Father (not mother).	4	14	1	-	1	2	19.9
Other paternal relatives.	3	6	1	2	-	-	11.8
Mother (not father).	2	16	-	1	-	2	20.8
Other maternal relatives.	8	26	-	1	-	2	34.4
Brothers and/or sisters.	11	75	-	4	-	5	87.9
Totals with family history.	28	137	2	7	1	4	1174.8
Numbers without "	477	3030	7	116	18	102	95847.2
Totals and statistical association.	3622	132	125	127	2	14.04	n=3. P<0.1
Recorded Numbers by No. of Previous Convictions.							
	Discipline Group				Calculated Distribution by No. of Previous Convictions		
	Property, Person and Sexual Groups				Property, Person and Sexual Groups		
	0	1	2	3 or more	0	1	2
Father (not mother).	3	-	-	-	8	9	2
Other paternal relatives.	-	-	-	-	8	2	3
Mother (not father).	3	1	-	-	7	11	1
Other maternal relatives.	1	1	-	-	22	10	3
Brothers and/or sisters.	5	-	-	-	46	25	15
Totals with family history.	12	2	-	-	91	57	24
Numbers without "	92	11	2	2	2036	106	418
Totals.	104	13	2	2	2127	162	442
Calculated Distribution with family history.	12.1	1.5	0.3	0.2			

symptomatic epilepsy and discarded 100 cases which were doubtful. Of the similar twins both were epileptic in 86.3 per cent. of 22 cases with essential epilepsy, and in 12.5 per cent. of 8 cases with symptomatic epilepsy. Of the dissimilar twins both were epileptic in 4.3 per cent. of 93 cases with essential epilepsy and in none of 34 cases with symptomatic epilepsy. The importance of Conrad's findings lies in the fact that in

uniovular twins, who have an identical heredity, the incidence of epilepsy in both individuals is much greater than in the case of dissimilar twins.

The epileptic temperament, apart from any epileptic seizure, inclines towards irritability, impulsiveness and sudden mood changes, but its effect as a crime-producing factor on other members of the family is usually insignificant. The effect of epilepsy on the patient himself is discussed later.

Among the lads investigated in this study a history of epilepsy from the father's side of the family was present in 9 per 1,000, from the mother's side in 15 per 1,000, and siblings but not parents were affected in 24 per 1,000, giving a total of 48 per 1,000 with an epileptic family history. The proportion with such family history was significantly higher at age sixteen (68 per 1,000) than at other ages ($\chi^2 = 5.00$, $n = 1$, $P = .028$), and the excess was apparent both on the paternal and maternal side, but not for siblings alone (see Table XIX). The group with record of offences only against discipline (all ages) contained a significantly higher proportion with an epileptic heredity, 14 out of 121 or 11.6 per 1,000 ($\chi^2 = 14.04$, $n = 3$, $P < .01$), the excess being distributed over father, mother and siblings. It would appear that an epileptic family history might be held responsible for about 8 of the lads committing offences of this class. Of the 14, only 2 gave a record of more than one conviction, which is the proportion expected in this group. The other groups according to nature of offence showed no significant variations in frequency of epilepsy in the family, and in the three groups combined, 88 out of 179 had been previously convicted compared with an expected total of 81, this excess being statistically insignificant.

(d) Inebriety and Drug Addiction

The elaborate experimentation of various observers on the effect of alcohol on animals, although producing interesting results, is not necessarily relevant to the problem of the action of alcohol on man. Obvious difficulties arise when any attempt is made to assess the direct or indirect results of parental alcoholism on the human offspring. Eldon Moore¹ quotes Pearson and Elderton who undertook a statistical investigation of the children of drunken and sober parents. They state: "No marked relation has been found between the intelligence, physique or disease of the offspring and parental alcoholism in any of the categories investigated. On the whole the balance turns as often in favour of the alcoholic as of the non-alcoholic parentage." They also state categorically that parental alcoholism is not the source of mental defect in the offspring.

¹ Eldon Moore, "Heredity Mainly Human" (1934).

The authoritative Committee of the Medical Research Council in the 3rd Edition of their book on "Alcoholism, Its Action on the Human Organism," mention the recent clinical and genetic investigation of Penrose on mental defectiveness.¹ He found that the children of parents whose psychopathic tendency took the form of alcoholism were exceptionally numerous. Although the parents themselves were very frequently dull mentally, their children were no more likely to be defective than the children of non-alcoholic parents of similar mental grade, and idiots were actually rarer among their offspring than in the average sibship studied. Henderson and Gillespie² state that alcoholism is much more common in the parents of the insane than of the sane, but alcoholism in the ancestors generally is about equal in the two classes. There seems to be little definite evidence that the offspring of drunkards are themselves directly predisposed to become alcoholists, but alcoholism may be an indication of a psychopathic inheritance.

The direct effect of a drunken parent in the home is sometimes obvious. The squalor, misery, deprivation of much that is desirable but unobtainable when wages are spent in drink, together with the fear induced by a drunken and quarrelsome parent, and the force of example, may have exceedingly bad effects on some adolescents.

The problem of drug addiction—other than alcohol addiction—in relation to crime in this country is insignificant. In the year 1937 only 620 persons in the United Kingdom were known to the Central Office to be addicted to the use of narcotic drugs, and only 39 were reported by the police to have been proceeded against during the year for offences under the Dangerous Drugs Act, 1920-32.³ The number of addicts coming under the observation of individual medical men is limited and insufficient for large scale genetic study. It would seem that addiction may arise in persons who appear mentally normal but that psychical anomaly is often present in others.

A history of drunkenness from both sides of the family was present in about 3 per 1,000 of the families of the lads, from the father alone in about 39 per 1,000, from the mother alone in 6 per 1,000, and from other relatives in 4 per 1,000, the total proportion with a family history being 52 per 1,000. The frequency did not vary significantly with age. Those with a record of offences against the person, or against discipline alone, included an excessive number with a drunken father (22 compared with 10 expected), and the sexual offence group also showed a slight excess of

¹ L. S. Penrose, "A Clinical and Genetic Study of 1,280 Cases of Mental Defect" (1938).

² D. K. Henderson and R. D. Gillespie, "Text Book of Psychiatry," 3rd Edition (1932).

³ Report to the League of Nations by H.M. Government, "The Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs," 1937

TABLE XX

Family History of Inebriety, Recorded and Calculated Frequencies with Relatives affected, according to Age, Nature and Number of Convictions

Relatives affected.	Recorded Numbers at Ages Shown ¹					Totals	Proportion per 1000
	16	17	18	19	20		
Paternal and maternal.	1	2	3	3	2	11	2.75
Father (not mother).	20	29	46	32	31	158	39.50
Other paternal relatives.	1	2	3	1	-	7	1.75
Mother (not father).	1	7	4	3	6	24	6.00
Other maternal relatives.	1	2	-	1	1	5	1.25
Brothers and/or sisters.	-	-	1	2	1	4	1.00
Totals with family history.	27	42	57	42	41	209	52.25
Step-parent or half-sib.	2	-	1	2	2	7	
Nos. without family history.	459	875	902	850	675	3784	
Totals.	486	917	959	894	716	4000	1000
Calculated Distribution at Same Ages							
Totals with family history.	25.0	47.9	50.2	47.2	37.7	209	
Numbers without " "	472.0	869.1	909.8	856.8	683.3	3791	

Relatives affected.	Recorded Number by Nature of Offenses				Calculated Distribution in the Same Groups.				Totals
	Property	Person	Sexual	Discipline	Property	Person	Sexual	Discipline	
Paternal and Maternal.	10	-	-	1	10.0	0.4	0.3	0.3	11
Father (not mother).	130	14	6	8	143.1	5.2	4.9	4.8	158
Other paternal relatives.	5	-	1	1	6.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	7
Mother (not father).	21	1	1	1	21.7	0.8	0.8	0.7	24
Other maternal relatives.	5	-	-	-	4.5	0.2	0.2	0.1	5
Brothers and/or sisters.	4	-	-	-	3.6	0.1	0.1	0.2	4
Totals with family history	175	15	8	11	189.3	6.9	6.5	6.3	209
Numbers without " "	3447	117	117	110	3432.7	125.1	118.5	114.7	3791
Totals.	3622	132	125	121					4000

Relatives affected.	Frequency by No. of Previous Convictions in Property Group. ⁽¹⁾								Totals	Proportion per 1000
	Recorded Numbers				Calculated Distribution					
	0	1	2	3 or more	0	1	2	3 or more		
Paternal and Maternal.	4	4	-	2	5.5	2.9	1.1	0.5	10	2.75
Father (not mother).	64	35	20	11	70.9	37.2	15.1	6.8	130	35.89
Other paternal relatives.	4	1	-	-	2.7	1.4	0.6	0.3	5	1.38
Mother (not father).	8	7	2	4	11.5	6.0	2.4	1.1	21	5.80
Other maternal relatives.	4	1	-	-	2.7	1.4	0.6	0.3	5	1.38
Brothers and/or sisters.	-	2	1	1	2.2	1.1	0.5	0.2	4	1.10
Totals with family history	84	50	23	18	95.5	50.0	20.3	9.2	175	48.32
Numbers without " "	1892	985	397	172	1880.5	986.0	399.7	180.8		
Totals.	1976	1035	420	190					3622	

¹ In the remaining groups there were 1 with paternal and maternal heredity (first offender), 28 with father but not mother affected (13 with 0, 7 with 1, 4 with 2, 4 with 3 or more previous convictions), 2 with other paternal relatives affected (1 with 0, 1 with 1 previous conviction), 3 with mother but not father affected (2 with 0, 1 with 1 previous conviction), and 344 without family history (238 with 0, 70 with 1, 20 with 2, 16 with 3 or more previous convictions).

family history of drunkenness (not significant). Moreover, the proportion with multiple convictions in these groups combined was above expectation, so that their total convictions numbered 72 compared with about 30 expected if the frequencies had been uniform throughout. One lad with a drunken father had 11 convictions in his record. The large group with a record of offences against property also showed a significant

excess with multiple convictions among the 175 lads with a family history of inebriety (84 with 1, 50 with 2, 23 with 3, 12 with 4, 3 with 5, and 3 with 6 convictions), their total convictions numbering 334 compared with 298 expected (see Table XX).

TABLE XXI

Family History of Drug Addiction, Numbers with Relatives affected according to Age, Nature and Number of Convictions

Relatives Affected.	By Age					By Nature of Offences				By No. of Previous Convictions					Total	Proportion per 1000
	16	17	18	19	20	Property	Person	Sexual	Discipline	0	1	2	3 or more			
Paternal and maternal.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Father (not mother).	2	-	1	5	-	6	-	-	2	1	4	-	1	6	1.50	-
Other paternal relatives.	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	0.25	-
Mother (not father).	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	0.25	-
Other maternal relatives.	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	0.25	-
Brothers and/or sisters.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals with family history.	4	-	1	4	-	7	-	1	1	2	4	1	2	9	2.25	-
Members without " " "	494	917	959	900	721	3615	132	124	120	2229	1111	443	208	398		
Totals.	498	917	960	904	721	3622	132	125	121	2231	1115	444	210	400	1000	

There were only 9 lads with a history of drug addiction in the family (4 at age 16, 1 at 18, 4 at 19), and of these only 2 were first offenders (expected proportion 5), whilst 7 had a record of previous convictions, the father being a drug addict in 5 of these cases. The total convictions of these 9 lads numbered 22 compared with 15 expected if there had been no association with multiple offences (see Table XXI)

V. Physical Disabilities

The general health of offenders in prisons and Borstal institutions is good. In 1936, for example, the proportion of deaths per 1,000 of the daily average population in local prisons and Borstal institutions was 2.8, and in convict prisons 6.2 per 1,000. Comparable figures with the general population are difficult to obtain, however, owing to various reservations which are necessary, but the experience of all prison medical officers shows that the resistance of their patients to mortal disease is good, although this result is probably affected to some extent by the fact that the offender in custody generally receives medical attention at an earlier period in his illness than those who are free and who often postpone medical treatment until it is overdue.

Tables XXII to XXV show the results of this study in connection with tuberculosis, other pulmonary diseases, rheumatism, heart disease and certain other affections. We are not so much concerned here with genetic considerations as with the possible effect of prolonged illness in

TABLE XXII

Family History of Tuberculosis, Recorded and Calculated Frequencies with Relatives affected, according to Age, Nature and Number of Convictions

Relatives affected.	Recorded Numbers at Ages Shown					Total	Proportion per 1000
	16	17	18	19	20		
Paternal and maternal.	3	6	7	6	7	28	7.00
Father (not mother).	13	25	33	43	28	142	36.60
Other paternal relatives.	6	7	15	4	7	38	9.60
Mother (not father).	11	23	23	18	20	95	23.75
Other maternal relatives.	19	14	19	16	7	74	18.60
Brothers and (Single.	10	29	30	26	19	114	28.60
sisters. (Multiple.	2	3	5	4	4	18	4.60
Totals with family history.	63	106	132	116	92	509	127.25
Step-parent or half-sib.	2	1	3	-	-	3	
Nos. without family history.	433	810	825	788	629	3485	
Totals.	498	917	960	904	721	4000	1000
Calculated Distribution at Same Ages							
Paternal and maternal.	3.5	6.4	6.7	6.3	5.1	28	
Father (not mother).	17.7	32.5	34.1	32.1	25.6	142	
Other paternal relatives.	4.7	8.7	9.1	8.6	6.9	38	
Mother (not father).	11.8	21.8	22.8	21.5	17.1	95	
Other maternal relatives.	9.2	17.0	17.8	16.7	13.3	74	
Brothers and/or sisters.	16.4	30.3	31.7	29.8	23.8	132	
Totals with family history	63.3	116.7	124.2	115.0	91.8	509	
Numbers without "	434.7	800.3	837.6	789.0	629.2	3491	

Relatives affected.	Age Group	Recorded Numbers by Nature of Offences (1)				Calculated Distribution by Nature of Offences				Totals
		Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Magi-strate	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Disci-pline	
Paternal and maternal.	All	24	4	-	-	25.4	0.9	0.9	0.8	28
Father (not mother).	"	130	6	4	2	128.6	4.7	4.4	4.3	142
Other paternal relatives.	"	34	-	1	3	34.4	1.2	1.2	1.2	38
Mother (not father).	"	83	3	5	4	86.0	3.1	3.0	2.9	95
Other maternal relatives.	"	69	4	-	1	67.0	2.6	2.3	2.2	74
Brothers and/or sisters.	"	112	3	9	8	119.6	4.4	4.1	4.0	132
Totals with family history.	"	452	20	19	18	460.9	16.8	15.9	15.4	509
Numbers without "	"	3170	112	106	103	3161.1	115.2	109.1	106.6	3491

Relatives affected.	Age Group	Recorded Numbers by No. of Previous Convictions (2)				Calculated Distribution by No. of Previous Convictions				Total
		0	1	2	3 or more	0	1	2	3 or more	
Paternal and maternal.	All	17	8	2	1	15.6	7.8	3.1	1.5	28
Father (not mother).	16-18	41	19	9	2	39.6	19.8	7.9	3.7	71
	19-20	39	22	6	6	39.6	19.8	7.9	3.7	71
Other paternal relatives.	All	23	11	4	-	21.2	10.6	4.2	2.0	38
Mother (not father).	"	46	30	8	11	53.0	26.5	10.6	5.0	95
Other maternal relatives.	16-18	28	19	3	2	29.0	14.6	6.8	2.7	52
	19-20	12	8	1	1	12.3	6.1	2.4	1.2	22
Brothers and/or sisters.	All	67	41	19	5	73.6	36.8	14.7	6.9	132
Totals with family history.	"	273	158	51	27	283.9	141.9	56.6	26.7	509
Numbers without "	"	1968	957	333	183	1947.1	973.1	367.5	183.3	3491
Totals.	"	2231	1116	444	210					4000

¹ Comparison with the calculated distribution gives $\chi^2 = 2.09$, $n = 3$, $P = .56$.

² Comparison with the calculated distribution gives $\chi^2 = 3.19$, $n = 3$, $P = .37$.

the home, if, for example, parental authority and supervision are lessened thereby and the family income reduced.

(a) Tuberculosis

It is unnecessary in the present context to consider the reality of the inheritance of a factor of specific susceptibility for the tubercle bacillus. A tuberculous history from both sides of the family was present in 7 per 1,000 of the family histories of the lads, from the father's side alone in 45 per 1,000, from the mother's side alone in 42, and siblings but not parents were affected in 33 per 1,000, giving a total of 127 per 1,000 with this family history (see Table XXII). A collateral maternal history was significantly more frequent at age sixteen than at other ages ($\chi^2 = 14.47$, $n = 4$, $P = .006$), and the father was affected in a higher proportion at ages nineteen to twenty than at earlier ages ($\chi^2 = 7.19$, $n = 4$, $P = .13$, not significant), but the total frequency of a tuberculous family history—regardless of what members of the family were affected—shows no significant variation with age. There was no significant association between family history and nature of offences or number of convictions; the 2,231 first offenders included 273, or 122 per 1,000, with tuberculous heritage compared with 133 per 1,000 amongst the multiple offenders.

TABLE XXIII

Family History of Pulmonary Disease (other than Tuberculosis), Distribution according to Relatives affected, Age, Nature and Number of Convictions

Relatives affected	Distribution according to Age					Totals	Proportion per 1000
	16	17	18	19	20		
Paternal and maternal.	7	1	1	-	1	3	0.75
Father (not mother).	4	12	16	20	5	56	14.00
Other paternal relatives	2	1	3	1	1	8	2.00
Mother (not father).	3	4	4	6	5	21	5.25
Other maternal relatives	2	1	1	2	1	7	1.75
Brothers and (Single sisters. (Multiple.	-	2	1	1	-	4	1.00
	1	1	2	2	1	7	1.75
Totals with family history.	12	22	27	31	14	106	26.50
Step-parent or half-sib.	-	1	-	-	-	1	
Nos. without family history	486	894	933	873	707	3893	
Totals.	498	917	960	904	721	4000	1000
Proportion per 1000 with family history.	24.1	24.0	28.1	34.3	19.4		

Relatives affected	Distribution by Nature of Offences in Record.				Distribution by Number of Previous Convictions.			
	Property	Person	Sexual	Discipline	0	1	2	3 or more
Paternal and maternal.	3	-	-	-	1	2	-	-
Father (not mother).	55	-	-	1	43	10	3	-
Other paternal relatives.	8	-	-	-	5	2	1	-
Mother (not father).	20	1	-	-	13	6	2	-
Other maternal relatives.	7	-	-	-	6	1	-	-
Brothers and/or sisters.	11	-	-	-	7	3	1	-
Totals with family history	104	1	-	1	75	24	7	-
Numbers without "	3518	131	125	120	2156	1091	437	210
Totals.	3622	132	125	121	2231	1115	444	210
Calculated numbers with family history.	96.0	3.5	3.3	3.2	59.1	29.5	11.8	5.8

(b) Pulmonary Disease

The disabling effect of chronic or frequent attacks of pulmonary disease is well recognized, but a genetic basis cannot be claimed for the various diseases included in Table XXIII, except the allergic disease asthma. It is probable that the figures include a few examples of unrecognised tuberculosis.

A history from both sides of the family of non-tuberculous pulmonary disease was recorded in less than 1 per 1,000, from the father's side alone in 16 per 1,000, from the mother's side alone in 7 per 1,000. The total proportion with a family history was 26.5 per 1,000, and this increased slightly with age, being 24.0 at sixteen to seventeen, 28.1 at eighteen, and 27.7 at nineteen to twenty years. It was significantly higher in the group with offences against property than in other groups, which only yielded 2 with this family history out of 378 ($\chi^2 = 7.26$, $n = 1$, $P < .01$); the frequency of a family history was also significantly higher among first offenders (33.6 per 1,000), declining as the number of convictions increased to 10.8 per 1,000 for those with 2 or more previous convictions ($\chi^2 = 13.21$, $n = 3$, $P < .01$). This inverse association between a family history of pulmonary disease and the number of convictions was most evident where the father was affected, 43 out of 56 of such cases being first offenders (77 per 1,000), whereas 32 out of 50 with other relatives affected (64 per 1,000) and 2,156 out of 3,894 cases without any family history (55 per 1,000) were first offenders. This suggests that some first offenders may have been deterred from committing another offence by chronic invalidism of the father (see also Table XXV).

(c) Rheumatism

The term rheumatism is used widely in Table XXIV and includes fibrositis, panniculitis and non-specific forms of arthritis, as well as other conditions not genetically important and generally referred to by patients as rheumatism if such are disabling. A history from the father's side was recorded in about 7 per 1,000, from the mother's side in about 11 per 1,000, and siblings but not parents were affected in 13 per 1,000, giving a total of 31 per 1,000 with this family history. The variation in this proportion according to age is not statistically significant. There is no significant association between rheumatic family history and nature of offences or number of previous convictions, the proportion with rheumatic history among the first offenders being 34 per 1,000 compared with 28 per 1,000 among those with multiple convictions ($\chi^2 = 0.94$, $n = 1$, $P > .3$).

TABLE XXIV

Family History of Rheumatism, Distribution according to Relatives affected, Age, Nature and Number of Convictions

Relatives affected.	Distribution According to Age.					Total	Proportion per 1000.
	16	17	18	19	20		
Paternal and maternal.	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.25
Father (not mother).	4	6	6	6	2	24	6.00
Other paternal relatives.	-	2	-	1	-	3	0.75
Mother (not father).	5	10	6	5	11	37	9.25
Other maternal relatives.	1	1	1	4	1	8	2.00
Brothers and (Single.	7	7	12	11	7	44	11.00
sisters (Multiple.	2	6	-	-	1	9	2.25
Totals with family history.	19	31	25	27	23	125	31.25
Step-parent or half-sib.	-	-	-	-	1	1	
Nos. without family history.	479	886	935	877	697	3874	
Totals.	498	917	960	904	721	4000	1000
Proportion per 1,000 with family history.	38.1	33.8	26.0	29.9	31.9		

	Distribution by Nature of Offences in Record.				Distribution by Numbers of Previous Convictions.			
	Prop- erty	Per- son	Sex- ual	Disci- pline	0	1	2	3 or more
Paternal and maternal.	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Father (not mother).	21	-	1	2	12	9	3	2
Other paternal relatives.	3	-	-	-	2	-	1	-
Mother (not father).	34	-	1	2	22	7	7	1
Other maternal relatives.	7	-	-	1	6	1	1	-
Brothers and sisters.	46	2	2	2	32	14	6	1
Totals with family history.	112	2	4	7	75	29	17	4
Numbers without " "	3510	130	121	114	2156	1086	427	206
Totals.	3622	132	125	121	2231	1115	444	210
Calculated number with family history.	1132	4.1	3.9	3.8	69.7	34.8	13.9	6.6

(d) Other Diseases

The various diseases included in Table XXV may be more or less disabling and some have genetic importance, for example, some forms of heart disease and diabetes. About 13 per 1,000 of the lads' families gave a history of heart disease, and, as for pulmonary disease, the proportion was significantly lower among those with multiple convictions than among first offenders (15 out of 1,769 or 8 per 1,000, compared with 38 out of 2,231 or 17 per 1,000, giving $\chi^2 = 5.47$, $n = 1$, $P = .02$).

The difference was mainly due to a deficiency in the number of return cases having a father with heart disease, the expected number in the first two groups on the basis of the first offenders being 15, whereas only 4 were recorded. This suggests that heart disease in the father acted as a deterrent from committing a second offence in about 10 instances, since the transfer of this number to the multiple offences group would make the total frequencies in the two groups about equal.

TABLE XXV

Family History of Heart Disease, Diabetes, Chorea, Paralysis, Spinal Cord Disease, Abdominal or Renal Disease, Hernia or Deformity and Venereal Disease, Distributions according to Relatives affected, Nature and Number of Convictions

Relatives affected - distribution by	Heart Disease	Diabetes	Chorea	Paralysis	Spinal Cord Disease	Abdominal or Renal Disease	Hernia and Deformity	Venereal Disease	Total examined.
Paternal and maternal.	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	
Father (not mother).	21	7	2	11	7	15	4	5	
Other paternal relatives.	2	2	1	1	-	1	-	-	
Mother (not father).	16	16	6	5	2	9	5	2	
Other maternal relatives.	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	
Brothers and/or sisters.	10	2	12	5	10	5	8	1	
Totals with family history.	53	26	21	23	19	30	18	10	4000
Proportion per 1,000 with family history.	13.3	6.5	5.3	5.8	4.8	7.5	4.5	2.5	
<u>Distribution by Nature of Offences in record.</u>									
Numbers with Property	49	24	20	21	18	26	18	10	3622
family (Person	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	132
history in (Sexual	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	125
groups (Discipline	2	-	-	2	1	3	-	-	121
specified.									
<u>Distribution by Number of Previous Convictions.</u>									
Numbers with 0 previous con-	38	15	10	-	-	-	7	-	2231
with (1 " viction	7	9	5	-	-	-	8	-	1115
family (2 " "	7	2	4	-	-	-	2	-	444
history (3 or more "	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	210

The grouping for heart disease was as follows :—

	First Offenders	With Multiple Convictions
Paternal and maternal	2	—
Father (not mother)	17	4
Other paternal relatives	2	—
Mother (not father)	9	7
Other maternal relatives	1	1
Brothers and/or sisters	7	3
Total with family history	38	15
Total examined	2,231	1,769

None of the other diseases dealt with in the Table showed any significant association between presence of family history and nature and number of offences.

VI. Summary

Behaviour is determined by inherited and environmental factors and one or other may predominate in a given situation. Family tradition has important modifying effects upon family behaviour, and parental traits which tend to produce crime may be transmitted. In determining the probability of a criminal career the hereditary factor is believed to be of primary importance, whilst the environmental influences determine the form the crime will take. In the absence of really comparable data for the general population of lads of the same ages this investigation cannot determine to what extent the beginnings of crime are influenced by various hereditary factors, but can only show how these factors are associated with the kind of offences committed and with the tendency to persist in a criminal career after the first offence has been committed.

The hereditary and familial crimogenic factors studied are divided into character disabilities ; criminality, immorality and quarrelsomeness ; mental disabilities ; insanity and psycho-neurosis, mental defectiveness and retardation, epilepsy, inebriety and drug addition ; and physical disabilities ; tuberculosis, other pulmonary diseases, rheumatism and certain other physical diseases.

Fifty-two per 1,000 of the families of the lads presented a history of crime, and this was less frequent proportionately in the families of lads with a record of offences against the person or against discipline only, or sexual offences, than in the families of lads with a record of offences against property. In the latter group a criminal heredity was significantly associated with a history of more than one conviction, and it appeared probable that for about 60 lads a criminal family history was a causative factor in the commission of further offences after their first conviction. Thirty-one per 1,000 of the families showed evidence of immorality and there was a noteworthy and probably statistically significant excess of immorality in the mothers of lads with 3 or more previous convictions. The figures suggest that an immoral heredity was a causative factor for at least 72 convictions after the first. A family history of quarrelsomeness was present in 31 per 1,000 of the families, and groups with offences against the person or against discipline showed a significant excess of quarrelsome fathers, and this may have been a causative factor in about 9 cases.

The interaction between heredity and environment may be effective in establishing a crimogenic mental disability which may manifest itself through transmissible mental disease or defectiveness or a neuropathic tendency, or by its adverse effects on family life. Sixty-four per 1,000

of the families of the lads showed evidence of insanity in the parents or their children. There was a significant excess of paternal insanity in lads aged twenty, and a significant excess of insanity in the families of lads with a record of sexual offences compared with the other groups. In the sexual offence group the figures suggest that insanity on the father's side might be held responsible for about 8 of the youths committing such offences, and an insane heredity may, possibly, have been responsible for 4 or 5 lads committing offences against the person. There was no evidence of any association between an insane heredity and the number of convictions. A family history of psycho-neurosis was found in only 2 per cent., and no significant result emerged from this part of the investigation. The total frequency of a family history of mental defectiveness was 25 per 1,000. A history of mental defectiveness in siblings but not parents was significantly more frequent in the group with a record of offences against discipline. The figures suggest that a family history of mental defectiveness may have been responsible for 6 or more lads committing offences in the discipline and sexual groups. Mental retardation or subnormality appeared in 16 per 1,000 of the family histories and was significantly more frequent in the families of lads convicted of sexual offences than in the other groups. There was a family history of epilepsy in 48 per 1,000 families. The group with offences against discipline only contained a significantly higher proportion with an epileptic heredity, and it appeared that an epileptic family history might be held responsible for about 8 of the lads committing offences in this group. A history of drunkenness was noted in 52 per 1,000 of the families. The families of lads with a record of offences against the person or against discipline alone included an excessive number with a drunken father, and the sexual offences group also showed a slight excess of a family history of drunkenness, possibly significant. The proportion of lads with multiple convictions in these groups combined was above expectation, and the group with a record of offences against property and a family history of drunkenness also showed a significant excess with previous convictions.

Among physical diseases there was a family history of tuberculosis in 127 per 1,000 of the families. The total frequency of a family history of tuberculosis showed no significant variation with the nature of offences. The proportion of families with a history of non-tuberculous pulmonary disease was 26.5 per 1,000 and was significantly higher in the group with offences against property and among first offenders and declined as the number of convictions increased. The inverse association between a family history of non-tuberculous pulmonary disease and number of convictions was most evident where the father was affected. In about

13 per 1,000 of the families a history of heart disease was noted, and here also the proportion with the father affected was significantly lower among those with multiple convictions than among first offenders. The data suggest that heart or pulmonary disease in the father acted as a deterrent from committing a second offence in some instances. Thirty-one per 1,000 families gave a history of rheumatism. The association with age or nature of offence was not statistically significant for this disease, and no significant fact emerged from the association of crime with other diseases investigated.

CHAPTER •IV

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS—HOME

I. Discussion

THE student of social problems to-day, bearing in mind the fact that man lives upon a crowded stage with numerous and multiform contacts, no longer accepts the doctrine of the Lombrosian school that crime is due to heredity alone ; rather does he believe that heredity and environment, as stated in the previous chapter, are both essential crimogenic factors. Further, the Lamarckian hypothesis concerning the inheritance of acquired characters may be left to the geneticists and others to dispute, although, as Sir Humphry Rolleston¹ points out with reference to the Hyde genealogy, there can be no doubt that the effects of environmental conditions on ancestors play a part in determining the vital resistance and resistance to disease of their descendants.

The effect of injury and disease on the formation of character in man is a matter of common observation. The experimentalist can produce nutritional and other diseases in animals with certainty. Sir Edward Mellanby² states : " I will not weary you with the difficulties encountered in attempting to produce rickets at will in puppies ; suffice it to say that it took me many months to discover the simple fact that a diet of limited milk (about 200 c.c. daily) and unlimited bread and oatmeal porridge produces rickets without fail in rapidly growing puppies, six to eight weeks old at the beginning of the experiment, and that removal of the fat from the milk hastens the onset of the disease." The same authority points out that " the field of nutrition has constantly been handicapped because much of the work has been in the hands of narrow specialists—biochemists with little or no biological or medical knowledge, and medical men with little or no fundamental biochemical or physical training." The student of character may also believe that the psychologist could occasionally contribute his quota to the findings of such experiments.

Reference was made in the previous chapter to the effect of raising the temperature on the colour of the eyes of the shrimp-like animal, *Gammarus Chevreuxi*. The effect of change of surroundings is illustrated

¹ Sir Humphry Rolleston. Art. Longevity, *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th Edition, 1937).

² Sir Edward Mellanby, " Nutrition and Disease " (1934).

by E. B. Ford¹ when discussing the potential advantage to the species of mutations² which produce considerable effects. He states: "The extraordinary change which has affected moths in industrial areas during the last eighty years is particularly relevant to our present purpose. Within living memory, certain species have become black in manufacturing districts, though they have retained their original coloration elsewhere. This has happened repeatedly, and the condition appears always to be under a simple hereditary control, being dominant or semi-dominant and generally determined by a single gene.³ Where data are available it appears that the black specimens are actually hardier than the typical forms. In spite of this, they have entirely failed to spread outside industrial areas though, in certain instances, they have been known to occur as varieties in unpolluted country. I have elsewhere suggested that those genes which produce advantageous effects, combined with the deposition of black pigment, have failed to spread owing to selection operating against this colour. For these forms are decidedly conspicuous where the normal ones are well concealed. However, in industrial districts, where the countryside is frequently blackened by smoke, and their enemies rarer, these species may be able to take advantage of the other useful effects of such genes, whose influence on pigmentation may be no longer a handicap. Here, I believe, we have examples of genes which have been able to spread owing to change in environment."

In regard to man, it is only necessary to refer here to the permanent or transient effects on his bodily condition which may result from injury and disease, and, for example, to the darkening of the skin which occurs during residence in tropical climates.

In the previous chapter the association of familial physical and mental disease and crime was examined. The bodily results due to disease, alteration of temperature and variation of surroundings, referred to above, are samples only of the importance of environment, and some of the physical and mental environmental factors of crime will be discussed in later chapters. The significance of the relation of the home environment to character and conduct within the limits of this investigation will now be considered.

The number of homes in which some relative is an alcoholic will vary according to the number of alcohol addicts⁴ there are in the community

¹ E. B. Ford, "The Study of Heredity" (1938)

² Mutation, i.e., a change in any unit of heredity

³ Gene, see footnote, p. 29

⁴ An addict may be defined as a person with insight, but who is unable on account of disease, disposition, or habituation to forego the drug of addiction, or maintain a reduction of its intake to an innocuous amount

at the time. Of this there is no record. Some light is thrown on the subject, however, by the fact that during the years 1910-14 the number of persons dealt with summarily in England and Wales for drunkenness, etc., averaged 193,354. Wartime restrictions reduced the convictions, and from 1920 to 1932 there was a continuous decline also in the number of persons convicted of offences of this kind. Since 1932, however, there has been a continuous increase, and in 1938, the last year before the World War, the figure was 53,402.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, drunkenness in the parents may be evidence of inherited mental instability, but its most important result as far as this study is concerned is its bad effects upon the impressionable minds of the children, and the squalor, want, misery and ostracism that are its accompaniments.

The importance of environment on the plastic mind of a child is a matter of common observation. The following is an example. A professional man lost both his parents in early childhood and was brought up by well-intentioned grandparents who were, however, unable to adapt themselves to his childish ways or provide the parental understanding and affection for which he craved. An ever-present desire for sympathy was expressed by hysterical reactions which limited his aims and success in life.

Elsewhere ¹ I have recorded the case of a feeble-minded youth, who at the age of twenty committed a sadistic murder which was clearly traceable to an impression which he received when only four years old.

W. McDougall ² pointed out how a single remark may have long-lasting effects. He stated: "I well remember how, as a boy of ten years, I was asked by a well-meaning elder what I aimed to become. "An engineer," said I, my imagination having been fired by the sight of some great engineering work in progress. "Oh! you need brains, you know, to be an engineer!" was the answer, given in a tone that made it crushing. It definitely nipped that ambition in the bud and deprived me for years of all intellectual aspiration. . . ."

The effect of an environmental factor on the mental state and conduct of a youth is frequently demonstrated when he falls in love with the girl of his choice. It is, perhaps, less often recognised that even in maturity thought and conduct may be profoundly and unconsciously modified by associates, as well as by chance circumstances.

A child is usually unable to modify his surroundings. In adolescence,

¹ W. Norwood East, "Responsibility in Mental Disease with Special Reference to Algalia," *Journal of Mental Science* (Jan., 1938).

² W. McDougall, "Character and the Conduct of Life" (3rd Edition, 1928).

change is frequently resorted to as a means towards betterment and the avoidance of disharmony. Whether a child learns to adapt himself to his environment, or not, depends largely upon the assistance which is provided by his parents and the kind of family life which surrounds him. Throughout childhood and youth, as well as later, adjustment of oneself to immediate surroundings and towards society is necessary. To the surroundings, in order that a correct perception of individual relationship to circumstances may be appraised; towards society, in order that the duty of the individual to the society in which he lives, and the obligations of society to the individual may be balanced with precision and a working philosophy of life attained.

Throughout life different situations and responsibilities have to be met, and in adolescence far-reaching decisions may be called for in spite of limited experience and the fact that, at this period, emotion tends to take priority of reason. The lad is fortunate who, in such circumstances, has the desire to seek and the opportunity to find a wise counsellor, whether he be in the home, the school, or the factory.

W. McDougall¹ stated: "Nobility of character is the most precious heritage of a family, and it is transmitted from generation to generation by the subtle process of personal contact." It is not always sufficiently recognised by parents that the adolescent tends to become more energetic and purposeful if he believes his elders have faith in his ability; and that he gains more by the attempt to reach a high standard in his undertakings, even though they may not be entirely successful, than by setting out to achieve a lesser purpose which is more easily attained.

It cannot be denied that parenthood is one of the most important of our social responsibilities, and yet, too often, there is only an imperfect understanding of its obligations and of the manner in which they should be carried out. In a complex and difficult world many parents have little time and less energy after the work of the day is ended to undertake the formation of the character of their children on a systematic basis, and spasmodic efforts at reconstruction may entirely fail in their purpose. No doubt most energetic housewives carry out their maternal duties to the best of their ability and advise, correct and admonish their children as occasion requires. This, however, may lose much of its effectiveness if it is unavoidably carried out in a busy atmosphere, particularly if the domestic work in hand appears to be the first consideration. Moreover, a time arrives when the guidance of the son by his father is more important in certain directions than communion with his mother.

In many families the outlook upon life by the father and mother

¹ W. McDougall, *ibid*

differs widely and causes perplexity amongst the children. In some families the outlook upon life of the father and son is widely different. This is often unavoidable as modern progress in the ordinary affairs of life is so rapid that many parents lack the receptivity for new ideas and the resilience which is required to contend with constant change. Too often parents oppose the new point of view instead of attempting to understand its value, and direct it along socially useful channels. Friction in the home regarding modern ideas is often not merely unnecessary but may be detrimental, since neither father nor son is likely to convince the other that his own point of view is right, or that his attitude towards it is correct. Here, wise sympathy, as so often elsewhere in human affairs, paves the way towards a better understanding; without it constant friction may give rise to emotional reactions in adolescents and, subsequently, symptoms of minor mental disorder.

On the other hand, undue sympathy is harmful if it causes a lad to lean too heavily upon his parents and others, and thereby destroys a self-reliant attitude towards the problems of life.

A cause of disharmony in the home sometimes arises when a lad first goes to work and is called upon to give his mother all his wages, receiving in return an insignificant sum for his own use. No doubt it is often necessary for the resources of all the wage earners in the home to be pooled, and the position may demand large sacrifices; but the observer cannot fail to be sometimes impressed by the grasping nature of some parents, and its ill effect upon some lads who become disillusioned with the poor return for their work, and wonder whether honest endeavour is worth while.

An elusive and harmful atmosphere arises in the home when a well-intentioned, narrow-minded, over-anxious and suspicious parent accuses, or indirectly suggests to, a well-conducted lad that he is indulging in sexual irregularities. A charge or suggestion of this kind occasionally invites the very consequences it is intended to avert, and may be the forerunner of persistent sexual misconduct.

The influence of a step-parent will depend not only upon the personality of the newcomer but upon the ages of the bereaved children. An additional complication sometimes arises when the step-parent brings to the home the children of a former union. A step-parent, obviously, may prove advantageous to the family life, as a father and wage-earner, or as a mother and housewife, but if the children become jealous of the attention bestowed upon the newcomer, difficulties arise which may lead to anti-social conduct. If, too, the step-parent compares unfavourably with the dead parent the children may find adjustment particularly

difficult. It sometimes seems easier for the adolescent to absorb a new parent than it is for a younger child whose interests outside the home are few, and who may become bewildered by a change of method in exercising parental authority.

One of the most striking characteristics of both adolescent and adult offenders of either sex is their failure to inhibit instinctive action. Situations arise and result in crime which could be prevented by the use of ordinary self-control. Sometimes the emotional quality of the aroused instinct appears to be more forcible than usual and to be the cause of the misconduct, but more often there is no reason to consider that the emotional content of the reaction is excessive. The failure of an offender to control his conduct appears to be often related to the impulsive conduct witnessed in the home, where a trivial annoyance gives rise to an oath, or a verbal contradiction to a blow.

The emotional development of youth should proceed through affection for his parents to comradeship for his associates and the capacity for loyal attachment to the girl of his choice. This development should be progressive and independent, and eschew the ease of constant self-indulgence. Self-assertion should be expressed by an adequate purpose in life and the assurance that a steady pursuit brings its own reward. Self-regard, however, must be balanced by consideration for the rights of others and of society in general, and a recognition that ambition is not admirable if its only purpose is to be admired. Self-preservation when provoked, should be met by adequate but controlled fear, and whilst the survival value of fear is recognized, and its good services accepted, it should be denied the authority of a master. A suitable environment during the so-called formative period of life will assist a lad to develop these and other character-forming principles.

Sexual immorality in the home, whether practised by either parent or other relative, may promote sexual irregularity in the adolescent. Short of this, ill-advised discussions on certain aspects of sex may stimulate phantasy in undesirable directions. Incest may be due to an invitation, and as stated in the previous chapter, may also be a consequence of overcrowded sleeping accommodation. The seduction of one lad by another, by a domestic servant or other person in the home, or elsewhere, may give rise to sexual precocity and sexual crime. Occasionally theft is imposed upon a boy-lover by a woman who has seduced him in order that she can obtain the luxuries she is unable to afford. Sometimes the ill-gotten gift is voluntarily offered. The sexual irregularity in such an association may be less harmful than the moral contamination which accompanies it—deceit, untruthfulness and disregard for essential values.

✓A thoughtful lad is likely to rebel if an unwelcome paramour is introduced into the home to replace an absent parent. On the other hand, if the newcomer is likeable and welcomed as an asset in the home life the value of legalised marriage, as an expression of approved sexual conduct, may be questioned.

It may be stated in passing, that there seems reason to believe that boys usually require earlier enlightenment on sex matters than girls. If the parent is too diffident, or too ignorant, to undertake this duty, he may well consider whether he should not depute it to one who is both wise and well-informed in the various aspects of the subject.

A home in which a parent or other member is unduly aggressive may promote a corresponding reaction in others. A domineering parent may be unnecessarily concerned about his own comfort and dignity, he may confuse self-assertiveness with self-respect, he may fail to realise that discipline in the home, to be successful, must be even, judicial and without caprice. Overstrict discipline may be as harmful as discipline which is unduly lenient, for it invites defiance and retaliation. Constant nagging, overt sneers and actual blows may permanently injure a lad who requires for the full development of his character sympathy, encouragement and advice. Irritating restrictions and a too rigid routine may become so irksome that sooner or later the inevitable explosion occurs.

Excessive aggressiveness in other members of the family may produce one of two results. If the lad submits his character in course of time may become moulded into the subservient type, which is able to obey but unable to command. If, on the other hand, the lad takes up the challenge constant quarrels may result and disturb the home, and prevent the growth of the equanimity which goes so far in promoting happiness and success in life.

If the lad is himself unusually aggressive it may be a compensatory reaction to a recognition of his own inferiority, but it may be due to a selfish disregard for the rights and feelings of others, or to an active desire to inflict pain so that cruelty, violence and brutality become personal traits which find an outlet in criminality.

Acquisitiveness, like aggressiveness, can be recognised in animals as well as in man. It is usually purposive, but in some animals—for example, magpies—as in some men, the taking appears to serve the desire for accomplishment and no more. In some offenders who hoard stolen articles the act seems to subserve a desire for power.¹ Hoarding of this type, which is characterised by the refusal to give and determination to retain the objects collected, differs widely from the hoarding of, say,

¹ It is unnecessary to consider here the psycho-analytical view regarding collectors

squirrels in the animal world and of bees among insects, or the storage of supplies for future general use by men.

In some families the acquisitive instinct is strongly developed, but is carefully restricted to comply with legal requirements. In other families the instinct tends to prevail beyond legal considerations, and sharp practice or actual malpractice in dealing with others maybe favourably entertained. Family tradition, precept and example may be more important than heredity in this matter, but pathological acquisitiveness may be related to inherited mental abnormality.

Man is essentially gregarious and the member of a gregarious species, as Wilfred Trotter¹ observed, can never be truly independent or self-sufficient. It is necessary to learn and accept the social tradition of the herd, and this can only be done as a result of personal contacts which become increasingly complex as the individual passes on from the restrictions of the nursery to the wider surroundings of the home, the school, and the outer world; until with advancing years the process is reversed, and contacts become fewer and less important.

The home as the preliminary training ground for gregarious life is recognized by all. The Feversham Committee² put the matter thus. "A good home is one in which family life is well-balanced, in which each member contributes his share to the family as a whole. The home is the first and the best training ground in social co-operation. Too often the home is regarded as a shelter or hostel; the father is occupied in work all day and comes to look upon the home as a place which gives him food and comfort in return for payment towards its upkeep. The mother, if she is not engaged in remunerative work herself, may come to regard the home as her workshop, and the children, as they grow older, may come to treat their home merely as a base for outside activities. A home of this kind has no influence for good, because it does not bind its members together in consideration one for another. It has no moral or spiritual unity. Indeed, community life would be better than such a family, because it would at least know its deficiencies and try to make up for them by direct teaching."

II. Conditions of Residence and Guardianship

The following definitions apply to the groups compared in Tables XXVI to XXXI, ignoring throughout the time spent in a penal institution, i.e., Borstal institution or prison:—

"Never in Training Establishment;" that is, without a history of

¹ Wilfred Trotter, "Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War" (2nd Edition, 1919).

² The Voluntary Mental Health Services Report of the Feversham Committee (1939).

residence in a training establishment (other than Borstal), Home Office School or Probation home.

"*Sometime in Training Establishment ;*" that is, with a history of some period, of any duration, spent in a training establishment (other than Borstal), Home Office School or Probation home.

"*With parents only ;*" that is, lived with parent or parents only throughout when not in above-mentioned institutions.

"*With other relatives ;*" that is, lived with some other relative for part of the time, but with no other form of upbringing apart from parents, foster-parents, and above-mentioned institutions.

"*With foster-parent ;*" that is, lived with foster-parent, but with no other form of upbringing, apart from parental (for less than a year) and above-mentioned institutions.

"*With parents chiefly ;*" that is, lived with parent or parents for most of the time, but had, for less than a year, some of the other forms of upbringing mentioned below, but never with other relative or foster-parent. Some of these are also included in other of the undermentioned groups.

"*Independent—under 1 year, 1 year or more ;*" that is, lived in own lodgings, in lodgings with wife, in shelter or common lodging house, or as a vagrant for the period stated, but never with employer or in a care institution as defined below.

"*With employer—under 1 year, 1 year or more ;*" that is, lived with employer, or at sea, or in one of the Services for the period stated, but never independent or in a care institution.

"*In care institution—under 1 year, 1 year or more ;*" that is, lived in an orphanage, public assistance institution, mental institution or hospital for the period stated, but never independent or with employer.

"*Various residences away from home—under 1 year, 1 year or more ;*" that is, combinations of the last three conditions of residence covering the total period stated.

It is apparent from Table XXVI that the age distributions of most of the groups are influenced by the selection implicit in their definitions.

Thus the numbers with a history of being independent, resident with employer or in various residences away from home increase rapidly with advancing age and form much larger proportions of the totals at age twenty than at age sixteen. It is necessary, therefore, in testing for association with the number of convictions, to deal with the youths of different ages separately, or to make proper allowance for the differing age distributions.

TABLE XXVI

History of Conditions of Residence, Distribution according to Age

Groups	Never in Training Establishment (1)						Sometime in Training Establishment (2)						Totals
	16	17	18	19	20	Total	16	17	18	19	20	Total	
With Parents only	294	525	566	468	373	2226	61	82	60	38	14	256	2482
With other relative	28	53	48	41	30	200	6	5	7	8	1	27	227
With Foster-parent	2	4	5	-	-	11	-	4	-	1	-	5	16
With Parents chiefly (3)	35	88	93	114	96	426	6	10	3	1	1	20	446
Independent													
{ under 1 yr.	29	65	56	75	65	280	10	13	18	13	5	59	339
{ 1 yr or more	1	6	21	42	45	115	5	5	2	11	10	33	140
With employer													
{ under 1 yr.	9	26	28	36	31	130	9	12	17	9	6	63	183
{ 1 yr or more	3	13	21	28	39	104	1	4	12	4	7	28	132
In care institution													
{ under 1 yr.	3	15	11	8	6	43	1	3	2	5	-	11	54
{ 1 yr or more	19	32	23	25	11	110	2	4	3	5	3	17	127
Various residences away from home													
{ under 1 yr.	4	4	6	10	6	30	1	2	-	-	-	3	33
{ 1 yr or more	5	34	31	52	55	177	4	16	23	25	14	82	259
Totals (4)	397	767	816	785	661	3426	101	150	144	119	60	574	4000

¹ and ² Time spent in penal institutions—Borstal institution or prison—ignored See text.

³ and ⁴ The group "With parents chiefly" comprises lads with under a year of other upbringing included also in the groups which follow, the totals exclude this overlap

The Table shows that 574 of the 4,000 lads had spent some time in a training establishment as defined above, and that, ignoring any time so spent, 62 per cent. of the 4,000 lads had lived with their parents only, 6 per cent. had lived with other relatives or foster-parents for some time but not away from home, 12 per cent. had for some time lived independently, 8 per cent. had lived with their employer, 4.5 per cent. in a care institution, and 7.5 per cent. in more than one of these forms of residence away from home.

Among the 125 lads in Table XXVII with a record of a sexual offence, the number who had lived with "other relatives" was considerably in excess of the number to be expected from the proportion in the whole 4,000 (13 compared with 7), and the number who had lived independently was in defect of expectation (6 compared with 15). Among the 132 lads with a record of other offences against the person there was a significant excess of lads who had been at some time in a care institution (13 compared with 6 expected).

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TABLE XXVII

History of Conditions of Residence, Distribution according to Nature of Offences

Group.	Never in Training Establishment (1)					Sometime in Training Establishment (2)					Totals
	Prop-erty	Par-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline	Total	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline	Total	
Recorded numbers according to Nature of Offences.											
With parents only *	2002	72	82	70	2226	247	4	4	1	256	2482
With other relative	174	10	13	3	200	25	1	-	1	27	227
With Foster-parent	10	-	1	-	11	4	-	-	1	5	16
With parents chiefly (3)	392	12	5	17	426	19	-	1	-	20	446
Independent for some period	363	9	6	17	395	90	-	-	2	92	487
With employer for some period	213	8	6	7	234	77	2	1	1	81	315
In care institution for some period	136	8	3	6	153	20	5	2	1	28	181
Various residences from home	185	8	6	8	207	76	5	1	3	85	292
Totals (4)	3083	116	117	111	3426	539	17	8	10	574	4000
Calculated distribution by Nature of Offences.											
With parents only	2001.2	74.8	75.9	72.1	2226	240.4	7.6	3.6	4.4	256	2482
With other relative	180.0	6.7	6.8	6.5	200	25.3	0.8	0.4	0.5	27	227
With Foster-parent	9.9	0.4	0.4	0.3	11	4.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	5	16
With parents chiefly (3)	383.4	14.3	14.5	13.8	426	18.8	0.6	0.3	0.3	20	446
Independent for some period	355.5	13.3	13.4	12.8	395	86.4	2.7	1.3	1.6	92	487
With employer for some period	210.6	7.8	8.0	7.6	234	76.1	2.4	1.1	1.4	81	315
In care institution	137.7	5.1	6.2	6.0	153	26.3	0.8	0.4	0.5	28	181
Various residences from home	186.1	6.9	7.3	6.7	207	79.8	2.6	1.1	1.5	85	292

1, 2, 3 and 4 See footnote to Table XXVI

Table XXVIII shows that among 1,446 lads aged nineteen and twenty who had never been in a training establishment, as defined above, there was a significant negative association between a history of unbroken residence with parents and the number of previous convictions, and at

TABLE XXVIII

History of Condition of Residence, Association between Residence with Parents and Number of Previous Convictions among Lads never in a Training Establishment (1)

Group	No. of previous convictions	Age 16		Age 17		Age 18		Age 19		Age 20		Total
		Actual nos.	Expected frequency.	Actual nos.	Expected frequency.	Actual nos.	Expected frequency.	Actual nos.	Expected frequency.	Actual nos.	Expected frequency.	
With parents only.	0	189	182.2	350	336.4	390	378.7	323	299.3	226	210.6	1478
	1	82	85.2	134	139.7	123	131.8	100	112.1	101	101.0	540
	2	23	24.4	34	40.4	39	39.6	32	42.9	28	37.2	164
	3	-	2.2	5	6.8	9	9.0	10	9.5	12	15.2	36
	4	-	-	2	2.0	3	4.8	2	5.0	2	6.1	9
	5	-	-	-	0.7	2	1.4	1	1.2	3	3.4	6
	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.6	1
	7-10	-	-	-	-	-	0.7	-	-	-	-	-
Total		294	294	525	525	566	566	468	468	373	373	2228
Aggregate convictions including last. Average number per head.		442		750		816		675		595		
		1.436		1.429		1.442		1.442		1.595		
With parents chiefly	0	17	21.7	49	54.2	64	62.2	70	72.9	49	54.2	239
	1	13	10.1	25	23.4	26	21.7	30	27.3	33	26.0	127
	2	4	2.9	10	6.8	8	6.5	13	10.5	10	9.6	43
	3	1	0.3	2	1.2	4	1.5	-	2.3	5	3.9	10
	4	-	-	1	0.3	3	0.8	1	0.7	-	1.3	5
	5	-	-	1	0.1	-	0.2	-	0.3	1	0.9	2
	6-10	-	-	-	-	-	0.1	-	-	-	0.1	-
	Total	35	36	88	88	95	93	114	114	96	96	426
Remainder.	0	40	42.1	91	98.4	102	105.0	103	129.8	98	108.3	440
	1	20	19.7	45	41.0	41	36.5	68	48.6	45	52.0	209
	2	6	6.7	15	11.8	12	11.0	27	18.6	28	19.2	88
	3	2	0.5	3	2.0	-	2.6	6	4.2	12	7.8	23
	4	-	-	-	0.6	1	1.4	2	1.3	7	2.6	10
	5	-	-	-	0.2	-	0.4	1	0.5	2	1.8	3
	6-9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.3	-
	10	-	-	-	-	1	0.2	-	-	-	-	1
Total		68	68	154	154	157	157	203	203	192	192	774
All lads never in Training establishment (2)		Totals of above	Per cent frequency.	Totals of above	Per cent frequency.	Totals of above	Per cent frequency.	Totals of above	Per cent frequency.	Totals of above	Per cent frequency.	
	0	246	62.0	490	63.9	546	66.9	502	63.9	373	64.4	2157
	1	115	29.0	204	26.6	190	23.3	188	24.0	179	27.1	876
	2	33	8.3	69	7.7	57	7.0	72	9.2	66	10.0	287
	3	3	0.7	10	1.3	13	1.6	16	2.0	27	4.1	69
	4-10	-	-	4	0.5	10	1.2	7	0.9	16	1.4	37
	Total	397		767		816		785		661		3426
	Association of lads with parents with 80% of lads	χ^2	4.36		8.96		5.48		16.38		19.97	35.09
	n	4		4		4		4		6		22
	P	.37		.06		.25		<.01		<.01		<.01

¹ and ² See footnote to Table XXVI.

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earlier ages there was a similar kind of association, although not statistically significant in individual age groups. This is shown by the following comparison of the numbers in each group, recording one or more previous convictions with the calculated frequencies had there been no association.

	Ages	Total number	Number with multiple convictions.		
			Actual	Expected	Deficiency
Lived with parents only (not in Train- ing Establishment)	16-17	819	280	301	- 21
	18	566	176	187	- 11
	19-20	841	292	331	- 39

The composite value of χ^2 for the five ages is 55 for $n = 22$, giving $P < .01$, and indicating that the deficiency of multiple convictions in this group may safely be regarded as a real one.

It is seen from Table XXIX that when the lads who had spent some time in a training establishment are included, the actual and expected numbers with a record of one or more previous convictions were as follows:—

	Ages	Total number	Number with multiple convictions		
			Actual	Expected	Deficiency
Lived with parents only apart from any time spent in a Training Estab- lishment	16-17	963	407	438	- 31
	18	626	233	261	- 28
	19-20	893	337	399	- 62

The negative association between residence with parents and multiple convictions is statistically significant at the three ages, eighteen, nineteen and twenty, and the composite value of χ^2 for the five ages is 116 for $n = 26$, again giving $P < .01$.

In Table XXX the total number of convictions recorded by the lads, grouped according to the conditions of their upbringing, are compared with the calculated totals obtained by multiplying the number of lads at each age by the average number of convictions per head among those of the corresponding age who had lived with their parents only, and summing the resulting products. The calculated figures represent, therefore, the number of convictions expected if the lads had lived entirely with their parents instead of in the manner specified, after correcting for any difference in age distribution from the standard "parents only" group. For the first group of the table, which is the standard group, the total convictions recorded are consequently identical with the calculated number.

TABLE XXIX

History of Conditions of Residence, Association between Residence with Parents and Number of Previous Convictions among all Lads, ignoring any Period spent in a Training Establishment

Group	No. of previous convictions	Age 16		Age 17		Age 18		Age 19		Age 20		Totals
		Act-ual nos.	Ex-pect-ed fre-quen-cy.	Act-ual nos.	Ex-pect-ed fre-quen-cy.	Act-ual nos.	Ex-pect-ed fre-quen-cy.	Act-ual nos.	Ex-pect-ed fre-quen-cy.	Act-ual nos.	Ex-pect-ed fre-quen-cy.	
With parents only.	0	197	185.2	359	340.2	393	365.1	329	292.2	227	201.8	1505
	1	111	115.1	170	179.4	145	161.7	113	129.3	109	109.6	648
	2	35	38.6	61	64.2	58	65.2	46	59.9	32	46.2	232
	3	8	11.4	13	16.6	15	18.9	13	15.1	13	19.8	62
	4	4	5.0	3	5.3	10	10.5	2	5.6	2	5.4	21
	5	-	-	1	1.3	4	3.3	1	1.7	3	3.8	9
	6	-	-	-	-	1	0.7	2	2.2	1	0.9	4
	7	1	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	8-10	-	-	-	-	-	0.6	-	-	-	-	-
Total		356	356	607	607	626	626	506	506	387	387	2482
Aggregate convictions including last.		584		955		998		775		628		
Average number per lad		1.640		1.573		1.594		1.532		1.623		
With parents chiefly.	0	17	20.8	51	54.9	54	56.0	70	66.4	49	50.6	241
	1	16	12.9	31	28.9	27	24.8	31	29.4	33	27.4	138
	2	5	4.3	11	10.4	7	10.0	13	13.6	10	11.6	46
	3	1	1.3	3	2.7	5	2.9	-	3.4	4	5.0	13
	4	1	0.6	1	0.9	3	1.6	1	1.3	-	1.4	6
	5	-	-	1	0.2	-	0.5	-	0.4	1	0.9	2
	6-10	-	0.1	-	-	-	0.2	-	0.5	-	0.1	-
	Total	40	40	98	98	96	96	115	115	97	97	446
Remainder.	0	45	53.0	104	118.8	113	138.8	123	163.4	100	123.6	485
	1	34	33.0	70	62.7	76	61.5	87	72.3	62	67.0	329
	2	14	11.1	25	22.4	35	24.8	48	33.5	44	28.3	166
	3	7	3.3	9	5.8	9	7.2	14	8.5	20	12.2	59
	4	2	1.4	4	1.8	3	4.0	7	3.1	8	3.3	24
	5	-	-	-	0.6	1	1.2	2	0.9	3	2.3	6
	6	-	-	-	-	-	0.3	2	1.3	-	0.5	2
	7-9	-	0.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	10	-	-	-	-	1	0.2	-	-	-	-	1
Total		102	102	212	212	238	238	283	283	237	237	1072
All lads Total		458		819		864		789		624		4000
Association of Residence with parents with No. of previous convictions		χ^2	7.78	7.74	20.30	44.12	36.23	116.17				
		n	4	4	6	6	6	6				26
		p	.10	.10	<.01	<.01	<.01	<.01				<.01

Confining attention first to those who had never been in a training establishment, it is apparent that the 395 lads who had lived independently for some period had 660 convictions in their records or 74 more than the

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TABLE XXX

Number of Convictions in the Records of Lads brought up under Various Conditions of Residence, compared with the Numbers Calculated if their Rates of Commission of Offences had been the same at each Age as for Lads brought up with Parents only

Group	Lads never in a Training Establishment					All lads, ignoring any period spent in a Training Establishment				
	No. in group.	Total convictions including least	Calculated No of convictions(1)	Excess or Defect	Ratio to standard error.	No. in group.	Total convictions including least	Calculated No of convictions(2)	Excess or Defect	Ratio to standard error
With parents only	2226	3268	3268	-	-	2482	3940	3940	-	-
With other relative	200	308	292	+ 16	1.7	227	377	360	+ 17	1.8
With foster parent	11	21	16	+ 5	2.2	16	28	25	+ 3	1.0
Independent:										
under 1 yr	280	464	413	+ 51	4.6	339	624	537	+ 87	6.8
1 yr or more	115	196	173	+ 23	3.1	148	290	234	+ 56	4.1
Total	395	660	586	+ 74	5.7	487	914	771	+143	9.1
With employer:										
under 1 yr	130	213	192	+ 21	2.7	163	369	290	+ 69	6.8
1 yr or more	104	196	156	+ 40	5.6	132	263	210	+ 53	4.3
Total	234	409	348	+ 61	6.0	315	622	500	+122	9.3
In care institutions										
under 1 yr	43	64	63	+ 1	0.2	64	89	85	+ 4	0.7
1 yr or more	110	149	160	- 11	1.3	127	187	201	- 14	1.2
Total	153	213	223	- 10	0.8	181	276	286	- 10	1.0
Various residences away from home	207	381	306	+ 75	6.7	292	690	462	+228	10.2

¹ and ² Numbers obtained by multiplying the numbers at each age by the average number of convictions per head of the "parents only" group at that age given in Table XXVIII and summing the products

calculated number, this excess being statistically significant. The 234 lads who had lived for some time with their employers had 409 convictions, an excess of 61, which is also significant. The 207 lads who had lived away from home in more than one way had 381 convictions, an excess of 75, which again is significant. Those who had lived with other relatives or with foster-parents recorded only a slight excess of convictions over the calculated number, which was not statistically significant; whilst the group of 153 lads who had spent some time in care institutions

TABLE XXXI

Further Analysis of Number of Convictions of Lads who had Lived for some time Independently or with Employer, compared with Numbers Calculated as in the preceding Table

Group.	Age 16		Age 17		Age 18		Age 19		Age 20		Totals	
	Act- ual No.	Cal- cul- ated No.	Act- ual No.	Cal- cul- ated No.	Act- ual No.	Cal- cul- ated No.	Act- ual No.	Cal- cul- ated No.	Act- ual No.	Cal- cul- ated No.	Act- ual No.	Cal- cul- ated No.
Independent for less than 1 year, and as below (rest of time with parents)												
With parents	36	31.6	79	68.6	94	75.0	105	100.9	98	90.9	412	367
With other relative or foster parent (under 1 year) (1)	10	10.0	12	11.4	6	5.8	8	7.2	17	12.8	53	47
In Training Establishment:												
less than 1 year	11	5.7	14	8.6	5	2.9	-	-	4	1.6	34	19
1 year or more	13	8.6	21	8.6	38	23.1	39	18.7	14	6.4	125	66
Independent for 1 year or more as below (rest of time with parents or relatives but not in a Training Establishment)												
In own lodgings	2	1.4	5	4.3	21	24.6	41	31.7	41	38.3	110	100
In lodgings with wife	-	-	-	-	2	2.9	9	7.2	5	6.4	16	16
In shelter or C.L.house	-	-	1	1.4	-	-	6	5.8	14	9.6	21	17
Vagrant	-	-	1	1.4	1	1.4	5	4.3	3	3.2	10	10
Combinations of above	-	-	2	1.4	1	1.4	15	11.6	21	14.3	39	29
Independent for 1 year or more and at some time in a Training Establishment.	14	7.2	14	7.1	9	2.9	29	15.9	28	16.0	94	49
With Employer for less than 1 year, and as below (rest of time with parents)												
With parents	17	12.9	40	32.9	40	36.1	49	43.3	49	47.9	195	173
With other relative or foster parent (under 1 year) (2)	1	1.4	5	4.3	4	4.3	8	8.7	1	1.6	19	20
In Training Establishment:												
less than 1 year	-	-	3	1.4	4	1.4	2	1.4	-	-	9	4
1 year or more	21	11.6	22	15.7	45	23.1	30	11.5	18	9.6	136	71
With Employer for 1 year or more as below (rest of time with parents or relatives but not in a Training Establishment)												
At Sea	-	-	1	1.4	1	1.4	7	5.8	10	6.4	19	18
In the Services	-	-	2	1.4	18	13.0	30	26.0	44	30.3	94	71
Elsewhere as sole employee	1	1.4	2	2.9	4	4.3	-	-	1	1.6	8	10
Elsewhere not as sole employee	2	2.9	11	10.0	10	8.7	5	4.3	16	12.8	44	39
With Employer for 1 year or more and at some time in a Training Establishment.	1	1.4	11	5.7	25	17.5	11	5.8	18	11.2	57	41

¹ and ² Includes one case resident with other relative and in a Training Establishment for less than one year.

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showed no excess. If the lads who had at some time been in a training institution are added, the total excess of convictions for the three groups who had lived independently, with employer, or away from home, in various ways, is increased from 210 to 393, and it may be concluded that about this number of offences out of the total of 6,747 committed by the whole 4,000 lads, or about 6 per cent., were associated in some way with residence away from home. It is possible, of course, that the fact of having been convicted for one or two offences led to some lads leaving home who would not have done so otherwise, and it cannot be assumed that residence away from home was a causative factor for the whole of the excess estimated above.

In Table XXXI the groups who had lived independently or with the employer are analysed in greater detail, the total convictions in each sub-group being compared, as in the previous Table, with the totals expected if the lads had lived with their parents only. An excess of offences over the calculated numbers is apparent for most of the sub-groups with the exception of those who had lived as vagrants, in lodgings with wife, or with employer as sole employee. The excess of offences is

TABLE XXXII

Personal Guardians at time of Last Conviction, Distribution according to Age of Offender

Guardians at age stated.	Recorded Numbers at each Age.					Calculated distribution by Age (1)					Totals
	16	17	18	19	20	16	17	18	19	20	
Father and mother.	316	558	674	535	408	297	547	574	539	431	2388
Father (sole guardian)	27	50	68	39	48	27	50	53	50	39	219
Mother (sole guardian)	57	114	137	161	117	73	135	140	133	105	586
Grandparents (both)	-	7	3	3	3	2	4	4	3	3	16
Grandmother (alone)	1	1	8	1	4	2	3	4	3	3	15
Father and a female relative	3	9	6	3	9	4	7	7	7	6	30
Father and stepmother	25	46	35	41	34	22	42	43	41	33	181
Father and female not related.	1	3	3	1	2	1	2	3	2	2	10
Mother and a male relative	1	3	1	3	2	1	2	3	2	2	10
Mother and step-father	45	66	92	68	63	42	76	80	75	60	333
Mother and male not related	1	2	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	4
Male and/or female relative (not included in above)	8	28	13	18	10	10	18	18	17	14	77
Step-parent alone or with other person (not parent)	1	3	6	4	1	2	3	4	3	3	15
Male and/or female not related	7	16	13	6	7	6	11	11	11	9	48
No guardians.	4	11	11	17	19	8	14	15	14	11	62
Totals.	497	915	960	901	721	497	915	960	901	721	5994

¹ I.e., on the assumption of no association and a uniform distribution; some of the figures have been adjusted by a unit in order to produce the correct cross totals.

most pronounced for the lads who had at some time been in a training establishment, these being presumably the most "difficult" cases.

Table XXXII shows that 2,388 of the lads, or about 60 per cent., had both parents as guardians at the time of the last offence, 586 had a mother only, and 333 a mother and step-father; 219 had a father only, and 181 a father and step-mother; 31 had grandparents and 15 had step-parents as sole guardians, whilst 62 had no guardian. The groups with a mother as sole guardian and with no guardian form a significantly larger proportion at ages 19-20 than at 16-17 years: for the group with mother only the percentages are 17.1 and 12.1 respectively at the two ages, and for the group with no guardians 2.2 and 1.1 per cent.

The distribution of guardians in the four groups convicted of different types of offences is shown in Table XXXIII. Lads convicted of non-sexual offences against the person included only 1 with a father and step-mother compared with 6 calculated if the distribution had been uniform. The sexual offence group included only 1 with father as the sole guardian,

TABLE XXXIII

Personal Guardian at time of Last Conviction, Distribution according to Nature of Offences in the Record

Guardian at time of last conviction	Recorded Numbers in groups by Nature of offences.				Calculated frequency in the same groups (1)				Totals..
	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Insci-pine	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Insci-pine	
Father and mother.	2158	80	78	72	2162.0	78.9	74.8	72.3	2388
Father (sole guardian)	202	10	1	6	198.3	7.2	6.9	6.6	219
Mother (sole guardian)	526	17	22	21	530.5	19.4	18.3	17.8	586
Grandparents (both)	15	1	-	-	14.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	16
Grandmother (alone)	15	-	-	-	13.6	0.5	0.5	0.4	15
Father and a female relative	27	1	1	1	27.2	1.0	0.9	0.9	30
Father and stepmother	165	1	5	10	163.8	6.0	5.7	5.5	181
Father and female not related	9	-	-	1	9.1	0.3	0.3	0.3	10
Mother and male relative	10	-	-	-	9.1	0.3	0.3	0.3	10
Mother and stepfather	309	13	5	6	301.5	11.0	10.4	10.1	333
Mother and male not related.	4	-	-	-	3.6	0.2	0.1	0.1	4
Male and/or female relative (not included in above)	67	3	7	-	69.8	2.6	2.4	2.3	77
Step-parent alone or with other person (not parent).	12	-	2	1	13.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	15
Male and/or female not related.	42	2	4	-	43.4	1.6	1.5	1.5	48
No guardians.	65	4	-	3	56.1	2.1	1.9	1.9	62
Totals..	3616	132	125	121	3616	132	125	121	3994

¹ I.e., on the assumption of no association and a uniform distribution.

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compared with 7 calculated, and only 5 with mother and step-father as guardian instead of 10, but included an excess (13 compared with 4) under guardianship of non-relatives or of relatives other than parents or grandparents. The disciplinary offence group included 10 with father and step-mother as guardians compared with 5 or 6 calculated, and 6 with mother and step-father as guardians compared with 10 expected.

Table XXXIV sets out the distribution of numbers of previous convictions in the four groups; those with both parents as guardians at the time of the last offence, those with father but no mother, with mother but no father, and the remainder without either parent or guardian. Among the 2,388 lads under the guardianship of both parents 1,028 had been previously convicted, compared with 1,055 expected if the proportion had been constant in each group, and their total convictions averaged 1.667 per head. Among the 1,373 lads with only one parent as guardian, 632 had been previously convicted, compared with 606 calculated; those with a father but no mother having 1.734 convictions per head, and those with a mother but no father having 1.706 per head.

TABLE XXXIV

Personal Guardians at time of Last Conviction, Association with Number of Previous Convictions

No. of previous convictions.	Father and Mother		Father but no Mother		Mother but no Father		Other guardians or none		Totals.	
	Recorded	Calculated	Recorded	Calculated	Recorded	Calculated	Recorded	Calculated	Nos.	Per cent.
0	1360	1333.3	233	245.7	508	520.9	129	130.1	2230	55.833
1	642	665.5	137	122.6	266	260.0	68	64.9	1113	27.867
2	269	264.3	43	48.7	110	103.2	20	25.8	442	11.067
3	77	79.5	16	14.6	29	31.1	11	7.8	133	3.330
4	24	29.9	8	5.5	15	11.7	3	2.9	50	1.252
5	10	10.7	2	2.0	4	4.2	2	1.1	18	.451
6	5	3.6	-	0.7	1	1.4	-	0.3	6	.150
7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	.025
10	-	1.2	-	0.2	-	0.5	-	0.1	1	.025
Totals	2388	2388	440	440	933	933	233	233	3994	100.000
No. of convictions including the last	3982		763		1692		396		6733	
Statistical measure of association.	Combining 3 to 10 previous convictions $\chi^2 = 9.21$, $n = 9$, $P = .4$.									

1, 2, 3 and 4 *I.s.*, on the assumption of no association and a uniform distribution.

Although there was an apparent tendency for multiple convictions to be more frequent with one parent, the total number of previous convictions did not differ to a significant degree from the totals expected if both parents had been guardians, the numbers being 323 compared with 293 for those with a father but no mother and 659 compared with 622 for those with a mother but no father.

Furthermore, absence of both parents at the time of the last conviction was not associated with any appreciable excess of previous offences: the recorded total being 163 compared with 155 expected, if the average per head had been the same as in the group with both parents as guardians. The χ^2 test does not indicate any significant association between type of guardianship and number of offences.

III. Control and Reaction thereto

A criminal offence is largely an expression of indiscipline, and it is important to consider the quality of the control which the offender has received from others and his reaction to it. At the same time it must be recognized that the best form of restraint is that which the individual exercises upon himself.

Table XXXV shows that the percentage distribution according to the type of control as recorded at the time of the last conviction was as follows :—

Apparently judicious	57.84
Careful but indulgent	18.63
Lax and indulgent	11.81
Lax and occasionally harsh	6.07
Strict and repressive	1.91
Careless and improvident	3.74

The kind of reaction naturally varied according to the type of control exercised, as will be seen more readily in Table XXXVIII. Comparison of the age distribution with the calculated figures in Table XXXV shows that, except for the small group of lads under strict repressive control, there was in each group a diminishing amount of resistive reaction as age advanced, the recorded being in excess of the calculated numbers at age 16, and in defect at ages 19-20. Thus, excluding the strict and repressive control group, at age 16, 64 were resistive out of 494, or 13.0 per cent., whereas at ages 19-20, 131 were resistive out of 1,582, or 8.3 per cent., this difference being statistically significant for the combined groups.

TABLE XXXV

Type of Control exercised and Reaction to it as last recorded, Distribution according to Age at Last Conviction

Type of control	Reaction to control	Recorded numbers at each age..					Calculated distribution by age if no association					Totals with records of control.	
		16	17	18	19	20	16	17	18	19	20	Number	Per cent.
Apparently judicious.	Tolerant	260	460	483	461	354	252.1	462.6	484.4	455.5	363.4	2018	50.62
	Resistive	29	36	34	30	29	19.7	36.2	37.9	35.7	28.6	159	3.96
	Submissive/ discontent	22	27	21	30	30	16.2	29.8	31.2	29.4	23.4	130	3.26
Careful but indulgent.	Tolerant	63	150	150	154	119	79.4	145.8	152.6	143.6	114.6	636	15.95
	Resistive	12	14	15	11	7	7.4	13.5	14.2	13.3	10.6	59	1.48
	Submissive/ discontent	5	15	12	11	6	6.0	11.0	11.5	10.9	6.6	48	1.20
Lax and indulgent.	Tolerant	44	75	112	84	78	49.1	90.1	94.3	88.7	70.8	393	9.86
	Resistive	7	11	12	7	7	5.5	10.1	10.6	9.9	7.9	44	1.10
	Submissive/ discontent	4	5	9	7	9	4.3	7.8	8.1	7.7	6.1	34	.85
Lax and occasionally harsh.	Tolerant	5	22	21	11	11	8.7	16.1	15.8	15.8	12.6	70	1.75
	Resistive	14	28	25	20	16	12.9	23.6	24.7	23.2	18.6	103	2.58
	Submissive/ discontent	14	19	12	16	8	6.6	15.8	16.6	15.6	12.4	69	1.73
Strict and repressive.	Tolerant	1	3	6	3	6	2.4	4.3	4.6	4.3	3.4	19	.48
	Resistive	2	9	10	11	5	4.6	8.5	8.9	8.3	6.7	37	.93
	Submissive/ discontent	1	6	2	7	4	2.6	4.6	4.8	4.5	3.6	20	.50
Careless and improvident.	Tolerant	11	26	24	33	25	14.9	27.3	28.6	26.8	21.4	119	2.99
	Resistive	2	6	3	2	2	1.7	3.2	3.4	3.2	2.5	14	.35
	Submissive/ discontent	2	3	6	2	3	2.0	3.7	3.8	3.6	2.9	16	.40
Totals.		498	914	957	900	718	498	914	957	900	718	3927	100.00

It appears from Table XXXVI that among the lads convicted of offences against the person, there was no significant excess of any particular type of control; but there was a significant excess of resistive reaction to judicious, indulgent or lax control—25 compared with 12 calculated. Among those convicted of one or more sexual offences, there were 36 who had been under careful indulgent control, an excess of 13 over the calculated number, whilst only 13 exhibited resistive or discontent reactions compared with 23 expected, these differences being more than twice their standard errors. Among the lads with offences only against discipline, 13 had been under careless and improvident control compared with 4 or 5 expected, a significant excess, and this group also showed an excess of resistive or discontent reactions, 33 compared with 22 expected, amounting to more than twice its standard error. The relations with the number of previous offences must be examined separately throughout for each group according to the nature of the offence.

TABLE XXXVI

Type of Control exercised and Reaction to it as last recorded, Distribution according to Nature of Offences

Type of control	Reaction to control.	Recorded numbers in each group according to Nature of offence.				Calculated frequencies if no association.				Total with record of control
		Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline	
Appar-ently judi-cious.	Tolerant	1839	66	67	57	1827.2	66.8	65.3	60.7	2018
	Resistive	138	9	4	7	143.0	5.2	6.0	4.8	168
	Submissive discontent	120	4	2	4	117.7	4.3	4.1	3.9	130
Careful but indul-gent.	Tolerant	668	21	33	14	676.9	21.1	19.9	19.1	636
	Resistive	61	6	-	2	53.4	2.0	1.6	1.8	69
	Submissive discontent	42	2	3	1	43.6	1.6	1.6	1.4	46
Lax and indul-gent.	Tolerant	366	13	9	6	355.8	13.0	12.3	11.1	393
	Resistive	37	2	1	4	39.8	1.5	1.4	1.3	44
	Submissive discontent	28	1	-	5	30.8	1.1	1.1	1.0	34
Lax and occa-sionally harsh.	Tolerant	66	3	1	1	63.4	2.3	2.2	2.1	70
	Resistive	90	8	2	3	93.2	3.4	3.3	3.1	103
	Submissive discontent	63	2	-	4	62.5	2.3	2.1	2.1	69
Strict and re-pressive.	Tolerant	19	-	-	-	17.2	0.6	0.6	0.6	19
	Resistive	36	1	-	-	33.5	1.2	1.2	1.1	37
	Submissive discontent	20	-	-	-	18.1	0.7	0.6	0.6	20
Careless and im-provident.	Tolerant	103	4	2	10	104.8	3.9	3.7	3.6	119
	Resistive	11	1	-	2	12.7	0.5	0.4	0.4	14
	Submissive discontent	14	-	1	1	14.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	16
Totals.		3610	132	126	120	3610	132	126	120	3987

The changes in the recorded control and reaction with successive changes in environment are shown in Table XXXVII, the first and last record only being noted in the Table. Thus the last columns show that 1,839 lads recorded apparently judicious control and a tolerant reaction to it where they first lived and with subsequent changes of environment continued to do so. Another 197 recorded this type of control and reaction in their first home but a different type in their last, and another 179 recorded this type of control and reaction in their last home, although not in their first; consequently there was a decline of 18 in the total in this group between the first and the last. It is apparent that the numbers under lax control declined by 63, and those under strict repressive control by 9; also that the numbers under judicious or careful control increased by 47, and those under careless and improvident control by 25. The numbers with tolerant reaction increased by 23 at the expense of those discontented and resistive, who were 17 and 6 less respectively.

TABLE XXXVII

Changes in Type of Control and/or Reaction to it as stated at Last Conviction compared with the Earliest Record of these

Type of control and reaction to it (1)		Recorded numbers at ages shown at last conviction.																All ages		+	or	-
		16			17			18			19			20								
		No	Change		No	Change		No	Change		No	Change		No	Change							
		change	1 La-	st st.	change	1 La-	st st.	change	1 La-	st st.	change	1 La-	st st.	change	1 La-	st st.	change	1 La-	st st.			
Apparently Judicious.	Tol.	237	24	23	415	54	45	442	42	41	423	37	38	322	40	32	1839	197	179	-	18	
	Res.	14	8	15	19	9	17	19	11	15	18	8	12	19	8	10	89	44	69	+	25	
	Disc.	17	3	5	11	4	16	11	13	10	16	11	14	13	6	17	68	37	62	+	25	
Careful but in- dulgnt.	Tol.	42	10	21	120	23	30	119	29	31	130	24	24	98	18	21	509	104	127	+	23	
	Res.	9	6	3	10	4	4	9	6	6	7	6	4	5	2	2	40	14	19	-	5	
	Disc.	5	2	-	10	6	5	9	2	3	6	6	5	6	-	-	35	15	13	-	3	
Lax and indulgent.	Tol.	39	10	5	54	26	21	90	18	22	66	18	28	61	17	17	300	89	93	+	4	
	Res.	5	2	2	7	4	4	12	4	-	6	2	2	6	2	1	35	14	9	-	5	
	Disc.	3	2	1	3	6	2	6	3	3	3	8	4	6	6	3	21	11	13	-	11	
Lax and occasion- ally harsh.	Tol.	3	4	2	16	4	6	18	5	3	8	7	3	9	3	2	54	23	16	-	7	
	Res.	10	10	4	20	13	8	11	14	14	15	12	5	15	8	3	63	57	34	-	23	
	Disc.	12	8	2	12	11	7	10	4	2	11	8	5	5	9	3	50	40	19	-	21	
Strict and repressive	Tol.	1	-	-	2	-	1	5	1	1	3	4	-	3	2	3	14	7	5	-	2	
	Res.	2	-	-	7	3	2	8	1	2	7	2	4	1	4	4	25	10	12	+	2	
	Disc.	1	2	-	4	6	2	1	2	1	3	4	4	3	3	1	12	17	8	-	2	
Careless and im- provident.	Tol.	3	3	8	15	9	11	12	11	12	23	4	10	13	3	12	66	30	53	+	23	
	Res.	-	-	2	5	1	-	3	-	-	1	2	1	2	-	-	11	3	3	0		
	Disc.	-	1	2	2	-	1	4	2	2	2	-	-	2	1	1	10	4	6	+	2	
Totals.		403	95	95	732	182	182	789	168	168	737	163	163	586	132	132	3247	740	740	0		

¹ Tol = tolerant, Res = resistive, Disc = submissive discontent.

It is seen from Table XXXVIII that the percentage of lads as a whole with resistive reaction was about 10.5, but it varied greatly according to the control, being 6 to 7 where control was judicious, 8 to 9 where it was careful but indulgent and between 40 and 50 where it was strict

TABLE XXXVIII

Proportions with Various Reactions to each type of Control as recorded (a) at First Examination, and (b) at time of Last Conviction

Type of Control.	(a) As first recorded				(b) As last recorded			
	No. in group.	Percentages in group.			No. in group.	Percentages in group.		
		Tol. (1)	Res. (2)	Disc. (3)		Tol. (1)	Res. (2)	Disc. (3)
Apparently judicious	2274	89.5	6.9	4.6	2306	87.5	6.9	5.6
Careful but indulgent	728	84.2	8.8	7.0	743	85.6	7.9	6.5
Lax and indulgent	483	80.5	10.2	9.3	471	83.4	9.4	7.2
Lax occasionally harsh	293	26.3	43.0	30.7	242	28.9	42.6	28.5
Strict and repressive	85	24.7	41.2	34.1	76	25.0	48.7	26.3
Careless and improvident	124	77.4	11.3	11.3	149	79.9	9.4	10.7
Any type of control	3987	81.1	10.5	8.4	3987	81.6	10.4	8.0
Totals in reaction groups.		3232	421	334		3255	415	317

¹ Tol. = tolerant.

² Res = resistive.

³ Disc. = submissive discontent

or occasionally harsh. The percentage who were submissively discontented was about 8, but it was less if the control was judicious or careful but indulgent, and round about 30 per cent. where the control was strict or occasionally harsh.

TABLE XXXIX

Type of Control exercised and Reaction to it as last recorded, Association with Nature of Offences and Number of Previous Convictions

Control and Reaction.	Number of previous convictions.	Grouping by Nature of Offences in Record.				
		Property (1)		Person	Sexual	Disciplinary
		Recorded numbers	Calculated frequency if no association.	Recorded numbers.	Recorded numbers.	Recorded numbers.
Apparently judicious control, tolerant reaction.	0	1120	1008.5	33	55	50
	1	486	528.8	14	6	6
	2	169	212.5	4	3	1
	3	46	61.6	2	3	-
	4	12	24.5	1	-	-
	5	6	7.1	-	-	-
	6	1	2.5	1	-	-
	7	-	0.6	-	-	-
Total		1839	1839	65	67	57
Apparently judicious control, other reaction	0	107	140.8	7	2	10
	1	88	73.9	3	3	1
	2	40	29.8	1	-	-
	3	12	8.6	2	1	-
	4	9	3.4	-	-	-
	5	-	1.0	-	-	-
	6	2	0.4	-	-	-
	7	-	0.1	-	-	-
Total		258	258	13	6	11
Careful indulgent control, any reaction	0	377	360.7	10	23	16
	1	188	189.3	12	10	1
	2	66	76.3	5	2	-
	3	24	22.2	2	1	-
	4	6	8.8	-	-	-
	5	-	2.6	-	-	-
	6	-	0.9	-	-	-
	7	-	0.2	-	-	-
Total		661	661	29	36	17
Lax, careless or repressive control, any reaction	0	366	465.0	10	11	27
	1	272	244.0	14	4	5
	2	142	98.4	6	1	1
	3	39	28.6	1	-	1
	4	21	11.3	2	-	-
	5	9	3.3	1	-	1
	6	2	1.2	-	-	-
	7	1	0.2	-	-	-
Total		852	852	35	16	36
Totals.		3610		132	25	120

¹ Test of association property group. $\chi^2 = 132$, $n = 12$, $P = < .001$.

Table XXXIX compares the distributions according to the numbers of previous convictions and nature of offences for lads under judicious control, separating those with tolerant reaction and those under

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careful indulgent control from the remainder. Among the 3,610 lads who had been convicted of offences against property, there was a significant degree of variation in the distribution by number of previous offences

Average Number of Convictions per head of Lads under Apparently Judicious Control, g.c.p.d according to Nature of Offences Number of Convictions in other groups compared with Numbers Expected if they had been under Judicious Control

Type of control at time of last report.	Record of convictions (1)	Grouping by Nature of Offences in record.				
		Property	Person	Sexual	Discipline	All Types
Apparently judicious	No. of lads	2097	68	73	68	2306
	Total convictions.	3390	117	100	77	3684
	Convictions per head.	1.6166	1.7206	1.3699	1.1324	1.5976
Careful but indulgent	Total convictions recorded.	1077	57	53	18	1205
	Total convictions expected.	1059	50	49	19	1187
	Excess or defect.	+ 8	+ 7	+ 4	- 1	+ 18
Lax and indulgent	Total convictions recorded.	847	39	13	24	923
	Total convictions expected.	697	28	14	16	755
	Excess or defect.	+ 150	+ 11	- 1	+ 8	+ 168
Lax, occasionally harsh	Total convictions recorded.	405	28	5	8	446
	Total convictions expected.	352	22	4	9	387
	Excess or defect.	+ 53	+ 6	+ 1	- 1	+ 59
Strict and repressive	Total convictions recorded.	153	3	-	-	156
	Total convictions expected.	121	2	-	-	123
	Excess or defect.	+ 32	+ 1	-	-	+ 33
Careless and improvident	Total convictions recorded.	268	17	4	18	307
	Total convictions expected.	207	9	4	16	236
	Excess or defect.	+ 61	+ 8	-	+ 2	+ 72

¹ Including the latest conviction in every case.

between the four groups ($\chi^2 = 132$, $n = 12$, $P < .001$), the tendency being for those under lax, careless or repressive control and those who were intolerant of apparently judicious control to have larger proportions with a record of multiple convictions than the other groups. The group in this Table with the most favourable record as regards number of previous offences was the first, with tolerant reaction to judicious control, the average convictions per head being 1.55 compared with 1.96 for lads under lax, careless or repressive control.

Table XL compares the total number of convictions recorded by the lads under each type of control, divided also according to the type of offence, with the totals which would have resulted if the number of previous convictions per head had been the same as for the judicious control group. The comparison suggests that lax indulgent control was responsible for 168 convictions after the first, and other types of unsatisfactory control for 182 out of 2,734. The data can throw no light on the effect of control on the incidence of the 3,987 first convictions included in the Tables.

IV. Family Composition

Reference was made in the discussion in Section I of this chapter to the subtle effects of personal contacts in the formation of character, and the present section considers in some detail the composition of the families of the lads.

It will be seen from Table XLI that 44.4 per cent. of the lads lived with both parents at ages 5, 14 and immediately prior to conviction, and 12.7 per cent. lived with a step-parent at one or other of these periods. About 61 per cent. lived with their mothers, with or without a father but without a step-father, throughout; and 49 per cent. lived with their fathers, with or without a mother but without a step-mother, throughout. The proportion not living with either parent or step-parent at age 5 and after was 4 per cent.; at age 14, and thereafter, it was 8 per cent. About 4 per cent. had lived with their mother only throughout, and 1.2 per cent. with the father only throughout.

The age distribution is abnormal for several groups. A relative excess at the later ages, 19–20, is noticeable among those who had been living with both parents at ages 5 and 14 but not subsequently (185 at 16–17, 152 at 18, and 336 at 19–20, compared with 238, 162 and 273 respectively expected if there had been no variation with age). This is true also of those living with both parents at 5, with the mother at 14, and without either parent subsequently (14 at 16–17, 9 at 18, and 29 at 19–20 years, compared with 18, 13 and 21 expected). On the other hand,

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TABLE XLI

*Family Composition, Presence of Parents at certain periods During Upbringing.
Distribution according to Age and Nature of Offences*

A. Lads who had not lived with a step-parent at any of the periods.												
Presence of parents at home at ages below.		Age at last conviction					Nature of Offences.				Totals.	
6 yrs.	14 years and at time of last conviction.	16	17	18	19	20	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Disci-pline	Num-bers	Per-cent
	Both parents throughout.	243	426	438	376	233	1596	61	67	52	1776	44.40
	Both parents at 14, then (Father)	2	9	24	14	16	59	4	1	-	64	1.60
	(Mother)	17	37	44	60	33	170	8	10	3	191	4.77
	(No parent)	36	84	84	118	96	380	13	7	18	418	10.45
Both parents at home.	Father only.	16	32	21	10	5	76	5	1	2	84	2.10
	Mother only.	25	45	53	53	39	196	5	7	7	215	5.37
	Father at 14, no parent later.	6	10	15	12	12	49	2	-	4	55	1.36
	Mother at 14, no parent later.	4	10	9	15	14	47	1	1	3	52	1.30
	No parent at 14 or later.	18	26	23	26	26	108	6	1	4	119	2.96
Father only.	Father only.	4	9	17	7	11	44	-	1	3	48	1.20
	Neither parent (1)	1	3	4	4	2	13	1	-	-	14	0.36
Mother only.	Both parents.	14	20	20	20	19	91	2	-	-	93	2.35
	Mother only.	18	42	36	44	28	156	1	4	7	168	4.20
	Neither parent (2)	8	10	6	11	9	41	1	1	1	44	1.10
No parent.	One or both parents.	2	4	5	1	3	14	1	-	-	15	0.38
	Neither parent.	15	39	33	26	24	171	5	11	-	137	3.42
Totals without step-parent.		429	806	832	797	629	3161	116	112	104	3493	87.33
B. Lads who had lived with a step-parent at one or other period.												
Step-parent living at home at ages below.		Age at last conviction					Nature of Offences.				Totals.	
		16	17	18	19	20	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Disci-pline	Num-bers	Per-cent
Step-father	5, 14 and later. (3)	17	27	27	12	13	92	2	1	1	96	2.40
	5 and 14, or later. (4)	10	12	10	9	10	49	-	1	1	51	1.27
	5 not 14 or later.	3	3	5	2	1	13	-	-	1	14	0.36
	14 and later (not 5)	8	19	36	18	16	84	8	3	2	97	2.43
	14 not later (nor at 5)	2	6	6	13	13	35	1	2	1	39	0.97
	After 14 only.	5	8	10	12	10	39	3	1	2	45	1.13
Step-mother	5, 14 and later.	6	4	3	6	3	19	-	2	-	21	0.52
	5 and 14 or later.	1	3	8	3	6	18	-	1	2	2	0.52
	5 not 14 or later.	1	-	2	1	1	5	-	-	-	6	0.13
	14 and later (not 5)	11	16	10	8	10	49	1	2	3	55	1.38
	14 not later (nor at 5)	4	6	7	14	4	32	1	-	1	34	0.86
	After 14 only.	2	9	4	9	5	26	-	-	3	29	0.72
Totals with step-parent.		69	111	128	107	92	461	16	13	17	507	12.67
Totals with, or without, Step-parent.		498	917	960	904	721	3622	132	125	121	4000	100.00

¹ Includes 2 stated to have lived with mother at an age after 14.

² Includes 1 stated to have lived with father at an age after 14.

³ Includes 2 with step-mother also (at ages 17 and 20).

⁴ Includes 1 with step-mother also (at age 17).

there is a relative excess at the earlier ages among those who had lived with both parents at 5, and with the father only at 14, and thereafter (48 at 16-17, 21 at 18, and 15 at 19-20 years). Those who had lived with a step-father at age 5 show a younger age distribution (72 at 16-17, 89 at 18-20 years, compared with 57 and 104 if there had been no variation with age) than those who had lived with a step-father at 14 or later, but not at 5 years (47 at 16-17, 134 at 18-20, compared with 64 and 117 expected).

The lads with a record of sexual offences showed a significant excess without parents or step-parents throughout (11 compared with 4 expected had there been no association between family composition and type of offence). The three groups of sexual offenders with one or both parents at 5 and 14 years, but without a parent afterwards, numbered only 8 compared with 16 expected, whereas the groups with both parents up to the age of 14, and a mother or both parents afterwards, numbered 77 compared with 61 expected.

The lads with a record of other offences against the person showed no association with a presence of the parents at the various ages, but those who had lived with a step-father at 14 years and later, but not at age 5, numbered 8 compared with 3 expected. Among those who had been convicted of disciplinary offences only, there was an excess who had lived with one or both parents at 5 and 14 years but without either parent subsequently (25 compared with 16 expected).

The number of convictions of the lads who did not live with a step-parent at any of the ages specified, and (1) had a record of offences against property or the person but no sexual offences, (2) had been convicted of at least one sexual offence, (3) had been convicted only for disciplinary offences, grouped according to the presence or absence of a father and mother in the family at age 5, 14, and just before the last conviction, are shown in Table XLIIA.

In the last two columns are shown the total recorded convictions in each group, including the last one, and the number which would have been recorded if the average per head had been the same as in the group who had lived with both parents throughout. A correction for age—explained below the Table—has been made in the groups where Table XLI indicated that the age distribution was peculiar and likely to influence the result.

Dealing first with the large group of offenders against property or the person. The most noteworthy excess of offences is shown by the 114 lads who had both parents at the age of 5, but neither parent at 14 or after, this group having 165 previous convictions in their records compared

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TABLE XLII

*Family Composition, Presence of Parents at certain periods During Upbringing
and Number of Convictions*

A. <u>Lads who had not lived with a step-parent at any of the periods.</u>												
Presence of parents at home at ages below 5 yrs. 14 yrs. and at last conviction	Distribution according to number of previous convictions.									Total in group	Total convictions including the last	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	10		Recorded	Calculated (1)
<u>Offenders against Property or the Person</u>												
Both parents at 5, 14 and later												
Ages 16-17	353	182	59	17	3	2	-	-	-	616	989	989
Ages 18-20	630	255	109	32	5	7	3	-	-	1041	1683	1683
All Ages.	983	437	168	49	8	9	3	-	-	1657	2672	2672
Both parents at 5 and 14, then												
One parent	141	67	20	8	3	1	1	-	-	241	395	389 (6)
Neither parent	178	132	62	16	6	-	-	-	-	393	718	634 (7)
Both parents	142	68	25	7	6	-	-	1	-	249	419	401 (8)
No father (2)	72	30	21	5	4	-	-	-	-	132	235	213 (9)
No mother (3)	32	32	29	12	7	1	1	-	-	114	279	184
Neither parent.	33	20	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	58	92	94
Father	103	54	27	9	4	1	1	-	-	199	361	321
Mother	57	49	13	4	2	1	-	-	-	126	226	203
Neither	63	24	14	5	2	-	-	-	-	108	183	174
Other combinations.												
Totals.	1804	913	381	116	43	13	6	1	-	2777	5580	5285
<u>Sexual offenders.</u>												
Both parents at 5, 14 and later.	53	16	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	67	85	85
One or both parents at 5 and 14, no parent later.	3	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	8	17	10
One or both parents at 5, no parent at 14 or later.	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	3
No parent at 5, 14 and later.	5	5	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	11	19	14
Other combinations.	16	5	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	24	37	30
Totals.	80	21	6	5	-	-	-	-	-	112	160	142
<u>Offenders against discipline only.</u>												
Both parents at 5, 14 and later.	48	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	52	57	57
Other combinations.	41	9	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	52	56	57
Totals.	89	14	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	104	123	114
B. <u>Lads who have lived with a step-parent at one or other period.</u>												
Step-father	50	29	10	2	4	1	-	-	-	96	172	152
Also 14 and later	20	17	12	2	-	-	-	-	-	51	98	81
Also 14 or later	5	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	25	22
Not at 14 or later												
Step-mother	62	29	13	3	-	-	-	-	-	97	161	154
At 14 and later	19	14	5	-	-	1	-	-	-	39	68	62
At 14, not later	21	20	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	45	74	71
After 14 only	14	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	29	33
Step-mother	11	4	-	3	2	1	-	-	-	21	47	33
Also 14 and later	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10	8
Also 14 or later												
Not at 14 or later												
Step-mother	32	16	6	-	1	-	-	-	-	55	87	87
At 14 and later	20	9	2	1	-	1	-	-	1	34	65	59
At 14, not later	13	15	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	29	43	45
After 14 only	258	169	55	12	8	4	-	-	1	507	884	803
Totals with step-parents.												
Totals in all groups.	2231	1115	444	134	51	17	6	1	1	4000		

¹ The expected figure if the number of convictions per head had been the same as in the corresponding group with "both parents throughout" ², ³, ⁴, and ⁵ Include some without either parent at 14 and/or later. In the groups (6), (7), (8) and (9) these rates have been applied at ages 16-17 and 18-20 separately, thus correcting for the effects of different age distribution. In the step-parent section the rate for "both parents throughout" for all types of offence has been used: viz., 1.584 per head. Corrected for 6, 7, 8 and 9 age, see note above.

with 70 expected, an excess of 95. Next come the 393 lads who had both parents at the age of 5 and 14, but neither parent after, 325 recording previous convictions compared with 241, an excess of 84. After these in order of excess are the 199 lads who had no father throughout but who had a mother at the age of 5, and in some cases at subsequent ages also, this group recording 162 previous convictions compared with 122 expected, an excess of 40. For each of these three groups the excess was statistically significant. All the other groups show some excess of convictions except the group with no mother throughout but with a father at certain ages. The comparison for all groups is as follows :—

	Number in group	Number of previous convictions		
		Recorded.	Calculated	Excess or defect.
Both parents throughout	1,657	1,015	1,015	—
Both parents at 5, neither at 14 and after	114	165	70	+ 95
Both parents at 5 and 14, neither thereafter	393	325	241	+ 84
Mother only at 5, mother only or neither parent at 14 and after	199	162	122	+ 40
Neither parent throughout	126	100	77	+ 23
Both parents at 5, no mother at 14 and after	132	103	81	+ 22
Both parents at 5, no father at 14 and after	249	170	152	+ 18
Both parents at 5 and 14, father or mother after	241	154	148	+ 6
Father only at 5, father only or neither parent at 14 and after	58	34	36	— 2
Other combinations	108	75	66	+ 9
Total with offences against property or the person	3,277	2,303	2,008	+ 295

Although these figures give no information as to the association between the presence or absence of parents and the liability to commit a first offence, they indicate that the absence of one or both parents, and especially that of the father, at the age of 14 and after was associated with the commission of multiple offences against property or the person, and that some 300 of the offences after the first would probably not have been committed had both parents been present throughout. Provided that the parents were absent at the age of 14 and after, their presence or absence at the age of 5 made no significant difference to the frequency of multiple convictions.

Of the 45 sexual offenders with one or both parents absent at one or more of the ages, the recorded previous convictions numbered 30 compared

with 12 expected if both parents had been present throughout, a greater degree of excess than that found for the offenders against property or the person. This is also true of the offenders against discipline, 52 without a parent at some age having 14 previous convictions compared with 5 expected if both parents had been present throughout.

Table XLIIb gives the numbers of convictions for the lads who were living with a step-parent (with or without a parent of their own) at age 5 and 14, or at the time of the last conviction. The total number of convictions for the 342 lads who had lived with a step-father was 598 or 1.75 per head, and for the 165 who had lived with a step-mother the total was 286 or 1.73 per head. There was a total excess of 81 previous convictions over the 296 expected if these 507 lads had lived with both parents throughout, an excess which is statistically significant. The last two columns show that the excess was most pronounced for the groups who had lived with a step-father at age 5 and 14, and/or later—123 previous convictions compared with 86 expected if they had lived with their own parents throughout.

It may, therefore, be concluded that for at least 400 out of the total of 2,747 convictions after the first, or about 1 in 7, the loss of a parent or both parents from the home was an important factor in causation. If this is true of the repeated offenders it is probably true for a similar proportion of first offenders also, although no direct evidence as to this can be obtained from the data.

Table XLIII shows that 57.8 per cent. of the lads had an older brother, 56.9 per cent. had an older sister, and 73.5 per cent. had either an older brother or sister or both. The proportions were slightly greater among those aged 19–20 (60.6, 58.5, 75.3 per cent. respectively) than among those aged 16–18 (55.9, 55.8, 71.9), owing perhaps to the gradual decline in the average size of family during the last forty years. Those convicted of sex offences had lower proportions, viz. : 46.4, 46.4 and 62.4 per cent. respectively ; and those convicted of disciplinary offences had higher proportions, viz. : 62.8, 63.6 and 80.2 per cent. respectively, than the group of offenders against property, the figures in the latter class being 58.0, 56.9, and 73.7 per cent. respectively. The differences, however, are of doubtful significance.

When the groups with an older brother or sister are divided up according to the periods at which they were living at home, 27.5 per cent. had an older brother, and 23.8 per cent. an older sister living at home throughout ; 18.7 per cent. had an older brother, and 20.5 per cent. an older sister living at home up to age 14, but not at the time of the last conviction. The proportions in the latter group increase with the age

at last conviction, as might be expected, viz. : 12·4, 14·3, 18·9, 23·0 and 23·3 per cent. with an older brother at ages 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 respectively, and 12·0, 16·8, 20·4, 24·3 and 26·2 per cent. with an older sister. About 51 per cent. had no older brother, and 53 per cent. no older sister at home at the age of 14.

TABLE XLIII

Family Composition, Presence of Older Brothers or Sisters at certain periods During Upbringing, Distribution according to Age and Nature of Offences

		Age at last conviction.					Nature of Offence.				Totals.	
		16	17	18	19	20	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline	Num-ber	Per cent.
Older brother(s) at home at ages shown.	Birth, 5, 14 and later	141	260	264	252	184	990	43	38	30	1101	27.526
	" " " not "	62	131	181	208	168	687	16	14	33	750	18.750
	" & 5, not 14 or later	45	77	62	78	60	282	16	5	9	312	7.800
	" not 5, 14 or later	9	17	11	10	8	52	1	1	1	65	1.375
	At some ages but not in above groups.	14	28	26	13	14	90	2	-	3	95	2.375
	Totals with older brothers.	271	513	544	561	424	2101	78	58	76	2313	57.826
No older brother in family.		227	404	416	343	297	1521	54	67	45	1687	42.175
Older sister(s) at home at ages shown.	Birth, 5, 14 and later	128	246	237	203	140	874	27	25	27	953	23.826
	" 5 and 14, not later	60	154	196	220	189	728	34	22	35	819	20.475
	" and 5, not 14 or "	44	87	78	87	58	321	13	10	10	354	8.850
	" not 5, 14 or later	9	13	7	12	12	50	2	-	1	53	1.326
	At some ages but not in above groups.	27	17	23	18	11	89	2	1	4	96	2.400
	Totals with older sisters.	268	516	541	540	410	2062	78	68	77	2275	56.875
No older sister in family.		250	401	419	364	311	1560	54	67	44	1725	43.125
Older brother(s) and/or sister(s) in family.		341	669	697	690	534	2668	98	78	97	2941	73.526
No older brother or sister in family.		147	248	263	214	187	954	34	47	24	1059	26.475
Totals.		498	917	960	904	722	3622	132	126	121	4000	100.000

Lads convicted of sexual offences included only 11·2 per cent. with an older brother living at home up to the age of 14, but not at the time of the last conviction, compared with 19·0 per cent. for the offenders against property, this difference being more than twice the standard error. On the other hand, the offenders against discipline included 27·3 per cent. with an older brother and 28·9 per cent. with an older sister at home up to the age of 14, but not at the latest age stated, compared with 19·0 and 20·1 per cent. respectively in the property offences group, indicating that the removal of an older brother or sister from the home after the age of 14 was associated with an increased frequency of the disciplinary offences compared with other types.

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TABLE XLIV

Family Composition, Presence of Older Brothers or Sisters at certain periods During Upbringing and Number of Convictions

		Distribution according to number of previous convictions.										Total in group	Total number of convictions including last	
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	10	Recorded		Calculated (1)	
Older brother(s) at home at ages shown.	Birth, 5, 14 & later	686	281	95	23	6	7	3	-	-	1101	1718	1718	
	" 5, 14, not later	407	212	92	23	13	2	-	-	1	750	1287	1183	
	" & 5, not 14 or "	145	90	52	18	5	1	1	-	-	312	691	486	
	Other combinations	66	51	19	8	4	1	1	-	-	150	290	233	
	Totals with older brother.	1304	634	258	72	28	11	5	-	1	2313	3886	3620	
No older brother in family.		927	481	186	52	23	6	1	1	-	1687	2661	2633	
Older sister(s) at home at ages shown.	Birth, 5, 14 & later	696	240	85	24	5	3	-	-	-	953	1470	1470	
	" 5, 14, not later	458	227	89	27	13	4	1	-	-	819	1383	1283	
	" & 5, not 14 or "	159	112	52	22	6	2	1	-	-	354	676	648	
	Other combinations	68	53	13	10	4	1	-	-	-	149	279	228	
	Totals with older sister.	1281	632	239	83	28	10	2	-	-	2275	3808	3529	
No older sister in family.		960	483	205	51	23	7	4	1	1	1725	2939	2671	
Older brother(s) and/or sister(s) in family.		1649	802	329	106	36	13	5	-	1	2941	4968		
No older brother or sister in family.		582	313	115	28	15	4	1	1	-	1065	1779		
Totals.		2231	1115	444	134	51	17	6	1	1	4000	6747		

¹ If average convictions per head had been the same at each age as for lads with an older brother (or sister as the case may be) at home throughout

The number of previous convictions in the groups in the preceding Table are shown in Table XLIV. The 1,687 lads without an older brother in the family had 2,861 convictions recorded against them or 1.70 per head, compared with 1.68 per head for the 2,313 who had an older brother, whilst those without an older sister had 1.70 convictions per head, compared with 1.67 per head for those with an older sister. A slightly lower rate of multiple offences was, therefore, noticeable among lads with an older brother or sister, but a much more important association is found when the first group is further subdivided according to the periods at which the older siblings were living at home, as shown below :—

	Number in group.	Average number of convictions per head.
With older brother at home throughout	1,101	1.560
With older sister at home throughout	953	1.542
With older brother at age 5, but not at 14 or at last conviction	312	1.894
With older sister at age 5, but not at 14 or at last conviction	354	1.910

The groups with an older brother or sister present throughout gave the best records. The average number of convictions per head, including the last, for lads of various ages in these groups being as follows:—

Age group	With older brother throughout			With older sister throughout		
	No. in group	Total convictions	Average per head	No. in group	Total convictions	Average per head
16	141	208	1.475	128	178	1.391
17	260	394	1.515	245	379	1.547
18	264	401	1.519	237	357	1.506
19	252	395	1.568	203	316	1.557
20	184	320	1.739	140	240	1.714
All ages	1,101	1,718	—	953	1,470	—

The last two columns of Table XLIV compare the total recorded convictions of the various groups with the numbers calculated if they had, at each age, experienced the same number of convictions per head as the best groups shown above. If the first conviction, common to all, is excluded in each case, the comparison on this basis is as follows:—

	No. in group	Total number of convictions excluding the first		
		Recorded	Expected	Excess
With older brother at age 5 and 14, but not at last conviction	750	537	433	+ 104
With older sister at age 5 and 14, but not at last conviction	819	564	464	+ 100
With older brother at age 5, but not 14 or later	312	279	174	+ 105
With older sister at age 5, but not 14 or later	354	322	194	+ 128
With older brother present at some time (not in above groups and not present throughout)	150	140	83	+ 57
With older sister present at some time (not in above groups and not present throughout)	149	130	79	+ 51
Without an older brother in the family	1,687	1,174	946	+ 228
Without an older sister in the family	1,725	1,214	946	+ 268

For each group there was a significant excess of offences after the first over the calculated number, corrected for age differences, and this indicates that absence of an older brother or older sister tended to be associated with the commission of more offences after the first conviction. The total excess of convictions thus calculated by taking into account the older brother alone was 494, or by taking into account the older sister alone it was 547, and remembering that the presence of an older brother is highly correlated with the presence of an older sister, it may be surmised that about one-quarter of the 2,747 convictions after the first would not

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have occurred if all the lads had enjoyed the advantage of having an older brother or sister at home throughout. Although no comparative data are available for lads who had never been convicted at all, it seems probable that a similar proportion of the 4,000 first convictions would have been avoided likewise under these conditions.

Table XLV shows that about 52·3 per cent. of the lads had a younger brother in the family, 54 per cent. had a younger sister, and 70·5 per cent. had either a younger brother or sister or both. Of the sexual offenders only 40·8 per cent. had a younger sister in the family, whereas for the disciplinary offenders the proportion was 62·0 compared with 54·2 and 55·3 in the property and person groups, but these differences are of rather doubtful significance.

When the lads with a younger brother or sister are further divided according to the periods at which the latter were living at home, the first four groups comprising 1,357 or 33·9 per cent. of the total had a younger brother at home at age 5, and 1,365 or 34·1 per cent. had a younger sister at home at the same age. This means that these proportions of the lads, at least, had a brother or sister less than five years younger than themselves. The proportion having a younger brother at home at ages 5 and 14, and at the time of the last conviction was 24·8 per cent., and the corresponding percentage with a younger sister was 24·0. The total proportions having a younger brother and sister at home at the time of the last conviction (that is to say, at the ages at the head of the columns) were 40·7 and 40·6 per cent. respectively. The only groups where frequency varied appreciably with age were the groups with a younger brother or sister at the age of 5 and 14, but not at the time of the last conviction as shown below :—

Per cent. with younger brother.	Age group				
	16	17	18	19	20
At 5, 14 years and age stated	25·1	25·5	26·4	22·7	24·0
At 5 and 14 years, but not at age stated	3·2	4·6	5·1	6·9	7·1
At any age	53·0	52·5	52·3	51·9	52·4
Per cent. with younger sister.					
At 5, 14 years and age stated	24·5	22·9	24·3	25·0	23·7
At 5 and 14 years, but not at age stated	4·4	5·6	5·2	7·9	9·6
At any age	53·4	52·5	53·8	56·0	54·5

This age variation can be accounted for by the movement into occupations of some of the younger brothers and sisters after reaching adolescence. The main groups, however, show no important variation in frequency with advancing age.

TABLE XLV

*Family Composition, Presence of Younger Brothers or Sisters at certain periods
During Upbringing, Distribution according to Age and Nature of Offences*

		Age at last conviction					Nature of Offence				Totals	
		16	17	18	19	20	Prop- erty	Per- son	Sex- ual	Disci- pline	Num- ber	Per cent.
Younger brother(s) at home at ages shown.	5, 14 and later.	125	234	253	205	173	884	39	4	24	990	24.750
	5 and at last conviction (not at 14).	16	17	17	7	7	69	-	1	3	73	1.825
	5 and 14, not later.	16	42	49	62	51	197	8	3	12	220	5.500
	5 not 14 or later.	11	13	13	20	17	67	4	-	3	74	1.850
	14 and later, not at 5.	65	131	112	112	87	473	10	10	14	507	12.675
	14, not later nor at 5.	13	21	26	32	26	106	3	2	6	117	2.925
	At last conviction, not at 5 or 14.	9	13	17	10	7	53	1	-	2	56	1.400
	Alive but not at home.	10	10	15	11	11	50	3	2	2	67	1.425
	Total with younger brother	264	481	502	469	378	1899	68	61	66	2094	52.350
	No younger brother in the family.	234	436	458	435	343	1723	64	64	55	1908	47.650
Younger sister(s) at home at ages shown.	5, 14 and later.	122	208	233	226	171	870	37	26	27	960	24.000
	5 and at last conviction (not at 14).	11	17	15	10	6	58	-	1	-	69	1.475
	5 and 14, not later.	22	51	50	71	69	230	13	4	16	263	6.675
	5 not 14 or later.	12	15	18	20	18	74	7	1	1	83	2.075
	14 and later, not at 5.	59	136	144	118	80	488	15	17	17	537	13.425
	14 not later nor at 5.	15	23	26	38	23	116	-	-	9	125	3.125
	At last conviction not at 5 or 14.	12	15	16	12	11	62	-	1	3	65	1.650
	Alive but not at home.	13	16	14	11	15	65	1	1	2	69	1.725
	Total with younger sister	266	481	516	506	393	1963	73	51	75	2162	54.050
	No younger sister in the family.	232	436	444	398	328	1659	59	74	46	1838	45.950
Younger brother or sister in the family.		348	639	673	647	514	2651	95	74	91	2821	70.625
No younger brother or sister.		150	278	287	257	207	1051	37	51	30	1179	29.475
Totals.		498	917	960	904	721	3622	132	125	121	4000	100.000

The sexual offenders who had a younger sister at age 5, that is to say, only a few years younger than themselves, numbered 32, compared with an expected frequency of 43, whereas 47 had a younger brother at age 5 compared with 42 expected, a contrast which is probably significant, the difference between brother and sister frequencies being about twice the standard error. The number with a younger brother at 5 and 14 years and at the time of the last conviction was 43, or 12 in excess of expectation, whilst the number with a younger sister at any age was 51 or 17 below expectation.

The number of previous convictions of the lads, grouped according to whether there had been a younger brother or sister living at home when the lad was aged 5, aged 14, or at various combinations of these periods just before the last conviction, is shown in Table XLVI. The 990 lads with a younger brother at home from age 5 onwards recorded 1,589 convictions in all, or 1.605 per head. The corresponding figure for

TABLE XLVI

Family Composition, Presence of Younger Brothers or Sisters at certain Periods During Upbringing and Number of Convictions

		Distribution according to number of previous convictions.										Total in group	Total number of convictions including last	
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	10	Recorded		Calculated (1)	
Younger brother(s) at home at ages shown.	5, 14 and later.	596	247	106	89	7	5	-	-	-	990	1589	1589	
	5 & last conviction, not 14.	21	28	14	5	3	1	-	1	-	73	168	117	
	5 but not at last conviction.	126	83	69	14	9	1	1	-	1	294	594	475	
	At last conviction, but not at 5.	324	158	63	19	5	3	1	-	-	563	925	903	
	At 14, not later, nor at 5.	54	41	13	9	-	-	-	-	-	117	211	188	
	At some ages, but not at 5, 14 or later	23	17	11	5	1	-	-	-	-	57	115	91	
	Totals with younger brother..	1144	674	256	81	25	10	2	1	1	2094	3602	3361	
No younger brother in the family.		1087	541	188	63	26	7	4	-	-	1906	3145	3061	
Younger sister(s) at home at ages shown.	5, 14 and later.	565	246	108	26	9	6	2	-	-	960	1572	1572	
	5 & last conviction, not 14.	15	25	11	7	-	1	-	-	-	59	152	85	
	5, not at last conviction.	164	106	50	17	7	2	-	-	-	346	641	572	
	At last conviction, but not at 5.	363	155	55	22	5	4	-	1	-	603	979	983	
	At 14, not later nor at 5.	62	39	19	4	1	-	-	-	-	125	216	206	
	At some ages but not at 5, 14 or later	26	23	10	4	6	-	-	-	-	69	148	113	
	Total with younger sister.	1195	591	253	60	28	12	2	1	-	2162	3690	3641	
No younger sister in the family.		1036	524	191	54	23	5	4	-	1	1839	3057	3006	
Younger brother(s) and/or sister(s) in the family.		1560	771	336	103	33	13	3	1	1	2821	4805		
No younger brother or sister in the family.		671	344	108	31	18	4	3	-	-	1179	1962		
Totals.		2231	1115	444	134	51	17	6	1	1	4000	6747		

¹ If average convictions per head had been the same at each age as for the lads with a younger brother (or sister as the case may be) at home throughout

those with a younger sister from 5 years of age was 1.638 per head. The small groups with a younger brother or sister at age 5, not at 14, but again later, gave high frequencies, 2.301 and 2.237 respectively, and those with a younger brother or sister at age 5, but not at the time of the last conviction, had 2.020 and 1.853 per head respectively. The combined groups who had a younger brother or sister but not at 5, that is to say, cases for the most part where there was a considerable discrepancy in age, had 1.697 and 1.688 convictions per head, whilst for those without any younger brother

or sister in the family at all the frequencies were 1.650 and 1.663 respectively. The groups with the most favourable records were, therefore, the lads having a younger brother or sister at home from age 5 onwards, the convictions per head at the various ages being as follows:—

	Average number of convictions per head, including last, at age shown				
	16	17	18	19	20
With younger brother at home from age 5 onwards	1.536	1.585	1.644	1.659	1.561
With younger sister at home from age 5 onwards	1.590	1.572	1.592	1.686	1.749

The last two columns of Table XLVI compare the number of convictions recorded with the numbers which would have resulted if at each age the lads in each group had experienced the average rates above. If the first conviction, common to both, is excluded in each case and the groups condensed, the comparison is seen below:—

	Number in group	Total number of convictions excluding the first		
		Recorded	Expected	Excess
With younger brother in the home at age 5, but not continuously afterwards .	367	395	223	+ 172
With younger sister in the home at age 5, but not continuously afterwards .	405	368	262	+ 106
With younger brother in family, but not at age 5 .	737	514	445	+ 69
With younger sister in family, but not at age 5	797	548	505	+ 43
Without brother in the family .	1,906	1,239	1,155	+ 84
Without sister in the family .	1,838	1,219	1,108	+ 51

For each of these groups there was an excess of offences over the numbers based upon the rates for lads who had a younger brother, or sister, at home from the age of 5 onwards. The excess was large and significant for the groups with a brother or sister less than 5 years younger who was not at home either at age 14 or at a later date, or at one of these periods. A smaller but probably significant excess was also apparent for the group without a younger brother, or sister, at age 5. The absence of a younger brother or sister from home tended, therefore, to be associated with the commission of more offences after the first conviction, the total excess thus estimated by taking into account brothers alone being 325, and by taking into account sisters alone, 200. Allowing for the high correlation between the presence of younger brothers and sisters this suggests that at least one-eighth of the 2,747 convictions after the first

would not have occurred if there had been in every case a younger brother or sister at home from age 5 onwards, and it seems probable that a similar proportion of the 4,000 first convictions would not have occurred either

TABLE XLVII

Family Composition, Presence of Half-brothers, Half-sisters, Step-brothers or Step-sisters at Home During Upbringing and Number of Convictions

	Distribution according to number of previous convictions.									Total in group	Total convictions including last.	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	10		Number	Average per head.
Older half-brother and/or half-sister throughout.	7	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	17	1.417
Older Step-brother and/or step-sister throughout.	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	10	1.429
Any of these at some age but not throughout.	38	26	10	5	2	1	-	-	-	82	166	1.902
Younger half-brother and/or half-sister throughout.	29	19	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	55	90	1.636
Younger step-brother and/or step-sister throughout.	3	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	6	12	2.000
Any of these at some age but not throughout.	146	96	41	8	9	2	-	-	1	305	565	1.852
Total with older half or step-brother or sister at home at some period.	49	34	10	5	2	1	-	-	-	101	163	1.812
Total with younger do.	178	118	47	11	9	2	-	-	1	366	667	1.822

Table XLVII shows that the lads who had lived from earliest age up to the time of the last offence with a half-brother, half-sister, step-brother, or step-sister in the home recorded no excess of convictions compared with the general average of 1.687 per head amongst the whole 4,000 lads. Where one of these had been living in the home during some periods but not others, higher rates were recorded, however, viz., 1.902 for older half brothers and step brothers and 1.852 for younger, but the excess in these groups was not statistically significant, and no association is established by the Table.

The number of previous convictions is correlated in Table XLVIII with the total number of brothers and sisters who were alive when the lad was 5 years of age, and when he was 14. At age 5 the mean size of the family, including the youth himself was 4 children, and at age 14 it was 5. For the first offenders the size of the family averaged 4.09 at 5 and 4.97 at 14 years, compared with 4.05 and 4.98 respectively for the multiple offenders. For lads without a brother or sister alive at age 5, the mean number of convictions was 1.683 compared with 1.687 for the remainder, and when the comparison is based upon the position at age 14,

the corresponding numbers were 1.678 and 1.687 respectively. The value of the coefficients of correlation were .0020 from Table XLVIII (a), and .0190 from Table XLVIII (b). There is no association, therefore, between the number of offences committed and the total numbers of brothers and sisters alive at age 5 or 14 years

TABLE XLVIII¹

Family Composition, Correlation of Number of Brothers and/or Sisters alive at (a) age 5, and (b) age 14 with Number of Previous Convictions

No. of previous convictions.	Distribution according to number of brothers and/or sisters.																	Total lads	Total brothers and sisters alive	Mean number of brothers and sisters alive.	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16				17
(a) Alive when lad was 5 years of age.																					
0	241	389	405	375	283	195	150	91	44	34	14	5	4	-	-	1	-	2231	6884	3.086	
1	134	197	201	173	151	121	80	38	22	11	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	1116	3339	2.996	
2	46	64	87	74	64	47	23	22	9	2	5	2	-	-	1	-	-	444	1399	3.151	
3	11	24	27	17	26	11	6	7	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	134	427	3.157	
4	4	11	12	7	4	5	4	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	51	152	2.980	
5	4	1	3	2	1	3	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	55	.	
6	1	1	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	18	3.120	
7	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3		
10	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2		
Totals	441	687	736	651	510	382	263	163	78	49	24	9	4	-	1	1	-	4000	12,279	3.070	
(b) Alive when lad was 14 years of age.																					
0	190	239	281	320	317	274	233	158	91	85	27	11	5	-	1	1	-	2231	9858	3.970	
1	111	119	125	156	155	140	132	85	44	52	12	2	2	-	-	-	-	1115	4350	3.901	
2	35	48	43	75	57	53	54	32	23	13	6	3	-	1	1	-	-	444	1821	4.101	
3	8	14	16	19	21	19	10	10	9	4	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	134	568	4.238	
4	3	6	9	6	8	5	5	4	3	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	51	202	3.961	
5	3	-	3	2	2	-	2	2	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	17	75	4.320	
6	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	19		
7	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6		
10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	8		
Totals	351	427	477	579	561	492	438	291	172	132	49	18	8	1	2	1	1	4000	15,907	3.977	

¹ Correlation coefficients (a) $r = +.0020$; (b) $r = +.0190$

The average size of family, five children alive when the lads were aged 14, including the boy himself, is considerably larger than would be found at the present time in a random sample of young adults of all classes. A comparable average for the general population is difficult to estimate, but the 1921 Census statistics of the numbers of dependent children of married women at various ages suggest that the families of mothers who were then between 30 and 35 years of age would not, even when completed, average more than three living children.

Records of families where the mother had passed the age of 45 and relating to the latter half of the nineteenth century for the most part, when the birth rate was much higher than it has been during the last twenty years, showed that among some pathological stocks families tended to be larger than among more normal sections of the population. The following are examples of the average size of completed families found in some of these investigations :—

Deaf mutes, England	(Schuster)	.	.	.	6.2
Insane Stock	(Heron)	.	.	.	6.0
Tuberculous families	(Pearson)	.	.	.	5.7
Criminal families	(Goring)	.	.	.	6.6
Normal English families	(Pearson)	.	.	.	5.3
English intellectuals	(Pearson)	.	.	.	4.7

Among these, the families producing criminals, investigated by Goring, gave the highest average.¹

It was found from the special fertility inquiry at the English Census of 1911 that when married men were classified into social groups on an occupational basis the numbers of children who had been born to wives already past their forty-fifth year of age in 1911 was 5.3 for unskilled labourers, 4.9 for skilled artisans, and 3.9 for upper and middle class families. The Census returns of 1921 and 1931 showed indirectly that this differential fertility according to social class had persisted, but the average size of the family must now be considerably lower for each social class than in 1911. When allowance is made for the non-surviving children, and the fact that some of the families of the 4,000 convicted lads were not completed when they had reached the age of 14, the average of five living children revealed in Table XLVIII must be well above the present figure for unskilled labourers as a class. It cannot be much below the family size of the criminal stock studied by Goring so many years ago.

It was seen in Tables XLIII and XLV that of the 4,000 convicted lads, 8.8 per cent. had no brother or sister, 26.5 per cent. had no older brother or sister, and 29.5 per cent. had no younger brother or sister. This means that 17.7 per cent. were the eldest children and 20.7 per cent. were the youngest in families of two or more children. The difference between the last two proportions (3.0 ± 0.9) is statistically significant, but it may

¹ J H Bagot, in his recently published study of juvenile delinquency in Liverpool, found that the possibility of a child becoming a delinquent is greater if he is a member of a large family, other things being equal, and the chance of recidivism is also greater as the size of family rises. He considers large families affect delinquency in conjunction with, or as an exaggeration of, other factors. Many children tend to weaken discipline in the home owing to the many calls on the parents, and the oldest children are often left to fend for themselves to an extent which would not be necessary in other circumstances. ("Juvenile Delinquency" (1941).)

perhaps be explained by the fact, already mentioned, that some of the families were not complete, for the birth of a subsequent, and therefore younger, brother or sister would reduce the figure of 20.7 and bring it closer to the expected equality with the proportion of eldest children. It cannot be concluded, therefore, that youngest children in families were more prone to commit offences than eldest children.

Allowing for some overstatement of the proportion of only and youngest children, owing to some families being incomplete, we arrive at the following estimate for the completed families :—

Only children		8.5 per cent.
Eldest and youngest		36.5 " " "
Intermediate		55.0 " " "

An estimate, derived from the Census data of dependent children in 1921 by means of a calculation involving a good many assumptions, leads to the following comparative proportions in the general population of persons born between about 1905 and 1930 :—

Only children		9 per cent.
Eldest and youngest		53 " "
Intermediate		38 " "

The deficiency of eldest and youngest children among the convicted lads is such as would be expected from the larger average size of family, and the comparison provides no evidence that an only, eldest or youngest child is, because of its position in the family, either more or less liable to criminal offences than are intermediate children. In short, the conclusion to which all these figures point is that the lads convicted of offences at ages 16–21 were drawn from large families in an abnormal proportion of cases, and the average number of their brothers and sisters was above that expected from any normal group of lads.

V. Residential Differences

The conditions of the homes of the people have engaged the attention of statesmen, politicians, social workers and others for many years. It is pertinent, however, to remember that the window-tax first levied in England in 1696 was repealed less than a century ago when a strong agitation for its abolition succeeded in 1851 and resulted in a tax on inhabited houses being imposed as a substitute.

Bad homes are frequently assumed to be important crimogenic factors, although there seems to be little attempt at defining what a bad home is. Healy and Bronner¹ found bad family conditions more closely

¹ W. Healy and A. F. Bronner, " *Delinquents and Criminals* " (1926).

correlated with delinquency than any other environmental factor, but they included in the estimate of the home, poverty, overcrowding, drunkenness, immorality, criminality, quarrelling, and the like. Cyril Burt¹ found that more than half of the delinquent children examined by him in London came from homes of much the same type. Of the delinquent children, 16 per cent. belonged to families living definitely on the poverty line; of the general population, only 7 per cent. fell into this extreme category. On the other hand, he found 40 per cent. of delinquent children were living in comfortable circumstances and many came from quite well-to-do homes.

In the present section some of the more clearly ascertained home conditions are considered.

Residence in town or country is set out in Table XLIX from which it is seen that the great majority of the lads—89 per cent.—had lived in

TABLE XLIX

Residence in Town or Country, Distribution according to Age, Nature of Offences and Number of Previous Convictions

		Recorded numbers who had lived in			Calculated frequencies if no association			Total with known history
		London only	Small town not country	In country at some time	London only	Small town not country	In country at some time	
Grouping by Age	16	429	23	45	441.0	21.9	34.1	497
	17	818	41	61	807.5	40.0	62.5	910
	18	860	38	59	849.2	42.1	65.7	957
	19	790	40	69	797.8	39.5	61.7	899
	20	633	33	49	634.6	31.5	49.0	715
Grouping by Nature of Offences	Property	3190	156	256	3196.4	158.5	247.1	3602
	Person	119	7	6	117.1	5.8	9.1	132
	Sexual	115	3	7	110.9	6.5	8.6	125
	Discipline	105	9	4	105.6	6.2	8.2	119
Grouping by Number of Previous Convictions.	0	2068	71	81	1970.0	97.6	152.4	2228
	1	948	56	105	984.1	48.8	76.1	1109
	2	561	32	50	593.1	19.5	30.4	443
	3	102	9	20	116.2	6.8	9.0	131
	4	32	6	13	45.3	2.2	3.5	61
	5	15	1	-				16
	6	3	-	3	21.3	1.1	1.6	6
	7	-	-	1				1
	10	1	-	-				1
Totals		3530	175	273	3530	175	273	5978
Per cent of all with known history.		88.74	4.40	6.86				100.00

London only, whilst about 7 per cent. had lived at some time in the country, and the remainder in towns outside London but not in the country. The age distributions of these groups were not significantly different, nor was there any significant association with the nature of the

¹ Cyril Burt, "The Subnormal Mind" (1935)

offences which had been committed. There were, however, pronounced differences between the proportion of first offenders in the three groups; those who had lived in the country at some time included only 30 per cent. of first offenders, compared with 41 per cent. for the group who had lived in towns outside London, and 59 per cent. for the London group. Comparison of the distributions according to the number of previous convictions gives $\chi^2 = 129$, $n = 6$, $P = < .00001$, the tendency to multiple convictions in the groups who had lived at some time out of London being statistically significant. The contrast is clearly shown by comparing the average number of convictions recorded per head as follows:—

	Average number of convictions per head including the last			
	Ages 16-17	Ages 18-19	Age 20	All ages
Resident in London only	1 61	1 61	1 70	1 63
Resident in some town also	1 97	1 91	2 30	2 01
Resident in the country at some time	2 10	2 47	2 51	2 25

The greater number of convictions among lads who had lived at some time in the country may be due, wholly or in part, to the fact that magistrates in the country areas have tended to allow offences to accumulate before committing a lad to a higher court for a sentence of detention in a Borstal institution. The disturbing effect of a change of environment on conduct may also have added to the number of convictions.

Of 3,966 lads for whom the type of district of residence was known, 32 per cent. appear from Table L to have lived only in poor class areas and 64 per cent. only in artisan or superior districts. No significant association between the class of district and age appears in the table.

Of the lads convicted of sexual offences, 96 had never lived in a poor class district, an excess of 16 over the number calculated from the proportion of all lads; the negative association between sexual offences and residence in a poor-class area is statistically significant, the value of χ^2 for $n = 1$ being 9.2, giving $P < .01$.

Among 3,841 lads without any record of a sexual offence a history of multiple convictions is significantly associated with residence in a poor-class area, the value of χ^2 , derived from the distribution by numbers of convictions in three groups according to class of district, being 23 for $n = 6$, giving $P < .001$. Among 125 lads with a record of a sexual offence there is a similar association, although not statistically significant. This is clearly seen from the average number of convictions per head given on page III:—

RESIDENTIAL DIFFERENCES

III

Average number of convictions per head including the last.	Poor class district at some time.	Artisan area only.	Superior area with or without artisan class.
(a) Lads without sexual offences	1.781	1.647	1.567
(b) Lads with a record of sexual offences	1.586	1.352	1.250
Total number of convictions recorded by { (a) (b)	2,493 46	3,721 119	279 10
Total	2,539	3,846	289
Total number of convictions expected if all had lived some time in a superior area { (a) (b)	2,194 36	3,546 110	279 10
Total	2,230	3,656	289
Excess of convictions	309	190	—

TABLE L

Type of Home District, Distribution according to Age, Nature of Offences and Number of Previous Convictions

		Recorded numbers by class of district of past residence.				Calculated frequencies if no association.				Totals with known history
		Poor class only	Poor and better	Artisan only	Superior (1)	Poor class only	Poor and better	Artisan only	Superior (2)	
Grouping by Age	16 Years	142	26	313	15	157.6	21.1	294.0	23.3	496
	17 "	287	31	542	44	287.2	38.5	535.9	42.4	904
	18 "	317	29	568	42	303.7	40.8	566.7	44.8	956
	19 "	273	49	533	42	285.0	38.2	531.7	42.1	897
Grouping by Nature of Offences	20 "	241	34	395	43	226.5	30.4	422.7	33.4	713
	Property	1147	155	2125	165	1141.2	153.1	2123.3	168.4	3592
	Person	46	6	76	5	41.7	5.6	76.3	6.2	132
	Sexual	25	4	88	8	39.7	5.3	74.1	5.9	125
Totals.	Discipline	43	4	62	8	37.2	5.0	69.3	5.5	117
		1260	169	2351	186	1260	169	2351	186	5966
	Percentage of all with known history.	31.77	4.26	59.28	4.69					100.00
Lads with- out record of a sexual offence grouped by number of previous convictions	0	712	1299	113		774.2	1251.4	98.4		2124
	1	425	614	44		394.7	638.1	50.2		1083
	2	175	248	12		158.6	256.3	20.2		435
	3	52	69	4		45.6	73.6	5.8		125
	4	25	22	4		18.6	30.1	2.3		51
	5	8	7	1		5.8	9.4	0.8		16
	6	2	4	-		2.2	3.5	0.3		6
	7-9	-	-	-		-	-	-		-
	10	1	-	-		0.4	0.6	0.0		1
	Totals.	1400	2263	178		1400	2263	178		3841
Lads with record of a sexual offence grouped by number of previous convictions	0	18	66	7		21.1	64.1	5.8		91
	1	7	16	-		6.3	16.2	1.5		23
	2	2	3	1		1.4	4.2	0.4		6
	3	2	3	-		1.2	3.5	0.3		6
	4-10	-	-	-		-	-	-		-
Totals.		29	88	8		29	88	8		125

1 and 2 Including lads who had lived part of their time in artisan and part in superior districts.

The data can give no information as to the association between the class of district of residence and the commission of the first offence, since each of the 3,966 lads had been charged at least once, but the above analysis suggests that of the 2,708 subsequent convictions, some 500 would not have occurred if all the lads had been brought up in families and circumstances like those of the 186 lads who had never lived in a poor-class district.

The number of rooms in the dwelling most recently occupied is shown in Table LI. It ranged from 1 to 16. More than half of the dwellings had three or four rooms, and the average number of rooms was 3.9. In Greater London in 1931 the Census showed that 2,177,835 families occupied 8,720,357 rooms, an average of 4.0 rooms per family in the general popula-

TABLE LI

Number of Rooms in the Dwelling most recently occupied, Association with Age, Nature of Offences and Number of Previous Convictions

		Distribution in dwelling with the number of rooms specified.																Total with statement as to rooms	Mean No. of rooms	Standard error of mean
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16			
Grouping by Ages	16 yrs.	13	85	127	114	69	47	15	11	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	485	3.860	±.075
	17 "	23	118	270	212	136	86	16	20	3	3	2	-	-	-	-	-	889	3.899	±.055
	18 "	21	138	247	254	127	95	31	21	3	3	2	2	-	-	-	-	944	3.969	±.054
	19 "	26	134	240	203	137	94	21	16	8	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	883	3.926	±.055
	20 "	28	119	166	165	86	65	21	16	6	3	-	-	1	-	1	-	698	3.852	±.062
Grouping by Nature of Offences	Property	104	540	979	857	495	355	92	77	17	12	3	4	1	-	1	1	2538	3.904	±.028
	Sexual	2	21	34	38	22	7	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	130	3.808	±.144
	Discipline	3	12	30	29	25	10	5	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	117	4.086	±.152
	In record	2	22	27	25	13	16	3	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	114	4.061	±.154
Grouping by number of previous convictions	0	65	327	591	552	301	213	57	51	14	9	1	1	-	-	1	-	2183	3.914	±.035
	1	28	174	296	254	162	112	30	22	5	3	2	2	1	-	-	-	1091	3.925	±.050
	2	13	58	122	105	62	43	13	7	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	427	3.918	±.080
	3	3	21	40	30	18	10	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	126		
	4	2	8	15	6	7	8	1	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	50		
	5	-	4	8	2	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	3.778	±.117
	6	-	2	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5		
	7	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		
	10	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		
Totals.		111	595	1070	949	555	387	104	84	21	13	3	4	1	-	1	1	3829	3.911	
Mean number of convictions per head (including the last)																		1.6784		
Standard deviation																		.9665		
of number of rooms in dwelling.																		1.6445		

tion, but it must be remembered that these "families" in the general population included unmarried and widowed people, and married couples of advanced age whose children were no longer at home. The only useful density comparison is by persons per room as in Table LIII. No

significant differences between the mean numbers of rooms when the lads are grouped according to age or nature of offence appears from the Table. The coefficient of correlation between the number of rooms in the last dwelling and number of convictions in the record is $r = -0.011$, that is to say, there was no association between the size of the house occupied and the commission of multiple offences.

The number of inhabitants of the dwellings most recently occupied by the lads ranged from 1 to 15, exactly half of the dwellings having 4, 5 or 6 persons, and the average number of persons was 5.9, as seen from Table LII. In Greater London in 1931 the Census showed that there were 1,548,701 occupied dwellings containing 7,784,593 persons, an average of 5.03 per dwelling. The dwellings in which the lads lived contained on the average, therefore, nearly one person per dwelling in excess of the average for all Greater London.

The Table shows a small but significant decrease in the number of inhabitants with increasing age from 16 to 20, as might be expected, but the variation was not sufficiently important to require a separate analysis of the other factors according to age.

The sexual offence group had a significantly smaller number of inhabitants per dwelling than the other groups, but again the difference is small. The coefficient of correlation between the number of inhabitants in the dwelling and the number of previous convictions is $+0.035$, that is to say, there was no significant association between these factors.

The person density of the habitation is shown in Table LIII. It was mostly below two persons per room, but in nearly 30 per cent. was two or over, and in 21 instances it ranged between 5 and 11 persons per room. The mean person density per room was 1.72.¹

The Table shows that the density per room at age 16 was significantly greater than at later ages, but it naturally declines with advancing age, since fewer families with young children tend to be included as the age of the individuals selected increases from 16 to 20. The mean density per room for the whole population of private families in Greater London was 0.89 at the 1931 Census, but, as pointed out already, there are many "families" in the general population which consist only of one or two people of advanced age with no young people, and the comparison of this figure with 1.72 for the convicted lads is not a valid one, since the latter were all young. The correlation between density per room

¹ J. H. Bagot found in "Inner Liverpool" the proportion of families of delinquents living in overcrowded houses to be so high that this factor must at least be said to be strongly associated with delinquency, and may indeed be one of the principal causative factors. ("Op. cit.")

and the number of previous convictions is not significant, the coefficient being .029.

TABLE LII

Number of Persons living in the Dwelling most recently occupied, Association with Age, Nature of Offences and Number of Previous Convictions

		Distribution in dwellings with the specified number of inhabitants.															Total with state-ment as to inhab-itants	Mean No. of inhab-itants	Standard error of mean
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15			
Grouping by Age.	16 yrs.	-	12	35	67	81	87	61	43	40	25	13	6	2	1	-	474	5.266	± .104
	17 "	1	23	87	128	162	150	125	89	53	38	20	4	1	1	-	882	5.974	± .076
	18 "	1	35	94	131	154	171	115	96	69	32	19	9	5	3	-	924	5.975	± .075
	19 "	5	31	93	136	164	160	96	73	60	24	18	4	4	1	1	870	5.785	± .077
	20 "	6	23	88	100	142	99	93	57	40	36	10	5	3	2	-	694	5.799	± .086
Grouping by Nature of Offences in Record	Property	13	109	356	516	638	587	447	322	234	140	74	28	14	6	1	3485	5.945	± .038
	Person	-	3	11	20	25	27	15	15	5	3	3	-	1	1	-	129	5.938	± .200
	Sexual	-	5	22	12	24	22	14	6	7	4	1	-	-	-	-	117	5.436	± .210
	Disci-pline	-	7	8	14	16	21	14	15	6	9	2	-	-	1	-	113	5.177	± .214
Grouping by number of Pre-vious convictions.	0	7	73	244	301	412	370	273	198	128	88	42	13	7	5	-	2161	5.865	± .049
	1	1	25	99	178	188	179	140	105	78	37	22	11	2	-	1	1066	5.986	± .070
	2	4	16	32	61	64	60	52	41	32	22	10	1	3	2	-	420	6.107	± .111
	3	-	7	9	14	27	17	20	8	6	7	2	3	2	1	-	125		
	4	1	2	9	7	9	6	4	3	4	1	2	-	1	-	-	49		
	5	-	1	1	1	2	4	1	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	15	6.071	± .162
	6	-	-	3	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	6		
	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		
Totals.		13	124	397	567	703	657	490	358	252	156	80	28	15	8	1	3844	5.936	
Mean number of convictions per head (including last)																	1.6777		
Standard deviation																	.9717		
" " of number of persons in dwelling																	2.2719		

VI. Reaction to Environment

It is important to bear in mind that the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of a lad with his environment depends upon the standard expected by him, as well as upon the environment itself, and that the latter may be quite satisfactory to one lad and entirely unsatisfactory to another. Further, adaptability as well as habituation often modify the original dissatisfaction with the environment and make it acceptable.

Of the 3,760 lads who answered the question, 86 per cent. stated that they were satisfied with their environment, 6 per cent. that they were not satisfied, and the remainder gave different answers at successive examinations. A larger proportion was dissatisfied at ages 16-17 (7.8 per cent.) than at ages 19-20 (5.1 per cent.), this difference being statistically significant. Among those with a record of offences against the person,

other than sexual, or only against discipline, significantly larger proportions were dissatisfied (15 per cent. of these groups combined) than among the other groups.

In the large group of 3,398 lads convicted of offences against property the number of convictions was positively associated to a significant extent with dissatisfaction with the environment. The χ^2 test for significance, applied to that group in Table LIV, gives the following results: at ages 16-17, $\chi^2 = 18.6$, $n = 4$, $P = .001$; at ages 18-20, $\chi^2 = 30.6$, $n = 4$, $P = < .0001$.

TABLE LIII

Numbers of Inhabitants per Room in Dwelling most recently occupied, Association with Age, Nature of Offences and Number of Previous Convictions

		Distribution in Dwellings with the specified density of persons per room																	Totals with statement as to persons and rooms	Mean density of persons per room.	Standard error of mean
		0	0.62	1.12	1.62	2.12	2.62	3.12	3.62	4.12	4.62	5.12	5.62	6.12	6.62-7.11	7.62-8.11	8.62-10.0	10.62-11.11			
Grouping by Ages	Years																				
	16	8	87	137	104	47	42	14	11	10	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	471	1.880	± .042
	17	26	207	232	203	83	66	22	19	7	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	878	1.742	± .050
	18	33	251	239	203	81	80	21	18	6	5	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	922	1.700	± .030
	19	26	216	241	202	68	73	18	18	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	873	1.638	± .031
	20	18	173	167	157	76	62	18	6	3	7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	689	1.713	± .034
Grouping by Nature of offences in word	Property	95	821	919	803	323	268	87	68	22	21	5	9	2	2	1	1	1	3474	1.726	± .015
	Person	3	30	34	25	12	16	1	4	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	128	1.776	± .080
	Sexual	8	34	31	24	2	9	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	113	1.502	± .085
	Discipline	4	29	32	17	12	10	2	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	112	1.776	± .085
Grouping by Number of Previous convictions.	0	66	530	565	498	189	180	51	34	15	14	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	2152	1.702	* .019
	1	30	244	291	250	107	90	25	26	7	7	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1064	1.744	* .028
	2	9	93	119	96	42	31	10	8	4	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	418	1.748	* .044
	3	-	26	27	33	15	12	5	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	122		
	4	5	16	8	10	2	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	49		
	5	-	3	5	2	-	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	15	1.785	± .065
	6	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5		
	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
Totals.		111	914	1016	869	355	323	93	72	28	25	5	9	2	2	1	1	1	3827	1.723	
Mean number of convictions per head (including last)																			1.6752		
Standard deviation																			.9668		
" " of number of persons per room.																			.9030		

TABLE LIV

Reaction to Environment, Association with Age, Nature of Offences and Number of Previous Convictions

	Years	Recorded number with reaction stated			Calculated frequencies if no association			Total with determinate reaction.	
		Satisfied	Variable reaction (1)	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Variable reaction (2)	Dissatisfied		
Grouping by Ages	16	383	37	48	399.3	34.4	29.3	463	
	17	735	66	60	741.8	63.8	54.4	860	
	18	785	57	56	774.5	66.6	56.9	898	
	19	745	64	44	735.7	63.3	54.0	863	
	20	595	56	35	591.7	50.9	43.4	686	
Grouping by Nature of Offences in record	Property	2944	257	197	2930.8	252.1	215.1	3398	
	Person	99	6	19	106.9	9.2	7.9	124	
	Sexual	115	2	6	105.2	9.1	7.7	122	
	Discipline	85	14	17	100.1	8.6	7.5	118	
Totals.		3243	279	238	3243	279	238	3760	
Percent. of all with known reaction.		86.25	7.42	6.33				100.00	
Lads with record of offences against property only.	Ages	0	559	35	79	635.4	49.6	47.0	632
	16-17	1	305	35	39	320.2	29.7	28.1	378
	grouped by No.	2	108	17	6	112.7	10.4	9.9	133
	of previous	3	28	6	3	31.3	2.9	2.8	37
	convictions	4	11	1	2				14
		5	2	-	-	14.4	1.4	1.2	2
		6	-	-	-				-
		7	1	-	-				-
	Totals	1014	94	89	1014	94	89	1197	
	Ages	0	1109	60	53	1071.5	90.5	60.0	1222
18-20	1	508	58	50	522.6	44.2	29.2	596	
grouped similarly.	2	210	29	18	225.4	19.0	12.6	267	
	3	68	8	3	69.3	6.8	3.9	79	
	4	22	6	3				31	
	5	10	1	1	41.2	3.5	2.3	12	
	6	3	1	-				4	
Totals		1930	163	108	1930	163	108	2201	
Lads with offences against the person or only against discipline.	All ages	0	121	13	22	119.6	13.0	23.4	156
	grouped similarly.	1	38	4	10	39.9	4.3	7.8	52
		2	14	8	1	13.0	1.4	2.6	17
		3	6	1	1	6.1	0.7	1.2	8
		4	2	-	1				3
		5	2	-	-				3
		6	1	-	-	5.4	0.6	1.0	1
		7	-	-	1				1
Totals		184	20	36	184	20	36	240	

¹ and ² Sometimes satisfied at other times dissatisfied.

In the group of 240 lads convicted of offences against the person or only against discipline, there was no significant relation with the number of offences. These associations are apparent when the average numbers of convictions per head are compared for each group as given on p. 117.

The figures suggest that about 135 of the offences after the first may have resulted from dissatisfaction with environment.

Average number of convictions per head including last.		Satisfied.	Sometime dissatisfied.	Dissatisfied.
Lads with record of offences against person—not property or sexual	Ages 16-17 (a)	1.657	1.968	1.798
	„ 18-20 (b)	1.667	2.074	1.852
Lads with record of offences against the person or only against discipline	All ages (c)	1.587	1.550	1.806
Total number of convictions recorded in above groups	(a)	1,680	185	160
	(b)	3,218	338	200
	(c)	292	31	65
Total		5,190	554	425
Total number of convictions expected if all had been satisfied with the environment in the above groups	(a)	1,680	186	147
	(b)	3,218	272	180
	(c)	292	32	57
Total		5,190	460	384
Excess of convictions over number expected		—	94	41

VII. Companions

Various degrees of sociability are found in any collection of adolescents or adults of either sex. At the one extreme are those who require constant companionship and who find solitude intolerable; at the other extreme are solitary personalities: schizoids, some mentally defective persons and certain psycho-neurotics who find companionship intolerable. Intermediate types of unsociability and solitariness occur apart from declared mental abnormality.

Table LV shows that 7.2 per cent. of the lads were of a solitary habit, 50.6 per cent. had male companions only, 3.4 per cent. had female companions only, and the remaining 38.8 per cent. had companions of both sexes. The proportions of solitary lads and of those with male companions who were older or younger did not vary significantly with age. A large transfer is, however, evident after 17 or 18 years from the groups with male companions only, of equal or various ages, to the groups with some female companions, all of which show increased proportions after 18. For analysis according to the number of offences, it is advisable on this account to divide the age groups into three, namely, 16-17, 18 and 19-20 years.

The lads convicted of sexual offences show a significant excess of solitary habits which increases with age, 23 out of 124 instead of 9, and a significant deficiency with any female companions, 28 instead of 51 expected.¹ Lads convicted of other offences against the person include

¹ It should be noted that in this investigation the sexual offences against males were not differentiated from the sexual offences against females

TABLE LV

Type of Companions chosen, Association with Age of Offender and Nature of Offences

Type of companionship		Recorded numbers at each age					Calculated frequencies if no association					Totals with record of companions	
		16	17	18	19	20	16	17	18	19	20	Number	Per cent.
Solitary.		27	73	73	57	57	35.6	66.8	69.0	65.0	51.6	287	7.19
Male Com-	Older.	12	15	20	12	17	9.4	17.4	18.3	17.2	13.7	76	1.90
panions	Same age.	268	471	438	343	257	220.5	407.2	427.2	402.7	319.4	1777	44.66
only.	Younger.	6	16	15	15	7	7.3	13.5	14.2	13.4	10.6	69	1.48
	Various Ages.	18	33	22	20	15	13.4	24.7	26.0	24.5	19.4	108	2.71
Male and	Older.	2	6	7	15	3	4.1	7.5	8.0	7.5	5.9	33	.83
female com-	Same age.	151	264	326	376	293	175.0	323.1	339.0	319.5	253.4	1410	35.35
pansions.	Younger.	1	2	1	-	2	0.7	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.1	6	.15
	Various Ages.	7	18	24	25	24	12.2	22.5	23.5	22.2	17.6	98	2.46
Female	Older.	1	2	2	4	4	1.6	3.0	3.1	2.9	2.4	13	.33
companions	Same age.	2	10	20	27	24	10.3	19.0	20.0	18.8	14.9	83	2.08
only.	Younger.	-	4	10	9	13	4.5	8.2	8.6	8.2	6.5	36	.90
	Various Ages.	-	-	1	1	1	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.5	3	.07
Totals with record.		495	914	959	904	717	495	914	959	904	717	3989	100.00

Age group	Type of companionship	Recorded numbers in groups according to nature of offences				Calculated frequencies if no association				Totals with record of companions.	
		Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Disci-pline	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Disci-pline		
16-17	Solitary.	88	4	6	2	97.6	2.1	4.0	3.3	100	
	Male com-	22	1	2	2	24.5	0.6	1.0	0.9	27	
	panions {	711	20	34	25	716.0	16.8	31.4	25.8	790	
	only. {	18	-	3	1	19.9	0.5	0.9	0.7	22	
	Male and female	420	5	11	15	408.8	9.6	17.9	14.7	461	
	companions	18	-	-	1	17.2	0.4	0.8	0.6	19	
	Totals.	1277	30	56	46	1277	30	56	46	1400	
18	Solitary.	57	3	5	8	66.7	2.8	1.6	1.9	73	
	Male com-	18	2	-	-	18.3	0.8	0.4	0.5	20	
	panions {	422	19	12	7	420.2	17.7	10.1	12.0	460	
	only. {	15	-	-	-	13.7	0.6	0.3	0.4	15	
	Male and female	333	13	4	8	327.0	13.8	7.9	9.3	358	
	companions	31	-	-	2	30.1	1.3	0.7	0.9	33	
	Totals.	876	37	21	25	876	37	21	25	959	
19-20	Solitary.	84	7	12	11	102.8	4.5	3.3	3.4	114	
	Male com-	24	4	1	-	26.1	1.1	0.9	0.9	29	
	panions {	573	24	19	19	572.3	25.1	18.4	19.2	635	
	only. {	19	-	2	1	19.8	0.9	0.6	0.7	22	
	Male and female	685	25	12	6	665.2	29.1	21.4	22.3	738	
	companions	76	4	1	2	74.8	3.3	2.4	2.5	85	
	Totals.	1461	64	47	49	1461	64	47	49	1621	

¹ Of same age or of various ages.

an unduly large number with older male companions, 7 out of 131, instead of 2 or 3 expected. Lads of ages 18-20 who had been convicted of offences only against discipline show a significant excess with solitary habits, 19 out of 74, instead of 5 expected. The totals at all ages, followed

TABLE LVI

Type of Companions chosen, Association with Number of Previous Convictions in Various Groups according to Nature of Offences and Age

Type of companions.	No. of previous convictions.	Grouping by Nature of Offences in record and Age.								
		Property						Person	Sexual	Discipline
		Ages 16-17		Age 18		Ages 19-20		All ages.	All ages.	All ages.
		Recorded number	Calculated frequency	Recorded number	Calculated frequency	Recorded number	Calculated frequency	Recorded number	Recorded number	Recorded number
Solitary	0	49	46.4	30	32.9	47	45.5	8	18	18
	1	25	28.0	17	15.0	21	22.9	3	4	3
	2	12	9.8	6	6.1	9	10.5	2	-	-
	3	-	2.6	3	1.7	4	3.3	1	1	-
	4	2	1.0	2	1.0	1	1.1	-	-	-
	5	-	0.1	-	0.2	1	0.5	-	-	-
	6	-	-	-	0.1	1	0.2	-	-	-
	7	-	0.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals		88	88	57	57	84	84	14	23	21
Male companions only.	0	373	396.8	258	262.8	319	333.5	32	53	47
	1	237	238.8	116	119.5	176	168.2	24	14	6
	2	96	84.1	56	48.8	78	76.8	5	3	2
	3	33	22.3	14	13.5	30	24.0	6	3	1
	4	10	8.2	9	7.8	9	8.0	2	-	-
	5	2	1.2	2	2.1	2	3.8	-	-	-
	6	-	-	-	0.5	2	1.7	-	-	-
	7	1	0.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Totals		751	751	455	455	616	616	70	73	56
Male and female companions	0	243	221.3	199	192.4	380	370.9	17	19	34
	1	137	133.5	91	87.4	179	187.1	14	6	4
	2	34	47.1	28	35.7	88	85.3	9	2	-
	3	4	12.5	8	9.9	22	26.7	-	1	-
	4	2	4.6	4	5.7	9	8.9	1	-	-
	5	-	0.7	2	1.5	6	4.2	1	-	1
	6	-	-	1	0.4	1	1.0	1	-	-
	7	-	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals		420	420	333	333	685	685	43	27	39
Female companions only.	0	8	9.5	19	17.9	45	41.1	3	-	4
	1	7	5.7	6	8.1	23	20.8	1	-	1
	2	2	2.0	5	3.4	7	9.4	-	1	-
	3	1	0.6	1	0.9	1	3.0	-	-	-
	4	-	0.2	-	0.5	-	1.0	-	-	-
	5	-	0.0	-	0.2	-	0.5	-	-	-
	6	-	-	-	0.0	-	0.2	-	-	-
	7	-	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals		18	18	31	31	76	76	4	1	5

in brackets by the number expected if the distribution had been unaffected by the type of offences, are as follows :—

	Property	Person	Sexual.	Discipline.
Solitary	229 (260)	14 (9)	23 (9)	21 (9)
Male companions only	1,822 (1,831)	70 (64)	73 (64)	55 (61)
Male and female companions	1,438 (1,401)	43 (53)	27 (47)	39 (46)
Female companions only	125 (122)	4 (5)	1 (4)	5 (4)

Table LVI gives the distribution according to the number of previous convictions. The calculated figures for the property group were obtained

by multiplying the totals at the foot of each section by the percentage distributions obtained by aggregating all types of companionship at the age in question. Combining the group with female companions only with the mixed companionship group at ages 16-17, $\chi^2 = 23$, $n = 9$, $P < .01$; at age 18, $\chi^2 = 3.5$, $n = 6$, $P = .7$; and at ages 19-20, $\chi^2 = 4.7$, $n = 9$, $P = .8$. The lads with male companions only at age 16-17 show significant excess with two or more previous convictions for offences against property, and at later ages this group showed a similar, though not significant, excess of multiple convictions.

VIII. Amusements

It is unnecessary to extol or discuss at length here the many advantages open to adolescents to-day in the sphere of athletics, games and other forms of amusement, for it is generally recognised that they serve a twofold purpose. First, as a relaxation from labour and as a revivifying factor in promoting further effort; and second, as a means of training in individual work and teamwork for the stern realities of life. It may be noted in passing that here as elsewhere individuals differ much one from another. In some recreation is selected for its associated motor activity, in others for its psychic effect. It is only necessary to add that in both this and the preceding section, the effects of companionship and amusement in the home, the school or factory, overlap.

It is difficult to obtain reliable replies to questions on the subject of games and amusements, since most lads dislike admitting that they have taken little or no part in outdoor games. This must be borne in mind in considering the results of such an inquiry given in Tables LVII and LVIII; the statistics are undoubtedly biassed since no quantitative measures could be applied. The "athletic group," for example, almost certainly includes many lads who had only played outdoor games on rare occasions.

Table LVII shows that 28.8 per cent. of the lads had engaged in athletics; 18.5 per cent. had taken part in other games, without gambling or betting; 6.4 per cent. had practised gambling and betting, and 46.3 per cent. recorded no definite amusements. There is no significant variation of amusements according to age, although the group recording gambling without athletics forms a rather lower proportion at 16-17 years, namely 2.6 per cent., than at later ages when the figure is 3.9 per cent. When divided according to the nature of the offences the person group shows a significant deficiency in athletic lads; the sexual group shows a significant excess with no definite amusements, 81 compared

TABLE LVII

Athletics and Amusements, Association with Age and Nature of Offences

Grouping by Amusements.	Recorded numbers at each age.					Calculated frequency if no association.					Totals with record of games, etc.	
	16	17	18	19	20	16	17	18	19	20	Mem- bers	Per cent.
Athletics, no gambling.	146	255	280	256	210	142.7	252.6	275.3	259.8	205.6	1147	28.77
Other games, no athletics or gambling.	89	160	184	183	121	91.7	168.8	176.9	166.9	132.7	737	18.48
Gambling or betting with athletics or other games.	17	28	24	24	24	14.6	26.8	28.1	26.5	21.0	117	2.95
Gambling or betting without athletics or other games.	12	24	38	33	30	17.0	31.4	32.9	31.0	24.7	137	3.44
No definite amusements.	232	446	431	407	333	230.0	423.4	443.8	418.8	333.0	1842	46.38
Totals with record.	496	913	957	903	718	496	913	957	903	718	3987	100.00
.	Recorded number by nature of offences				Calculated frequency if no association.				Totals			
	Prop- erty	Per- son	Sex- ual	Disci- pline	Prop- erty	Per- son	Sex- ual	Disci- pline				
Athletics, no gambling.	1082	19	17	29	1038.8	57.7	36.0	34.5	1147			
Other games, no athletics or gambling.	661	34	26	17	667.5	24.2	23.1	22.2	737			
Gambling or betting with athletics or other games.	111	4	1	1	106.0	3.8	3.7	3.5	117			
Gambling or betting without athletics or other games.	127	6	1	3	124.1	4.5	4.3	4.1	137			
No definite amusements.	1630	68	41	70	1674.8	60.8	57.9	55.7	1842			
Totals with record.	3611	131	125	120	3611	131	125	120	3987			

with a calculated number of 58, and a significant deficiency of athletics, 17 compared with 36, and of gambling, 2 compared with 8.

Table LVIII compares the distributions according to the number of previous convictions with those expected if there were no association with the type of amusement, and shows a significant association between gambling or betting and multiple convictions for offences against property when the three groups without gambling are combined ($\chi^2 = 7.65$, $n = 3$, $P = .05$). The average numbers of convictions per head for the four groups of the table were:—athletics, 1.75; other games, 1.68; gambling, 1.85; no amusements, 1.66.

TABLE LVIII

Athletics and Amusements, Association with Number of Previous Convictions in Various Groups, according to Nature of Offences

Grouping by types of amusements.	No. of previous convictions	Groupings by Nature of Offences in record				
		Property.		Person	Sexual	Discipline
		Recorded numbers.	Calculated frequency.	Recorded numbers.	Recorded numbers.	Recorded numbers.
Athletics but no gambling or betting	0	578	590.9	7	12	26
	1	307	308.9	7	8	1
	2	128	125.3	2	1	1
	3	40	36.2	2	1	1
	4	22	14.4	-	-	-
	5	4	4.5	-	-	-
	6	3	1.5	1	-	-
	7	-	0.3	-	-	-
Total		1082	1082	19	17	27
Other games but not athletics, gambling or betting.	0	356	361.0	18	18	15
	1	208	188.7	11	4	2
	2	69	76.5	4	3	-
	3	23	22.2	1	-	-
	4	4	8.8	-	-	-
	5	2	2.7	-	-	-
	6	1	0.9	-	-	-
	7	1	0.2	-	-	-
Total		661	661	34	25	17
Gambling or betting	0	177	130.0	2	1	1
	1	66	68.0	3	1	3
	2	39	27.5	2	-	-
	3	8	8.0	2	-	-
	4	6	3.1	1	-	-
	5	3	1.0	-	-	-
	6	-	0.3	-	-	-
	7	5	0.1	-	-	-
Total		238	238	10	2	4
No definite amusements.	0	921	890.1	33	60	61
	1	463	465.4	21	15	7
	2	182	188.7	8	2	2
	3	50	54.6	2	4	-
	4	17	21.7	2	-	-
	5	6	6.8	1	-	1
	6	1	2.3	-	-	-
	7	-	0.4	-	-	-
Total		1630	1630	68	81	70

✓ IX. Summary

✓ Environment influences character and conduct, and the resulting physical and mental reactions, singly or together, may produce good or bad results. On the other hand, character and conduct may bring about change in the environment and the adjustments necessary for socially acceptable behaviour may only be attained by purposive striving. It is the aim of parents, pedagogues and others to encourage and regulate this effort in approved directions.

✓ The home, as the centre of family life, is a social unit, and national character is largely founded upon it. When, therefore, a member of the family develops criminal behaviour it becomes the immediate concern of others to check it, and, if possible, ascertain and remove the cause.

• This may be found in the precepts of unwise but well-intentioned parents, in a false sense of values which is allowed to grow unchecked by ignorant and careless parents, or in the example of parents who are anti-social in thought or conduct. Other members in the family or residents in the home may, directly or indirectly, knowingly or unknowingly, contribute to the same result.

✓ Crime frequently results from a failure to control instinctive action and from negligence in directing the emotions towards purposes which are socially useful. The home should be the first training ground, but some adolescent offenders appear to have received no effective social guidance until they are sent to a training or penal institution.

Among the lads who had never been in a training establishment a significant negative association between a history of unbroken residence with the parents and the number of previous convictions was found when comparison was made with lads who had lived in different circumstances.

There was a significant excess in the number of convictions recorded against 395 lads who had lived independently for some period and had never been in a training establishment. There was also a similar excess in the number of convictions among 234 lads who had lived for some time with their employers, and among 207 lads who had lived away from home in one way or another. Lads who had lived with other relatives or with foster parents showed only a slight excess of convictions over the number expected, whilst the group of 153 lads who had spent some time in care institutions showed no excess. If the lads who had been at some time in a training institution are included, the total excess of convictions for the three groups who had lived independently, with employer, or away from home in various ways amounts to about 6 per cent. and it may be concluded that this was associated in some way with their residence away from home. It may be that some lads left home on account of one or two convictions, and it cannot be assumed that residence away from home was a causative factor for the whole excess estimated.

The number of previous convictions of lads with one parent as guardian, although in excess of that expected from the lads who had lived with both parents at the time of the last conviction, was not significantly greater.

The reactions of lads to six different categories of control showed a

diminishing amount of resistive reaction as age advanced, except for the small group of lads under strict repressive control. Among the lads convicted of offences against the person there was a significant excess of resistive reaction to judicious, indulgent or lax control compared with the other groups. The lads convicted of sexual offences included a larger proportion who had been under careful indulgent control and a smaller proportion who exhibited resistive or submissive discontent reactions. Of the lads with offences against discipline, an excessive proportion had been under careless and improvident control, and this group also showed a significant excess of resistive and discontent reactions.

About 10.5 per cent. of the lads showed a resistive reaction to any form of control, but this varied greatly, as would be expected, according to the control, being 6 to 7 per cent. where control was judicious, 8 to 9 per cent. where it was careful but indulgent and between 40 and 50 per cent. where it was strict or occasionally harsh. The percentage of lads who were submissively discontented was about 8, but it was less if the control was judicious or careful but indulgent, and about 30 per cent. where the control was strict or occasionally harsh. Among 3,610 lads who had been convicted of offences against property, those under lax, careless or repressive control, and those who were intolerant of apparently judicious control had a greater tendency to repeated criminal offences than the lads under other types of control. Lads showing a tolerant reaction to judicious control showed the most favourable record as regards number of previous offences, their average convictions per head being 1.57, compared with 1.96 for lads under lax, careless or repressive control. Lax, indulgent and other unsatisfactory types of control were apparently responsible for about 350 convictions after the first out of 2,734. The data can throw no light on the effect of control on the incidence of the first convictions.

Lads with a record of sexual offences showed a significantly larger proportion without parents or step-parents than was found among the lads as a whole. Those with a record of other offences against the person showed no association with a presence of the parents at the various ages, but an excessive proportion had lived with a step-father at 14 and after who had not been present when the lad was 5 years old. Among lads who had been convicted only of disciplinary offences there was an excess who had lived with one or both parents at 5 and 14 years, but with neither parent subsequently.

Among the lads who had committed offences against property or the person an excessive number of offences was recorded by 114 lads who had both parents at the age of 5, but neither parent at 14 years or

subsequently. Next, in order of excess, came 393 lads who had both parents at the age of 5 and 14, but neither parent afterwards. Following these were 199 lads who had no father throughout but with a mother at the age of 5, and in some cases at subsequent ages also. For each of these three groups the excess of convictions was statistically significant. The figures give no information as to the association between the presence or absence of parents and the liability to commit a first offence. They do, however, indicate that the absence of one or both parents, and especially the father, when the lads were 14 years of age and after, was associated with the commission of multiple offences against property or the person, and that some 300 of the offences after the first would probably not have been committed had both parents been present throughout. Sexual offenders and lads who had committed merely disciplinary offences recorded an excess of previous convictions when one or both parents were absent at one or other of the ages covered by the inquiry. It may be concluded that for at least 400 out of 2,747 convictions after the first, or about 1 in 7, the loss of a parent or both parents from the home was an important causative factor. If the above is true of the repeated offences it is probably true also of a similar proportion of first offenders, although no direct evidence as to this can be obtained from the data.

The removal of an older brother or sister from the home after a lad had reached the age of 14 was associated with an increased frequency of disciplinary as compared with other types of offences. A slightly lower rate of multiple offences was noticeable among lads with an older brother or sister, and groups with an older brother or sister present throughout gave the best records. The absence of an older brother or sister tended to be associated with the commission of more offences after the first conviction, and the records suggest that about one-quarter of the 2,747 convictions after the first would not have occurred if all the lads had enjoyed the advantage of having an older brother or sister at home throughout. Although no comparative data are available for lads who had never been convicted at all, it seems probable that a similar proportion of the 4,000 first convictions might have been avoided likewise under these conditions.

Lads with a younger brother or sister at home from the age of 5 onwards had more favourable records than those with a younger brother or sister only at certain ages or without any such in the family. The absence of a younger brother or sister from the home tended to be associated with the commission of more offences after the first conviction. The figures suggest that at least one-eighth of the 2,747 convictions after

the first would not have occurred if there had been in every case a younger brother or sister at home when the lad was aged 5 and thereafter. It seems probable that a similar proportion of the 4,000 first convictions would not have occurred either. Lads who had lived from the earliest age up to the time of the last offence with a half-brother, half-sister, step-brother or step-sister in the home recorded no excess of convictions compared with the general average, and there was no association between the number of offences committed and the total number of brothers and sisters alive, though not necessarily at home, when the lads were 5 and 14 years of age.

The average size of family, five children alive including the boy himself, when the lads were 14 years of age, was considerably larger than would be found at the present time in a random sample of young adults from the population as a whole. This confirms Goring's conclusion for families with criminal records. The average family size must be well above that for unskilled labourers as a class. Only children formed 8.8 per cent., eldest 17.7, and youngest 20.7 per cent., the difference between the last two proportions being probably due to the fact that some of the families were not complete when the lad was 14, with some resulting overstatement of the number of youngest and only children. Comparison of the corrected proportions, estimated as 8.5 per cent. only children, 36.5 per cent. eldest and youngest, and 55 per cent. intermediate, with estimates for the general population do not give grounds for concluding that the position in family was a crimogenic factor of importance, the differences being accounted for by the larger average size of the family.

The majority of the lads—89 per cent.—had lived in London only, about 7 per cent. had lived at some time in the country, and the remainder in towns outside London but not in the country. There was a statistically significant excess of multiple convictions in lads who had lived at some time out of London. The excess was most marked among the lads who had lived in the country, and this may be due in part to the fact that country magistrates have tended to allow offences to accumulate before committing a lad to a higher court for a sentence of detention in a Borstal institution. The disturbing effect of a change of environment on conduct may also have added to the number of convictions.

A significant negative association was found between the proportion of sexual offenders and residence in a poor-class district. A history of multiple convictions was significantly associated with residence in this class of district among 3,841 lads without any record of a sexual offence. The data can give no information as to the association between class of

residence and the commission of the first offence, but they do suggest that of 2,708 subsequent convictions about 500 would not have occurred if all the lads had been brought up in families and circumstances like those of the 186 lads who had never lived in a poor-class district.

There was no significant difference between the mean number of rooms in the dwellings according to the ages of the lads or the nature of their offences.

The mean person-density per room was 1.72. In nearly 30 per cent. it was two per room or over, and in 21 instances it ranged between 5 and 11. The sexual offence group had a significantly smaller number of inhabitants per dwelling than the other groups. There was no significant association between the numbers of inhabitants in the dwelling and the number of previous convictions.

Of 3,760 lads, 86 per cent. stated that they were satisfied with their environment, 6 per cent. stated that they were dissatisfied, and the remainder gave different answers at successive examinations. A larger proportion was dissatisfied in the groups committing offences against the person other than sexual, or only against discipline, than in the property and sexual groups. Among the 3,398 lads convicted of offences against property the number of convictions was positively associated to a significant extent with dissatisfaction with the environment, and the figures suggest that about 135 offences after the first were attributable to dissatisfaction.

Lads convicted of sexual offences showed, in comparison with the lads as a whole, a significant excess of solitary habits which increased with age. They also showed a significant deficiency in the proportion with female companions. Those convicted of offences only against discipline also showed a significant excess of solitary habits. Lads with male companions only at age 16-17 showed a significant excess with two or more previous convictions for offences against property.

In regard to amusements, lads who had committed offences against the person showed a significant deficiency in the proportion claiming to have taken part in athletics. The sexual offender group showed an excess of lads with no definite amusements, and a deficiency of athletic lads. There was a significant association between lads given to betting and gambling and multiple convictions for offences against property.

CHAPTER V

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS—SCHOOL

I. Discussion

THE lads investigated in this study generally came from the homes of weekly wage earners, and were usually day scholars until they entered the labour market. They had often lived at home for some years after leaving school, and the transitory period between dependence and independence was consequently sometimes prolonged. Indeed, some parents refuse for themselves an offer of better employment elsewhere if it involves leaving an adolescent son behind to remain at his own occupation without parental guardianship. An unacknowledged desire that their son should retain an infantile attitude to life is sometimes expressed in this decision.

On the other hand, when a boy is sent to a boarding school, he is immediately introduced to fresh contacts and may be obliged to solve his own problems forthwith.

Formerly, most schoolmasters were pedagogues and many parents ignorant. Happily, it is generally realized to-day that success, useful citizenship and happiness in life are not necessarily dependent upon the position of a lad in his form or his place at an examination, and the far-seeing parent of to-day is more concerned with the development of his son's character than with his aptitude to satisfy the examiners in subjects which may be, in themselves, of relatively little importance. Modern parents and school-teachers are more willing than formerly to confer one with another about the many problems which may arise during the education of the adolescent, and are probably more ready to agree that its purpose should include a method of life as well as a means of living.

✓ Dual control makes the life of a scholar difficult if the views of the parents are incompatible with the responsibilities of the school-teacher. In this event a situation may arise which precipitately leads a boy to doubt whether there is justification for either disputant to exercise authority over him. The Feversham Committee¹ put the matter thus: "An unreal home life throws a great burden on the school-teacher, who

¹ *Op. cit.*

cannot be expected to replace what is lacking in the unity and moral guidance of the home. *A fortiori*, a really bad home, in which there is quarrelling between parents, indifference towards the children's welfare, or gross neglect, gives the teacher an almost impossible task. Expert guidance is often necessary in such cases if the balance is to be redressed at all. A good school is one in which the child's personality as a whole is studied, in work and in play; where the teacher knows each child in relation to his home environment. If classes are so large that children cannot be known individually, or if no attempt is made at co-operation with the home, the school is not a good school."

This principle is recognised in the administration of the Borstal institutions. The Prison Commissioners stated in 1928: "It may be that the influence of the home is strong and healthy, and in that case everything possible should be done to maintain these relations. There are other instances where the influence is adverse. . . . The general rule, however, will be to encourage the maintenance of contact by letters and visits, by invitation to annual sports and the admission of Christmas parcels. . . . It is well that parents should be interested in the nature of the training. If they appreciate its significance they will probably co-operate, and so may solve some of the problems arising on discharge."¹

A passing reference may be made to the nostalgia which affects some lads on leaving home for the first time to enter a boarding school or training institution. The day scholar usually avoids this source of emotional conflict, but the boarder may achieve his first independent victory by dealing with it successfully. *

Stanley Hall² quotes Widal,³ who considers adolescence is really the age of nostalgia, and Kline⁴ says "my impression, based on medical literature and other material, is that in quality and intensity nostalgia is just as severe and, if allowed, will lead to as fatal results before as after adolescence, but that the latter is more predisposed to an attack than either childhood or manhood." Hall also refers to Papillon's⁵ statement: "Nostalgia attacks by preference young people and those entering youth."

The nostalgia reaction in the form of arson and child-murder is said by Kretschmer to be a typical syndrome in maid-servants between the ages of 14 and 17. "The girls who exhibit it are usually infantile and

¹ "The Borstal System." Booklet issued by the Prison Commissioners, Home Office, 1928.

² Stanley Hall, "Adolescence" (1937).

³ "Dic. Eng. des Sci. Médicales."

⁴ "The Migratory Impulse *versus* Love of Home," *Am. Jour. of Psych.*, October, 1898.

⁵ "Pop. Sci. Mo.," 1874, Vol. V.

weakly with retarded pubescence ; and the violent homesickness reaction is manifestly due to incomplete solution of the psychic attachment to the parents." ¹

An excellent illustration of this came under my observation some years ago. A hysterical nursemaid, at the age of 18, administered poison to the infant in her charge as a result of nostalgia which was clearly traceable to the unsolved psychic attachment to her mother. She did well under treatment in prison, and no undue anxiety concerning her future was felt when she was released.

It is not uncommon to find adolescents of either sex during detention in a custodial institution misconduct themselves from time to time in various ways in order to express the emotional conflicts due to homesickness.

The emotional conflicts which affect the adolescent, or adult, are related to his social, occupational and sexual activities. The necessity for child guidance clinics is an indication of the reality and importance of these difficulties in children, which may be expressed by behaviour disorders such as bed-wetting, stammering, fits of temper, truancy, stealing, lying, cruelty, and the like.

The adolescent is called upon to deal with his emotional problems at their full intensity, and often when they are operating concurrently. If the difficulties are great they may be expressed by moodiness, depression, solitariness, diffidence, irritability, hostility, hysteria, anxiety, fears, compulsions, crime, and other manifestations of inadequacy.

The social conflicts of a lad at school may be related to his surroundings generally, as well as to his teachers and companions. The nostalgia already referred to is an example of the former. Concerning the latter, it may be observed that in the process of sloughing off the imaginativeness and suggestibility of childhood the adolescent becomes more closely acquainted with facts, and instead of feeling inferior to adults in general, and to those set over him in authority in particular, learns to criticize and evaluate his elders according to the standards which are gradually shaping themselves in his mind as realities supersede childish phantasies.

Freedom in both thought and action favour the development of character in a lad who realizes his responsibilities, but if the classes in a school are too large, and the teacher insufficiently equipped with patience and understanding, there is a tendency for him to attempt to mould different natures into one pattern and in so doing to arouse mental conflicts in lads who are less malleable than others. Progress at school and the acquisition of knowledge depend upon the personality of the

¹ E. Kretschmer, "Text-book of Medical Psychology" (1934).

teacher and the emotional feelings which he inspires, as well as upon the ability and receptivity of the pupil. Indifferent progress and bad conduct may be due to the incapacity of the teacher to gain rapport with his charges, and may also express the hostility of a lad towards his teacher or parents.

Stanley Hall¹ quotes Stableton, who has made notes on individual boys entering the adolescent period, and emphasizes the importance of sympathy, appreciation and respect in dealing with this age. The lads must now be taken as equals, and in this way their habits of industry and even their dangerous love affairs can be controlled. He adds: "There is no more important question before the teaching fraternity to-day than how to deal justly and successfully with boys at this time of life. . . . Most teachers know all their bad points, but fail to discover their good ones. The fine disciplinarian, the mechanical movement of whose school is so admirable and who does not realize the new need of liberty or how loose-jointed, mentally and physically, all are at this age, should be supplanted by one who can look into the heart and by a glance make the boy feel that he or she is his friend. The weakest work in our schools² is the handling of boys entering the adolescent period of life, and there is no greater blessing that can come to a boy at this age, when he does not understand himself, than a strong teacher that understands him, has faith in him, and will day by day lead him till he can walk alone."

✓The duties of the school teacher to the lads in his charge fall into three main periods. First, care and attention must be directed towards adjusting the newcomer to his fresh contacts, and establishing in his mind a sense of security and friendship; second, during his progress through the school the lad's instinctive impulses must be directed into socially acceptable channels, and the wisest methods of imparting knowledge and encouraging the inherent desire for information must be selected; third, towards the end of his school career the lad must be more particularly prepared for life in the outer world. Throughout, the teacher must assist in the formation and strengthening of the lad's character, guide his inclinations towards the employment of leisure in worthwhile directions, and firmly establish in his mind the obligations as well as the privileges of citizenship. In short, "school should provide for the pre-adolescent and adolescent years a life which answers to their special needs and brings out their special values."³

These matters will not be considered in detail here; suffice it to say

¹ *Op. cit.*

² *I.e.*, in America.

³ "Report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on Secondary Education" (1939)

that it is clearly a subject of the first importance for the teacher to supply a key to the door of knowledge, to present life as an intellectual and emotional adventure, and at the same time to impress upon his pupils the fact that learning to live wisely is an essential preliminary to high attainment.

Social conflicts outside the school may be associated with adolescents or adults of either sex, but within the school, and apart from the conflicts associated with the teachers, are those related to the friendships or hostilities of other lads. Their importance is at once apparent when, for example, the fears and anxieties of a submissive lad in the presence of an aggressive bully and his sense of inferiority in the company of a braggart are considered, or when his retarded physical development is unfavourably noticed in the swimming bath.

The influence of one lad upon another may be direct or indirect. The direct infectiousness of idleness, bad language, deceit and sexual experimentation on the one hand, and the communicability of industrious habits, good manners, uprightness and sexual taboos on the other, immediately come to mind. An indirect influence may be introduced by the artificial atmosphere which envelops a hysterical lad, or the glamour which surrounds the school athlete.

Healy¹ notes the fact that bad companions may be considered as part of the psychic environment of criminalism and enumerates the following types; those found in the home, in the school, in the streets and in institutions. He also refers to the influences of an older criminal companion, of a person of the opposite sex, of people connected with the stage, and of a feeble-minded companion who has learnt vicious ways.

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck² state that 95 per cent. of the youths had bad associates prior to sentence to the Massachusetts Reformatory, and they include in the term criminals, street corner loafers, pool-room habitués, youths who never or rarely work but live by their wits, habitual drinkers and professional gamblers.

On the other hand, Cyril Burt,³ dealing with young delinquents in this country found bad companionship within the home was a minor factor of delinquency in 3.3 per cent. of the boys studied by him, and that bad companions of the same age outside the home were a major or minor factor in 17.7 per cent. He points out that bad companionship as an explanation and excuse for wrong-doing should never be too hastily accepted as the sole and sufficient reason for an offence.

¹ W. Healy, "The Individual Delinquent" (1915)

² Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, "500 Criminal Careers" (1930)

³ Cyril Burt, "The Young Delinquent" (1945).

In this investigation the difficulty of verifying and appraising the moral value of the associates of a lad was so considerable that companionship was dealt with in general terms only, and is so presented in the appropriate section in the previous chapter.

The occupational conflicts of the schoolboy may be connected with his work or recreation. The teaching in secondary and elementary schools during the last thirty years has undergone great changes. It was formerly fundamentally intensive and its aim was to study a little but well, and to regard the cultivation of memory as a matter of first importance. The modern idea is to cover as much ground as possible and cultivate the reason and the imagination of the pupil. Recent psychological research in America, however, is said to be re-establishing the claims of habit forming and memory.¹

In a publication recently issued by a Consultative Committee of the English Board of Education on Secondary Education, also known as the Spens Report, from which an extract has already been taken, emphasis is laid upon the importance of "education for citizenship," and the view is expressed that the studies of the ordinary secondary school should be brought into closer contact than at present with the practical affairs of life.

Another Consultative Committee of the Board of Education stated in an earlier publication, sometimes referred to as the Hadow Report,² "There appear to be two opposing schools of modern educational thought, with regard to the aims to be followed in the training of older pupils. One attaches primary importance to the individual pupils and their interests, the other emphasises the claims of society as a whole, and seeks to equip the pupils for service as workmen and citizens in its organisation. When either tendency is carried too far the result is unsatisfactory. If, on the one hand, the education of older pupils be kept too general in the supposed interests of individual development, the pupil is apt to find himself ill-equipped on leaving school to cope with the demands of modern life. If, on the other hand, undue stress be laid in the school course on the needs of later life, and the training of the pupil be made too specific, the individual man or woman may be sacrificed to the workman or citizen. A well-balanced educational system must combine these two ideals in the single conception of social individuality. The general aim should therefore be to offer the fullest possible scope to individuality, while keeping steadily in view the claims and needs of the society in which every individual citizen must live."

¹ Cloudesley Brereton, Art "School and Curriculum," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th Ed., 1937).

² "The Education of the Adolescent" (1938)

¹ Maxwell Garnett¹ considers that character formation is more important than the amassing of knowledge, and that the old-fashioned form master is more likely to obtain this result than a team of specialists. The form master is interested in the boys and their special problems, as well as in their intellectual tendencies; the specialist is interested in the boys as recipients of his special branch of knowledge apart from contacts with other subjects.

To most youthful scholars systematized work and prolonged concentration are irksome, but a time comes when inherent curiosity and the desire for independence emphasize the necessity for work if these cravings are to be satisfied. If in the course of this change-over of approach a struggle arises between inconsistent and conflicting emotions, the consequent tension may retard progress and precondition misconduct.

Healy,² in a study of some forty cases of mental conflict and misconduct, doubts whether complexes of much significance for students of misconduct ever arise beyond the early days of adolescence and finds no special type predominating in his cases. Contrary to the experience of some of us he states: "Mental conflict commonly produces misbehaviour in individuals who prove themselves by examination and history to have apparently normally stable nervous systems." He considers that "anything approaching the shut-in type is very rarely seen". We can find no evidence of conflicts especially affecting individuals of a general subjective temperament."

It is interesting to note that Healy finds that in general ability the conflict cases range far above the average of his entire group of delinquents.

In the preceding chapter attention was called to the fact that it is difficult to obtain reliable replies to questions on the subject of games and amusements since some lads dislike admitting that they have taken little or no part in outdoor games. Whilst a lad is at school, however, his interest in outdoor amusements can be observed at first hand, and his reactions in the playground and on the sports field may indicate difficulties which otherwise remain unexpressed. Nevertheless, there are exceptions; for instance, a lad may disguise an almost insuperable fear when playing Rugby football by an attitude of apparent enthusiasm for the game, and the true fact remains undisclosed throughout his school life.

It has been said that play at best is only a school of ethics (Stanley Hall), and it is clear that in addition to the value of games and other forms of outdoor amusements in releasing motor and psychic tension we must recognise also their wider social value in causing the participants

¹ Maxwell Garnett, "Knowledge and Character" (1939).

² W. Healy, "Mental Conflict and Misconduct" (1919).

in a game to accept voluntarily its rules and restrictions, the dictates of the captain, and the unpalatable decisions of the referee. Team games act not merely as an introduction to the greater teamwork of accredited citizenship and as a stimulus to the inherent desire to excel, but also afford a stirring example of the responsibilities of leadership and an acknowledgment of the fact that it should be appraised less for its excellence in any single direction than for its many-sided qualities, which cause the captain to be chosen not necessarily because he is the best performer but because he is the most able to guide the players, as a whole, wisely, and to inspire each individual to co-operate with the others to the utmost of his capacity.

Briefly, physical education utilizes games, athletic sports, swimming and other physical activities in order to assist in the development of character, as well as to improve health and physique.

The various conflicts associated with sex problems at school need only passing consideration. Their importance would be insignificant were it not for the fact that the sex impulse in modern society is more potent than is necessary for the continuation of the race, and can only be fully expressed by incurring difficulties in various directions.

It is also unnecessary to consider here the various arguments which have at some time or another been advanced in regard to sex enlightenment in general, or to discuss at length the autoerotic practices or homosexual attachments of the school period. It need only be stated that in this connection facts should replace traditional misconceptions. The ill-effects of masturbation have been often grossly exaggerated, and the paralysing fears of some lads that the habit can be detected by their facial expression and will lead to blindness and insanity should be dispelled forthwith by recognising the conflict going on in their minds, and by allaying their fears and misapprehensions and replacing them with facts and sound advice.

Further, homosexual attachments and mutualisms are usually only part of a transitory phase of sexual development, and are not necessarily evidence of a homosexual constitution.

Some idea of the importance of frank sexual offences in adolescents may be gathered from the proportion of sexual offenders in the lads studied. They numbered no more than 125 out of 4,000, or 3.12 per cent. Estimates of the frequency with which early sex experiences are directly associated with non-sexual offences are probably often not altogether unaffected by the preconceptions of the examiner.

In this discussion emphasis has been laid upon mental conflict as a cause of misconduct at school. At the same time it must be recognized

that neither conflict nor misconduct is necessarily evidence of abnormal mental functioning. Indeed, emotional tension in school adolescents is sometimes the result of good health and exuberant spirits, and may be expressed by misconduct.

II. Types of Schools Attended

The above remarks apply particularly to lads who attend the ordinary types of school. Out of 3,997 lads whose school history was known, it appears from Tables LIX and LX that 3,087, or 77 per cent. had been taught only in elementary schools, 363, or 9 per cent. had been at a Home Office school, 132 had been in a special school for mental defectives, and 2 in both these types of school. The remaining 413 had spent part or all of their school days in other special schools, orphanages, private or secondary schools. The proportion who had been at a Home Office

TABLE LIX

Schools attended, Distribution according to Age and Nature of Offences

Schools attended.	Distribution by Age					Distribution according to Nature of Offences				Totals
	6	17	18	19	20	It was	Per- cent.	Sex— mal	Dis- ciple	
Elementary school only.	304	71	70	54	51	274	110	42	93	3087
Private day school only.	-	6	2	1	6	10	1	2	-	14
Private residential school only.	1	1	2	2	1	7	1	-	-	8
Secondary school only.	1	2	7	3	3	16	-	-	1	16
Residential orphanage, etc.	2	11	5	11	9	38	1	2	2	38
Special physical school only.	-	1	1	3	3	7	1	1	-	9
Special Mental School (1)	2	5	2	5	1	15	-	-	-	16
Home Office School (2)	1	1	2	-	-	4	-	-	-	4
Elementary school followed by mental school.	21	25	22	26	20	91	4	13	6	114
" " by Home Office school.	67	70	93	75	42	340	7	4	4	355
" " by other special "	23	52	57	68	46	232	4	9	11	256
Special school (not mental or Home Office) followed by elementary school.	12	17	13	8	6	53	-	-	3	56
Two or more special schools (3)	4	6	6	7	1	22	2	1	-	25
Totals with record of school	498	916	960	903	720	3621	132	124	120	3997

¹ I.e., school for defective or retarded pupils

² and ³ Alone, or followed by elementary school

³ See note below Table LX

school, with or without attendance at an elementary school, was significantly higher at ages 16-17 (10.4 per cent.) than at ages 19-20 (7.2 per

cent.). A higher proportion of the lads convicted of a sexual offence than of the remainder had been at a mental school (13 out of 124 compared with 121 out of 3,873). This accords with the well-known fact that sexual offences are common amongst mentally defective persons.*

The average number of convictions per lad among those who had been taught at elementary school; only was 1.585 compared with 2.033 for those who had at some time attended other kinds of schools.

TABLE LX

Schools attended, Association with Number of Previous Convictions

Schools attended.	No. in group	Distribution by Number of Previous Convictions										Total convictions (1)		Excess or defect
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	10		Recorded.	Calculated.	
Elementary school only	3087	1841	838	306	69	21	10	1	-	-		4894	4894	
Private day school only.	14	8	2	3	-	1	-	-	-	-		26	22	+ 4
Private residential school only.	6	7	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-		10	13	- 3
Secondary school only	16	11	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-		23	25	- 2
Residential orphanage etc.	38	19	10	4	4	1	-	-	-	-		72	60	+ 12
Special Physical school only.	9	4	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-		18	14	+ 4
Special Mental school	15	11	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		19	24	- 5
Home Office School ⁽³⁾	4	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-		11	6	+ 5
Elementary school followed by mental school.	114	84	23	3	4	-	-	-	-	-		155	181	- 26
Elementary school followed by Home Office school.	355	18	148	104	48	26	5	5	1	-		1021	563	+ 458
Elementary school followed by other special school.	256	176	58	15	4	1	2	-	-	-		370	406	- 36
Special school (not mental or Home Office) followed by elementary school.	56	32	19	3	1	1	-	-	-	-		88	89	- 1
Two or more special schools (4)	25	16	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	-		37	40	- 3
Totals with record of school.	3997	2228	1115	444	134	51	17	6	1	1		6744	6337	+ 407

¹ Including the last conviction. The calculated numbers are the totals resulting if the average convictions per head had been the same as for the lads who attended elementary school only

² See note (1), Table LIX

³ and ⁴ Alone, or followed by elementary school

⁴ Including 2 who attended both mental and Home Office school, 3 mental and other special school, 4 Home Office and other special school

* See also W. Norwood East, "Forensic Psychiatry" (1927)

The 359 lads who had been at a Home Office school, with or without attendance at an elementary school, had 1,032 convictions against them, an average of 2.875 per head. On the other hand, the 129 who had attended a mental school, with or without attendance at an elementary school, had 174 convictions, or 1.349 per head. The remaining 422 who had attended other special schools or more than one type of special school had 644 convictions or 1.526 per head. If the condition and behaviour of all the lads had been within the limits of those who were allowed to attend elementary schools throughout, there would have been 407 less convictions.

III. Correlations at Elementary Schools

Table LXI shows how age and school standard at leaving, regularity of attendance, conduct at school and interest shown in school work were correlated with the nature and number of convictions amongst the 3,087 lads who had been taught only at elementary schools. Ignoring the 36 whose school standard was not stated or who were not classed on the usual scale, 17.7 per cent. failed to reach Standard VI, 27.9 per cent. reached Standard VI, but not Standard VII, and 54.4 per cent. reached Standard VII. Among the 88 sexual offenders, 31 did not reach Standard VI, this proportion of 35.2 per cent. being significantly higher than in the other groups (17.2 per cent.). This may be considered as further corroboration of the fact referred to in the previous section concerning the subnormal mentality of many sexual offenders. Hooton¹ also found that men convicted of serious sex offences amongst American criminals were lacking in advanced education compared with the average criminal.

A history of truancy was given in 5.8 per cent. and of frequent absences for other reasons in 4.3 per cent. It may be noted in passing that the causes of truancy are manifold, and often obscure. Mention may be made of the desire for change and freedom from restraint, ill-defined fears and anxieties often associated with some particular teacher or subject, restlessness and boredom, the allurements of the streets and the attractions of the countryside, together with the desire for adventure and exploration, often acting conjointly and in various combinations.²

¹ Earnest Albert Hooton, "The American Criminal" (1939), Vol. I.

² In a series of 50 boy and girl truants investigated for the most part in the Department of Psychological Medicine at Guy's Hospital and whose ages ranged between 5 and 13 years, J. M. Partridge found there were only three in whom truancy was the sole symptom, and in two of those three the appearance of other disorders of behaviour seemed imminent. Signs of physical disease were found in only three cases, but in all three seemed to have played some part, although indirectly, in the genesis of the misbehaviour. With regard to intelligence, 13 cases were in the dull and backward group (I.Q. < 70-90), 24 were in the average group

TABLE LXI

Leaving Age, Standard attained, Regularity of Attendance, Conduct and Interest of Lads taught in Elementary Schools only, Correlation with Nature of Offences and Number of Previous Convictions

	Nature of Offences				Number of Previous convictions.							Totals in groups	Total convictions recorded	Total convictions calculated
	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Disci-pline	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Leaving Age.														
12 or before	4	2	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	6	9	9.6
13	21	-	-	1	9	8	4	1	-	-	-	22	41	34.9
14	2709	108	69	90	1783	813	300	67	21	10	1	2996	4760	4749.7
15 or 16	67	-	3	2	46	14	2	-	-	-	-	62	80	96.3
Not stated	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	4	1.0
Standard reached														
1	4	-	-	1	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	5	8	7.9
2	8	1	1	1	6	3	1	1	-	-	-	11	19	17.4
3	34	-	4	5	27	10	4	2	-	-	-	43	67	68.2
4	116	7	14	8	73	49	19	1	2	-	-	144	242	228.3
5	315	5	12	5	205	92	35	4	-	1	-	337	516	534.3
6	774	37	20	21	478	251	95	16	7	3	1	852	1400	1350.7
7	1516	57	37	60	1023	427	148	44	12	5	-	1659	2687	2630.1
Special	10	-	3	2	13	2	-	-	-	-	-	15	17	23.8
Not stated	17	3	1	-	13	3	3	1	-	1	-	21	38	33.3
Attendance.														
Truant.	163	8	5	4	72	59	39	9	-	1	-	180	349	285.4
Absent for other reasons.	116	5	7	5	71	41	18	2	1	-	-	133	220	210.8
Regular.	2512	96	80	84	1697	738	240	58	20	8	1	2772	4318	4394.6
Not stated	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	7	3.2
Conduct.														
Openly troublesome.	43	4	1	2	16	17	16	1	-	-	-	50	102	79.3
Covertly "	122	4	4	4	50	43	27	13	-	1	-	134	275	212.4
No record against.	2073	81	67	72	1384	622	218	40	20	7	1	2293	3602	3635.2
Not stated.	554	21	20	15	391	156	45	15	1	2	-	610	915	967.1
Interest.														
No interest in any school work	243	11	17	13	136	89	43	14	2	-	-	284	509	450.2
Some special interest.	172	5	4	1	101	56	16	6	1	3	-	182	306	288.6
A general interest.	2369	94	71	79	1599	692	247	49	18	6	1	2613	4064	4142.6
Not stated.	8	-	-	-	5	2	-	-	-	1	-	8	15	12.7
Totals.	2792	110	92	94	1841	838	306	69	21	10	1	3087	4894	4894

¹ Including last conviction. The calculated numbers are the totals resulting, if the average number of convictions per head had been the same as in the whole group who attended an elementary school only

(I.Q.'s 90-110), 11 were of superior intelligence (I.Q.'s above 110), 2 were mentally defective (I.Q.'s below 70). Nine cases truanted from home only, 19 from both home and from school and 22 from school only. Failure of discipline accounted for only 5 of the 50 cases, and in the other 45 more complex factors were at work, and four different types of behaviour were observed: hysterical, desiderative, rebellious and psycho-neurotic. Where truancy from home occurred the major factors in determining the behaviour lay in the home life, where truancy from school occurred the major factors lay also in the home life, not in the school, and in those cases where the truancy was the most persistent, and was from school only, the school life played practically no part at all in determining the truancy. (J. M. Partridge, "Truancy," *Journal of Mental Science*, Jan., 1939)

Adding those with no statement of school conduct to the category with "no record against," 1.6 per cent. were said to have been openly troublesome and 4.3 per cent. covertly troublesome. There was no evidence of any significant correlation between these factors of regularity and conduct and the kind of offences committed. The proportion who showed no interest in school work according to the records was 9.2 per cent. and 5.9 per cent. had only limited interests. Among the sexual offenders 17 out of 92, or 18.5 per cent. were said to have had no interest, and among the offenders against discipline 14.0 per cent., the first of these proportions being significantly higher than among lads convicted of offences against property (8.7 per cent.).

Comparing the recorded convictions for each category with the numbers expected if there had been no association between the factor concerned and the number of convictions, as shown in the last column of Table LXI, the following results are obtained —

Leaving age (excluding "not stated")	$\chi^2 = 4.5, n = 3, P = .2$
Standard reached	No evidence of association
Attendance (excluding "not stated")	$\chi^2 = 15.9, n = 2, P = < .001$
Conduct (adding "not stated" to "no record against")	$\chi^2 = 26.5, n = 2, P = < .001$
Interest (counting "not stated" as "no interest")	$\chi^2 = 10.2, n = 2, P = < .01$

The age at leaving, or standard reached, had no association with the number of convictions. Absence from school, especially truancy, was associated with multiple convictions to a significant degree, 180 lads with a history of truancy had 349 convictions against them compared with 285 expected if these factors had not been associated. Troublesome conduct at school was significantly associated with an excess of convictions, 184 lads with unsatisfactory elementary school records in this respect having 377 convictions compared with 292 expected. Lack of interest in school work was, likewise, significantly associated with a subsequent history of multiple convictions, 474 lads without general interest having 830 convictions compared with 751 expected if there had been no association.

IV. Correlations at Special Schools

Table LXII gives an analysis of attendance, conduct and interest at school, and their association with the nature of offences and number of convictions, for the lads who had been at Home Office schools, mental and other special schools. The calculated numbers of convictions in the last column are here based upon the average for the 3,087 lads who had attended elementary schools only, this being the same basis as was used

in Table LXI. Truancy and other absences from school were recorded less frequently for these groups than for the elementary school lads, and this was probably due to the fact that supervision in this matter was more

TABLE LXII

Regularity of Attendance, Conduct and Interest of Lads who were taught at Schools other than, or in addition to, an Elementary School, Correlation with Nature of Offences and Number of Previous Convictions

Schools attended (with or without attendance at an elementary school)	Attendance, Conduct, Interest.	Nature of Offences				Totals in groups	Total convictions (including last)	
		Prop- erty	Per- son	Sex- ual	Disci- pline		Recorded	Calculated (1)
Mental school but never at Home Office school.	Truant.	6	-	-	-	6	6	9.6
	Absent for other reasons.	2	-	1	-	3	6	4.8
	Regular.	95	4	9	5	113	151	179.1
	Not stated.	6	-	3	1	10	14	15.9
	Troublesome.	8	1	-	2	11	16	17.4
	No record ag- ainst (or not stated)	101	3	13	4	121	161	191.9
	No interest (or not stated)	36	3	3	4	46	65	76.1
	Special interest	3	-	1	1	5	7	7.9
	General "	58	1	9	1	79	105	125.3
	Totals	109	4	13	6	132	177	209.3
Home Office school (with or without other special schools)	Truant.	21	1	-	-	22	67	34.9
	Absent for other reasons.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Regular.	163	5	1	2	171	456	271.1
	Not stated.	165	2	2	2	172	520	272.7
	Troublesome.	122	1	1	-	124	390	196.6
	No record ag- ainst (or not stated)	227	7	3	4	241	655	382.1
	No interest (or not stated)	43	1	2	-	46	150	72.9
	Special interest	23	2	-	-	25	67	39.6
	General "	295	5	2	4	306	826	456.2
	Totals	349	8	4	4	365	1043	578.7
Other special schools (pri- vate, secondary, physical etc.)	Truant.	17	-	-	2	19	40	30.1
	Absent for other reasons.	8	1	-	-	9	12	14.3
	Regular.	325	9	14	13	361	531	572.3
	Not stated.	21	-	1	2	24	47	38.0
	Troublesome	37	2	1	3	43	92	68.2
	No record ag- ainst (or not stated)	334	3	14	14	370	538	586.5
	No interest (or not stated)	27	-	2	3	32	65	50.7
	Special interest	40	1	1	2	44	63	69.7
	General "	304	9	12	12	337	502	534.3
	Totals	371	10	15	17	413	630	654.7
Totals.		829	22	32	27	910	1850	1442.7

¹ I.e., if the average number of convictions per head had been the same as in the group who attended an elementary school only (Table LXI).

effective in the special schools. Troublesome conduct was recorded for 8.3 per cent. of the mental school lads, 34.0 per cent. of the Home Office school group, and 10.4 per cent. of those who had been at other special schools, compared with 6.0 per cent. of the elementary school lads. No statement of any interest in school work was recorded for 36.4 per cent. of the mental school lads, 12.6 per cent. of the Home Office school group, and 7.7 per cent. of the remainder, compared with 9.5 per cent. of the elementary school lads.

Among the 365 lads who had been at a Home Office school, 124 who had been troublesome at school had 390 convictions or 3.15 per head compared with 2.71 per head for those not said to have been troublesome; 46 with no interest in school work had 150 convictions, or 3.26 per head compared with 2.68 for those showing special interest, and 2.81 for those with a general interest.

Among the 413 lads who had attended special schools other than Home Office or mental schools, the 19 with a record of truancy had 2.11 convictions per head compared with 1.47 for the regular attenders, 43 who had been troublesome at school had 2.14 convictions per head compared with 1.45 for those not said to have been troublesome, 32 with no interest in school work had 2.03 convictions per head compared with 1.43 for those with special interest and 1.49 for those who showed a general interest.

In these groups, therefore, as for the elementary school lads in Table LXI, a record of troublesome conduct and lack of interest at school were associated with a higher tendency to multiple convictions subsequently. The data cannot tell us how the tendency to the first conviction was associated with the school record, but the presumption is that the association would be similar to that for convictions after the first.

V. Summary

School life may be considered as a step towards the acquisition of independence, knowledge, character formation and citizenship. Its purpose should include a method of life as well as a means of living. Since the school teacher is invested with parental authority within the school, collaboration between teacher and parent is essential if the difficulties which may arise from dual control are to be minimized.

The emotional conflicts which affect adolescents, or adults, are related to their social, occupational and sexual activities. The adolescent is called upon to deal with his emotional problems at their full intensity and often when they are operating concurrently, and before his mental organization is fully developed.

Freedom in both thought and action favour the development of character provided the adolescent observes his responsibilities. A sense of security and of friendship enable him to adjust himself more easily to the problems of life and satisfy his special needs, and at the same time expand his individual qualities.

The adverse effect of bad companionship is often difficult to determine and is probably not infrequently exaggerated. The irksomeness of work and concentration is gradually replaced during adolescence by the desire for knowledge, independence and achievement. A well-balanced educational system includes the training of the individual in specific directions most suitable to his aptitudes as well as in citizenship. Physical education utilizes physical activities to assist in the development of character as well as in the improvement of health and physique.

The traditional misconceptions associated with autoerotic habits and homosexual mutualisms at school should be replaced by straightforward explanations and sound advice on sexual matters and difficulties.

Out of 3,997 lads whose school history was known, 3,087, or 77 per cent., had been taught only at elementary schools; 363, or 9 per cent., had been at a Home Office school, 132 had been at a special school for mentally defective or retarded children; and 2 in both these types of school. The remaining 413 had spent part or all of their school days in other special schools, orphanages, private or secondary schools.

The proportion who had been at a Home Office school was significantly higher among the lads aged 16-17 than at 19-20. A higher proportion of lads convicted of a sexual offence than of the remainder had been at a mental school—an expression of the liability of mentally defective persons to commit sexual crimes.

The average number of convictions per lad among those who had been taught at elementary schools only was 1.585, for lads who had been at Home Office schools, 2.875 per head; for lads who had attended a mental school, 1.349 per head; and for those who had attended other special schools or more than one type of special school, the proportion was 1.526 per head.

Of the lads who attended only elementary schools, 17.7 per cent. failed to reach Standard VI; 27.9 per cent. reached Standard VI, but not Standard VII, and 54.4 per cent. reached Standard VII. Among the sexual offenders there was a significantly larger proportion who failed to reach Standard VI.

Truancy was recorded in 5.8 per cent. of the lads who had attended only elementary schools, and frequent absences for other reasons were noted in 4.3 per cent. Of the elementary school lads, 1.6 per cent. were

said to have been openly, and 4.3 per cent. covertly, troublesome. No interest in school work was recorded in 9.2 per cent., and 5.9 per cent. showed only limited interests. The sexual offenders showed a significantly higher proportion of lads without interest, compared with lads whose offences were against property.

In the group of elementary school lads troublesome conduct, lack of interest in school work and absence from school, particularly truancy, were all significantly associated with multiple convictions.

Among those who had attended special schools truancy and other absences from school were recorded less frequently than for elementary school lads. Troublesome conduct was recorded for 8.3 per cent. of the mental school lads, 34.0 per cent. of the Home Office school lads, and 10.4 per cent. of those who had been at other special schools, compared with 6.0 per cent. of the elementary school group. No statement of any interest in school work was recorded for 36.4 per cent. of the mental school lads, 12.6 per cent. of the Home Office schools group, and 7.7 per cent. of the remainder, compared with 9.5 per cent. of the elementary school lads.

Among the lads who had attended special types of school (other than mental schools), as in the elementary school group, a record of troublesome conduct and lack of interest at school was associated with a higher tendency to subsequent multiple convictions, and it may be assumed that there would be a similar association for first convictions.

CHAPTER VI

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS—EMPLOYMENT

I. Discussion

EFFICIENCY and satisfaction are promoted if the preferences and interests of the worker are represented in his occupation. Some lads are engaged in unc congenial work ; others, when called upon to select a career, are too young and inexperienced to make an appropriate decision and become disappointed and uninterested in their occupation. Some are doubtful and hesitating, and leave their parents or guardians to decide the manner of their employment

The difficulty of finding employment is less serious in this country at the present school-leaving age than afterwards, and it becomes more intense as the lad reaches the age of 18 to 22 years. It may be said that all the lads dealt with in this study were investigated at ages when competition in the labour market is severe. Moreover, a qualitative analysis of the employment experience of the pupils at Junior Instruction Centres in recent years revealed the predominance of non-progressive or even blind-alley occupations in the earlier years,¹ and confirmed the experience of many social workers.

In 1909 the Labour Exchange Act empowered the Board of Trade to establish juvenile advisory committees. In the following year the Education (Choice of Employment) Act authorized local education authorities to give assistance to young persons under 17 years of age respecting a choice of suitable employment. In 1923, the Unemployment Insurance Act determined that where local education authorities had adopted the Choice of Employment Act they should administer it, and that elsewhere the Ministry of Labour should continue to exercise its powers in this direction. The Education Act, 1918, raised the age of the young person so cared for from 17 to 18 years, and in 1927 the Ministry of Labour took over the entire central responsibility, but the local administration was left in the hands of a juvenile advisory committee or a committee of a local educational authority.

The aims of the two types of committee are very similar. Informa-

¹ Valentine A. Bell, " Report to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust on Junior Instruction Centres and their Future " (1934).

tion and advice is given to the lads while at school by means of personal interviews or school conferences. In both cases particulars are taken from the local head teachers respecting the ability, character and physical capacity of the pupils about to leave. Contact with employers is maintained respecting vacancies and juveniles are submitted for them, whilst provision is made to keep in touch with the applicants by a system of after care.

In order to help forward the work a National Advisory Committee for Juvenile Employment has been established for England and Wales, and another for Scotland.

Some persons consider that the administration should be carried out by the local education authority as they believe that the welfare of the adolescent is a continuous process from school days, and his abilities and disabilities are best known through the school. They believe that his welfare on leaving school should include part time education, and that if he falls into unemployment he should revert to the care of the education authority acting through the junior instruction centre. It is argued that a lad should not enter the ranks of adult labour and become the responsibility of the Ministry of Labour until he is 18 years old.

Others believe that the work of the juvenile exchange is primarily to find suitable employment, and that although the education authorities are particularly skilled and experienced in some directions the Ministry of Labour understands the various problems involved in different trades and industries, and is consequently better equipped to place the adolescent in work which is most suitable and satisfactory to employers and employed.

However this may be, every juvenile employment committee contains a member of the local education committee and, ordinarily, representative employers, workers, voluntary social workers and teachers. The Ministry of Labour juvenile advisory committees are organized on similar lines.

In addition to the situations obtained through the Committees, posts are found by individual headmasters of elementary and secondary schools who keep in touch with employers. It is stated that, broadly speaking, a pupil completing a course in a secondary school has little difficulty in securing employment. Pupils who have completed their training in trade schools and technical institutes are soon absorbed into the business world.¹

There is a break of two years in public supervision between the present elementary school-leaving age of 14 and the age of 16 when the scheme of national insurance becomes operative. This period is often critical for a lad, and many persons consider the remedy is to be found

¹ Cloudesley Brereton, Art. "Education and Industry," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1937).

in some form of prolongation of the school age, or in some system which brings the school into daily contact with the workshop and combines wage earning with education.

The Prison Commissioners do not claim to be able to give thorough instruction in any trade to the lads sentenced to detention in a Borstal institution. Their aim is to promote habits of industry, and they believe that if they can teach a lad to realize he can do good work, it will assist him to become receptive to the non-vocational influences of the institution. It is also recognised that a lad "who is vocationally efficient tends not only to be vocationally contented, but also to be generally contented; and, conversely, a lad who is vocationally inefficient tends not only to be vocationally discontented but also to be generally discontented."¹

In 1930 an enquiry was made by Alec Rodger, a member of the Vocational Guidance Staff of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology, to determine the value of the methods of the Institute in the ascertainment of the occupational potentialities of lads sentenced to Borstal detention. Four hundred lads were examined at the beginning of their sentences and vocational recommendations were made for all of them. In order to test the value of the procedure of the National Institute the recommendations were forwarded to the Borstal institutions only in alternate cases. The remainder formed a control group and were allocated to the work parties by the housemasters. Progress reports were forwarded to the National Institute at six-monthly intervals.

During the course of the experiment, 82 lads dropped out. There remained 158 lads in the "recommended group," and 160 in the "control group." Of the National Institute's recommendations, 69.5 per cent. led to satisfactory results. Of the housemasters' recommendations, only 45.6 per cent. led to satisfactory results. The National Institute considered: "This difference which but for certain unfavourable conditions would probably have been greater, is statistically significant. It casts no reflection upon the housemasters, but it shows clearly that with the aid of the National Institute's procedure they could achieve better results than those they achieved without it."²

The statistical data in this chapter relate to the employment of lads before their reception into the Boys prison, and not to the period when they were serving sentences of detention in Borstal institutions. Nevertheless, the above digression has been introduced since the future may add to the importance of psychological testing for the purpose of vocational guidance. For there can be no doubt that the mental stress

¹ "A Borstal Experiment in Vocational Guidance" (1934).

² *Loc. cit.*

resulting from unsuitable employment is sometimes considerable, and sometimes avoidable if the incompatibility between the work and the worker is ascertained.

At the same time it must be recognized that vocational guidance may be of little practical benefit unless vocational selection is assured. Vocational guidance selects a type of work for those whose qualities appear, as the result of psychological investigation, to be the most suitable for a particular purpose. Vocational selection endeavours to select the worker for a particular form of employment.

C. S. Myers and Alec Rodger¹ have recently stated that in countries of political authoritarian tendencies the view that an individual's occupational efficiency is of considerably more importance than his occupational satisfaction is apparently widely maintained. Consequently, in some of these countries vocational selection is regarded as presenting a problem more vital than that presented by vocational guidance.

The same authors state² that the limitations of the psychological tests at present available for vocational guidance purposes are gradually being recognized. "Tests are generally regarded as being of considerable value in investigating fitness for occupations of a practical constructional type (e.g., engineering, architecture, surveying), of less value in investigating fitness for predominantly clerical occupations, and of less value still in investigating fitness for occupations (e.g., salesmanship) in which success often depends to a considerable extent on the possession of appropriate social characteristics."

Intelligence, temperament and character are the personal factors with which the adviser in vocational guidance is particularly concerned. It is generally agreed that inborn intelligence does not develop to an appreciable extent after the age of puberty, although knowledge increases with age and interests may vary from time to time. It is also a matter of common observation that work may be adversely affected by idiosyncrasies of temperament and character as well as by limitations of intelligence.

Intelligence is not necessarily the factor which most influences success. Angus Macrae³ records the case of a public school man who earned a four-figure salary in sales organization, although his scholastic attainments were negligible and his percentile rank in the intelligence test was below 10.

Estimations of temperament or character present more serious difficulties than does intelligence, but much may be learnt from a

¹ C. S. Myers and Alec Rodger, "Vocational Guidance," *Encyclopædia Britannica Year Book* (1939).

² *Loc cit.*

³ Angus Macrae, "Talents and Temperaments" (1932).

systematic psychological interview with the individual when this is coupled with a careful assessment of his detailed personal history. Temperamental conditions, however, may vary to some extent from time to time, and whether this is due to alterations in the quantity or quality of the secretions of the endocrine glands or to some other factor is not material here. Character, too, is not static, its growth depends upon various environmental as well as constitutional factors, and should continue throughout our lives.

Cyril Burt¹ claims to have found statistical evidence of a general factor of emotionality underlying the various specific emotions, and he compares it to the central factors underlying intellectual processes and described as general intelligence. He considers that "among all the innate psychological characteristics of the delinquent, a marked emotionality is one of the most frequent as it is one of the most influential." He finds that nearly half his juvenile offenders were distinguished by a profound and widespread instability of the emotions.

F. Aveling² considers it questionable whether differences in stability may not be due merely to differences in the acquired control of the instinctive impulses by the will. E. Webb³ finds this control to be a general factor, causing a correlation between the positive qualities of character.

Those who are concerned with the care of adolescents will support the statement of W. E. H. Lecky,⁴ who said: "The main object of human life is the full development and useful employment of whatever powers we possess." In that development interest holds a prominent place. Tests of interest may be easily devised but are less easy to interpret, for although broadly speaking we become interested in matters which challenge the attention of the moment, interest implies a more or less persistent tendency to be attracted by matters of a particular kind. Further, vocational interest is not necessarily associated with aptitude.

Observations in institutions as well as in the outer world leave one in no doubt that the vocational interests of adolescents are often transient. D. Fryer,⁵ quoted by Angus Macrae, discussing the measurements of interests, states: "There is about a 50 in 100 chance of predicting specific vocational interests a year hence from present ones." He considers that "to use an expression of interest as a guide to future plans is a very unscientific and impractical way of achieving an adjustment. The

¹ C. Burt, "The Young Delinquent" (1925).

² F. Aveling, "Personality and Will" (1931).

³ E. Webb, "Character and Intelligence," *Brit. Journ. of Psychol. Mon. Supp.* (1915).

⁴ Quoted by W. McDougall, "Character and Conduct of Life" (1928).

⁵ D. Fryer, "The Measurement of Interests" (1921).

vocational interest estimate is of little significance for prediction. It is only important when linked with other significant criteria."

• Angus Macrae¹ points out that among persons who are devoted to their work are to be numbered not a few who entered their occupations with very little hope of finding these occupations congenial. G. H. Miles² says: "There are to-day many successful men who, throughout the whole of their career, have applied themselves to tasks which were irksome, and they have succeeded, although their real interests were in other directions and in other occupations. The will to succeed has been so strong that in spite of distaste for the work, they have gained rewards which have in a measure given the opportunity for compensatory pleasurable activities." Many adolescents may gain encouragement from statements such as these, as well as from the fact that a skilfully accomplished task is a matter of satisfaction to the worker as well as to his employer. They may also with advantage bear in mind an observation made by Lord Hewart in a speech at Roedean School in June, 1923. "What is not so bad, what is passable, what is only comparatively good is, if possible, to be shunned as if it were the plague."³

Although sustained attention is necessary for the satisfactory performance of most kinds of work, adolescents, in general, are curious and therefore easily distracted by accidental happenings in the classroom, workshop or factory. Effort is necessary in order to disregard these interruptions if the work is uninteresting. At the same time, whilst it is not possible for everyone to obtain the work he most desires, yet, if his attention can be directed for a time upon his task, it will often gain in interest. The initial transient interest due to curiosity may be replaced by a stage of enforced interest until a stage of permanent interest is reached. The last stage, like the first, does not require the purposeful effort which is demanded in the second stage. But it is to be noted that to some characters achievement through purposeful striving is attractive, and many lads lose interest as their work takes on a routine character.

Some lads who are only suitable for manual work aspire to be numbered amongst those who are engaged in the so-called black-coated occupations. But, in general, poor efficiency in the latter is an imperfect substitute for dexterous performance in the former. Few factors add so much zest to work as initiative and inventiveness, and the efficient manual worker may find opportunities to exercise these qualities, whereas an occasion to do so may be denied him if he becomes, for example, an

¹ Angus Macrae, *op cit*

² G. H. Miles, "The Will to Work" (1929)

³ Lord Hewart, "Essays and Observations," (1930)

indifferent clerk. As an efficient manual worker he will often have the satisfaction of regarding the job on hand as his own, but little can be left to the initiative and resource of the inferior worker in an office.

There is no doubt that mental fatigue like muscular fatigue is registered by some persons sooner than by others, and some appear better able than others to disregard fatigue by an effort of will. Not infrequently mental fatigue is due to a lack of interest in the occupation and in its purpose, or to positive boredom, rather than to loss of energy—to psychological rather than to physiological factors or the physical environment of the worker. In adolescence effort is less sustained, and more often manifested by short spurts of exertion, than in adults. At the same time, although short periods of intense effort quickly followed by fatigue are more or less characteristic of adolescents, there are some who seem to tire less easily if the pace at which the work is performed can be lowered to meet their requirements.

Tests of industrial fatigue fall into two classes, according to whether a standardized test is applied to the person to be examined, or whether phenomena which appear and indicate, or are influenced by, fatigue are measured. It is unnecessary to consider them here. It may be noted that McDougall,¹ writing in 1926, pointed out the difficulty in applying tests of fatigue as the output of work or energy is conditioned not only by the general physiological state of the individual at the time of the investigation, but also, and in predominant fashion, by the incentives supplied and by the motives brought into play by them. "The incentives and motives vary from moment to moment, and no means are known of keeping them constant."

It may be added that we are concerned here with the effect of the work itself in producing fatigue and not with the effect of the conditions under which the work is carried out, such as insufficient ventilation, high temperature and other factors which induce fatigue.

Companionship has been briefly referred to in general terms in preceding chapters. The adolescent is likely to become acquainted with a wider circle of companions in the course of his employment than was possible during his school-days, when all the day scholars came from the same area. He may meet at his work for the first time types of adolescents and adults of either sex of whom he has no previous experience, and may associate with them also during periods of leisure and recreation. The uncemented friendships of earlier years, which are frequently made and unmade, become more permanent during adolescence. For the healthy

¹ W. McDougall, "Outline of Abnormal Psychology" (1926).

lad eagerly attaches himself to his kind, singly or as a member of a group, as his social sense develops.¹

In some occupations a lad comes to know a larger circle of girls of his own age than in other forms of employment, and as he meets them on more or less common ground tends to overcome the shy diffidence which is sometimes experienced in their presence. He may now find himself able and willing to spend some of his earnings in going out with a girl. On the other hand, their association at work may deprive the girl of some of the attractiveness of her sex, and the lad of some of his chivalry. As the result of their daily association each may lose some of the natural desire to appear at their best before the other, for although this impulse has been an inspiration and a charm throughout the ages, it is difficult to maintain unceasingly.

The lad who is left to himself to satisfy his newly awakened desire for female companionship may choose unwisely, but he usually receives little help in the matter. There appears to be a growing recognition of the desirability of giving adolescents of both sexes better opportunities to meet each other in a less casual manner than formerly. In an interesting chapter on organizations for boys and girls, A. E. Morgan² refers to some of the difficulties and differences of opinion connected with the problem.

During school life the advantages of compulsory games and regulated leisure may be weighed against the disadvantages which are sometimes believed to result from coercion in these matters. On leaving school the adolescent usually spends his leisure according to his inclinations, although the abounding energy of some requires guidance and the lack of energy in others calls for stimulation.

The adolescent easily habituates himself to the indulgences enjoyed by his workmates. Foremost amongst these are smoking, gambling and drinking.

The prevalent habit of cigarette smoking amongst lads is to some extent limited by its cost, and to a less extent by a lad's desire to retain his physical fitness.

¹ Referring to anti-social grouping in adolescent delinquents, H. T. P. Young writes. "Experience shows that provided the objective is sufficiently attractive and distinct it is not a difficult matter to evoke a strong morale in adolescents, many of whom may have had little or no previous knowledge of the significance of group membership. Experience also shows, however, that as a result of treatment, where the greater rigidity of the rules and conventions of a small group has been found to be particularly suited to the lad's attainments his subsequent adjustment to the community at large may be one of considerable difficulty. It is probable that among youths of this type gang delinquency, where a common risk is shared, provides an objective, and the reduction in the feeling of personal responsibility which accompanies adherence to a group supplies an incentive and helps to unite its members." "Character in Young Delinquents," *Brit Med Journ* (August 26th, 1933)

² A. E. Morgan, "The Needs of Youth" (1939)

Gambling is considered by some competent authorities to be increasing. It is usually associated with football team results, horse- and dog-racing, and some other forms of sport. The data relating to gambling and betting were presented in Chapter IV, Section 8. As was shown in Table LVII, 254 of the lads were known to have been addicted to gambling or betting, a proportion of 6.4 per cent. Only two of these had been convicted of sex offences compared with eight expected if the distribution had been uniform. It was also found (Table LVIII) that there was a significant degree of association between a record of gambling or betting and the number of convictions. The average number of convictions per head was 1.882 among the 254 lads, compared with 1.673 among the remaining 3,733.

Indulgence in alcohol is generally not a serious problem among lads to-day. During the year 1937, of 4,509 male prisoners who were received into prison for Offences against the Intoxicating Liquor Laws—Drunkenness, only 19 were 17 years of age and under 21. The corresponding figures for 1938 were 5,078 and 25 respectively.¹ The limitations of figures of convictions for drunkenness are generally recognized, and it is suggested by R. Hercof² and others that with a lower alcohol consumption the world suffers more from alcohol at our epoch than it did formerly on account of the fact that the progress of science has increased the tempo of life, and has tended to increase nervous tension and make us more sensitive.

The manner in which adolescents occupy their leisure depends to some extent upon the opportunities for amusement which is afforded by the locality in which they live. There can be no doubt that the further development of their characters will be influenced by this. There can also be little doubt that the really vicious lad is exceptional, and that healthy adolescents and adults have a certain amount of physical and mental energy which demands expression in their leisure hours. Indolence is encouraged by unemployment, and although it may be harmless in purpose becomes harmful in effect if it destroys initiative and the creative energy of youth.

Dealing with juvenile delinquency, Cyril Burt³ states: "In almost every quarter in London the incidence of crime is high in areas most remote from open spaces, where there are no parks, no playing fields, no recreation grounds. The correlation between the percentage of young offenders and the amount of open space per acre of land was -0.22. Thus,

¹ Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Prisons (1937 and 1938).

² R. Hercof, "Is Alcoholism on the Decline?" *Brit. Journ. Inebriety* (April, 1940).

³ C. Burt, "The Young Delinquent" (1925)

looking only to facilities outside the home, a maximum of cheap indoor attractions, like the dance hall or the cinema, and a minimum of free outdoor attractions, like the football field and the public park, combine to characterize the regions of juvenile crime." Professor Burt adds that a similar correspondence between the absence of open spaces and the presence of juvenile crime has been noted in a survey carried out at Liverpool by F. J. Marquis, formerly Warden of the Liverpool University Settlement.

The crimogenic importance of allowing lads to roam aimlessly about the streets was countered by the Norwich police in 1918, when they inaugurated the Norwich Lads' Club. It opened with between 200 and 300 members, and proved to be so popular that its membership was well over 1,000 before the end of the year. In 1925 new premises capable of meeting the needs of 6,000 members were opened by H R H the Duke of Gloucester. In 1913 there were 96 children and young persons under the age of 16 charged at the local police courts, and these figures were maintained at about the same level until 1919, when they fell to 45. In 1922 they fell to 12, and the Chief Constable of the City of Norwich, writing in 1929,¹ stated that the figure fluctuated between 7 in 1923 and 18 in 1928 in a population of about 140,000. It was not claimed that the whole of this reduction in juvenile crime was due to the Lads' Club, other influences were also at work. Nevertheless, competent local observers of the facts were agreed in attributing the result very largely to the work of the Club.

It appears from the Criminal Statistics for 1937 that 18 persons of both sexes under the age of 17 were found guilty in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction in the Norwich police district during that year.

This is not the place to consider in detail either leisure or the various forms of urban and rural recreations which are open to adolescents. It is only necessary to add that recreation should re-create. This may be effected in adolescents who become fatigued at their work by rest and the more passive forms of amusement during the hours of leisure; in others by exercising the physical and mental activities which are least used during the course of their employment.

II. Particulars of Employment

Under this heading are discussed the period of time the lads were employed, the reason for leaving the preceding employment and the standard of work attained.

Table LXIII shows the number of months during which the lads had been in some kind of paid employment expressed as a percentage of the

¹ J. H. Dain, "The Norwich Lads' Club," *The Police Journal*, Vol. II, 1929.

number of months which elapsed between the beginning of the first job and the commission of the present offence. In calculating these percentages, time spent in an institution was counted as employment unless it took place before the first gainful occupation, in which case it was not counted at all. Irregular work¹ was counted as employment, but periods of casual work were assessed as two-thirds of the time employed and one-third unemployed. There were 34 lads included (in the first column of the table) who had never been in employment and for these the percentage of employment was counted as zero.

For all the lads with complete records the period of unemployment, as defined above, averaged 13.7 per cent. of the time since commencing work. At the Census of 1931,² the percentages of all males in England and Wales at ages 14-15, 16-17 and 18-20 (a) who had not yet found gainful work (or who had occupations outside the United Kingdom), and (b) who had an occupation but were out of work at the time were as follows.—

Age	14-15	16-17	18-20
(a)	35.95	11.29	4.55
(b)	3.15	6.74	10.93

TABLE LXIII

Employment, Period of Time Employed expressed as Percentage of the Total Period since Employment commenced, Correlated with Age and Number of Convictions

		Percentage of time in employment														Totals with Record	Mean percentage with standard error.					
		0	0.5	1	1.5	2	2.5	3	3.5	4	4.5	5	5.5	6	6.5			7	7.5	8	8.5	9
Distribution according to age at last conviction.	16	11	5	6	3	7	18	11	19	50	82	70	217	498	83.86	± .74						
	17	9	2	2	4	5	14	19	48	92	147	160	412	914	87.34	± .55						
	18	4	2	2	3	9	14	23	60	98	184	158	401	956	86.96	± .54						
	19	8	-	1	3	5	11	21	57	114	197	159	327	903	86.24	± .55						
	20	2	1	1	3	4	4	27	50	106	163	106	259	720	86.08	± .62						
Distribution according to number of previous convictions.	0	25	7	8	8	14	26	45	117	215	394	356	1015	2230	87.20	± .35						
	1	5	2	3	6	12	25	31	71	148	258	186	367	1112	84.95	± .50						
	2	3	1	-	1	4	9	13	29	69	79	77	156	443	85.27	± .79						
	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	8	19	33	20	47	132	86.08 ± 1.10							
	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	7	6	4	10	22			51					
	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	3	4	2	6			17					
	6	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	2			6					
	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-			1					
10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1								
Totals.		34	10	11	16	30	61	95	234	460	773	653	1616	3993	86.30							

¹ Never employed.

² Seasonal work was counted as "irregular," although the total amount of employment was normal for the trade and may have included considerable periods of unemployment.

³ Census of England and Wales, Occupational Tables, 1931

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The group (a) consisted mainly of boys still at school or students, and it was estimated¹ that between the ages of 16 and 20, after excluding these, about 2 per cent. were left who had not yet secured paid employment; the percentage probably declined from about 4 at 16 to about 1 at 20. Adding these estimates to group (b) and recalculating the percentages on the non-student population instead of the totals, the proportions unemployed in 1931 became about 12 per cent. for each age group between 16 and 20. Rates of unemployment did not remain constant, however, as may be seen from the percentages of insured male work people of all ages registered as unemployed in Great Britain in the years 1929-36² which were :—

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
January	13.6	13.3	21.7	24.8	26.3	21.5	19.9	18.3
July .	10.8	17.0	23.1	26.0	22.7	19.0	17.4	14.0

The average of the rates in 1929-36 is 19.3, compared with 22.4 for 1931, and the expected percentages of time spent in unemployment by lads during the period covered by the investigation may, therefore, be estimated at about 11 per cent.

The percentages of time spent in unemployment by the convicted lads as shown in Table LXIII were :—

Age	16-	17-	18-	19-	20-21
	16.4	12.6	13.0	13.8	13.9

The rate at 16 is probably too high owing to exclusions of many lads who had not yet commenced work, and the general figure of about 13 per cent. at the other ages is not appreciably above the estimate for the general population of lads.

At the actual time of committing the last offence, however, as Table LXIV shows, the proportions unemployed were much higher, being 45.5 per cent. at 16-17 and 50.8 per cent. at 18-20. These are greatly in excess of the out-of-work rates for the general population of lads, for even if students are included the rates could not have averaged more than 20 per cent. at any time during the investigation. The general inference from the figures seems to be that although the convicted lads had not experienced appreciably more than the average amount of unemployment,

¹ Registrar General's Decennial Supplement for 1931, "Occupational Mortality," p. 2.

² "Statistical Abstract of United Kingdom" (1938), No. 125, p. 133

they were much more prone to commit an offence during periods of unemployment than at other times.

TABLE LXIV

Employment at Time of Last Conviction, Reason for Leaving Preceding Employment and General Standard of Work Correlated with Age and Number of Convictions

	Age grouping.					Totals	Distribution according to Number of previous convictions										Total con- victions (1)	Average No. per head.
	16	17	18	19	20		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	10			
Employed at time of last offence.																		
Left pre- vious work.	Own accord	96	195	181	174	144	790	471	202	80	24	10	2	1	-	-	1280	1.620
	Reduction of staff	57	137	147	140	106	586	343	150	61	24	3	5	-	-	-	967	1.650
	Dismissed	62	106	100	73	47	387	182	109	63	26	14	2	1	-	-	752	1.943
	Reason not known	9	19	17	19	15	79	25	18	23	9	1	3	-	-	-	189	2.392
No previous work		30	57	54	27	25	196	146	27	19	2	1	1	-	-	-	276	1.408
Total.		204	515	499	433	338	2038	1167	506	236	85	29	13	2	-	-	3464	1.700
Unemployed at time of last offence.																		
Left last work.	Own accord	80	104	117	127	97	526	276	172	56	10	8	2	-	-	1	891	1.697
	Reduction of staff	68	165	205	213	186	836	494	242	77	17	2	1	2	1	-	1315	1.573
	Dismissed	77	108	111	102	85	483	243	152	61	15	9	1	2	-	-	856	1.770
	Reason not known	8	16	22	20	12	77	25	5	10	5	2	-	-	-	-	155	2.013
No previous work.		11	7	4	8	2	34	25	5	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	49	1.441
Total.		241	399	457	470	382	1955	1053	606	207	47	22	4	4	1	1	3265	1.670
Standard of work																		
Improving		99	206	197	166	118	786	483	190	79	27	4	3	-	-	-	1246	1.566
No advance.		156	297	251	228	188	1150	681	272	134	40	15	7	1	-	-	1911	1.662
Deteriorating.		232	402	476	500	410	2020	1039	644	227	65	31	7	5	1	1	3619	1.74
No record.		11	9	4	9	4	37	27	6	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	53	-
Totals.		498	914	958	903	720	3993	2230	1112	443	132	51	17	6	1	1	6729	1.685

¹ Including the last conviction

First offenders gave a slightly better record of past employment (12.8 per cent. of their time out of work) than the lads who had been convicted more than once (14.8 per cent.) the difference being small but statistically significant. The excess may arise from a previous conviction having been a cause of a certain amount of subsequent unemployment; it is shown later (Table LXVIII) that considerably higher proportions of the repeated offenders were in casual employment at the time of the latest

offence than was the case for the first offenders, although the proportions unemployed at the time did not differ appreciably.

Table LXIV divides the lads into 2,038 known to have been employed immediately prior to the last offence and 1,955 who were then unemployed. If the lad was in an institution he was counted in this table as employed unless he had never been in gainful employment previously, in which case he was classed in the unemployed "never in work" group. Dismissal resulting from arrest for the last offence was ignored, such lads being classed as employed in this Table. Of the lads aged 16, the percentage unemployed was 49.0 ± 2.2 , and at ages 17-18 it was 45.8 ± 1.1 . At the ages 19-20, 52.5 ± 1.2 per cent. were out of work, a significantly higher proportion than at 17-18. At all ages 47.7 ± 1.1 per cent. of first offenders were unemployed at the time of the offence compared with 50.6 ± 1.2 for the others, a scarcely appreciable difference. The average number of convictions of the lads who were unemployed at the time of their last offence was 1 670 per head compared with 1 700 for those who were employed.

Of the employed lads, 196 were in their first job, and these naturally had a younger age distribution and smaller average number of convictions (1.408 per head) than the others. This applies also to the 34 lads who had never been in work. For most of the remaining lads who were employed at the time of the last offence the reason for leaving the previous work was ascertained, and the Table shows that of this employed group 790 had left their previous employment of their own accord and 586 on reduction of staff, whilst 387 had been dismissed. Out of those whose reason for leaving their previous employment was known, the proportion who had been dismissed declined with advancing age, being 28.8, 24.0, 23.4, 18.9 and 15.8 per cent. at the successive ages. Of the lads who were unemployed at the time of the last offence, 525 had left their last work of their own accord, and 836 on reduction of staff, whilst 483 had been dismissed; the percentages at the successive ages who had been dismissed were 34.2, 28.8, 25.6, 23.1 and 23.1.

The data do not disclose, in either the employed or unemployed groups, to what extent anti-social behaviour was a reason for the dismissal of a lad from his employment.

Among the 1,315 lads who had left the preceding or last employment of their own accord the average number of convictions per head was 1.651, and among the 1,422 who had left it on reduction of staff the average was 1.605; but the 870 who had suffered dismissal gave a higher average of 1.847 per head. This may be due, however, to some dismissals having been directly due to the previous conviction. There were 156 for

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whom the reason for leaving or changing work could not be ascertained, and these gave an average of 2.205 convictions per head.

The same Table classifies the work records of the lads into three categories according to whether the standard of employment had improved, not advanced or deteriorated. The standard was assessed from the kind of work as well as from the trend of the earnings. When a lad gave up a trade to take up more remunerative but less permanent work, his standard was not regarded as improving. If a learner's work in a good trade was

TABLE LXV

Employment Liked for Work and Satisfaction to Employer, Correlated with Age at time of Last Conviction and Number of Convictions

Liking for work.	Employer's opinion.	Age grouping.					Totals	Distribution according to No. of previous convictions.										Total convictions including last	Average No. per head.
		16	17	18	19	20		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
Satisfied throughout.	Satisfied throughout.	146	234	247	270	202	1099	640	298	108	28	11	3	1	1	1	1	1769	1.610
	Generally satisfied.	30	84	54	60	48	276	139	77	43	9	5	3	-	-	-	-	501	1.815
	Generally dissatisfied.	23	36	34	18	18	129	61	47	16	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	227	1.760
	Dissatisfied throughout.	20	20	32	14	2	88	50	22	8	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	153	1.739
	Not known.	94	103	139	174	147	787	480	203	73	23	4	3	2	1	1	1	1242	1.578
	Total.	313	557	556	536	417	2379	1379	647	247	60	26	9	2	1	1	1	3892	1.636
Satisfied for most of the time	Satisfied throughout.	25	73	85	86	86	355	204	100	34	11	3	3	-	-	-	-	585	1.642
	Generally satisfied.	32	63	88	74	58	315	156	99	42	44	2	2	2	1	1	1	670	1.810
	Generally dissatisfied.	12	21	21	30	13	97	43	26	19	8	2	-	-	-	-	-	192	1.979
	Dissatisfied throughout.	5	9	7	6	7	34	14	14	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	66	1.941
	Not known.	41	73	101	97	82	394	217	117	36	14	7	4	2	1	1	1	670	1.701
	Total.	115	239	302	293	246	1195	633	355	133	49	16	4	4	0	0	0	2081	1.741
Dissatisfied for most of the time	Satisfied throughout.	10	24	24	15	16	89	52	22	10	1	6	1	-	-	-	-	161	1.697
	Generally satisfied.	9	14	18	10	8	59	31	17	8	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	102	1.729
	Generally dissatisfied.	9	9	8	7	3	36	18	7	7	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	72	2.000
	Dissatisfied throughout.	1	7	6	4	3	21	3	10	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	2.381
	Not known.	12	19	17	10	14	72	33	25	9	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	133	1.847
	Total.	41	73	73	46	44	277	137	81	39	11	6	3	-	-	-	-	508	1.834
Dissatisfied throughout.	Satisfied throughout.	2	10	7	4	4	27	18	5	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	41	1.318
	Generally satisfied.	1	3	-	1	1	6	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	2.000
	Generally dissatisfied.	-	-	1	1	1	3	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	2.333
	Dissatisfied throughout.	8	8	1	4	1	22	8	8	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	46	2.091
	Not known.	6	10	4	6	3	29	15	6	7	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	57	1.956
	Total.	17	31	13	16	10	87	44	20	17	5	2	1	-	-	-	-	163	1.874
Totals with record.		485	900	944	891	717	3938	2283	1103	436	131	50	17	10	1	7	6	6844	1.687

exchanged for unsatisfactory work such as hawking, the standard was classed as deteriorating notwithstanding a rise in immediate earnings.

Where a lad had been out of work for two months or less prior to conviction, and his earnings had been rising before that, he was classed in the no advance category; if the unemployment period was greater than two months his record was classed as deteriorating. The proportion classed as improving was about 20 per cent at ages 16–18, but fell to 16.5 at 20. The average convictions per lad were 1.585 for those whose record was classed as improving, 1.662 for the stationary group, and 1.742 for those classed as deteriorating; but it must be remembered that the classification was based largely on wages and a deterioration of average earnings may have been a result of previous convictions rather than a cause of further offence.

III. Vocational Contentment and Efficiency

Table LXV shows the grouping of 3,938 of the lads according to their liking for the various forms of work at which they had been engaged on the one hand and the satisfaction of their employers with their work on the other. If the period of time spent in work which the lad liked was greater than that spent in work which he disliked he was classed as "satisfied for most of the time." In all other cases with a mixed record of liking and disliking the assignment was "dissatisfied for most of the time." The same criterion was used for the employers' satisfaction. Continuous liking for the work in which they were engaged was recorded for 2,379 or 60.4 per cent. of the lads, partial satisfaction for 1,472 or 37.4 per cent. and continuous dissatisfaction with work for 87 or 2.2 per cent. The proportion with dissatisfaction predominant tended to decrease with advancing age, the percentage at successive ages being 11.9, 11.6, 9.1, 7.0 and 7.5. The average number of convictions increased as the liking for work diminished as shown below.—

	No of lads	Total convictions	Average per lad.
Satisfied with work throughout	2,379	3,892	1.636
Satisfied with work for most of the time	1,195	2,081	1.741
Dissatisfied with work for most of the time	277	508	1.834
Dissatisfied throughout	87	163	1.874
No record of liking or disliking	62	103	1.661

Continuous satisfaction of the employer with the work done was recorded for 1,570 or 39.9 per cent. of the lads, and continuous dissatisfaction for 165 or 4.2 per cent. The proportion with dissatisfaction

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predominant on the employer's part declined with advancing age, the successive percentages, based upon the total numbers of lads for whom the employer's opinion was recorded, being 23·4, 17·9, 17·4, 13·9 and 10·2. The average number of convictions per lad increased step by step with the employer's dissatisfaction, thus :—

	No of lads	Total convictions	Average per lad.
Employer satisfied throughout	1,570	2,544	1·620
Employer satisfied most of the time	656	1,185	1·806
Employer dissatisfied most of the time	265	498	1·879
Employer dissatisfied throughout	165	315	1·909
No record of employer's opinion ¹	1,344	2,205	1·641

¹ Including the 82 lads with no record of opinion on either side, not shown in Table LXV.

The 82 lads with a record of dissatisfaction predominating on both sides had 175 convictions or 2·135 per head, a higher average than any of the above groups, whilst the 1,099 lads with a record of mutual satisfaction throughout gave the low average of 1·610.

IV. Wage Earnings

Table LXVI shows for 3,917 of the lads the maximum weekly wages which had been earned up to the time of the last conviction, and for 3,931 of the lads the lowest weekly wage (or insurance benefit if unemployed) ¹ which they had received.

If the lad had ever been in casual work or unemployed without benefit he was included amongst the 2,319 in the first line of the Table.

The average maximum earnings for lads of the various ages were :—

	s	d.
Age group 16—	21	4
„ „ 17—	25	1
„ „ 18—	29	0
„ „ 19—	35	4
„ „ 20—	39	10

¹ The numbers included in the right-hand portion of the Table who had drawn insurance benefit as their lowest weekly payment were as follows —

Wage group.	16—	17—	18—	19—	20—	Any age
2s. 7d. to 7s. 6d. .	1	6	3	6	7	23
7s. 7d. to 12s. 6d. .	1	39	107	129	118	394
12s. 7d. to 17s. 6d. .	1	2	32	37	36	108
17s. 7d. to 22s. 6d. .	—	—	1	1	—	2
22s. 7d. to 27s. 6d. .	—	—	—	—	2	2

The group of 394 in receipt of 7s. 7d. to 12s. 6d. were distributed as follows : 43 at 8s. ; 21 at 9s. ; 47 at 10s. , 61 at 12s. , 222 at 12s. 6d. , and the central value for this group was therefore above 10s.

The most frequent maximum wage which had been earned by lads of 16 and 17 was around 20s. ; for lads of 18, around 25s. ; and for those of ages 19 and 20, around 30s. At 19-20 years of age, 163 lads had never earned more than 22s. 6d. per week, whereas 169 had earned over 57s. 6d. per week, including 6 who had received £6 or more. From the right-hand portion of the Table it appears that 73 of the lads had never been unemployed and had never received less than 27s. 6d. per week.

TABLE LXVI

Employment, Maximum and Minimum Wage earned at Time of Last Conviction

Weekly payment (1)	Distribution of lads at each age according to highest wage ever earned.						Distribution of lads at each age according to lowest wage (or insurance benefit) ever received.					
	16	17	18	19	20	Total	16	17	18	19	20	Total
Unemployed without benefit (2)							314	554	543	517	391	2319
Up to 2s. 6d.							-	2	1	2	1	6
5s.	2	1	-	-	-	2	6	21	8	10	16	61
10s.	12	9	4	2	4	31	68	120	207	194	166	755
15s.	113	97	48	16	4	278	70	111	115	105	81	482
20s.	207	302	178	86	49	824	20	68	43	29	18	168
25s.	90	244	252	168	75	859	3	19	16	13	16	67
30s.	34	132	222	193	152	753	2	6	7	10	8	33
35s.	16	36	93	130	118	393	1	2	4	6	8	21
40s.	4	32	56	102	91	285	1	-	3	1	2	7
45s.	3	12	23	46	53	137	-	1	-	-	3	4
50s.	1	17	27	49	55	149	-	1	2	1	1	5
55s.	-	2	9	16	15	41	-	-	-	-	-	-
60s.	1	6	9	38	42	96	-	-	2	-	-	2
65s.	1	2	2	9	10	24	-	-	-	-	-	-
70s.	-	1	8	9	11	29	-	1	-	-	-	1
75s.	-	-	-	2	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
80s.	-	1	2	9	17	29	-	-	-	-	-	-
85s.	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
90s.	-	1	-	4	2	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
95s.	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
100s.	-	-	1	3	3	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
120s.	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
140s.	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
150s.	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
200s.	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
400s.	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total with record.	484	895	944	895	702	3917	405	896	951	888	711	3931

¹ Wage being reckoned to the nearest penny. Group " 5s " includes wages from 2s. 7d. to 7s. 6d. inclusive, the true centre being 5s. 0½d.

² Including lads who were at some time in casual work

• Table LXVII gives the average number of convictions recorded when the lads are grouped according to age and maximum earnings. At age 16 the convictions per head increase step by step as the maximum wage rises ; and at 17 this is again true, although the extent of the increase is

less. At the age of 18 the medium wage groups give the best record, but at 19 and 20 years there is again a slight increase in the number of convictions as the maximum wage rises. This surprising result indicates that before the age of 18 a capacity for earning good wages was associated to a pronounced extent with a tendency to commit further offences after the first, and an association between high maximum earnings and multiple convictions was still evident at ages 19 and 20. It would almost seem that the individual qualities which determine adolescent crime may sometimes also favour the earning capacity of a lad.

TABLE LXVII

Employment, Maximum Wage earned and Number of Previous Convictions

Age.	Maximum wage per week ever earned.	Number in group.	Total previous convictions	Average No. of con- victions per head (including last).
16 years.	Up to 17s.6d.	126	69	1.548
	17s.7d. to 22s.6d.	207	141	1.681
	22s.7d. to 27s.6d.	90	76	1.844
	Over 27s.6d.	61	57	1.934
	Total.	484	343	1.709
17 years.	Up to 17s.6d.	107	63	1.589
	17s.7d. to 22s.6d.	302	184	1.609
	22s.7d. to 27s.6d.	244	157	1.643
	Over 27s.6d.	242	166	1.686
	Total.	895	570	1.637
18 years.	Up to 22s.6d.	230	159	1.691
	22s.7d. to 27s.6d.	262	169	1.645
	27s.7d. to 32s.6d.	222	142	1.640
	Over 32s.6d.	230	162	1.704
	Total.	944	632	1.659
19 years.	Up to 27s.6d.	274	177	1.646
	27s.7d. to 32s.6d.	193	112	1.580
	32s.7d. to 37s.6d.	130	93	1.715
	37s.7d. to 42s.6d.	102	77	1.755
	Over 42s.6d.	186	130	1.699
	Total.	885	589	1.656
20 years.	Up to 32s.6d.	284	210	1.739
	32s.7d. to 37s.6d.	118	86	1.729
	37s.7d. to 42s.6d.	91	68	1.747
	42s.7d. to 52s.6d.	108	84	1.778
	Over 52s.6d.	108	108	2.000
	Total.	709	556	1.784

Table LXVIII shows the proportions of lads at each age who, at the time of committing their last offence, were in regular, irregular or casual employment or out of work, and the mean wage of each group. The Table excludes 45 lads who were in institutions, 27 whose kind of employment was not recorded and 186 whose wage at the time of the offence was not known. Most of these were included in Table LXIV, and the sub-totals of employed and unemployed in the two Tables differ on this account.

In the left-hand half of the Table first offenders are compared with lads previously convicted, and at each age lower proportions of the latter were in regular employment, the proportion at all ages being 21 per cent. for repeated offenders, and 32 for first offenders. Conversely, higher proportions of repeated offenders than of first offenders were in casual work when the offence was committed, the percentage ranging at the various ages from 4 to 12 for the former, and from 1 to 6 for the latter.

The percentage unemployed among the lads included in this Table was about 50 for first offenders compared with 54 at the time of later offences, a scarcely significant difference. (See also Table LXIV.)

The mean wages of the lads in regular work at the time of committing their offences (from Table LXVIII) are compared below with a series of average weekly wage rates of males at the same ages given by Professor Bowley for the year 1937¹

	16 years		17 years		18 years		19 years		20 years	
	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
First offenders .	18	9	23	5	26	9	32	9	34	4
Lads previously convicted	22	4	23	4	28	6	34	0	37	1
Normal males (1937) .	18	0	21	10	27	5	32	7	39	0

Except for first offenders at 20 and repeated offenders at 16, there are no noteworthy differences between the wages of the lads who committed offences during periods of regular work and the normal wage rates. The mean wage of the lads in regular work was rather higher, however, for the repeated offenders at each age except 17, and this was also true for those with irregular work at each age except 18. Low wages were apparently a deterrent rather than an incentive to repeated offences whilst the lads were at work.

In the right-hand half of the Table the offenders against property are compared with the lads who had committed offences of other kinds. There were no consistent differences between these two groups either as regards the percentages in regular work or out of work, or as regards the average wages they were earning. This seems to indicate that neither unemployment nor low wages had any important influence in causing the lads to commit offences against property in preference to other classes of offence.

¹ A. L. Bowley, "Some Constituents of the National Income," *Journal of Royal Statistical Society*, CIII Part IV (1940), Table VI

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TABLE LXVIII

Employment and Wages at each Age at Time of Last Offence for First Offenders, and Lads Convicted more than once for Offences against Property and Other Types of Offences

Age.	Employment at time of offence.	First offenders			With record of previous convictions.			Offenders against property			Other classes of offender.			Total with record
		Num-ber	Per cent	Mean wage	Num-ber	Per cent	Mean wage	Num-ber	Per cent	Mean wage	Num-ber	Per cent	Mean wage	
16 years	Regular.	71	28.4	18/9	50	22.9	17/4	108	26.1	20/1	13	24.1	25/2	121
	Irregular.	54	21.6	19/-	44	20.1	20/3	88	21.3	19/3	10	18.5	22/-	98
	Casual.	3	1.2	-/3	9	4.1	1/8	10	2.4	1/11	2	3.7	1/2	12
	Unemployed	122	48.8		115	52.8		205	50.2		29	53.7		237
	Total.	250	100.0	9/6	218	100.0	10/2	414	100.0	9/10	54	100.0	9/10	468
17 years	Regular.	178	36.2	23/5	88	24.0	23/4	279	30.5	23/7	34	34.7	22/4	263
	Irregular.	80	16.6	21/11	63	17.2	22/6	127	16.9	22/1	16	16.3	22/6	143
	Casual.	23	4.7	3/4	29	7.9	3/8	45	6.1	3/3	6	6.1	5/2	52
	Unemployed	205	42.5		187	50.9		350	46.5		42	42.9		392
	Total.	483	100.0	13/8	367	100.0	11/7	752	100.0	12/8	98	100.0	14/4	850
18 years	Regular.	183	34.3	26/9	78	21.2	20/6	226	25.1	26/10	36	36.1	30/2	261
	Irregular.	68	12.8	27/1	47	12.8	26/11	104	12.9	27/2	11	11.8	25/5	115
	Casual.	25	4.7	7/8	43	11.7	8/7	56	7.0	7/7	12	12.4	13/3	68
	Unemployed.	257	48.2		200	54.3		418	52.0		39	40.8		457
	Total.	533	100.0	16/9	368	100.0	15/1	804	100.0	15/6	97	100.0	20/7	901
19 years	Regular.	145	29.4	32/9	67	18.7	34/-	191	25.1	32/11	21	23.1	35/-	212
	Irregular.	51	10.3	31/8	53	14.8	32/9	92	12.1	32/9	12	13.2	28/4	104
	Casual.	28	5.7	8/1	42	11.7	10/4	65	8.5	9/4	5	5.5	7/6	70
	Unemployed	269	54.6		197	54.8		413	54.3		53	58.2		466
	Total.	493	100.0	17/9	359	100.0	16/7	761	100.0	16/7	91	100.0	16/7	852
20 years	Regular.	107	30.0	34/4	61	19.4	37/1	150	25.2	35/6	18	24.0	33/11	168
	Irregular.	28	7.8	33/11	32	10.2	43/11	52	8.7	41/10	8	10.7	22/6	60
	Casual.	23	6.4	9/9	39	12.4	10/5	52	8.7	10/3	10	13.3	10/9	62
	Unemployed	199	55.8		182	58.0		342	57.4		39	52.0		381
	Total.	357	100.0	19/-	314	100.0	19/4	596	100.0	19/4	75	100.0	17/6	671
Total with record.		2116			1626			3327			415			3742

V. Summary

Efficiency and satisfaction are promoted if the preferences and interests of the worker are represented in his occupation. Employment in this country is not so difficult to obtain at the school-leaving age as it is at the ages of 18 to 22, and the lads in this study were investigated for the most part at ages when competition in the labour market is severe. A lad who is vocationally efficient tends to be vocationally and generally contented, and a lad who is vocationally inefficient tends to be vocationally and generally discontented. Vocational guidance may be of little practical benefit unless vocational selection is assured, but in countries of political authoritarian tendencies the view that a person's occupational efficiency is of considerably more importance than his occupational satisfaction appears to be widely maintained.

Work may be adversely affected by idiosyncrasies of temperament and character, and intelligence is not necessarily the factor which most influences success. Vocational interest is not necessarily associated with

aptitude and may be transient. In adolescence a transient interest may be replaced by a period of enforced interest which in its turn is followed by a more or less permanent interest. Few attributes add so much zest to work as interest, initiative and inventiveness, and much satisfaction may result from an occupation in which they can be exercised.

The adolescent widens his circle of companions in the course of his employment and may discover types of adolescents and adults of either sex of whom he had no previous experience. Heterosexual love affairs occur and the manner in which a lad spends his leisure may differ entirely from his schoolday allurements. Cigarette smoking is so prevalent amongst lads and the consumption of alcohol in excess so infrequent that no data were collected respecting either. The data relating to gambling were considered in Chapter IV.

The percentages of time spent in unemployment by the lads investigated were not appreciably above the estimate for the general population of lads. But at the actual time of committing the last offence the proportions of unemployed lads were much higher, and the general inference appeared to be justified that although the convicted lads had not experienced appreciably more than the average amount of unemployment they were much more liable to commit offences during periods of unemployment than at other times. First offenders gave a slightly better record of past employment than lads with more than one conviction, the difference being small but statistically significant.

The data do not disclose in either the employed or unemployed groups to what extent anti-social behaviour was a reason for the lad's dismissal from his employment, but the average number of convictions per head increased step by step with the employer's dissatisfaction. A high average of convictions per head was found among lads with a record of dissatisfaction predominating in both the employers and the lads.

The figures indicate that before the age of 18 a capacity for earning good wages was associated to a pronounced extent with a tendency to commit further offences after the first, and an association between high maximum earnings and multiple convictions was still evident at ages 19 and 20. It would seem that the attributes which in adolescence determine legal offences may also sometimes favour the earning capacity of a lad.

The figures also suggest that offences after the first were even more liable to be coincident with a period of casual work or unemployment than was the case for first offenders. And further, that neither unemployment nor low wages had any important influence in causing the lads to commit offences against property in preference to other classes of offence.

CHAPTER VII

PHYSICAL CONDITION, DEFECT AND DISEASE

I. Discussion

IN the year 1913, Goring¹ stated : " All criminals, with the exception of those technically convicted of fraud, are markedly differentiated from the general population in stature and body-weight , in addition, offenders convicted of violence to the person are characterised by an average degree of strength and of constitutional soundness considerably above the average of other criminals, and of the law-abiding community ; finally, thieves and burglars (who constitute, it must be borne in mind, 90 per cent. of all criminals), and also incendiaries, as well as being inferior in stature and weight, are also, relatively to other criminals and the population at large, puny in their general bodily habit. These are the facts, and according to the results of our statistical enquiry, *they are the sole facts at the basis of criminal anthropology* (italics in original text) ; they are the only elements of truth out of which have been constructed the elaborate, extravagant, and ludicrously uncritical criminological doctrines of the great protagonist of the ' criminal type ' theory.² The utmost we can concede from our final conclusion, formulated in Part I,³ is that criminal anthropology is not entirely without basis in fact ; but fact perverted by credulity and fanaticism. The danger of the Lombrosian doctrine is not a theoretical one : persistently in the past and progressively in the future, this doctrine has impeded and will continue to impede—until its interment be officially registered—the rational treatment of criminological problems that call urgently for solution."

Two matters call for comment. Goring dealt with a selected group of criminals, that is to say, with 3,000 men who had been convicted of various forms of major or repeated crimes, and were accordingly sentenced to varying terms of penal servitude. The majority were over 25 years of age, and are not comparable either in age, domicile, gravity of offence, or habitualness of their criminality with the adolescent offenders dealt with in this study. Further, Goring's use of the term " all English criminals "

¹ Charles Goring, " The English Convict " 1913).

² *I.e.*, Lombroso

³ *I.e.*, Part I of " The English Convict."

only refers to his specially selected group of criminals from whom minor offenders were necessarily excluded by the length of the sentence imposed.

We are not concerned here with the anthropological significance of the data relating to the physique of the 4,000 lads examined. It will be recalled that they are themselves a selected group of offenders, and that in only a few characters is it practicable to compare them with the general population from which they were drawn.

It is a matter of common observation that the rate of progress of growth is variable. As far back as 1870, Quetelet¹ recognized the phenomenon of occasional acceleration and laid stress on the apparent constant retardation of rapidity of growth from an early period onwards. Godin² made further researches into periodic variation of growth. He observed during a period of five years a large number of adolescents and measured 100 of them at intervals of six months during the period and found sudden augmentation of the increment of growth at the fifteenth year. His figures were supported by those of Carlier, although Quetelet's failed to exhibit a similar increase. W. L. H. Duckworth³ suggests that this may be due to the deliberate selection of the subjects, and he adds that more recent researches distinguish two particular periods of growth-activity in respect of stature, namely, from five to seven years and from thirteen to sixteen years respectively, and that with these two periods alternate others when circumferential growth is predominant.

If this is accepted, it appears that the special rates of progress in stature occur before the age period dealt with in this investigation. It is, however, noteworthy that although no figures are available to show the amount of misconduct in children between the ages of 5 and 7 years which would constitute legal offences at 8 years of age, it was stated in Chapter II that the Criminal Statistics in 1937 showed the most lawless age for males in that year was 13, and that the proportion of crime remained above 10 per 1,000 until the age of 16. At the age of 17 it had dropped to 8.2 per 1,000, and the figures show a progressive decrease thereafter. Perhaps the association between rapidity of growth and frequency of crime is not entirely fortuitous.

The problem however is complex, for pubertal, physical, physiological, and psychical correlates introduce factors which affect conduct apart from any mere change in stature.

¹ Quetelet, "Anthropometrie" (1870)

² Godin, "Recherches sur la croissance des diverses parties du corps" (1903)

³ W. L. H. Duckworth, Art "Anthropometry," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th Edition, 1937).

W. S. Hall¹ states: "When the vertical dimension of the human body is undergoing an acceleration of its rate of growth, the horizontal dimensions undergo retardation of their rate of growth," and conversely.

G. E. Friend² found that the schoolboys at Christ's Hospital, Horsham, attained a maximum rate of increase in height during the spring, while that for weight occurred in the autumn. He also found that during the latter half of the period when rationing was in force during the War of 1914-1918, the rate of growth as measured by the height tended to slow down early in the sixteenth year, whereas under the more satisfactory nutritional conditions which later prevailed the retardation was not normally observed until late in the seventeenth year.

The inter-relation between physical and mental health is recognized by everyone to-day, and the importance of maintaining both at a high standard during the period of growth and character formation is obvious. However momentous the pre-pubertal period may be in these respects, we are concerned in our Borstal institutions mainly with the difficult post-pubertal period, and an analysis was made during the year 1936 of the heights and weights of 697 lads who were under detention in the Borstal institutions at Rochester, Portland and Feltham. No selection was made except to exclude one lad who was the subject of a prolonged illness. It is to be noted that lads of poor physique and subnormal mentality were detained at Feltham and were included in the analysis. It will be seen from the figures set out below that 626 lads gained an average of 8.8 lbs in weight, and 71 lost an average of 3.9 lbs. A gain in height was registered in 498 lads, and 199 remained the same height as on reception. The average gain in those who became taller was 1.2 ins. An increase in weight, as already pointed out, is not necessarily an

Period in Custody. months	Number who gained weight	Average gain in lbs.	Number who lost weight	Average loss in lbs.	Number who gained in height.	Average gain in inches	Number in whom height remained stationary
6 to 12	190	7.1	17	2.7	116	0.9	92
12 to 18	176	8.3	27	3.6	149	1.3	54
18 to 24	149	9.2	17	4.7	127	1.2	39
24 to 30	85	11.5	10	5.7	83	1.6	12
Over 30.	26	13.7	-	-	24	1.8	2
Totals.	626	8.8	71	3.9	498	1.2	199

¹ W. S. Hall, "Changes in the Proportions of the Human Body during the Period of Growth," *Journal of Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (1895).

² G. E. Friend, "The Schoolboy, His Nutrition, Physical Development and Health" (1935).

indication of an improvement in health or physical fitness; indeed an improvement in health may occur as a result of some loss of weight if it be excessive. But, generally speaking, the adolescent who gains in weight is faring well, and particularly so if he is also gaining in height.¹ It is a matter of common observation that the health of the lads in our Borstal institutions is good, and improvement is usual after admission. It should be noted also that the period of puberty does not commence or end abruptly, and that physical and physiological puberty may antedate psychological puberty. If physical puberty is premature and mental development delayed, the resulting imbalance may become a crimogenic factor.

The height and weight of a lad, if pronounced and accompanied by corresponding muscular strength, may occasionally prove unduly attractive to a certain type of woman or girl, and promote a sexual offence. When the aggressive instinct is also strong, non-sexual offences against the person may be encouraged. On the other hand, delayed growth and poor muscular development may give rise to a sense of inferiority and crime result as a compensatory reaction.

E. Kretschmer² considers there is a distinct relationship between physique and character. Taking some 400 men and women and classifying their physical characteristics he arranged them into four types: the *asthenic*, or leptosome, he defines as of slight physique, essentially deficient in thickness and of average length. The deficiency in thickness is present in all parts of the body so that the average weight as well as the total circumference and breadth measurements are below the general value for males. The *athletic* type is recognized by the strong development of the skeleton, musculature, and skin. The height is above the average, and the torso especially broad. The outlines and shadings of the body are determined by the musculature and the bone-relief is especially prominent in the shape of the face. Fat is only relatively moderately developed. The *pyknic* type is characterised by medium height, a rounded figure, a soft broad face on a short massive neck, a deep vaulted chest and prominent abdomen. The limbs show little bone or muscle relief, and the extremities on the average are short rather than long. The *dysplastic* type is, for the most part, regularly undersized. In the face there is a scanty and insufficient modelling of the prominent parts of the nose, lips and chin. The bony relief of the forehead is correspondingly weak.

¹ W. Norwood East, "Annual Report of the Prison Commissioners for the Year 1935"

² E. Kretschmer, "Physique and Character" English translation by W. H. Sprott, 1937A Edition (1925).

Kretschmer divides the temperaments into schizothymic and cyclothymic. Schizophrenic patients he considers are derived from the former group, and manic-depressives from the latter. He divides each of these two main classes into sub-groups, and suggests it may be possible to discover in the future new ones to add to them. He formulates his results thus: (1) there is a clear biological affinity between the psychic disposition of the manic-depressives and the pyknic body type; (2) there is a clear biological affinity between the psychic disposition of the schizophrenics and the bodily disposition characteristics of the asthenics, athletics, and certain dysplastics; (3) and, *vice versa*, there is only a weak affinity between schizophrenic and pyknic on the one hand, and between manic-depressives and asthenics, athletics, and dysplastics on the other.

Kretschmer states elsewhere¹: "The pyknosomatic type of physique predominates in manic-depressives. Schizophrenics, on the other hand, exhibit (with many varieties of crossing and blending) the characteristic features of a diversity of physical types, the most common of which are the leptosomatic (asthenic) and the athleticosomatic forms of habitus. Schizophrenics also tend to exhibit special types of dysplasia; these dysplastic groups, which are in part morphologically closely connected with recognized dysglandular stigmata, include elongated eunuchoidism, certain varieties of eunuchoid and polyglandular obesity, and finally infantilistic and hypoplastic pictures. Much more rarely do we come across the opposite types of physique in these two groups of psychotics. Thus, pure schizophrenics rarely show a predominantly pyknosomatic type of habitus; and manic-depressives are seldom markedly dysplastic. The asthenic and athleticosomatic types of physique occur in manic-depressives rather more frequently, but the combination is still the exception rather than the rule."

E. Mezger² considers the pyknic type of person, being more sociable and adaptable, is less likely to commit crime, and is more easily reformable. G. Aschaffenburg³ believes the pyknic type is prevalent among occasional offenders, and that the asthenic and athletic types have a larger share among habitual offenders. W. Sauer⁴ regards the tendency of the cyclothyme to be more directed towards crimes of violence, and that of the schizothyme to crimes of acquisitiveness.

¹ E. Kretschmer, "Text-book of Medical Psychology," English Edition, translated by E. B. Strauss (1934)

² E. Mezger, "Die Bedeutung der biologischen Persönlichkeitstypen für die Strafrechtspflege," *Mitteilungen der Kriminalbiologischen Gesellschaft*, Vol II (1929)

³ G. Aschaffenburg, "Kriminalanthropologie und Kriminalbiologie" in *Handwörterbuch der Kriminologie* (1933-36).

⁴ W. Sauer, "Kriminalsociologie" (1933)

Werner S. Landecker¹ refers to two studies, each based on 100 cases, one published by Kurt Boehmer² dealing with inmates of a German prison, the other by S. Blinkov³ dealing with murderers of Turkish descent in the Russian province of Aserbaidzan. In both groups the proportion of pyknics was considerably lower than that of the other types. The German study does not substantiate the assumption that pyknics commit acts of violence; the athletic type appeared to be associated with such offences. In the Russian study, asthenics outnumbered any other type among the murderers.

Kretschmer's work and the bio-typologies of Jaensch, Wiersma and others stimulated W. A. Willemse⁴ to study temperamental and body types and consider motive and criminal behaviour in relation thereto. He examined 177 juveniles between the ages of 16½ and 21½ years. Of these, 105 were investigated at the adult reformatory at Tokai, and 72 at Houtpoort, South Africa. It would lead us too far afield to consider Willemse's careful and scientifically begotten study at length. Daily medical examinations in this country of very large numbers of adult and adolescent offenders over many years, however, lead one to doubt whether the types described are so precise and definite as to warrant far-reaching conclusions. No doubt some correlation between the physical and psychological constitutions can often be traced, but transitional forms and mixed types, as Kretschmer points out, are frequently found.

Kurt Boehmer found in 100 criminals 17 definite asthenics, 30 athletics, 13 intermediate between the two, 6 pure pyknics, 4 mixed pyknics, and 30 indeterminate types.

Olof Kinberg⁵ found numerous leptosomes and athletics in a group of murderers examined by him, but only one pyknic. He states pyknics are also rare among habitual criminals, but leptosomes, athletics and mixed forms are numerous. The significance of these assessments is not clear as the number of murderers in the group is not stated nor the proportion of pyknics to asthenics and athletics in the general population of Sweden. Moreover, we do not know how this would compare with the proportion in other countries.

Many observers consider temperament, character and conduct are influenced by the exogenous factors of early life and general environment

¹ W. S. Landecker, "Criminology in Germany," *Amer J Crim Law and Criminology* (January-February, 1941)

² Kurt Boehmer, "Untersuchungen über den Körperbau des Verbrechers," *Monatsschr. f. Krim Psycholog* (1928).

³ S. Blinkov, "Zur Frage nach dem Körperbau des Verbrechers," *Monatsschr f Krim. Psycholog.* (1929).

⁴ W. A. Willemse, "Constitution Types in Delinquency" (1932).

⁵ Olof Kinberg, "Basic Problems of Criminology" (1935).

rather than by the somatic development of the individual, and unless these personal attributes can be related to individual bodily types with precision, Kretschmer's hypothesis, in spite of its interest and importance, does not seem to be applicable to the practical problems of adolescent crime at the present time. This investigation of the adolescent offender, therefore, was not diverted from its original purpose, and Kretschmer's views and Willemse's attempt to correlate constitution types and delinquency were not pursued.

Attention is called in Chapters VI and VIII to the use of suitable tests which enable a considerable amount of accuracy to be attained in assessing the degree of aptitude for particular vocations or the intelligence of adolescents. Less advance has been made in measuring temperamental and character attributes, and for practical purposes we must rely largely upon observation and interpretation.

So, too, it is not possible in many cases to do more than suggest the effect of the hormones¹ on criminal conduct. For example, it is known that deficiency or absence of thyroid secretion may result in a condition in which physical and mental growth is retarded, but if the gland is over-active; restlessness, irritability, difficulty in concentration and sudden mood changes occur. Mental disorder may be a complication in severe cases, but the coincidence of criminal conduct with hypo- or hyper-thyroidism is not necessarily causal.

Disease of the pituitary gland may be accompanied by mental symptoms. In acromegaly, lassitude, mental depression and irritability occur. Depression or hysterical symptoms may appear in cases of adiposa dolorosa, and cases occurring in early life may be characterized by an unusually placid disposition.

Castration leads to well-known bodily changes, to a diminution or loss of libido, and to changes of character. The effects, however, vary according to the age of the patient when the mutilation is performed. We should not assume that excessive libido is necessarily a direct result of qualitative or quantitative changes in the testicular hormone.

Sir Henry Dale² stated in the Harveian Oration, 1935: "In the case of oestrogenic³ and of the male hormone, chemistry can now indicate, in each case, the precise structure of a less active form excreted in the urine,

¹ Bayliss and Starling gave the name "hormones" to substances produced by the activity of the ductless glands of the body which are discharged into the bloodstream and carried to other organs. The thyroid, pituitary, adrenals and reproductive glands are probably the most important in association with crime.

² Sir Henry Dale, "Some Epochs of Medical Research" (1935).

³ Estrus, the condition of sexual periodicity in the female.

and of a more active form obtained directly from the respective gonad,¹ and presumably representing the true, effective hormone.

"Behind this immediate control, moreover, and determining the development and successive phases of activity of the gonads themselves, is the anterior lobe of the pituitary body, with its complex of hormones, still beyond the reach of structural chemistry, but ever growing in apparent number with the progressive recognition of the multiple functions of this little gland. The breath-taking rapidity of experimental progress in this particular field may be inducing a too facile postulation of a new hormone to account for each new set of phenomena observed; but if observation is accurate and uncoloured by preconception the true meaning will emerge in due course. In any case it is clear that the anterior pituitary lobe exerts some kind of hormonal control over the development and activities of practically every phase of growth and metabolism."

Recent research² has led to the suggestion that the cortex of the adrenal glands plays the part of a bisexual accessory sex gland which is active throughout life and secretes hormones under the control of the pituitary gland. Changes in personality from homosexuality to heterosexuality after operation on an adrenal gland have been described.

The various conditions referred to above, however important they may be in the investigation of the individual offender, have had, so far, little practical value in the treatment of crime, and a direct association between glandular dysfunction and crime can be no more than occasionally inferred. For the most part our knowledge is still limited regarding the intrinsic processes and biochemical changes associated with the growth and activity of individual organs, and their influence on the psychic development of the individual may well be more important than the effect of height and weight.

Stanley Hall³ quotes Beyer,⁴ who concludes that "the relationship between physique and mental ability is such that the training of the one will indirectly and favourably influence the growth and development of the other when the training of either is kept within physiological limits." However this may be, endurance and ability are frequently found to be independent of height and weight.

There may be no association between the physical disease of an offender and his offence. On the other hand, crime is sometimes directly or indirectly associated with bodily illness. Directly, for example, when

¹ Gonad—the male or female reproductive gland, testis or ovary.

² L. R. Broster, Clifford Allen, H. W. C. Vines, J. Patterson, A. W. Greenwood, G. F. Marrian, and G. C. Butler, "The Adrenal Cortex and Inter-sexuality" (1938)

³ G. Stanley Hall, "Adolescence" (1937)

⁴ Professor Beyer, *Journal of the Boston Society of Medical Sciences*, April, 1901.

a long-standing illness depreciates the market value of the patient and causes economic stress and theft. Indirectly, as in the case of a young man whose health was permanently impaired as the result of an acute illness, and gave rise to a sense of inferiority which became a contributory cause of the murder which he later committed.

Advanced physical disease is not necessarily incompatible with crime. A man with a criminal history of petty theft snatched her handbag from a woman in a London street and ran away with it ; he was chased and eventually caught, and was remanded in custody for enquiries to be made. On reception into prison a thoracic aneurysm was found to have eroded the sternum and formed a pulsating tumour the size of a hen's egg under the skin covering that bone. An elderly emphysematous man, suffering from a severe attack of bronchitis, after a quarrel with his wife left his room, and by holding on to the railings of intervening houses reached and entered the one in which she had taken refuge and there killed her.

These are extreme examples. But just as many men and women affected by grave physical organic disease continue to perform important work over long periods, so may the criminal similarly affected continue in his criminal career.

II. Physical Condition

The physical conditions investigated in this study include height, weight, chest measurement, sexual development, visual and auditory acuity. Other bodily characters and functions, which would have been important and interesting in an anthropological survey, were not considered statistically. It is to be noted that in the tables relating to height, weight and chest measurement, comparison is being made only between the mean measurements of sub-groups of a universe limited to the 4,000 lads who had been convicted of at least one offence, no completely satisfactory comparable data being available for the general population at the same ages. As in the case of the other characteristics dealt with in the investigation, the association between physical condition and crime can only be studied by comparing sub-groups defined by the nature and number of offences which have been committed, first offenders being compared, for example, with lads of the same ages who had a previous record of crime. Hence, the standard errors in these tables are based upon the standard deviations of the whole experience at the age group in question, for there is no reason to suppose that the real variability differs between one sub-group and another to any appreciable extent at a given age.

(a) Height

In three out of the ten age groups in Table LXIX the mean height of the repeated offenders was greater than that of the first offenders, but in only one of these groups did the difference exceed twice the standard error; in the remaining seven age groups the mean height of the repeated offenders was less, to an insignificant degree, than that of the first offenders. There is therefore no evidence here of association between repeated offences and stature.

TABLE LXIX ¹

Mean Height on Reception, according to Age, of the Lads with and without Record of a Previous Conviction

Age completed in half years	Without any Previous Conviction				With record of one or more previous convictions				Difference with standard error (+ indicates excess and - defect for the repeated offenders.)
	Number	Mean height in inches	Standard deviation of group	Standard error of mean	Number	Mean height in inches	Standard deviation of group	Standard error of mean	
16	109	64.23	3.12	± 0.30	99	64.47	3.06	± 0.31	+ 0.24 ± 0.43
16½	148	65.29	2.94	± 0.24	138	65.67	2.81	± 0.25	+ 0.38 ± 0.31
17	250	65.91	2.76	± 0.18	202	65.65	2.64	± 0.20	- 0.05 ± 0.26
17½	260	66.60	2.43	± 0.15	200	66.40	2.34	± 0.18	- 0.20 ± 0.33
18	283	66.74	2.63	± 0.15	200	66.60	2.46	± 0.18	- 0.14 ± 0.24
18½	275	66.96	2.74	± 0.15	198	66.67	2.67	± 0.19	- 0.29 ± 0.25
19	252	66.91	2.61	± 0.17	180	67.46	2.66	± 0.19	+ 0.55 ± 0.26
19½	269	67.21	2.76	± 0.16	195	67.12	2.68	± 0.19	- 0.09 ± 0.25
20	199	66.96	2.32	± 0.17	163	66.51	2.45	± 0.19	- 0.06 ± 0.25
20½	175	67.27	2.46	± 0.19	182	67.16	2.25	± 0.17	- 0.09 ± 0.25
Totals.	2220				1763				

¹ Standard errors are based upon the standard deviation of the *whole* experience at the age period in question

Table LXX shows no appreciable differences between the mean heights of first and second offenders, nor for those with two previous offences at any age. For those with a record of three or more previous offences there was an excess compared with the first offenders of 0.91 in. at age 16, 0.42 in. at 17, 0.29 in. at 19, and a deficiency of 0.55 in. at 18, and 0.07 in. at 20 years; none of these differences were statistically significant.

The mean height of the lads with a record of offences both against property and the person was greater than for the other groups at ages 16, 17 and 19, and was not exceeded by any group at 18, but at no age was the excess significant. The other groups did not show any significant variation either.

TABLE LXX

Mean Height on Reception, according to Age, Number of Previous Convictions and Nature of Offences in Record

		Age last birthday at time of measurement				
		16	17	18	19	20
Total measured having the number of previous offences indicated.	0	257	510	558	521	374
	1	160	270	247	231	204
	2	53	97	99	106	86
	or more	24	35	52	44	55
	Total.	494	912	956	902	719

		Age last birthday at time of measurement				
		16	17	18	19	20
Mean heights in inches of the above groups.	0	64.84	66.20	66.85	67.06	67.11
	1	65.14	66.01	66.77	67.24	66.90
	2	64.99	66.26	66.47	67.36	67.42
	3 or more	65.75	66.68	66.30	67.35	67.04
	All.	65.00	66.20	66.76	67.16	67.08

Totals measured having record of offences against	Property Person and	452	823	872	818	642
	Property Person (not Property)	5	11	18	16	4
	Sexual	4	10	19	12	17
	Discipline	19	37	21	23	25
		14	31	26	33	16

Mean heights in inches of the above groups with standard errors.	Property Person and	64.96±0.14	66.21±0.09	66.76±0.09	67.13±0.09	67.07±0.09
	Property Person (not Property)	67.48±1.35	66.88±0.80	67.36±0.62	68.31±0.67	67.24±0.54
	Sexual	66.63±1.51	65.68±0.84	65.77±0.61	67.96±0.77	67.52±0.57
	Discipline	65.08±0.69	66.69±0.44	66.40±0.58	67.35±0.56	67.24±0.47
		64.66±0.81	65.42±0.48	67.38±0.52	66.94±0.46	68.50±0.59
	All.	65.00	66.20	66.76	67.16	67.08

It is of interest to compare the mean heights of the lads convicted of one or more offences with the mean heights found by Cathcart, Hughes and Chalmers¹ in 1929-32 for employed males of the same ages, mostly of the artisan class and taken from London and other large towns in England or Scotland. The average heights for age groups centred at 16½, 17½, 18½, 19½ and 20½ years, extracted from Table XIII of their report, relating to all employed men and reduced from centimetres to

¹ E. P. Cathcart, D. E. R. Hughes, J. Chalmers, "The Physique of Man in Industry." Report of Industrial Health Research Board (London, 1935)

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inches, are given below alongside the average heights from Table LXX of this investigation.

Central Ages.	Employed males in towns 1929-1932 (Guthart, Hughes and Chalmers).		Males convicted of offences (Wormwood Scrubs data) mean height in inches.	
	Numbers measured.	Mean height in inches	First offenders	All offenders
16½	295	65.2	64.8 ^a	65.0
17½	329	66.4	66.3	66.2
18½	336	66.6	66.8	66.8
19½	408	66.9	67.1	67.2
20½	349	67.1	67.1	67.1

A close agreement is apparent between the series of mean heights, indicating no tendency for lads convicted of crime to differ in stature from the general population of artisan town dwellers of the same ages. Hooton ¹ concluded from a comparison of American criminals of all ages with a control series that the criminals had a mean stature about 1 cm. less than the general average, but no such deficiency is suggested for young offenders in this investigation.

(b) *Weight*

In seven out of the ten age groups of Table LXXI the repeated offenders showed an excess of weight over the first offenders greater than the probable error (.675 times the standard error) of the difference, and at two age groups they show an excess not as great as the probable error, whereas on a random basis the expected numbers with such a measure of excess would be two and a half groups in each instance.

Table LXXII shows no appreciable differences of mean weight between the first and second offenders; the excess was only apparent for those with a record of two or more previous convictions, but was not statistically significant for any age taken alone. Nevertheless, the consistent excess in weight of lads with more than one previous offence at every age can scarcely be fortuitous, and it cannot be accounted for by the difference in mean stature.

It probably indicates a slightly better average nutrition or muscular development amongst the lads who had served several sentences, and since the first sentence is usually one of probation the excess may perhaps be accounted for by a more carefully balanced diet during the period of detention in an approved school or Borstal institution, which frequently follows a second or third conviction. Hooton ² in his study of American

¹ E. A. Hooton, "The American Criminal" (Vol I, 1939).

² Hooton, *op. cit.*

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TABLE LXXI¹

Mean Weight on Reception, according to Age of the Lads with and without Record of Previous Convictions

Age completed in half years.	Without Record of any Previous Convictions.				With Record of one or more Previous Convictions.				Difference with standard error (+ indicates excess and - defect for the repeated offenders.)
	Number	Mean chest girth (inches)	Standard deviation of groups	Standard error of mean.	Number	Mean chest girth (inches)	Standard deviation of group	Standard error of mean	
16	108	31.13	2.04	±0.20	99	31.12	2.14	±0.21	-0.01 ± 0.29
16½	149	31.43	1.83	±0.15	140	31.72	1.75	±0.15	+0.29 ± 0.21
17	253	31.97	1.93	±0.12	202	32.12	1.81	±0.13	+0.15 ± 0.18
17½	260	32.39	1.85	±0.11	199	32.45	1.82	±0.13	+0.06 ± 0.17
18	282	32.51	1.88	±0.11	201	32.73	1.75	±0.13	+0.22 ± 0.17
18½	274	32.62	1.72	±0.10	194	32.81	1.75	±0.12	+0.19 ± 0.16
19	248	33.02	1.74	±0.11	185	33.06	1.82	±0.13	+0.03 ± 0.17
19½	268	33.15	1.72	±0.11	194	33.16	1.73	±0.12	+0.01 ± 0.16
20	199	33.14	1.89	±0.12	162	33.19	1.52	±0.14	+0.06 ± 0.18
20½	174	33.34	1.79	±0.13	181	33.49	1.65	±0.13	+0.15 ± 0.18
Totals	2216				1757				

¹ Standard errors are based upon the standard deviation of the *whole* experience at the age period in question

criminals of all ages, reached the opposite conclusion and found that recidivists tended to be lighter in weight than first offenders.

Comparison with the mean weights of the employed males measured by Cathcart, Hughes and Chalmers (see preceding section) gives the following results after conversion of the averages in Tables VI and XIII of their report from kilograms to pounds. The employed males were

Central Age	Employed males in towns 1929-1932 (Cathcart, Hughes and Chalmers)				Lads convicted of offences (Wormwood Scrubs prison data)	
	All towns		London only.		Mean weight lbs. (1)	
	Number examined	Mean weight (lbs) (1)	Number examined	Mean weight (lbs) (1)	First offenders	All offenders
16½	295	115.1	7	126.7	116.5	117.3
17½	329	122.6	14	132.1	124.1	124.5
18½	335	125.7	19	131.3	127.7	128.1
19½	408	128.4	23	134.1	130.6	131.1
20½	349	130.6	27	137.1	131.9	132.4

¹ Corrected by deduction of average weight of clothing worn

weighed fully clothed and the ascertained average weight of 8 lbs. of the clothes and shoes was deducted; the Wormwood Scrubs lads were weighed clothed but without shoes and 5½ lbs. have been deducted to give the unclothed average weights. The figures for the London males were

based on small numbers, but were consistently above the general average for all towns. The mean weight of the Wormwood Scrubs lads, who were largely drawn from London, is well below those of the London employed males, but consistently above the general urban industrial average. There is no certain evidence from this comparison of any association of criminal tendencies with underweight.

TABLE LXXII

Mean Weight on Reception, according to Age, Number of Previous Convictions and Nature of Offences in the Record

		Age last birthday at time of measurement.				
		16	17	18	19	20
Total measured having the number of previous offences indicated.	0	266	610	567	521	374
	1	161	270	247	231	204
	2	54	97	99	106	86
	3 or more	24	36	52	44	54
	Total.	495	912	965	902	718
Mean weight in lbs. of the above groups with standard error.	0	122.0 [±] 1.0	129.6 [±] 0.7	133.2 [±] 0.6	136.1 [±] 0.6	137.4 [±] 0.7
	1	123.0 [±] 1.2	128.9 [±] 1.0	133.7 [±] 0.9	136.8 [±] 1.0	136.8 [±] 1.0
	2	123.6 [±] 2.1	133.0 [±] 1.6	136.6 [±] 1.5	137.9 [±] 1.4	140.8 [±] 1.6
	3 or more	129.1 [±] 3.2	136.6 [±] 2.6	134.3 [±] 2.0	138.8 [±] 2.2	141.0 [±] 2.0
	All.	122.8	130.0	133.6	136.6	137.9
Totals measured having record of offences against	Property	453	823	871	818	641
	Person & Property	6	11	18	16	19
	Person (Property)	4	10	19	12	17
	Sexual	19	37	21	23	25
	Discipline	14	31	26	33	16
Mean weights in lbs. of the above groups with standard errors.	Property	122.6 [±] 0.7	129.9 [±] 0.6	133.5 [±] 0.5	136.5 [±] 0.5	137.9 [±] 0.6
	Person & Property	139.6 [±] 7.0	143.1 [±] 4.7	139.6 [±] 3.4	142.6 [±] 3.6	142.1 [±] 3.3
	Person (Property)	129.5 [±] 7.8	128.5 [±] 5.0	131.1 [±] 3.3	136.2 [±] 4.2	138.9 [±] 3.5
	Sexual	124.8 [±] 3.6	130.6 [±] 2.6	131.4 [±] 3.2	138.6 [±] 3.0	136.7 [±] 2.9
	Discipline	119.6 [±] 4.2	127.6 [±] 2.8	136.8 [±] 2.8	136.5 [±] 2.6	133.3 [±] 3.6
	All.	122.8	130.0	133.6	136.6	137.9

The mean weight of the lads with record of offences against both property and the person combined in Table LXXII was greater than for the other groups at every age—as was the case for height at ages 16, 17 and 19. The excess over the general average was more than twice the standard error at ages 16 and 17, and more than the standard error at the other ages. The other groups show no important variations. Hooton ¹

¹ Hooton, *op. cit.*

considered that burglars and thieves tended to be lighter in weight than the average American criminal.

(c) Chest Measurement

The repeated offenders showed a slight excess of chest girth compared with the first offenders in nine out of the ten age groups of Table LXXIII, but in no case did the excess amount to twice its standard error, and only in three groups was it greater than the standard error. At all ages combined the weighted mean difference¹ was 0.10 in., with a standard error of about 0.06 in.

TABLE LXXIII¹

Mean Chest Measurement on Reception, according to Age of Lads with and without Record of Previous Convictions

Age completed in half years.	Without any Previous Convictions.				With Record of one or more previous convictions				Inference with standard error (+ indicates excess and - defect for the repeated offenders.)
	Number	Mean weight lbs.	Standard deviation of group	Standard error of mean	Number	Mean weight lbs.	Standard deviation of group	Standard error of mean	
16	109	118.2	16.5	± 1.6	99	120.0	16.1	± 1.6	+ 1.8 ± 2.3
16½	147	124.7	13.8	± 1.2	140	126.4	15.1	± 1.2	+ 1.7 ± 1.7
17	251	127.3	16.4	± 1.0	202	128.6	16.3	± 1.1	+ 1.2 ± 1.6
17½	259	131.9	14.3	± 0.9	200	132.4	16.2	± 1.1	+ 0.6 ± 1.4
18	282	132.9	15.2	± 0.9	200	133.8	13.6	± 1.0	+ 0.9 ± 1.3
18½	275	133.4	14.4	± 0.9	198	134.6	14.5	± 1.0	+ 1.2 ± 1.3
19	252	135.3	14.0	± 0.9	186	137.4	14.7	± 1.0	+ 2.1 ± 1.4
19½	269	136.9	15.3	± 0.9	195	137.2	13.5	± 1.0	+ 0.3 ± 1.4
20	199	136.6	14.7	± 1.0	163	137.6	14.6	± 1.2	+ 2.1 ± 1.6
20½	175	139.7	14.4	± 1.1	181	139.2	13.6	± 1.0	- 0.5 ± 1.5
Totals	2218				1784				

¹ Note standard errors are based upon the standard deviation on the *whole* experience at the age period in question

Table LXXIV shows no appreciable differences between the mean measurements of the first offenders and those with one previous offence. The lads with a record of two previous offences showed excess over the first offenders at each age, amounting to 0.21, 0.42, 0.31, 0.11 and 0.39 ins., whilst those with three or more previous offences registered an excess at 16-19 years amounting to 1.07, 0.47, 0.15 and 0.32 ins. at the respective ages, but only at age 16 was the excess statistically significant. Hooton²

¹ *I.e.*, the sum of products of difference × number in group, divided by total (3972).

² Hooton, *op cit*

found that recidivists among American criminals tended to be deficient in chest breadth in comparison with first offenders.

TABLE LXXIV

Mean Chest Measurement on Reception, according to Age, Number of Previous Convictions and Nature of Offences in the Record

		Age last birthday at time of measurement.				
		16	17	18	19	20
Total measured having the number of previous offences indicated.	0	287	513	556	516	373
	1	161	270	245	230	204
	2	54	96	99	106	86
	3 or more	24	35	51	43	53
	Total.	496	914	951	895	716
Mean chest girth in inches of the above groups with standard error.	0	31.31 $\pm$ 0.12	32.18 $\pm$ 0.08	32.57 $\pm$ 0.08	33.09 $\pm$ 0.08	33.23 $\pm$ 0.09
	1	31.32 $\pm$ 0.15	32.13 $\pm$ 0.11	32.74 $\pm$ 0.11	33.01 $\pm$ 0.12	33.26 $\pm$ 0.12
	2	31.52 $\pm$ 0.26	32.60 $\pm$ 0.19	32.88 $\pm$ 0.18	33.20 $\pm$ 0.17	33.62 $\pm$ 0.19
	3 or more	32.38 $\pm$ 0.39	32.65 $\pm$ 0.32	32.62 $\pm$ 0.25	33.41 $\pm$ 0.27	33.16 $\pm$ 0.24
	All.	31.39	32.23	32.65	33.10	33.29
Total measured having record of offences against	Property	454	825	867	811	639
	Person & Property	5	11	18	16	19
	Property (not	4	10	19	12	17
	Property) Sexual	18	37	21	23	25
	Discipline	15	31	26	33	16
Mean chest girth in inches of the above groups with standard errors.	Property	31.37 $\pm$ 0.09	32.22 $\pm$ 0.06	32.64 $\pm$ 0.06	33.10 $\pm$ 0.06	33.31 $\pm$ 0.07
	Person & Property	32.26 $\pm$ 0.86	33.24 $\pm$ 0.56	33.10 $\pm$ 0.42	33.13 $\pm$ 0.44	33.45 $\pm$ 0.40
	Property (not	32.38 $\pm$ 0.97	31.88 $\pm$ 0.59	32.82 $\pm$ 0.41	32.88 $\pm$ 0.51	33.64 $\pm$ 0.42
	Property) Sexual	31.62 $\pm$ 0.46	32.20 $\pm$ 0.31	32.45 $\pm$ 0.39	32.88 $\pm$ 0.36	32.76 $\pm$ 0.36
	Discipline	32.80 $\pm$ 0.50	32.17 $\pm$ 0.34	32.80 $\pm$ 0.35	33.16 $\pm$ 0.30	32.64 $\pm$ 0.43
All.		31.39	32.23	32.65	33.10	33.29

When grouped according to the nature of offences in the record no significant differences were evident at any age, nor any consistent tendency for any of the groups to have high or low measurements throughout the age scale.

(d) Sexual Development

Attention has been already directed in this chapter to the fact that puberty does not commence or end abruptly. It is well to note also that

TABLE LXXV

Stage of Sexual Development according to Age, Nature of Offences in Record and Number of Previous Convictions

Age group	Nature of offence in Record	Numbers in each Stage of Development.			Total number examined.	Percentages in pre-pubertal or pubescent stage with standard errors.			
		Prepubertal	Pubescent	Post-pubertal					
16	All kinds.	9	88	401	498	19.48 ±	1.77		
17	"	3	54	860	917	6.22 ±	0.80		
18	"	-	15	945	960	1.56 ±	0.40		
19	"	-	2	902	904	0.22 ±	0.16		
20	"	-	1	720	721	0.14 ±	0.14		
Total	"	12	160	3828	4000	4.30			
16	Property Person	9	86	361	455	20.66 ±	1.90		
	Sexual	-	-	9	9	Nil.			
	Discipline	-	1	14	15	10.53 ±	7.04		
		-	1	14	15	6.67 ±	6.44		
17	Property Person	3	50	776	828	6.40 ±	0.85		
	Sexual	-	1	20	21	4.76 ±	4.65		
	Discipline	-	1	36	37	2.70 ±	2.66		
		-	2	29	31	6.46 ±	4.41		
18-20	Property Person	-	15	2324	2339	0.64 ±	0.16		
	Sexual	-	1	101	102	0.98 ±	0.98		
	Discipline	-	2	67	69	2.90 ±	2.02		
		-	-	75	75	Nil.			
16	No. of previous offences all kinds	Number with pre-pubertal or pubescent development		Number with post-pubertal development		Statistical measure of association			
		Recorded	Calculated	Recorded	Calculated	χ^2	n	P	
		0	44	50.4	215				208.6
		1	36	31.4	125	129.6			
		2	13	10.6	41	43.6			
	3 or more	4	4.7	20	19.3				
	Total	97		401		2.111	2	.56*	
17	0	26	32.0	489	482.0				
		23	16.8	348	254.2				
		7	6.0	90	91.0				
		2	2.2	33	32.8				
	Total	57		860		4.155	2	.13*	
18	0	11	10.1	1447	1447.9				
		1	4.8	682	678.2				
		6	2.0	287	291.0				
		-	1.1	151	149.9				
	Total	18		2567		.185	1	7.6*	

* At ages 16 and 17 combined, $\chi^2 = 6.266$, $n = 4$, $P = .18$.

its duration is perhaps more prolonged than is sometimes recognized, that the physical signs appear at different ages in different lads and sometimes earlier or later than is commonly supposed, and that the mental manifestations, as previously stated, may precede or follow the bodily changes. A sexual offence is sometimes committed in the pre-pubertal period and also by younger children. Cyril Burt¹ states that the various dislocations of puberty, physical, psychological and social, when unusually premature or unusually delayed, particularly when one element is hastened or retarded and the others are not, conduce to a criminal slip. Most observers will have experience of such cases.

The proportion of lads in Table LXXV with pre-pubertal or pubescent development was about 20 per cent. between 16 and 17 years, 6 per cent. between 17 and 18 years, falling to about 2 per 1,000 at the age of 20. At ages 16 and 17 this proportion was lower among the group convicted of sexual offences and among first offenders (all kinds of offence) than in the other groups. Although these differences are not statistically significant the chances are about 5 to 1 in favour of the apparent positive association between delayed sexual development and number of previous offences being a real one ($P = \cdot 18$ at ages 16 and 17).

(e) Visual Acuity

Table LXXVI shows that about 12.5 per cent. of the lads had bad or impaired vision on examination. The proportion was rather higher at ages 19-20, the excess over that at ages 16-18 being 1.65 ± 1.08 and of doubtful significance. The group with record of sexual offences showed a significantly higher proportion with poor vision at ages 19-20 (27 per cent.) but not at ages 16-18 (9 per cent.). Combining all kinds of offences the frequency of poor vision among the first offenders was rather less than among the repeated offenders at each age group, and significantly so at ages 18-19.

The composite measure of association at all ages is given by $\chi^2 = 10.57$, $n = 9$, $P = \cdot 38$, or if no account is taken of age in the first instance $\chi^2 = 4.89$, $n = 3$, $P = \cdot 18$, so the association of poor vision with multiple offences is not significant when all ages are treated together.

(f) Acuity of Hearing

Defective hearing, like defective vision, may interfere with education, but whereas most examples of impaired vision are due to remediable errors of refraction and the disability is usually overcome without difficulty, the

¹ Cyril Burt, "The Young Delinquent" (1925)

VISUAL ACUITY ON RECEPTION

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TABLE LXXVI

Visual Acuity according to Age, Nature of Offences in Record and Number of Previous Convictions

Age group	Nature of Offences in Record	Number with visual acuity classified			Total Number examined.	Percentage with bad or impaired visual acuity and standard error.		
		Bad	Impaired	Good.				
16	All kinds	3	52	443	498	11.04	±	1.40
17	"	12	102	801	917	12.65	±	1.10
18	"	13	97	850	960	11.46	±	1.03
19	"	16	106	782	904	13.50	±	1.14
20	"	15	82	624	721	13.45	±	1.27
Total	"	61	439	3300	4000	12.50		
16-18	Property	23	230	1901	2153	11.95	±	0.70
	Person	1	7	59	67	11.94	±	3.96
	Sexual	1	6	70	77	9.09	±	3.28
	Discipline	-	8	64	72	11.11	±	3.70
	Total	30	251	2034	2375	11.83	±	0.66
19-20	Property	25	167	1271	1463	13.12	±	0.88
	Person	2	6	57	65	12.31	±	4.08
	Sexual	2	11	35	48	27.08	±	6.41
	Discipline	2	4	43	49	12.24	±	4.68
	Total	31	188	1406	1625	13.48	±	0.85
	Number of Previous Offences (all kinds)	Number with bad or impaired vision		Number with good vision		Statistical measure of association		
		Recorded	Calculated	Recorded	Calculated	χ^2	n	P
16-17	0	92	93.4	621	679.6			
	1	87	52.2	375	379.8			
	2	16	18.3	135	132.7			
	3 or more	6	7.1	53	51.9			
	Total	171		1244		1.048	3	.79
18-19	0	121	134.7	961	947.3			
	1	59	59.6	420	419.4			
	2	35	25.8	172	181.2			
	3 or more	17	11.9	79	84.1			
	Total	232		1632		7.841	3	.08
20	0	45	50.6	331	325.4			
	1	31	27.4	173	176.6			
	2	12	11.6	74	74.4			
	3 or more	9	7.4	46	47.6			
	Total	97		624		1.678	3	.65

importance of deafness is due to its resistance to treatment and to its interference with education, team recreation and occupational achievement. It is not generally regarded as an important criminogenic factor, and it will be seen in Table LXXVII that only about 4 per cent. of the lads had bad or impaired hearing. The proportion was rather higher at ages 19-20 than at ages 16-18, the difference between the percentages being 1.33 ± 0.64 . Among 132 lads with a record of offences against the person only two had poor hearing (five expected), whereas among 121 with record of offences against discipline alone nine had poor hearing (five expected), but these variations are not statistically significant. No evidence of any association between impaired hearing and the number of offences was found.

III. Physical Defect and Disease

It is an easy matter to attach undue significance to a physical defect or disease when a lad so affected has committed a criminal offence and, as already stated, criminal conduct may result from the exuberance associated with good health in youth.

Cyril Burt¹ found defective physical conditions were, roughly speaking, one and a quarter times as frequent among delinquent children as they were among non-delinquent children from the same schools and streets.

Clairette P. Armstrong² found defects of the nose and throat in runaway and unlawful entry boys somewhat exceeded those in public school children in America on entering school, and cardiac and pulmonary disorders were also more frequent in the delinquent groups.

W. Healy,³ in presenting an analytical statement of abnormal physical conditions associated with legal offences, calls attention to the fact that physical defects may be present although unrelated to the offence. Indeed, continuous observation of adolescent and adult offenders not only shows the true relation between the physical abnormality and the crime, but also the importance of caution in determining the association. In some cases there can be no doubt of the association, but in others there may be little to connect an offence with, say, a mild chronic tonsillar infection. In some cases the time factor, in others the effect of medical treatment which amends the physical disorder without improving conduct, may prove informative.

¹ Cyril Burt, "The Young Delinquent" (1925).

² Clairette P. Armstrong, "660 Runaway Boys" (1932).

³ W. Healy, "The Individual Delinquent" (1914).

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TABLE LXXVII

Acuity of Hearing, according to Age, Nature of Offences in Record and Number of Previous Convictions

Age group	Nature of offences in Record	Number with acuity of hearing classed as			Total Number examined.	Percentage with bad or impaired hearing and standard error.		
		Bad	Impaired	Good				
16	All kinds	1	18	479	498	3.82	±	0.86
17	"	4	30	883	917	3.71	±	0.62
18	"	5	25	932	960	2.92	±	0.54
19	"	5	39	862	904	4.65	±	0.70
20	"	5	32	686	721	4.85	±	0.80
Total	"	14	144	3842	4000	3.95		
16-18	Property	7	67	2086	2159	3.43	±	0.39
	Person	-	-	67	67	Nil.		
	Sexual	-	2	75	77	2.60	±	1.81
	Discipline	1	4	67	72	6.94	±	2.99
	Total	8	73	2294	2376	3.41	±	0.37
19-20	Property	4	65	1394	1463	4.72	±	0.55
	Person	1	1	63	65	3.08	±	2.14
	Sexual	-	2	46	48	4.17	±	2.89
	Discipline	1	3	46	49	8.16	±	3.91
	Total	6	71	1548	1625	4.74	±	0.53
	Number of Previous offences (all kinds)	Number with bad or impaired hearing		Number with good hearing		Statistical measure of association		
		Recorded	Calculated	Recorded	Calculated	X ²	n	P
16-17	0	30	28.9	743	744.1			
	1	19	16.2	413	416.8			
	2	2	6.7	149	145.3			
	3 or more	2	2.2	57	56.8			
	Total	53		1362		2.567	2	.28
18-19	0	36	40.6	1046	1041.4			
	1	19	18.0	460	461.0			
	2	11	7.8	196	199.2			
	3 or more	4	3.6	92	92.4			
	Total	70		1794		1.780	2	.42
20	0	16	18.2	360	357.8			
	1	7	9.9	197	194.1			
	2	9	4.8	77	81.8			
	3 or more	3	2.7	82	82.3			
	Total	35		686		5.136	2	.08

E. W. Wallace¹ reviewed the physical defects in 200 cases of juvenile delinquency and found delinquents have an average lower intelligence and a greater number of physical defects, but were more physically mature than average school children. The general hygiene of delinquents was comparatively poor.

Difficulty sometimes arises in determining whether the physical or mental condition is the more important crimogenic factor. For example, a youth violently assaulted a young woman on a country road and robbed her; he hurriedly rode away on a motor cycle and crashed into an obstacle at the roadside, sustaining a fracture of the skull, serious injuries to one arm, and other minor injuries. A decompression operation on the skull was followed by some facial paralysis, and the arm was amputated. He was subsequently convicted more than once for theft, and also for housebreaking and a few years later died in a mental hospital. There was no reason to attribute the original offence to any abnormal physical or mental condition, but the thefts and housebreaking were at one time attributable to the economic difficulties arising out of his post-operative physical condition, and later also to the mental disorder which gradually asserted itself.

In Tables LXXVIII to LXXXV the upper portions give the frequencies of (1) history or presence at time of examination, and (2) presence at time of examination only, of certain physical defects and diseases found in the lads, and in the last column the proportions per 1,000 of the totals examined, having a history or presence of the disorder, with the standard errors of the proportions. In the first place the division is according to age, and where no significant variation with age is found all ages are combined for the purpose of the remainder of the table (Sinusitis, Encephalitis and Rheumatism, Tables LXXX, LXXXI and LXXXIII).

In other cases where there is some indication of age variation, appropriate division into age groups is made in the lower part of the Tables. The division according to Nature of Offences is into the four groups already defined. The statistical association with the number of previous offences is measured by the values of P derived from χ^2 and n , as explained in the notes to Tables I-III.²

(a) **Hernia and Deformity**

Hernia was, or had been, present in about 2 per cent. of the lads, and other deformities in about 5 per cent. The proportion with a record of

¹ E. W. Wallace, "Physical Defects and Juvenile Delinquency," *New York State Jour. Med.*, Nov. 1, 1940

² Tables LXXV to LXXXVII giving the frequency of incomplete sexual development and of imperfect vision and hearing are constructed on similar lines

TABLE LXXVIII

Frequency of Personal History of Hernia or Deformity, according to Age, Nature of Offences in the Record and Number of Previous Convictions

Age group	Nature of offence in Record	Number with history or presence of		Number of those with the defect on reception		Total No. examined.	Proportion per 1000 with history or presence of	
		Hernia	Deformity	Hernia	Deformity		Hernia	Deformity & standard errors.
16	All kinds	6	23	1	10	498	12.0 [±] 4.9	46.2 [±] 9.4
17	"	15	40	6	25	917	16.4 [±] 4.2	43.6 [±] 6.7
19	"	19	54	7	33	960	19.6 [±] 4.5	56.3 [±] 7.4
19	"	22	44	9	30	904	24.3 [±] 5.1	48.7 [±] 7.2
20	"	16	43	8	31	721	22.2 [±] 5.5	59.6 [±] 8.8
Total	"	78	204	11	135	4500	19.5 [±] 2.2	51.0 [±] 3.5
16-17	Property	18	57	33		1223	14.0 [±] 3.3	44.4 [±] 5.8
	Person	1	1	-		30	33.3 [±] 32.8	33.3 [±] 32.8
	Sexual	1	1	1		56	17.9 [±] 17.7	17.9 [±] 17.7
	Discipline	1	4	3		46	21.7 [±] 21.5	87.0 [±] 41.6
	Total	21	63	42		1415	14.8 [±] 3.2	44.5 [±] 5.5
18-20	Property	50	128	113		2339	21.4 [±] 3.0	54.7 [±] 4.7
	Person	2	5	5		102	19.6 [±] 13.7	49.0 [±] 21.4
	Sexual	2	5	2		69	29.0 [±] 23.2	72.5 [±] 31.2
	Discipline	3	3	4		75	40.0 [±] 22.6	40.0 [±] 22.6
	Total	57	141	124		2685	22.1 [±] 2.9	54.5 [±] 4.5
	Number of previous offences (all kinds)	Number with history or presence of Hernia or Deformity.		Number without history or presence of Hernia or Deformity.		Statistical measure of association.		
		Recorded	Calculated	Recorded	Calculated	χ^2	n	P
16-17	0	46	45.9	727	727.1			
	1	27	25.6	405	406.4			
	2	7	9.0	144	142.0			
	3 or more	4	3.5	55	55.5			
	Total	84		1331		273	2	.87
18-20	0	98	111.7	1360	1346.3			
	1	55	52.3	627	630.7			
	2	29	22.4	264	270.6			
	3 or more	15	11.6	135	139.4			
	Total	198		2387		5,289	8	.16

hernia (Table LXXVIII) increased with advancing age from 12 per 1,000 at 16 years to 22 at 19-20 years, this increase being almost certainly significant. No consistent association between either hernia or deformity

and nature of offence was apparent, nor any significant association between their combined frequency and the number of previous offences.

(b) *Adenoids*

Adenoids may hinder the physical and mental development of a child or adolescent and if, for example, asthma or deafness results, health and social capacity may become impaired. Short of this, the stupid and

TABLE LXXIX

Frequency of Personal History of Adenoids, according to Age, Nature of Offences in the Record and Number of Previous Convictions

Age group	Nature of offences in Record	Number with history or presence of adenoids.	Number with adenoids on reception.	Total Number examined.	Proportion per 1,000 with history or presence of adenoids and standard error.			
16	All kinds	8	2	498	16.1 ± 5.6			
17	"	27	2	917	29.4 ± 5.6			
18	"	12	1	960	12.5 ± 3.6			
19	"	12	2	904	13.3 ± 3.8			
20	"	9	2	761	12.5 ± 4.1			
Total	"	68	9	4000	17.0			
16-17	Property	31		1283	24.2 ± 4.3			
	Person	1		30	33.3 ± 32.8			
	Sexual	3		56	53.6 ± 30.1			
	Discipline	-		46	NIL			
	Total	35		1415	24.7 ± 4.1			
18-20	Property	25		2339	10.7 ± 2.1			
	Person	2		102	19.6 ± 13.7			
	Sexual	2		63	29.0 ± 20.2			
	Discipline	4		75	53.3 ± 26.9			
	Total	33		2585	12.8 ± 2.2			
	Number of Previous Offences (all kinds)	Number with history or presence of adenoids.		Number without history or presence of adenoids.		Statistical measure of association		
		Recorded	Calculated	Recorded	Calculated.	χ ²	n	P
16-17	0	14	13.1	759	753.9			
	1	9	10.7	423	421.3			
	2	6	3.7	145	147.3			
	3 or more	6	1.6	53	57.5			
	Total	35		1380		10.79	2	<.01*
18-20	0	15	18.6	1443	1439.4			
	1	7	8.7	678	674.3			
	2	9	3.6	284	289.2			
	3 or more	2	1.9	149	149.1			
	Total	33		2552		6.03	2	.049*

* If the last three groups are combined the values of P become .084 at ages 16-17, and .20 at 18-20 years, or .10 at these ages combined

vacant expression resulting from large adenoid growths may prove a handicap to success in life unless the adenoids are removed. In Table LXXIX only well-defined cases of adenoid enlargement are included. It will be seen in this Table that at the ages 16-17 about 25 per 1,000 lads

exhibited or gave a history of adenoids, but at the ages 18-20 the proportion of lads said to have been affected was only 13 per 1,000, significantly lower than at 16-17 years. There were no significant differences according to the nature of the offence. A record of adenoids was positively associated with the number of previous offences both at ages 16-17 and 18-20, those with two or more previous offences showing a higher adenoid frequency than was to be expected (23 out of 654, or about 35 per 1,000, at all ages combined compared with 13 per 1,000 of the first offenders).

(c) Sinusitis

The relation of sinusitis to mental disorder has been the subject of much study and some controversy in recent years, and its connection with criminal behaviour is a matter requiring consideration.

T. C. Graves¹ states: "The symptoms which appear in cases of psychosis associated with nasal sinus disease, include the most profound disturbances of the basal mechanisms of mind and conduct, and are especially manifest in disorder of the instinctive behaviour and the emotional life of the subject." He finds irritability, bad temper, suicide, homicidal and violently aggressive types of conduct tend to be associated with sinusitis.

F. A. Pickworth² quotes Chiari, 1910, who estimated that about 2 per cent. of the general population suffer from nasal sinusitis, Pern, 1925, who found in 400 unselected out-patient medical cases in Melbourne, 104 had nasal sinusitis; and McGibbon, who found 50 per cent. of the children at Christchurch, New Zealand, had infection of the sphenoidal and ethmoidal sinuses. T. A. Clarke³ found in 787 cases of mental defectiveness and psychosis 73 or 9.4 per cent. with infected sinuses and considered such infections were likely to be particularly potent in predisposing to, and exaggerating the development of, mental symptoms.

P. K. McCowan,⁴ however, in 807 consecutive admissions to Cardiff City Mental Hospital during the years 1930-32, found sinusitis in only 3 per cent. The great disparity between the frequencies recorded by various observers arises, no doubt, from wide differences in methods of diagnosis and in personal opinions as to what constitutes sinusitis. Even

¹ T. C. Graves, "Sinusitis in Mental Disorder," *Journal of Mental Science*, Vol. LXXVIII, No. 322 (1932)

² F. A. Pickworth, "Sinusitis in Mental Disorder," *Journal of Mental Science*, Vol. LXXVIII, No. 322 (1932)

³ T. A. Clarke, "Ear, Nose and Throat Sepsis," *Journal of Mental Science*, Vol. LXXVIII, No. 322 (1932)

⁴ P. K. McCowan, "Infection of the Nasal Sinuses and Tonsils in the Psychoses," *Lancet*, October 4th, 1933.

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if organisms are found it cannot be assumed without further evidence that the infection is necessarily a contributory factor in any psychosis which is present.

In a paper read before the Royal Medico-Psychological Association on July 17th, 1941, on Sinus Trouble and Personality, H. G. Bedford Russell stated: "... no rhinologist can have failed to be impressed with the high percentage of his patients who are a little eccentric in their behaviour or beliefs. I would go further, and say that there is a flavour of mental disorder about a large proportion of all the symptoms complained of by patients with sinusitis . . ." In the subsequent discussion considerable differences of opinion were expressed regarding the significance of the association of sinusitis and mental disorder.¹

TABLE LXXX

Frequency of Personal History of Sinusitis, according to Age, Nature of Offences in the Record and Number of Previous Convictions

Age group	Nature of offences in the Record.	Number with history or presence of Sinusitis.	Number of those with Sinusitis on reception.	Total number examined.	Proportion per 1000 with history or presence of sinusitis and standard errors.
16	All kinds	9	1	498	18.1 ± 6.0 24.7
17	"	26	9	917	28.4 ± 6.5 34.1
18	"	16	2	980	15.6 ± 4.0
19	"	15	6	904	16.6 ± 4.2
20	"	13	3	721	18.0 ± 5.0
Total	"	79	21	4000	19.5
16-20	Property	67		3622	18.5 ± 2.2
	Person	2		132	15.2 ± 10.6
	Sexual	4		125	32.0 ± 15.7
	Discipline	6		121	41.3 ± 18.1

	Number of Previous offences of all kinds	Number with history or presence of sinusitis		Number without history or presence of Sinusitis		Statistical measure of association.		
		Recorded	Calculated	Recorded	Calculated	χ^2	n	P
16-20	0	49	43.5	2182	2187.5			
	1	21	21.7	1094	1093.3			
	2	7	8.7	437	435.3			
	3 or more	1	4.1	209	205.2			
	Total	76		3922		2.572	12	1.22

About 2 per cent. of the lads exhibited or gave a personal history of sinusitis (Table LXXX). The variation of this proportion with age and according to nature of offences was not significant. The proportion among first offenders was 22 per 1,000, and among those with two or more previous offences it was 12 per 1,000, but the association, if anything a negative one, was not statistically significant.

¹ *Journal of Mental Science*, Vol. LXXXVII, No. 369 (1941).

It will be convenient to add here that criminal conduct may be due to the exhaustion effects of an infection, or be partly due to the infection and partly to some other cause, physical, mental or environmental. It may be noted, also, that some infections give rise to mental disturbance because of their local action, e.g., encephalitis lethargica, and others as a result of their general toxic effect.

(d) Encephalitis Lethargica

This disease, otherwise known as sleepy sickness, is an acute infectious fever which is found most frequently in the first half of adult life and affects the nervous system of the patient. It may be followed by mental and moral changes which not infrequently lead to criminal conduct unless the sufferer is under close supervision. It is important to remember that

TABLE LXXXI

Frequency of Personal History of Encephalitis (Epidemic or other), according to Age, Nature of Offences in the Record and Number of Previous Convictions

Age group	Nature of offences in the Record.	Number with history or presence of encephalitis		Number of those with encephalitis on reception.		Total No. examined.	Proportion per 1000 with history or presence of encephalitis (all forms).		
		Epidemic	Other	Epidemic	Other				
16	All kinds	3	6	-	-	498	18.1	±	6.0
17	"	6	8	-	-	917	15.3	±	4.1
18	"	6	10	1	-	960	16.7	±	4.1
19	"	5	7	-	2	904	13.3	±	3.8
20	"	3	12	-	-	721	20.8	±	5.3
Total	"	23	43	1	2	4000	16.5		
16-20	Property	21	39			3522	16.6	±	2.1
	Person	-	2			132	15.2	±	10.6
	Sexual	2	1			125	24.0	±	13.7
	Discipline	-	1			121	8.3	±	8.2
	Total	23	43			4000			
	Number of previous offences (all kinds)	Number with history or presence of encephalitis		Number without history or presence of encephalitis		Statistical measure of association.			
		Recorded	Calculated.	Recorded	Calculated.	χ^2	n	P	
16-20	0	34	36.8	2197	2194.2				
	1	15	18.4	1100	1096.6				
	2	11	7.3	433	436.7				
	3 or more	6	3.5	204	206.6				
	Total	66		3934		4.475	2		.11

the criminal conduct may not arise until a considerable period of time has elapsed since the original attack, and that the frequency of its association with crime will depend upon the date of the record and the epidemic prevalence of the disease in the years preceding it.

Other secondary forms of encephalitis occur and may be due to syphilis or to infection of the brain with pyogenic organisms and in some specific fevers, particularly measles and scarlet fever.

A record of encephalitis lethargica was present in about 6 per 1,000 of the lads, and of other forms of encephalitis in about 11 per 1,000 (Table LXXXI). There was no evidence of significant variation in the proportion according to the nature of offences committed, nor of any association with the number of previous offences.

(e) Venereal Disease

No case of soft chancre was found in any of the 4,000 lads, and the figures in Table LXXXII relate only to syphilis and gonorrhœa. It is reasonable to consider that the amount of venereal disease in adolescent offenders at any time will depend to some extent upon the amount then present in the general population. There are no figures relating to the latter, but some indication of the position—for example, in the years 1933 and 1934, a middle period in this investigation—may be gathered from the fact that the numbers of cases of both sexes dealt with at the Venereal Treatment Centres in England who had not received previous treatment for the same infection, either at that or any other approved treatment centre, in comparison with the year 1925 was as follows¹.—

Year	Syphilis	Gonorrhœa
1925	17,705	28,089
1933	15,718	35,222
1934	14,540	34,423

The Ministry of Health, in 1935, estimated that the incidence of gonorrhœa was considerably higher than that of syphilis, and the fact that the proportion of "new cases" of gonorrhœa to syphilis attending the treatment centres tended to increase may have been satisfactory, if it indicated that a larger proportion of infected persons were availing themselves of the facilities for treatment provided by the local authorities.

About 5 per 1,000 of the lads at ages 16–17 had a history of venereal disease, which was gonorrhœa in every case. The rate was about 21 per 1,000 at the age of 20 years. That an increase would be found at the older age was probable, since illicit sexual intercourse is most likely to be indulged in by older lads. The proportions did not vary significantly according to the nature of the offences, although the proportions were rather higher at each age in the person group and no history of venereal disease was noted amongst the 125 with a record of sexual

¹ "Sixteenth Annual Report of the Ministry of Health," 1934–35.

offences. Dealing only with the property group, there was no significant association with the number of previous offences at any age. At all ages

TABLE LXXXII

Frequency of Personal History of Venereal Disease, according to Age, Nature of Offences in the Record and Number of Previous Convictions

Age group	Nature of offences in Record	Number with history or presence of		Number of those with disease on reception		Total No. examined.	Proportion per 1,000 with history or presence of syphilis or gonorrhoea and standard errors.
		Syphilis	Gonorrhoea	Syphilis	Gonorrhoea		
16	All kinds	-	-	-	2	498	4.0 $\pm$ 2.8
17	"	-	5	-	4	917	5.6 $\pm$ 2.4
18	"	5	7	2	2	960	10.4 $\pm$ 3.3
19	"	4	12	3	9	904	17.7 $\pm$ 4.4
20	"	3	12	2	6	721	20.8 $\pm$ 5.3
Total	"	10	38	7	23	4000	12.0
16-17	Property	6	-	6	-	1283	4.7 $\pm$ 1.9
	Person	1	-	-	-	30	3.3 $\pm$ 32.8
18-19	Property	24	-	15	-	1696	14.2 $\pm$ 2.9
	Person	1	-	-	-	65	15.4 $\pm$ 15.3
20	Property	14	-	8	-	643	21.8 $\pm$ 5.8
	Person	1	-	-	-	37	27.0 $\pm$ 26.6
16-20	Sexual	-	-	-	-	125	Nil.
	Discipline	1	-	1	-	121	8.3 $\pm$ 8.2

Age group	Number of previous offences (Property group)	Number with history or presence of syphilis or gonorrhoea.		Number without history or presence of syphilis or gonorrhoea.		Statistical measure of association.		
		Recorded	Calculated	Recorded	Calculated	χ^2	n	P
16-17	0	4	3.2	673	673.8			
	1	1	1.9	406	406.1			
	2	1	0.7	143	143.3			
	3 or more	-	0.2	55	54.8			
	Total	6		1277		.431	1	>.5
18-19	0	13	13.7	954	953.3			
	1	7	6.3	441	441.7			
	2	4	2.8	191	192.2			
	3 or more	-	1.2	86	84.8			
	Total	24		1672		.116	2	>.9
20	0	6	7.2	326	324.8			
	1	5	3.9	176	177.1			
	2	-	1.8	81	79.2			
	3 or more	3	1.1	46	47.9			
	Total	14		629		.421	1	>.5

combined the proportion with a history or presence of venereal disease was 11.6 per 1,000 among the first offenders, and 12.8 per 1,000 among those with previous offences, the difference being inappreciable and of no significance.

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(f) **Rheumatism**

The term rheumatism was used widely in Table XXIV when the parents and relatives of the lads were considered. In adolescence the

TABLE LXXXIII

Frequency of Personal History of Rheumatism, according to Age, Nature of Offences in the Record and Number of Previous Convictions

Age group	Nature of Offences in Record	Number of previous offences	Number with history or presence of rheumatism	Number of those with history or presence of rheumatism on reception	Total Number examined.	Proportion per 1,000 with history or presence of rheumatism & standard errors.		
16	All kinds	-	17	1	498	34.1	±	8.1
17	"	-	34	1	917	37.1	±	6.2
18	"	-	26	2	960	27.1	±	5.1
19	"	-	28	-	904	31.0	±	5.8
20	"	-	22	-	721	30.5	±	6.4
Total	"	-	127	4	4080	31.8	±	2.8
16-20	Property	-	113	4	3622	31.2	±	2.9
	Person	-	7	-	152	53.0	±	19.5
	Sexual	-	1	-	125	8.0	±	8.0
	Discipline	-	6	-	181	33.6	±	19.7

Age group	Nature of Offences in Record	Number of previous offences	Number with history or presence of rheumatism		Number without history or presence of rheumatism		Statistical measure of Association		
			Recorded	Calculated	Recorded	Calculated	χ^2	n	P
16-20	Property (including property with discipline but not with person or sexual)	0	68	61.7	1918	1914.3			
		1	37	32.3	999	1003.7			
		2	12	13.1	408	406.9			
		3 or more	6	5.2	184	184.1			
		Total	113		3509		1.032	3	.8
16-20	Sexual with or without other kinds of offences	0	-	0.7	91	90.3			
		1	1	0.2	22	22.8			
		2	-	0.1	6	5.9			
		3 or more	-	0.0	5	5.0			
		Total	1		124				
16-20	Remainder (person with or without property or discipline and discipline alone.)	0	9	8.4	155	155.6			
		1	3	2.9	63	63.1			
		2	1	0.9	17	17.1			
		3 or more	-	0.8	15	14.2			
		Total	13		240		1.127	1	2.7

term is more restricted and is mainly associated with rheumatic fever and its various complications. Whilst "rheumatism" in older people is disabling chiefly on account of joint and muscular affections, rheumatic fever frequently damages the heart permanently, is likely to recur, and it is not uncommon for invalidism, more or less serious, to result.

It was pointed out in Chapter I that the lads considered in this investigation were drawn from an urban population, and rheumatic fever is an urban rather than a rural disease. The home environment is important as a contributory causative factor, and bad general hygienic conditions predispose towards it.¹ In an analysis of Diet in Relation to Rheumatic Affections, E. C. Warner² observed the apparent beneficial effect of diets high in fat as contrasted with diets rich in carbohydrates, and G. E. Friend³ found at Christ's Hospital also some indication that attacks of rheumatism were fewer and less severe when the proportion of fat to carbohydrate in the diet was high.

About 3 per cent. of the lads were rheumatic or of rheumatic history (Table LXXXIII). There was no significant variation with age. The proportions were higher in the groups with offences against the person, or against discipline only, than in the group with offences against property, but the excess was of doubtful significance, the differences being 21.8 ± 19.7 and 18.4 ± 19.9 per 1,000 respectively. The sexual offence group of 125 included only one with a rheumatic history, the expected number being four. No significant association with the number of previous offences was evident in any group.

(g) Chorea

Chorea, or St. Vitus' dance, is of special interest to the student of adolescent crime, as it is a spasmodic affection of the nervous system due to rheumatic infection and is accompanied by a variable degree of mental disturbance. It is frequently met with in the poorer classes rather than in the well-to-do, and in neurotic subjects. Irritability, mental depression, failure of attention and outbursts of anger may occur, and severe cases may be marked by excitement, delirium, hallucinations and delusions. It does not usually occur after the age of 20. Valvular disease of the heart is a common sequel of an attack. Healy⁴ finds that truancy, extensive lying, petty theft, and in girls the development of immoral sex tendencies may result from the disease.

¹ Lord Horder and A. E. Gow, Art. "Rheumatic Fever," Price's "Text-book of Medicine," 5th Edition (1937)

² E. C. Warner, *Proc Roy Soc. Med* (1934)

³ G. E. Friend, "The Schoolboy, His Nutrition, Physical Development and Health" (1935).

⁴ W. Healy, "The Individual Delinquent" (1915)

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About 1 per cent. of the lads exhibited or gave a history of chorea (Table LXXXIV). The proportion per 1,000 was significantly greater at ages 16-17 than at ages 18-20 years. This is difficult to explain unless the older lads tended to forget that they had suffered from chorea; the

TABLE LXXXIV

Frequency of Personal History of Chorea, according to Age, Nature of Offences in the Record and Number of Previous Convictions

Age group	Nature of offences in the Record.	Number with history or presence of chorea.	Number of those with chorea on reception.	Total Number examined.	Proportion per 1000 with history or presence of chorea and standard errors.			
16	All kinds	7		498	14.1 ± 6.3			
17	"	15	1	917	16.4 ± 4.2			
18	"	5	1	960	5.2 ± 2.3			
19	"	9	2	904	10.0 ± 3.3			
20	"	3	-	771	4.2 ± 2.4			
Total	"	39	4	4000	9.8			
16-17	Property	20	1	1283	15.6 ± 3.5			
	Person	-	-	30	Nil.			
	Sexual	2	-	56	35.7 ± 24.8			
	Discipline	-	-	46	Nil.			
	Total	22	1	1415	15.5 ± 3.3			
18-20	Property	15	2	2339	6.4 ± 1.6			
	Person	-	-	102	Nil.			
	Sexual	2	1	69	29.0 ± 20.2			
	Discipline	-	-	74	Nil.			
	Total	17	3	2585	6.6 ± 1.6			
	Number of Previous offences (property group.)	Number with history or presence of chorea		Number without history or presence of chorea.		Statistical measure of association.		
		Recorded	Calculated	Recorded	Calculated	χ^2	n	P
16-17	0	16	10.6	661	666.4			
	1	3	6.3	404	400.7			
	2	1	2.2	143	141.8			
	3 or more	-	0.9	55	4.1			
	Total	20		1263		5.946	1	.016
18-20	0	9	8.3	1290	1290.7			
	1	4	4.0	625	625.0			
	2	-	1.8	276	274.2			
	3 or more	2	0.9	135	134.1			
	Total	15		2324		.132	1	>.7

disease reaches its maximum incidence in the civil population between 10 and 15 years of age. There was no history of chorea among the discipline group of 120; but on the other hand the sexual offence group of 125 included five lads with choreic history, a probably significant excess over the expected number of one. Among the property group there

was a significant negative association between a choreic history and the number of previous offences at ages 16-17, that is an excess of chorea among the first offenders (23.6 per 1,000) and a deficiency among the repeated offenders (6.6 per 1,000), but at ages 18-20 the association was not appreciable.

•(h) Tuberculosis

• The ubiquity of tuberculosis is shown by the fact that some 70 to 80 per cent. of all cadavers carefully examined in Western countries show lesions due to the bacillus tuberculosis, and it is said that one-seventh of the whole race dies as a direct result of some form of this disease.¹ It may exist without appreciable disturbance to health and when localised may almost correspond with the duration of the life of the patient.

Taking the years 1933-34 again as a middle period in this investigation, and comparing the figures with the year 1925—as in the section above on Venereal Disease—it is found that the total number of new cases of tuberculosis included in the annual returns furnished by local authorities in connection with the Public Health (Tuberculosis) Regulations 1912 and 1930 was ² :—

Year	Pulmonary tuberculosis	Non-pulmonary tuberculosis
• 1925	60,770	20,667
1933	49,958	16,393
1934	48,208	16,022

The Ministry of Health in 1935 reported that the death-rate per million for pulmonary and non-pulmonary tuberculosis, respectively, namely, 635 and 128, a total of 763, was the lowest death-rate for tuberculosis recorded up to that date in this country. The above facts are introduced to afford a wide view of the problem of tuberculosis at all ages in the general population.

About 1.5 per cent. of the 4,000 lads were, or had been, tuberculous at ages 16-18, and about 2 per cent. at ages 19-20 years (Table LXXXV) The proportion at 19-20 was higher than at 16-18 by 7.2 per 1,000 with a standard error of 4.3, indicating a probably significant increase with age. When divided according to the nature of the offences in the record, there were five with a tuberculous history in the discipline group at all ages, compared with an expected number of two, but none of the variations was statistically significant. No significant association between tuberculosis and the number of previous offences is evident at any age. At

¹ Lord Horder and A. E. Gow, Art "Tuberculosis," Price's "Text-book of Medicine," 5th Edition (1937).

² "Sixteenth Annual Report of the Ministry of Health," 1934-35

TABLE LXXXV

Frequency of Personal History of Tuberculosis, according to Age, Nature of Offences in the Record and Number of Previous Convictions

Age group	Nature of offences in the Record.	Number with history or presence of tuberculosis.	Number of those with tuberculosis on reception	Total Number examined.	Proportion per 1000 with history or presence of tuberculosis and standard errors.			
16	All kinds	7	-	408	14.1 ± 5.3			
17	"	12	4	517	13.1 ± 3.8			
18	"	15	4	900	15.6 ± 4.0			
19	"	22	6	904	24.3 ± 5.1			
20	"	13	2	721	18.0 ± 5.0			
Total		69	16	4000	17.3			
16-18	Property	32	7	2159	14.8 ± 2.6			
	Person	-	-	67	Nil.			
	Sexual	-	-	77	Nil.			
	Discipline	2	1	72	27.8 ± 19.4			
	Total	34	8	2375	14.3 ± 2.4			
19-20	Property	28	8	1453	19.1 ± 3.6			
	Person	2	-	66	30.8 ± 21.4			
	Sexual	2	-	48	41.7 ± 28.9			
	Discipline	3	-	49	61.2 ± 34.2			
	Total	35	8	1625	21.5 ± 3.6			
	Number of previous offences (all kinds)	Number with history or presence of tuberculosis.		Number without history or presence of tuberculosis.		Statistical measure of association.		
		Recorded	Calculated	Recorded	Calculated	X ²	n	P
16-17	0	9	10.4	764	762.6			
	1	7	5.8	425	426.2			
	2	3	2.0	108	149.0			
	3 or more	-	0.8	59	58.2			
	Total	19		1396		422	1	>.6
18-19	0	21	21.5	1061	1060.5			
	1	8	9.5	471	469.5			
	2	6	4.1	202	202.9			
	3 or more	3	1.9	23	24.1			
	Total	37		1827		934	2	>.6
20	0	8	6.8	368	369.2			
	1	1	3.7	203	200.3			
	2	3	1.6	83	84.5			
	3 or more	1	1.0	54	54.0			
	Total	13		708		452	1	.6

all ages combined the proportion with a history or presence of tuberculosis was 17.0 per 1,000 among the first offenders and 17.5 per 1,000 among those with previous offences.

IV. Summary

The rate of progress of growth in the human body is variable, and is probably most active from 5 to 7 years and from 13 to 16 years of age. These two periods alternate with others when circumferential growth predominates. The most lawless age for males is probably somewhere about 13, and in 1937 the proportion of offenders remained above 10 per 1,000 until the age of 16. This suggests that rapidity of growth and frequency of offences are associated more than accidentally, but it must be recognized also that pubertal physical, physiological and psychical correlates introduce factors which affect conduct.

It has been said that when height undergoes an acceleration of its rate of growth the horizontal dimensions are retarded in their rate of growth, and conversely. Horizontal and vertical growth may proceed independently, the latter usually ceasing at about the age of 25, but the former may continue thereafter. The great majority of lads gain in height and weight during detention in a Borstal institution. Crime appears to result sometimes when the height, weight and muscular development are distinctly above normal. On the other hand, cases are met with when delayed growth and poor muscular development indirectly cause criminal conduct.

Kretschmer classifies physical characteristics under four headings: the asthenic, athletic, pyknic and dysplastic; and temperaments into two main groups: the schizothymes and cyclothymes. He considers a biological affinity exists between the cyclothymes, or manic-depressives and the pyknic group, and between the schizothymes and the asthenics, athletics and some dysplastics. Willemse and others have studied offenders on similar lines. Intermediate and mixed physical types, however, are found, and temperamental features are not always clearly defined. These hypotheses, therefore, do not seem to be applicable at present to the practical problems of adolescent crime.

It appears that character and conduct are affected to some extent by the hormones produced by the activity of the ductless glands of the body. The thyroid, pituitary, adrenal and reproductive glands are probably the most important in connection with crime. The actions of these substances on the individual and their interactions upon one another are complex and not yet fully worked out. Their association with crime is generally uncertain, and their therapeutic administration in the treatment of crime cannot be generally recommended, so far, with any degree of confidence.

There is often no association between the physical disease of an

offender and his offence, but crime is sometimes directly or indirectly associated with bodily illness, and advanced physical disease is not incompatible with the commission of grave crime.

No evidence was found of any association between repeated offences and stature. There was no statistically significant difference between the mean heights of first offenders, second offenders, and those with record of three or more offences. The mean height of lads with a record of offences both against property and the person was greater than in the sexual and discipline groups at ages 16, 17 and 19, and was not exceeded by any other group at 18, but at no age was the excess significant. It was also found that there was no tendency for lads convicted of crime to differ in stature from the general population of artisan town dwellers of the same ages.

In seven out of the ten half year age intervals, repeated offenders showed an excess of weight over first offenders greater than the probable error of the difference, whereas on a random basis the expected number of groups with such a measure of excess would be only two or three. There was no appreciable difference of mean weight between the first and second offenders, but some excess was apparent for those with a record of two or more previous convictions. This excess in weight of lads with more than one previous offence was observed at every age, and could not be accounted for by the difference in mean stature. The general improvement in health due to the diet and surroundings during detention in an approved school or Borstal institution may be a factor. The mean weight of the lads with record of offences both against property and the person was greater than for the sexual and discipline groups at every age, being significantly in excess of the general average at ages 16 and 17. The mean weight of the lads investigated, who were largely drawn from London, was well below that of London employed males of similar ages, but was consistently above the general urban industrial average. There was no certain evidence of any association of criminal tendencies with underweight.

These findings are not in agreement with those of Goring's relating to convicts. He stated that all criminals excepting those convicted of fraud were markedly differentiated from the general population in stature and body weight, that offenders convicted of violence to the person were characterised by an average degree of strength and of constitutional soundness above the average of other criminals and of the law-abiding community, and that thieves and burglars—who constituted 90 per cent.—as well as incendiaries, were inferior in stature and weight and puny in their general habit relatively to other criminals and to the population at

large. He considered these were the sole facts at the basis of criminal anthropology.

It should be also noted that Goring's Report appeared in the same year as the Mental Deficiency Act, 1913, but it was not until after the war of 1914-18 that institutions were available for the reception of feeble-minded persons from prisons. Among the 3,000 convicts examined by Goring were an unstated number of feeble-minded persons; among the 4,000 lads investigated at the Boys Prison were 125 who were certifiable under the Mental Deficiency Acts. Opinions as to the extent to which high grade mental defectiveness affects physique are, as Penrose points out, somewhat contradictory, and this is still more evident when deviations of intelligence between normal adults are studied. The effect of any such association upon the average physique of the 4,000 lads can scarcely have been appreciable, but this may not have been true of the convicts investigated by Goring.

In regard to chest girth, a slight excess for repeated offenders compared with first offenders was found in nine out of ten half-year age groups, and at age 16 lads with three or more previous convictions registered a statistically significant excess over lads with fewer convictions. No significant difference according to the nature of the offence was apparent at any age.

Pre-pubertal or pubescent development was noted in 20 per cent. of the lads of 16 and 17 years, in 6 per cent. of lads of 17 and 18, falling to about 2 per cent. in lads at 20 years. There was no significant difference according to the nature of offences.

Bad or impaired vision was found in about 12.5 per cent. of the lads, the proportion being higher at ages 19 to 20. Sexual offenders showed a significantly higher rate of incidence at this period.

Bad or impaired hearing appeared in about 4 per cent. of the lads. The proportion was significantly higher at ages 19-20. No significant difference between impaired hearing and nature of offence or number of previous convictions appeared.

Hernia was, or had been, present in about 2 per cent. of the lads, and other deformities in about 5 per cent. The proportion of lads with hernia increased from 12 per 1,000 at age 16 to 22 per 1,000 at 19-20 years. There was no consistent association between either hernia or deformity and nature of offence or number of previous offences.

The proportion of lads exhibiting or giving a history of well-defined adenoids at ages 16-17 was about 25 per 1,000, but at ages 18-20 only 13 per 1,000. This difference is statistically significant, but is difficult to explain. There were no significant differences according to the nature of

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the offences, but a history of adenoids was positively associated with the number of previous offences at both ages 16-17 and 18-20.

Sinusitis was present in about 2 per cent. of the lads. The variation according to age and nature and number of offences was not significant.

Encephalitis lethargica was, or had been, noted in about 6 per 1,000 of the lads, and other forms of encephalitis in about 11 per 1,000. There was no evidence of significant variation in the proportion according to age, nature or number of offences.

About 5 per 1,000 of the lads at ages 16-17 gave a history of gonorrhœa; the rate was about 21 per 1,000 at the age of 20, a significant increase, and probably due to greater sexual enterprise in the older lads.

Rheumatism or rheumatic fever was noted in about 3 per cent. of the lads. There was no significant variation with age or number of offences. There was an excess of doubtful significance in the person and discipline groups both for gonorrhœa and rheumatism.

About 1 per cent. of the lads exhibited or gave a history of chorea. The proportion per 1,000 was significantly greater at ages 16-17 than at 18-20. The reason for this is obscure. There was no history of chorea among 132 lads with a record of offences against the person, nor in the discipline group of 120. The sexual group included five lads with choreic history, although the expected number was only one. There was a significant excess of chorea among the first offenders at ages 16-17.

At ages 16-18 about 1.5 per cent. of the 4,000 lads were or had been tuberculous, and about 2 per cent. at ages 19-20 years. There was no significant association between tuberculosis and the nature and number of offences.

CHAPTER VIII

MENTAL CONDITION, DEFECT AND DISEASE

I. Discussion

THE mental imagery of an adolescent or adult is usually intimately associated with the past and the future. In adolescence the omnipotence of the future is often well-marked, whereas in old age the past may be omnipresent. In some forms of mental defectiveness and mental disease the present seems to be isolated from the past which is unremembered, and from the future which is unforeseen.

Mental normality eludes definition, but for practical purposes is represented by the mental condition of the average man; frank mental abnormalities can usually be classified with a considerable degree of precision, but the ascertainment of pathological mental states in the very early stages may present difficulties.

The average man adjusts himself to his circumstances and surroundings generally without difficulty, at other times only as the result of laborious achievement. The fact that a person is able to live successfully and harmoniously in society is not conclusive evidence of normality. There is, for example, reason to believe that *inverts*¹ with high ethical standards, which direct them to lead chaste and continent lives, find in moral and intellectual sublimation a happy issue from their homosexual tendencies, and thereby attain approved citizenship, although the sexual abnormality persists.

Adolescents who are endowed with average or superior ability and social capacity endeavour to gain the economic and social positions which satisfy their ambitions, and are in agreement with their personal inclinations. Pressure of circumstances, however, often brings about disappointment and wrong placement which may result in disharmony and encourage anti-social conduct. Fortunately, the resilience of youth offsets this to a large extent, and the fact that so many lads aim higher than their parents and reach their goals is proof of their courage and vigour.

The lad who is above the average in ability and character may be willing to forego his leisure and recreation in order to satisfy ambition and

¹ *Inverts*. the term used for apparently congenital and fixed forms of homosexuality which are not acquired.

gain the success which he believes to be within his capacity. But if orderly thought and the systematic conduct dependent upon conventional life become disorganized from any cause he may find himself, like others, bewildered, and the difficulties due to immature experience and judgment accentuated by the very qualities which contribute to his superiority.

Intelligence and character are essential to the efficient conduct of individual and communal life. The person who is endowed with a high degree of intelligence may be deficient in many other respects, but, as W. McDougall¹ pointed out, if he is not grossly deficient in these he has a good prospect of getting on in the world ; a prospect, however, which is greater if he also possesses character of high degree.

Clara F. Chassell,² as a result of a recent statistical enquiry in America, considers the conclusion is apparently justified that there is a direct and marked relation between morality and intellect among feeble-minded groups, and a direct and low relation among delinquent groups both in America and abroad. She also considers that the relation between morality and intellect in the general population is considerably higher than that usually found in restricted groups, but that it is hardly probable that this relation is high.

A considerable amount of latitude is still used regarding the meaning of the word "intelligence." Leading investigators in America were invited to state what they meant by the term, and the replies of thirteen of them appeared in the *Journal of Educational Psychology* in April, 1921. Some regarded intelligence as a single ability common to all intellectual processes, others, as a group of two or three abilities of varying degrees of generality ; still others regarded it merely as a convenient term for the average of all specific abilities.

Bleuler³ regards it as "a complex of many functions which can be differently developed in every individual." Ballard⁴ looks upon intelligence as "the relative general efficiency of minds measured under similar conditions of knowledge, interest and habituation."

The word is sometimes used as a convenient term to denote the cognitive function of the mind, and is applied to the various processes by which knowledge is built up, and, as stated by Wolf,⁵ is sometimes restricted to conceptual processes as distinct from processes of sense perception. Wolf considers the terms intelligence and understanding should be restricted to the mental functions of apprehending connections.

¹ W. McDougall, "An Outline of Psychology" (1928).

² Clara Frances Chassell, "The Relation between Morality and Intellect" (1935).

³ Eugen Bleuler, "A Text-book of Psychiatry," English edition by A. A. Brill (1936).

⁴ P. B. Ballard, "Group Tests of Intelligence" (1923).

⁵ Abraham Wolf, Art. "Intelligence," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th Edition, 1937).

Cyril Burt¹ defines intelligence as "inborn general intellectual ability." He considers that "it is to be distinguished from attainments—which are acquired and not inborn; from special abilities—which are limited and not general; and from temperament and character which are, in their essence, emotional rather than intellectual." W. McDougall² considered intelligence was the capacity to improve upon native tendency in the light of past experience, whereas instinct was the native or inborn capacity for purposive action.

In practice, intelligence is generally understood to signify an innate mental ability to perceive, conceive, understand and profit by experience. Briefly, the ability to acquire and apply knowledge, or, as Kretschmer³ puts it, the ability to acquire and utilise concepts.

Two French psychologists, Alfred Binet and Th. Simon, were the first to devise a practical method of testing intelligence and a standard to enable the ability of one child to be compared with that of others. The tests consist of simple questions and problems which gradually increase in difficulty for the higher ages. Other workers have introduced revised tests, and some prefer to use those they have devised for particular purposes. Individual tests are desirable when there is any doubt as to the intelligence of the person undergoing examination, but in other cases group testing is time-saving where large numbers are being dealt with, and, except in cases of illiteracy, is sufficiently precise for many purposes.

Character has been discussed briefly in Chapter III. It is the preponderating regulating and co-ordinating force, intelligence is the specifically directing force, of conduct. The old division of the mind into cognitive, conative and affective functions, into knowing, willing and feeling, emphasized the importance of the emotions and the will as well as the intelligence in daily life.

Cognition includes intelligence, discrimination and those other mental processes by which knowledge is established. It is readily distinguished from conation and affection and is inseparable from them; but one, and sometimes another predominates.

Conation and will are sometimes used as synonymous terms, but the latter is also used in the restricted sense of deliberate action in contrast to impulsive action. We are not concerned here with academic discussions as to freedom of choice, or whether conduct is the predetermined resultant of many complex factors. For practical purposes it is sufficient to remember that purposive striving is a conscious urge which we conveniently

¹ Cyril Burt, "The Young Delinquent" (1925)

² W. McDougall, "An Outline of Psychology" (1928)

³ Ernst Kretschmer, "Text-book of Medical Psychology," English edition, translated by E. B. Strauss (1934).

call "will," whether it be free or predetermined, and that willing is precedent to voluntary action.

Affection or feeling may be pleasant or unpleasant, and like cognition and conation influences the action of the individual upon his environment.

The origin of criminal conduct can be usually traced to reactions which are dependent upon the ordinary human instincts; aggressive, acquisitive, self-preservative, sexual, parental and gregarious. The emotional qualities which accompany instinctive action, and their bodily expressions, if such can be observed, serve as indicators of the instinct involved. But it is not to be lightly assumed that the instincts act with the same force in everyone. Indeed, it is a matter of daily experience that they vary considerably. Neither is it to be taken for granted that our personal reaction to a particular instinct is normal. Whether the reaction is an average one or not depends upon general and not individual experience unless the latter is specially informed and exceptionally unbiassed, since the experience of most people is limited and their views lack critical self-analysis. For example, an aged and frigid spinster may be a most imperfect judge of sexual conduct. On the other hand, as a result of his special knowledge and experience, the medical psychologist who is constantly dealing with sexual offenders comes to accept a more generous attitude towards sexual perversions than those who are less acquainted with the subject.

The analysis of the sex instinct by Freud, Havelock Ellis, Forel, Krafft-Ebing, Bloch, Hirschfeld, Moll, Nacke and many others, together with the clinical studies of prison psychiatrists, have thrown much light upon normal and abnormal sexual activities and sexual crime. There can be no doubt that a more detailed analysis of the other instincts, and studies bearing upon their interactions, will further elucidate criminal conduct. For whilst intensive study has contributed order to our knowledge of sexual perversion, there has been, so far, little scientific observation or constructive systematization of our knowledge of perverted aggressive, assertive or acquisitive conduct.

R. M. Yerkes¹ states: "Something like one-third of our lives is instinct, as much is habit and the remainder is in process of becoming one or the other." Some observers consider the difference between a stereotyped response which is instinctive and one which is the result of habit lies in the fact that the former is innate and the latter acquired. The eminent French philosopher Henri Bergson² draws a distinction between habit and memory; habit, he says, is of the body, memory of the mind.

¹ R. M. Yerkes, "Introduction to Psychology" (1911).

² H. Bergson, "Matière et Mémoire" (1896)

W. McDougall¹ considered that the common assumption that habit and memory are fundamentally identical functions and both alike explicable by the principles of association—understood in terms of paths of low resistance in the brain—was highly disputable.

Whatever view is taken of habit, and whether it is considered from the physiological or psychological aspect, the fact remains that habits are labour-saving and useful to the individual if they serve a good purpose. Nevertheless, they limit behaviour and are sometimes harmful. Indeed, habit formation is a very important factor in the causation of persistent criminality.

The importance of instinctive action in connection with crime lies in its associated emotion, whether this be anger, elation, a feeling of possession, fear, love, tenderness or a feeling of loneliness. Closely allied to the emotions, and relatively important in criminal conduct, are the moods, the affective-conative facts of immediate experience (McDougall). Whereas emotions are only aroused in specific circumstances, and each particular emotion is connected with a particular instinct or tendency to action, moods may have no particularly intimate association with any single circumstance, are more persistent than emotions, and tend to distort the outlook of the person whilst they last. In ordinary conditions the prevailing mood may be linked up with behaviour, criminal or non-criminal, and the association is often apparent when conduct is the result of mental disease.

MENTAL DEFECTIVENESS. It is sometimes suggested that the bulk of the prison population is defective. This is very far from the truth, and unless the legal definition is adhered to, research into the mental conditions associated with crime is impeded by confusion of ideas and unwarranted assumptions. It is important that the association between crime and feeble-mindedness should be recognized, but it is also important that it should not be exaggerated.

In Chapter III mental defectiveness was defined in the terms of the Mental Deficiency Act, 1927, as "a condition of arrested or incomplete development of mind existing before the age of 18 years whether arising from inherent causes or induced by disease or injury." This is a legal and not a medical definition. A curious result sometimes occurs when anti-social conduct is a sequel to an attack of a disease such as encephalitis lethargica. If the patient is a subject of this disease before the age of 18, he may be certified as mentally defective if aberrant conduct justifies his inclusion within the definition, although the symptoms which necessitate certification do not appear until the patient is 19 years

¹ W. McDougall, "Outline of Psychology," 4th Edition (1928).

old or more. If, however, the symptoms are due to an attack of encephalitis lethargica after the patient is 18 years of age he cannot be so certified, although it may be possible to certify him as insane.

Idiots ; form the lowest grade of mentally defective persons, and include those who are so deeply defective in mind from birth or an early age that they are unable to guard themselves against common dangers. They do not appear in a criminal court.

Imbeciles ; the next grade, are incapable of managing themselves or their affairs, and in the case of children are incapable of being taught to do so. A few adolescent and adult offenders belong to this class.

Feeble-minded persons ; the highest grade of mentally defective persons, require care, supervision and control for their own protection or for the protection of others, and are the largest group of defectives met with in prison.

Moral defectives ; present mental defectiveness coupled with strongly vicious or criminal propensities so that they require care, supervision and control for the protection of others. This small group of defectives is extremely important as criminal conduct often results, and the diagnosis is difficult unless a very detailed account of the past history as well as the present conduct of the offender is available. This will show perhaps no lack of intelligence, but that from childhood the patient has been uncertain and unreliable, cruel, untruthful and regardless of the feelings of his parents and others. As he grows older his conduct becomes more outrageous, he lies and steals in a more or less purposeless manner, he is aggressive and sexually uncontrolled. He lives for the moment and only for himself, his moral judgments are grossly impaired, and he lacks wisdom. He is generally believed to be mentally abnormal by those who are acquainted with his history. His defectiveness is shown in his inability to succeed in his undertakings. He may commit minor offences, but there is no specialization and theft, fraud, burglary, bigamy, sexual offences, arson and murder may be directly due to the mental condition. He is a serious danger to society, but his defectiveness may escape detection unless it is evident from the history that instinctive behaviour is affected generally and not in any single direction.

The importance of heredity as a causal factor of mental defectiveness is suggested in the legal definition. It was referred to in Chapter III and the division of mentally defective persons into primary or inherited and secondary or environmental—whether pre-natal or post-natal—groups was mentioned. A. F. Tredgold¹ estimates 80 per cent. of defective patients are primary, and 20 per cent. secondary. F. C. Shrubbsall and

¹ A. F. Tredgold, "Mental Deficiency," 5th Edition (1929).

A. C. Williams¹ found in 10,000 defective schoolchildren 7,124 were primary, excluding mongols, cretins and microcephalics. If Tredgold's view is accepted and these three groups are included in the primary division the proportion is 78 per cent. and corresponds closely with Tredgold's estimate. Since the defectives received into prison are usually higher grade cases, and the 20 per cent. due to environmental causes are generally low grade forms, the number of inherited cases received into prison is high. It will therefore suffice to state that environmental types of defectiveness may be due to gross lesions of the brain and to certain other morbid conditions.

Some crimes committed by defectives bear the hall-mark of mental weakness. An extreme example is recorded by F. C. Shrubsall and A. C. Williams² of a lad who stole a bottle of whisky and tried to sell it to a policeman on point duty. But no crime is peculiar to mental defectiveness, and in many there is little or nothing in the attendant circumstances to suggest mental abnormality. Theft, embezzlement and false pretences form the largest group of offences committed by defectives, sexual offences and offences against the Vagrancy Acts are frequent; crimes of violence, burglary and housebreaking are not uncommon, and arson and murder occasionally result. When an adult has maintained himself efficiently in earlier life, a diagnosis of mental defectiveness may present difficulties, although the crime appears to be unusual and the mental condition of the offender subnormal.

It will be convenient to refer here to the large and important group of *subnormal* offenders. It includes a considerable number of actual and potential persistent offenders who are slightly below the average in intelligence and social capacity, but present insufficient evidence to justify their certification under the Mental Deficiency Acts. It also includes the *constitutional psychic inferiors*—those whose character is faulty, using the term character for the moral and acquired conative activities which are developed within the lifetime of the individual. The importance of this group is due to the fact that any kind of crime may be associated with the condition, and conative effort is wanting in situations which demand it. The desire for immediate satisfaction supplants wisdom and restraint, and a criminal habit may develop and become canalised.

Taking the years 1933 and 1934 as representing the middle period of this investigation, as was done in the previous chapter, it is found that the number of defectives of both sexes who were received into prisons and Borstal institutions and were certifiable under the Mental Deficiency Acts

¹ F. C. Shrubsall and A. C. Williams, "Mental Deficiency Practice" (1932)

² *Op. cit.*

was 450. During the same period 838 offenders of both sexes received into prisons and Borstal institutions were found to be insane.

MENTAL DISEASES. Mental disorders are to be differentiated from mental defectiveness and are essentially disturbances of minds which previously appeared to be normal. For purposes of classification and practical convenience the more frequent varieties are regarded as diseases. Mental disorder may be present in citizens who are socially efficient, but if the condition is of such a nature that the resulting conduct demands legal interference the person is said to be insane, and different standards of insanity are applied by law to meet different situations. For example, the test of insanity required to support a defence of irresponsibility for a crime is different from that required to support the testamentary capacity of a patient desiring to make a will.

The importance of heredity as a causal factor of mental disease was considered in Chapter III. Adverse environmental factors are more likely to give rise to mental disease if inheritance is a predisposing influence. The physiological epochs of puberty, adolescence, the climacteric in women and the senium in men may act as predisposing causes.

Among exciting causes of mental disease may be noted bodily diseases which interfere with nutrition and induce bodily exhaustion, structural damage to the brain as a result of head injury or lesion of the brain, poisons such as alcohol, morphine, cocaine and certain other chemical substances, the toxic effect of some bacterial infections together with psychogenic factors such as domestic anxiety, bereavement, business and financial worries, and long continued fears or disappointments in the sexual and other spheres of life.

Mental disease, whether psychotic or psycho-neurotic, can be regarded as a disturbance of the personality. In the psychoses—for example, manic-depressive disease and schizophrenia—a change occurs in the whole personality of the patient and reality is qualitatively altered. In the psycho-neuroses the personality is changed in part only, and reality is qualitatively unaffected. In some examples of mental disease the symptoms can be regarded as types of reaction on the part of the patient to meet conflicting situations which he is unable to solve by selective action.

Formerly, writers on insanity devoted much attention to adolescent insanity. A study of the cases described under this heading shows that they were, for the most part, examples of the conditions known to-day as manic-depressive disease and schizophrenia.

In the previous chapter reference was made to Kretschmer's view of

the affinity between manic-depressive disease and the pyknic physique, and between schizophrenia and the bodily characters of athletics, asthenics and certain dysplastics. The physical characters cannot be relied upon as aids to diagnosis in either mental condition, although in both manic-depressive disease and schizophrenia a deep-seated constitutional factor is operating. It is more important to remember in criminal cases that both diseases appear in minor and major forms.

• *Manic-depressive Disease.* Many persons in daily life exhibit the manic-depressive temperament, their mood changes from elation to depression without apparent cause. When this becomes pathological the fully developed manic-depressive psychosis may be manifested, but many gradations are found between the two extremes. In some patients periods of elation and depression recur with more or less frequency throughout life, in others elation or depression recurs alone, and sometimes a single attack of elation or depression is not repeated.

In the minor forms associated with crime the abnormality may be so slight as to escape notice unless the history of the patient and the circumstances of his offence are considered in detail. The mood-swings from elation to depression may be transient and the offender may have regained his normal mental level before he comes under observation, and the true position, although perhaps suspected, may only be determined if another emotional period occurs and is witnessed.

In adults, and less frequently in adolescents, the situation is sometimes obscured by alcohol which may have been taken during, and in consequence of, an elated or depressed period and exaggerates the condition until its effects have passed off.

In manic-depressive disease the symptoms in the manic phase are, broadly speaking, the result of increased mental and motor excitability. The mood is elated but labile, happiness may suddenly give way to anger, and laughter to tears. Thinking is rapid, and a flight of ideas may be connected with words and phrases which are phonetically alike or merely accidentally associated. In marked cases a sustained single line of thought is impossible, partly on account of the innumerable ideas which force themselves into the mind of the patient in rapid sequence, and in part to the ease with which he is distracted from the idea of the moment by a chance remark. The patient usually has no insight into his condition and his judgment is impaired. Mis-statements and misrepresentations are made and the tendency for delusions and hallucinations to occur is associated with the amount of confusion and excitability present. In severe cases the press of motor activity is incessant, and may constantly change in direction, although occasionally it appears to be directed towards an

ultimate purpose. The absence of premeditation and the ever-changing ideas lessen the liability to commit homicidal attacks which are not infrequent in the depressed phase of the disease, but impulsive conduct which offends against the law may occur. Sexual desire may be increased but potency is diminished ; sleep and the desire for food may be affected. As already stated, the symptoms may be so slight as only to be detected by a skilled observer. On the other hand, they may be so marked as to be obvious to all.

A period of gloom, such as affects many people from time to time, may be the only indication of a minor depressive phase in a manic-depressive subject. It includes his business, home and usual interests. In more severe forms the depression is intense, there is loss of interest in life, thought and action become harassing, the trivial annoyances of everyday life assume exaggerated importance, and possible calamities are anticipated. In extreme forms the patient is incapable of carrying out his duties and is unable to avoid his painful thoughts. He may discuss them with a sympathetic listener, he may only answer in monosyllables, or not at all. At times he continually refers to his misery and reiterates the impossibility of his recovery. He may have insight regarding his condition, and judgment regarding matters unconnected with himself may be unimpaired unless the depression is overwhelming. Moral, religious and personal beliefs may then be distorted and delusions and hallucinations assert themselves. Sleep and appetite are seriously disturbed and sexual desire diminished. Suicidal thoughts are frequent in all stages of depression and the majority of crimes in the depressed phase are the result of violence. Homicide is often the result of delusions and may be due to deliberation or impulse.

The text-book description of the symptoms of a disease, whether physical or mental, is rarely fully represented in a single patient, for it is a composite picture made up from a study of the symptoms found in a large number of persons affected by the same morbid process. The symptoms present in any individual case depend, to some extent, upon personal reactions, so that in one patient particular symptoms predominate which may be absent in another. The stamping of the personality on the morbid process is nowhere more apparent than in cases of mental abnormality and the brief outlines of the abnormal states set out herein should be considered in the light of this proviso.

Carl Jung, the Swiss psychologist, classifies men into the extroverted and the introverted types and subdivides these into feeling, thinking, intuitive and sensational sub-types. The extrovert is mainly concerned with his external circumstances and material surroundings, he associates

himself with the people about him and with their affairs; his emotions and impulses gain ready expression in action. The introvert is concerned with his own inner life, his emotions and impulses tend to be suppressed, and give rise to reflection rather than to action.

The manic-depressive, cycloid or cyclothymic personality, in the elated phase, is an example of extroversion. The schizophrenic, schizoid or schizothymic personality now to be described is representative of introversion.

* *Schizophrenia*.¹—The schizoid personality has often shown slight peculiarities of conduct from early years. He has been quiet, shy, retiring and solitary, much given to day-dreaming, and taking little interest in his associates or the ordinary affairs and recreations appropriate to his age. He withdraws into himself and his unavoidable dealings with his fellows lack affinity and reciprocity. Some schizoids are tender-minded, affectionate and submissive; others are suspicious, hostile and refractory. Some devote much time to the study of an abstruse subject and neglect the practical affairs of life, others pass the time in barren idleness. Kretschmer² points out that the superior type of schizoid may be a subtle-minded enthusiast and unworldly idealist. If his bent is scientific he may turn to metaphysics and philosophical argument. If practical, he tends to be tenaciously energetic, uncompromising, dogmatic and dominating. The inferior type provides many egoists, cranks and criminals.

In the fully declared disease schizophrenia—split mind—the entire psychic life is involved, cognitive, conative and affective. The patient becomes extremely reserved, secretive, and more solitary than before. He avoids others and may refuse to speak or hold any communication with anyone. He appears to be entirely withdrawn from reality, but there is no intellectual defect and usually no clouding of consciousness, but intellectual laziness is apparent in the manner in which he repeats questions or declares his ignorance of the matter being discussed. He sometimes copies the chance movements of the examiner, but refuses to comply with a request. He may become careless in his habits, untidy, dirty, aggressive, non-co-operative, and resistant. Some remain for long periods in a fixed position when so placed by the physician. They may pass into a condition of stupor. Stereotyped phrases and odd mannerisms may appear and the latter may be of diagnostic importance where feigned insanity is suspected, as the malingerer does not adopt

¹ The term "schizophrenia" has replaced the older term "dementia præcox" which is still sometimes used when the disease is incurable.

² E. Kretschmer, "Text-book of Medical Psychology," translated by E. B. Strauss (1934).

them when he believes himself to be unobserved. The emotional life is profoundly disturbed, the patient appears to be unaffected by bad news, and will smile when speaking of a recent bereavement. An emotional outburst of misery or anger may occur and result in a sudden homicidal attack, or a sudden sexual urge may declare itself in an indecent assault or in rape. If delusions develop they may be transient, but fixed delusions are common and are generally persecutory in character. They are often accompanied by hallucinations and not infrequently result in murder.

The waning social capacity in schizophrenia is sometimes demonstrated by the history of an offender. A lad aged 21½ years was convicted of assault and wilful damage. His mother was dead, he was the youngest in a family of three and no history of mental abnormality was known among his relatives. He was admitted to a residential school where he worked hard, but was quick-tempered and resented supervision; he then went to a training college and later to a training colony. At the age of 17 he went to live with his father and obtained regular employment. Some eight months later he threw a pail of hot water over a woman who had reprimanded him and then took some carbolic fluid with suicidal intent. He was sentenced to a short term of imprisonment. His general health at this time was good, but he was rather under weight. There was insufficient evidence to certify him under the Mental Deficiency or Lunacy Acts, but it was thought that he belonged to the schizoid type of offender. He was placed under the care of a charitable organisation on release but refused help, and a few months later was arrested for being on enclosed premises. He was bound over, but the next month was sentenced to a short term of imprisonment for wilful damage to a door, and again a few months later for damaging a window. During the latter sentence he was idle and disobedient and assaulted another lad, but there was still insufficient evidence to justify his certification as being of unsound mind. The following year he was examined by a county medical officer with a like result. Shortly afterwards he broke the window of a chapel and a cottage and two plate-glass windows in a shop, and remained in the vicinity until arrested. He said he broke the windows to obtain lodgings for the night, and was calm and collected and conducted himself well during several months subsequent imprisonment. A few months after release he broke another valuable shop window in another district and was again imprisoned. He appeared to be deteriorating mentally; he was idle and disobedient and inclined to be solitary, and was much preoccupied with his own thoughts, but there was still insufficient evidence to justify certification. Shortly after release from this sentence he was arrested on a charge of assault and wilful damage. He hurled a stone through the

windscreen of a motor coach. He said he "was not right," and had thrown stones at several motor cars and missed them until he succeeded in striking the coach. Just before doing this he met two men walking together, asked them for a match with which to light his cigarette, and then made an unprovoked assault upon one of them. The mental disease was now fully declared. On reception into prison he was solitary, introspective and subject to attacks of mental depression, although he said he was happy and comfortable. His facial expression lacked animation, he laughed during the medical interview for no apparent reason, and made grimaces and exhibited certain mannerisms. He heard imaginary voices and had delusions that he was persecuted. He was transferred to a mental hospital.

Other Mental Diseases. Other forms of mental disease such as paranoia, juvenile general paralysis, and those due to alcoholic, epileptic, exhaustive and metabolic states are less often met with in adolescent offenders, and need not be considered in detail here.

PSYCHO-NEUROSES. In the minor forms of mental disease classed as the psycho-neuroses—hysteria, obsessive-compulsive states, anxiety states and neurasthenia—the patient remains in contact with the realities of life, but differs from the average person in the degree of his symptoms. In the more pronounced examples conduct may be so grossly affected that if a legal offence results the criminal responsibility of the accused may require investigation, and his detention during His Majesty's pleasure as an insane person may become necessary.

Hysteria is the commonest psycho-neurosis met with in offenders. The symptoms of illness subserve the unrecognized and not fully conscious desire of the patient to obtain advantage in feeling from an unpleasant emotional situation. They may be sensory, motor or mental, and accord with the hysterical person's idea of the different diseases in which they occur. He may become anæsthetic or paralysed, but neither condition corresponds with the distribution of loss of sensation or of movement due to organic disease. If symptoms of insanity appear they are incongruous and easily differentiated from actual insanity, except occasionally when they may resemble the extravagant behaviour of some schizophrenics. Fits may occur and range from fainting attacks to convulsive seizures resembling epilepsy. Mutism, blindness and deafness may be present, but without any lesion to account for their onset. The hysterical offender often protests that he has no recollection of the events connected with the crime; his desire to forget seems to enable him to do so. He may assert that he does not know his age and that he is unable to understand simple questions, although he is otherwise mentally alert and able to

adapt himself to the situation. When told to carry out an instruction he sometimes does it incorrectly and often in a reverse manner. In some cases consciousness is clouded and the patient may become dissociated and demonstrate a dual or multiple personality, in which double or multiple memory formations are disconnected from each other. At the same time, the patient may wander from home and carry out a series of purposive acts which are foreign to his normal self and are afterwards forgotten. The symptoms, whether physical or mental, are frequently histrionic in character; self-inflicted injuries, swallowing foreign bodies, and attempts at suicide are often observed in criminal cases. The suicidal attempts are not usually serious but may inadvertently succeed.

As already stated, hysterical symptoms enable the patient to avoid an emotionally unpleasant situation. It is therefore not surprising that mental symptoms arise in a hysterical subject when arrested on a criminal charge. Insanity is feigned by an arrested criminal who is not a hysterical personality for a like reason, and a differential diagnosis between the two conditions, which imperceptibly shade one into another, is important. The essential difference appears to lie in the level of consciousness in which the symptoms originate. In the hysteric they appear to serve an unconscious subjective purpose—the avoidance of reality. In the malingerer there is a conscious objective motive, namely, the deception of others, serving a subjective desire.

Crimes associated with hysteria include theft, forgery, sending threats by letters, arson, common and indecent assaults, attempted murder and murder.

Obsessive-compulsive states are less frequently associated with criminal conduct than is often supposed. In a series of 406 offenders who were specially investigated because their mental condition appeared to be suitable for psychological treatment, only two showed an obsessional symptom which was undoubtedly connected with the offence.¹ It is, however, common for an offender to allege that an obsession or compulsion so dominated him that he was obliged to commit theft, assault or other crime with which he is charged. His account is usually found to lack the essentials of a genuine obsessive or compulsive act.

Anxiety States. Anxiety is a common and sometimes paralysing factor in daily life, as well as a frequent symptom in various forms of mental illness. In the ordinary affairs of life circumstances may give rise to anxiety which may persist until the situation is solved. In morbid anxiety there is no obvious reason for the emotional tension and the

¹ W. Norwood East and W. H. de B. Hubert, "The Psychological Treatment of Crime" (1939).

restlessness which may accompany it. The condition of fear, apprehension and doubt may be mild or severe, intermittent or continuous, and may be accompanied by insomnia. Although imprisonment tends, on the whole, to diminish anxiety on account of the routine life, the removal of responsibility and the necessity to make decisions, nevertheless, worry over the future and separation from relatives and similar factors may lead to the appearance of anxiety states in those predisposed. In some cases of anxiety the sufferer wanders from home and may be arrested for vagrancy, or for theft as he usually leaves home without any preparation and may steal to obtain food. In adults, alcohol is sometimes taken to counteract the feeling of fear. Irritability and impulsiveness may be related to the anxiety, but an impulsive crime in an anxiety subject should not be attributed to the morbid mental state unless the connection is clear.

Neurasthenia. The above psycho-neuroses have sometimes been loosely grouped under the heading of neurasthenia. But the modern view is to restrict this term to conditions where weakness and exhaustion are essential features. The neurasthenic patient is irritable, hypersensitive and depressed, fatigued and unable to concentrate on matters requiring thought, he may be unable to deal with a new problem which he could easily solve if well, and may become mildly confused in a position of ordinary difficulty. He may sleep badly, and entertain mild persecutory ideas. A tendency to become slightly obsessional and hypochondriacal is sometimes present. Suicidal attempts, wandering and other minor offences may be associated with this condition.

MENTAL INEFFICIENCY. Under this heading are included here certain mental abnormalities which restrict social usefulness. For convenience cycloids and schizoids have already been considered. There remain paranoid personalities, unstable adolescents, temperamentally unstable adults and psychologically maladjusted persons, including alcoholists, drug addicts and sexual perverts.

Paranoid personalities are suspicious and complaining, ready to blame the world for the difficulties and unpleasant situations in which they find themselves, which are often the result of their own mistaken efforts. They are jealous, and may be socially dangerous; in a small community because they tend to make mischief, in a larger community because they may impress others with their imaginary grievances and distorted views, and induce them to form socially hostile groups. Their conduct is often canalised and tenaciously fixed in its course, and when this leads to crime such as breaking windows, sending threatening letters, knocking frequently at the same person's front door, or refusing to obey an order of a court of law in order to indulge in a grievance, real or

imaginary, imprisonment proves to be generally ineffective. Circumstances may distort thought and conduct, and in course of time delusions which are fixed and systematized may be declared and herald the onset of paranoid disease.

Unstable Adolescents. The instability of youth is usually attributable to physiological as well as psychological factors. The general emotional disturbance is expressed by uncertain conduct, which is often a transient, outburst of anger and self-assertion, and sometimes one of tears and short-lived misery. An emotional attachment to an associate may be quickly aroused and as quickly transferred. Extravagant self-regard together with labile thought and conduct encourage social inefficiency and often lead to various kinds of crime. Many lads become stabilised. The passage of time shows others to be essentially similar to the next mentioned group

Temperamentally unstable adult offenders are, briefly, those in whom the inborn dispositions and temperaments are ill-fitted for social requirements, and whose dynamic response to an environmental stimulus may be excessive in one or other direction. They are socially explosive and tend to react instantaneously to any external stimulus by a criminal or non-criminal activity.

Psychologically maladjusted persons may commit crime as the result of a mental conflict. Many alcoholists, drug addicts and sexual pervers come under this heading. In this country, however, lads are not often alcoholists or drug addicts.¹

Sexual Pervers. A true sexual perversion may be regarded as a sexual activity in which complete satisfaction is sought and obtained without the necessity for heterosexual intercourse. It must be persistently indulged in, preferably in reality, at any rate in phantasy, and must not be merely a substitute for a preferred heterosexual activity which for some environmental reason is difficult to obtain. Investigation of a large number of pervers shows that it is possible to regard true sexual perversion as fundamentally a simple tendency. One does not often meet with a case of "pure" perversion, as besides the main activity there is nearly always a conspicuous interest in, and frequently a performance of, other perversions.² In many adolescents who engage in sexual perversions the offending conduct is not due to a personality factor, but to environmental circumstances.

¹ During the year 1937 only 38 persons of both sexes under the age of 17 were found guilty of offences against the Intoxicating Liquor Laws in a summary court, and no persons under the age of 20 were proceeded against under the Dangerous Drugs Acts, 1920-32.

² W. Norwood East and W. H. de B. Hubert, "The Psychological Treatment of Crime" (1939).

II. Intelligence

Reference has already been made to standard tests of intelligence and to group and individual tests. The group tests used in this investigation were those introduced by P. B. Ballard, and are known as the Columbian Mental Tests.

TABLE LXXXVI

Columbian Rating of Intelligence of 9,678 Lads aged 16-23 years tested during 1934-37¹

Columbian rating.	Numbers in each rating group.	Mean rating of groups	
		Calculated exactly.	Calculated from central values of five groups
1-	4	14.96	10.5
5-	45		
11-	90		
16-	140		
21-	183		
26-	220	32.38	30.5
31-	318		
36-	384		
41-	611		
46-	652	61.32	50.5
51-	773		
56-	892		
61-	986		
66-	980	70.29	70.5
71-	978		
76-	844		
81-	776		
86-	521	86.42	90.5
91-	256		
96-100	32		
Total	9678	61.18	61.32

¹ For source of these data see text.

Dr. Ballard states ¹ that the main idea of the tests was to secure a balanced series "that would bring into play the various aspects of intelligence that bear upon school studies, and to give the slow tenacious thinker the same chance as the quick and volatile."

The individual tests used were those of Professor L. M. Terman ² modified to English requirements. These well-known tests embody the substance of Binet's researches.

The data for Table LXXXVI are taken from Table II of ^A Mental

¹ P. B. Ballard, "Group Tests of Intelligence" (1923).

² L. M. Terman, "The Measurement of Intelligence" (1919)

Testing in Male Adolescent Delinquents," by F. H. Taylor,¹ a medical officer of Wormwood Scrubs Prison. They relate to a larger material than the 4,000 lads covered by the present study. Taylor selected 9,678 lads from 11,301 consecutive offenders who passed through the Boys Prison at Wormwood Scrubs from May, 1934, to December, 1937, by excluding the following groups: 126 omitted for medical reasons, 445 for administrative reasons (bailed, discharged, paid fine, etc.), 571 "young prisoners" or lodgers,² 50 aliens, 322 illiterates, 108 for various reasons and 1 who refused to be tested. The Table is introduced to show that the mean rating calculated from five groups only, as used in the records of the present investigation (61.32) does not differ appreciably from the arithmetical mean of the individual marks (61.18). For the 3,366 lads aged 16-20 in Table LXXXVII the mean rating was slightly less,

TABLE LXXXVII

Columbian Rating of Intelligence, Distribution according to Rating with Mean and Standard Deviations at each Age of 3,366 Lads tested out of the Sample of 4,000

Age, completed $\frac{1}{2}$ years.	Numbers with Columbian rating at head of column.					Total No. tested	Mean rating	Standard deviation	Mean rating with Standard error	Number not tested
	1-	21-	41-	61-	8-100					
16	15	19	46	67	14	158	56.83	19.97	57.15 $\pm$ 1.01	61
16 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	20	86	86	24	231	57.34			58
17	33	46	127	144	43	395	58.68			62
17 $\frac{1}{2}$	20	48	107	172	41	388	59.06	20.16	57.86 $\pm$ 0.72	72
18	17	42	125	174	66	417	60.67			89
18 $\frac{1}{2}$	23	33	122	178	56	411	60.67			63
19	20	28	98	168	53	364	61.65	20.06	60.73 $\pm$ 0.72	74
19 $\frac{1}{2}$	29	36	111	169	67	402	59.90			64
20	11	37	94	130	42	314	60.37	18.62	60.63 $\pm$ 0.76	50
20 $\frac{1}{2}$	14	19	94	122	37	286	60.92			71
16-17 $\frac{1}{2}$	83	153	364	468	124	1172	57.62	20.09	57.62	243
18-20 $\frac{1}{2}$	114	195	647	938	300	2194	60.66	19.28	60.66	391
Total.	197	328	1011	1406	424	3366	59.60	19.62	59.60	634

namely, 59.60. The standard deviation of the rating in the larger material, as given by Taylor, was 18.73 marks compared with 19.62 as calculated for the 3,366 lads (Table LXXXVII).

Table LXXXIX shows that out of 4,000 lads 634 were not given a Columbian Test, some of these on account of illiteracy. The mean rating

¹ F. H. Taylor, "Mental Testing in Male Adolescent Delinquents," *Journal of Mental Science* (May-July, 1938)

² I.e., lads who were temporarily lodged at the prison whilst being transferred from another prison to a Borstal institution

at ages 16 and 17 years was about 57, whereas at 18, 19 and 20 it was just over 60, the difference being statistically significant. For this reason the two age groups 16-17 and 18-20 have been dealt with separately in Tables XC and XCI.

From Table LXXXVIII it is evident that at ages 16-17, 18.4 per cent. of the lads scored less than 41 in the Columbian test and 50.5 per

TABLE LXXXVIII

Columbian Rating of Intelligence, Percentage Distribution of 3,366 Tested Lads at Various Ages

Age last birthday	Percentage in each rating group at given age.					All groups.
	1-	21-	41-	61-	81-100	
16	7.71	10.03	33.42	39.07	9.77	100.0
17	6.77	12.01	29.88	40.36	10.98	100.0
18	4.83	9.06	30.19	42.51	13.41	100.0
19	6.40	8.36	27.20	45.60	14.36	100.0
20	4.17	9.33	31.33	42.00	15.17	100.0
16, 17	7.08	11.36	31.06	39.93	10.58	100.0
18, 19	5.58	8.72	29.80	43.04	13.86	100.0
18, 19, 20.	6.20	8.89	29.49	42.75	13.67	100.0

cent. scored 61 or over, whereas at ages 18-20 the corresponding proportions were 14.1 and 56.4 per cent.

Table LXXXIX shows that the mean Columbian rating of lads with a record of offences against the person which were not sexual did not differ significantly from those with offences against property. The sexual offenders gave a mean rating significantly below that of the property group both at ages 16-17 and 18-20, and the group with a record of offences against discipline only also gave a lower mean score at each age period, the defect being significant at ages 18-20. In the last two groups there was no significant age contrast. In view of these differences the association with the number of previous offences has been examined separately for (1) those with a record of offences against property or the person, other than sexual at ages 16-17 and 18-20, Table XC; (2) the sexual offenders at all ages, Table XCI; and (3) those with offences against discipline only at all ages, Table XCI.

In Table XC, among 1,093 lads aged 16 or 17 with a record of offences against property or the person who were given a Columbian test, 557 were first offenders, and of these 101 gave a score below 41, and 68 gave a score over 80, the expected numbers if the distribution had been

TABLE LXXXIX

Columbian Rating of Intelligence, Distribution and Mean Rating of 3,366 Tested Lads according to the Nature of Offences in the Records

Nature of offences in record	Age groups	Numbers with Columbian Rating at head of column.					Total No. tested	Mean rating with Stan- dard error (1)	No. not tested
		1-	21-	41-	61-	81-100			
Property (not person or sexual)	16	21	33	123	145	36	358	58.43±1.06	97
	17	45	83	209	292	81	710	58.42±0.76	118
	18	34	69	223	328	104	758	61.03±0.69	118
	19	38	54	192	307	102	693	61.50±0.76	127
	20	21	52	166	221	70	530	60.58±0.81	113
Person (not sexual)	16-17	4	6	7	6	3	26	48.10±4.02	5
	18-20	3	5	30	41	14	93	62.97±2.00	9
Sexual	16-17	9	6	13	12	3	43	47.71±3.06	13
	18-20	11	7	11	24	4	67	51.55±2.50	12
Discipline only	16-17	4	5	12	14	1	36	52.17±3.35	10
	18-20	7	8	25	17	6	63	52.72±2.43	12
All types	16-20	197	328	1011	1406	424	3366	59.60	634

¹ Standard errors are based upon the standard deviations of the whole experience at the age in question

uniform being 98 and 61. The mean score for the first offenders was 58.1, and for those with multiple offences, 58.2. Comparison of the actual with the calculated distributions according to numbers of previous convictions reveals no significant association between Columbian rating and number of convictions

Among 2,074 tested lads aged 18-20 with a record of offences against property or the person 1,133 were first offenders, and of these 148 gave a score below 41 and 167 gave a score over 80, the expected numbers being 151 and 158. The mean score for the first offenders was 61.3, and for those with multiple offences, 61.0. Comparison of the actual with the calculated distribution according to the number of previous convictions again shows no significant association with Columbian rating.

Table XCI shows that among 100 lads with a record of at least one sexual offence who were given a Columbian test, 28 had been convicted more than once, and of these 8 gave a score below 41 and 14 gave a score over 60, the expected numbers if the distribution had been uniform being 9 and 12. No significant association between Columbian rating and number of convictions is apparent.

Among 99 lads with a record of one or more offences against discipline only who were tested, 15 had been convicted more than once, and of these 4 gave a score below 41 and 4 gave a score over 60, the expected numbers being 4 and 6. No significant association between Columbian rating and number of convictions is evident.

Intelligence as measured by the Terman tests was recorded only in the 442 lads whose Columbian rating was found to be below 40, but it is

TABLE XC

Columbian Rating of Intelligence, Association between Rating and Number of Previous Convictions in 3,167 Tested Lads with a Record of Offences against Property or the Person—other than Sexual.

	No. of previous convictions	Ages 16-17						Ages 18-20					
		Distribution by rating						Distribution by rating					
		1-	21-	41-	61-	81-100	Total	1-	21-	41-	61-	81-100	Total
Actual numbers	0	45	56	154	224	68	557	57	91	334	484	167	1133
	1	18	48	121	132	33	362	23	62	165	244	77	571
	2	6	14	41	58	13	132	7	21	82	99	33	242
	3	1	2	6	23	4	30	8	3	16	45	8	80
	4 or more	-	2	7	5	2	16	1	3	14	25	5	48
	Total	70	122	339	442	120	1093	96	180	611	897	290	2074
Calculated numbers (1)	0	55.7	62.2	172.7	225.2	61.2	557	52.6	98.3	333.8	480.0	158.4	1133
	1	22.6	39.3	109.2	143.4	38.6	362	25.4	49.6	168.2	246.9	79.9	571
	2	8.5	14.7	40.9	53.4	14.5	132	11.2	21.0	71.3	104.7	33.8	242
	3	2.3	4.0	11.2	14.5	4.0	36	3.7	6.9	23.6	34.6	11.2	80
	4 or more	1.0	1.8	5.0	6.5	1.7	16	2.2	4.2	14.1	20.8	6.7	48
	Total	109.3	180.0	611.1	897.0	290.0	2074	109.3	180.0	611.1	897.0	290.0	2074
Statistical measure of association		$\chi^2 = 10.26$ Degrees of freedom = 9 P = .34						$\chi^2 = 19.45$ Degrees of freedom = 12 P = .082					

¹ From distribution according to number of previous offences of total column

evident from the Tables given by Taylor in the study referred to above (see footnote, p. 222) that this group must have included practically the whole of the lads with a Terman mental age below 10, out of the 3,366 who were subjected to mental testing. Table XCII shows that the mental age of the 442 lads ranged from 5 to 14, and the mean mental age did not vary appreciably with the chronological age, being 10.4 at all ages. There were 156 with a Terman mental age below 10 years, corresponding to about 4.5 per cent. of the 3,366 lads, and since their

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actual ages were 16 or more the bulk of those were probably mentally defective. It will be seen in a later Table that the number of lads out of the whole 4,000 who were deemed to be or to have been mentally deficient was 153. When divided according to the number of previous convictions the mean mental age was lower for first offenders (10.2) than for those with a record of more than one conviction (10.8). The 22 lads with a record of offences only against discipline had a lower mean mental age,

TABLE XCI

Columbian Rating of Intelligence, Association between Rating and Number of Previous Convictions in 199 Tested Lads with a Record of Sexual Offences or of Offences against Discipline only.

	No. of previous convictions	With record of one or more sexual offences.						With record of offences against discipline only.					
		Distribution by rating						Distribution by rating					
		1-	21-	41-	61-	81-	101-	1-	21-	41-	61-	81-	101-
Actual numbers	0	18	7	18	23	6	72	9	11	30	27	7	84
	1	1	6	2	8	1	18	2	1	5	3	-	11
	2	-	-	2	4	-	6	-	1	1	-	-	2
	3	1	-	2	1	-	4	-	-	-	1	-	1
	4 or more	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
		20	13	24	36	7	100	11	13	37	31	7	99
Calculated numbers (1)	0	14.4	9.4	17.3	25.9	6.0	72	9.4	11.0	31.4	26.3	6.9	84
	1	3.6	2.3	4.3	6.5	1.3	18	1.2	1.4	4.1	3.5	0.8	11
	2	1.2	0.8	1.4	2.2	0.4	6	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.6	0.1	2
	3	0.8	0.5	0.5	1.4	0.3	4	0.2	0.3	0.7	0.6	0.2	2
	4 or more	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Statistical measure of association		$\chi^2 = .734$ Degrees of freedom = 2 $P > .6$						$\chi^2 = 1.075$ Degrees of freedom = 1 $P > .3$					

¹ From distribution according to number of previous offences of total column

(9.9). The distribution of mental ages in Table XCII is artificially truncated in its upper half owing to the sample being restricted to lads who scored less than 40 in the Columbian test, and the mean mental ages are not comparable with those of unselected samples of lads.

III. Mental Defectiveness, Disease and Psycho-neurosis

A total of 140 lads were certifiable at the time of examination under the Lunacy or Mental Deficiency Acts, a proportion of 3.5 per cent. According to an estimate made in 1929¹ about 8 per 1,000 of the male

¹ Report of Mental Deficiency Committee, Board of Education and Board of Control, Table XI.

population of all ages in England and Wales are mentally defective, although the proportion which has been notified under the Mental Deficiency Acts still falls far short of that estimate. At ages 16 and over about 1.5 per 1,000 males were estimated to be idiots or imbeciles, and another 4 per 1,000 to be feeble-minded. Only a small fraction of the latter would be in institutions, and one might have expected to find, therefore, in a random sample of 4,000 lads not in institutions about 15 who could be classed as mentally defective, but instead of this number there were 123 with mental defect only, and 2 moral defectives among

TABLE XCII

Mental Ages on Terman Scale of 442 Lads with Columbian Rating below 40, according to Age, Number of Previous Convictions and Nature of Offences in Record

Group		Terman mental ages. Numbers with central values shown at head of Column.										Total Nos. tested	No. with mental age below 10	Percent-age with mental age below 10	Mean mental age (1)
		5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14				
Age last birthday	16	-	-	2	3	11	21	12	11	3	2	65	24	36.9	10.4
	17	1	-	1	8	18	33	38	15	3	1	118	43	36.4	10.3
	18	1	-	1	5	14	32	26	13	8	2	102	33	32.4	10.5
	19	-	-	1	2	18	22	27	11	5	1	87	32	36.8	10.4
	20	-	1	1	3	9	20	20	10	4	2	70	24	34.3	10.5
No. of previous convictions	0	1	-	4	20	51	68	62	31	9	2	248	110	44.4	10.2
	1	1	1	1	1	14	39	36	20	8	3	126	33	26.2	10.7
	2	-	-	1	-	1	14	21	5	4	2	48	6	12.5	10.9
	3 or more	-	-	-	-	4	7	4	2	2	1	20	7	35.0	10.6
Nature of offences in record	Property	1	1	5	15	69	103	101	49	21	5	360	121	33.6	10.4
	Reason	-	-	-	-	4	7	6	4	-	1	22	10	45.5	10.6
	Sexual	-	-	1	4	4	8	12	7	1	1	38	14	36.8	10.4
	Discipline	1	-	-	2	3	10	4	-	1	1	22	11	50.0	9.9
Totals	All groups	2	1	6	21	70	128	123	60	23	8	442	156		10.4

¹ The means are calculated from a distribution in half-years of mental age. The standard errors are based upon standard deviations calculated from the sample in question.

the 4,000 convicted lads. In addition there were 15 lads certifiable as insane, a proportion of 3.8 per 1,000 (which is the same as the proportion of the general population registered as insane in 1935-37). Table XCIII also shows that the proportion was significantly higher at age 16 than at

TABLE XCIII

Certifiable Mental Abnormality, Numbers and Proportions Certifiable as Insane or Mentally Defective on Reception, according to Age, Nature and Number of Convictions in the Record

Nature of offences in record	Age groups	Numbers certifiable as				Total No. in group.	Proportion per 1000 certifiable with standard error.	
		Insane	M.D.	Moral defective	Any of these			
All kinds.	16	3	(1) 24	1	27	498	64.2 ±	10.1
	17	-	30	-	30	917	32.7 ±	5.9
	18	1	27	1	29	960	30.2 ±	5.5
	19	3	24	-	27	904	29.8 ±	5.7
	20	8	19	-	27	721	37.4 ±	7.1
	Total	15	(2) 124	2	140	4000	35.0	
Property (not person or sexual)	16	2	(3) 16	1	17	455	37.4 ±	8.9
	17-18	-	41	1	42	1704	26.4 ±	2.6
	19-20	8	30	-	38	1463		
Person (not sexual)	16	-	1	-	1	9	111.1 (4)	
	17-18	-	1	-	1	58	48.8 ±	19.4
	19-20	2	3	-	5	65		
Sexual	16	-	0	-	0	19	421.1 (5)	
	17-19	-	9	-	10	58	152.1 ±	32.9
	19-20	-	4	-	4	48		
Discipline	16	1	-	-	1	15	66.7 (6)	
	17-18	-	5	-	6	57	122.6 ±	31.9
	19-20	1	6	-	7	49		

Certifiable or not.	No. of previous convictions.	Numbers aged 17-20 with record of offences against property.					Numbers aged 17-20 with record of a sexual offence.	
		Actual Numbers				Calculated Nos. with any of these abnormalities.	With any mental abnormality.	Calculated number with any mental abnormality.
		Insane	M.D.	Moral defectives	Any of these			
Certifiable.	0	6	47	-	53	44.2	11	10.2
	1	1	18	-	19	22.3	2	2.6
	2	1	3	1	5	9.3	-	0.5
	3 & over	-	3	-	3	4.2	1	0.7
	Total	8	71	1	80		14	
Not certifiable.	0				1697	1706.8	66	66.8
	1				264	650.7	18	17.4
	2				363	358.7	4	3.5
	3 & over				163	161.8	4	4.3
	Total				3087		92	

• Statistical measure of association $\chi^2 = 4.69$, $n = 3$, $P = 0.2$.

*** Including one also certifiable as a moral defective

*** Proportions based on totals numbering less than 20.

later ages. At ages 17-20 the proportion certifiable was over 12 per cent. in the sexual and discipline groups compared with only 2.5 per cent. in the property group, and 5 per cent. in the person group, this excess being significant. There is no significant association between the presence or absence of certifiable mental disease or defectiveness and the number of previous convictions in any of the groups at these ages,

TABLE XCIV

Mental Abnormality, Numbers and Proportions at Various Ages with Presence of Insanity, Epilepsy, Psycho-neurosis, Drug Addiction, Mental Defectiveness and Mental Retardation, or with History of any of these

Age last birthday	Numbers with abnormality on reception and (in brackets) additional numbers with a history of any of these abnormalities.							Total numbers examined
	Insanity	Epilepsy	Psycho-neurosis	Drug Addiction	Mental Defect	Mental Retardation	Any of these	
16	4	3	2 (4)	1	24(4)	80 (3)	114 (5)	498
17	4	6 (3)	9	1(1)	36(3)	152 (8)	204 (8)	917
18	4 (2)	3 (5)	6 (8)	2	30(2)	135 (8)	179 (14)	960
19	7 (3)	3 (5)	4 (6)	-(1)	25(6)	118	156 (15)	904
20	11 (1)	8 (2)	3 (6)	1	20(3)	82 (2)	121 (7)	721
All ages	30 (11)	22 (13)	24(24)	5(2)	135(18)	567(21)	774(49)	4000

Age group	Proportions per 1,000 with abnormality on reception and standard error.				
	Insanity	Epilepsy	Psychoneurosis or Drug addiction	Mental Defect	Mental Retardation
16-17	5.7 ± 2.0	5.7 ± 2.0	9.2 ± 2.5	42.4 ± 5.4	164.0 ± 9.8
18-19	5.9 ± 1.8	3.2 ± 1.3	6.4 ± 1.8	29.5 ± 3.9	135.7 ± 7.9
20	15.3 ± 4.6	11.1 ± 3.9	5.5 ± 2.8	27.7 ± 6.1	113.7 ± 11.8
All ages	7.50	5.50	7.25	33.75	141.75

	Proportions per 1000 with history or presence of abnormality and standard error				
	Insanity	Epilepsy	Psychoneurosis or Drug addiction	Mental Defect	Mental Retardation
16-17	5.7 ± 2.0	7.8 ± 2.3	12.7 ± 3.0	47.3 ± 5.6	171.7 ± 10.0
18-19	8.6 ± 2.1	7.5 ± 2.0	14.5 ± 2.8	33.8 ± 4.2	140.0 ± 9.0
20	16.6 ± 4.8	13.9 ± 4.4	13.9 ± 4.4	31.9 ± 6.5	116.6 ± 11.9
All ages	9.00	8.75	13.75	38.25	147.00

¹ This number is in excess of the number certifiably insane in Table XCIII as the legal standard of insanity is more restricted than the medical view as to what constitutes mental disease.

that is to say, although lads convicted of offences include unduly large numbers certifiable as mentally deficient, the proportion is no greater among those who have been convicted more than once than among the first offenders. It must be remembered, however, that a certificate of mental defectiveness at a first conviction may result in the loss of freedom to commit further offences.

Table XCIV shows that insanity was present, or had been present, in 36, or 9 per 1,000 of the lads, the frequency being significantly greater at age 20 (16.6 per 1,000) than at 16-17 (5.7 per 1,000). Epilepsy was recorded for 35, or about 9 per 1,000, the frequency being higher at age 20, though not significantly so. Some years ago an enquiry throughout the prisons in England and Wales showed that of 8,731 male prisoners only 39 (.44 per cent.) were thought to be true epileptics,¹ and the uncertainty of diagnosis unless the patient is seen in a fit may account for the discrepancy between the two estimates, which is difficult to explain unless it is assumed that many of the older epileptic offenders have been cured, or absorbed into epileptic colonies or mental hospitals, or obtained employment suitable to their disability. Psycho-neurosis was present in 24, and had been present in another 24. Addiction to drugs was recorded in 7. The total proportion with a record of psycho-neurosis or drug addiction was about 14 per 1,000, with no appreciable variation according to age. Mental deficiency was found in 135 youths, with a past history of it in 8 others, giving a total frequency of about 4 per cent. This recorded frequency was higher at ages 16-17 (47 per 1,000) than at later ages (about 33 per 1,000), the difference being of doubtful significance. Mental retardation was found in 567, with a past history of it in another 21, giving a total frequency of 14.7 per cent. The frequency diminished to a significant degree with advancing age, from 172 per 1,000 at 16-17 years to 117 at age 20. This is probably due in part to the fact that as some of the lads grew older they were able to overtake the lag in mental development of earlier years, their past history of retardation being then not admitted. Mental retardation may, moreover, be more conspicuous at 16 or 17 when the lad is still seeking employment suited to his abilities than a few years later when he has found it.

In Table XCV the proportions with a record of insanity, epilepsy, psycho-neurosis and drug addiction were apparently higher amongst lads convicted of offences against the person other than sexual; the combined rate for these abnormalities was 76 ± 23 per 1,000 compared with 28 ± 3 for the property group. The mental deficiency rates at ages under 20 were significantly higher among lads convicted of one or more sexual

¹ W. Norwood East, "Forensic Psychiatry" (1927)

offences, over 20 per cent. being defective (present or past) compared with about 3 per cent. of those with a record of offences against property. A similar excess is apparent at ages under 20 in the proportion with mental retardation, about 33 per cent. of the sexual offenders in this

TABLE XCV

Mental Abnormality, Numbers and Proportions with History or Presence of Insanity, Epilepsy, Psycho-neurosis or Drug Addiction, Mental Defectiveness and Mental Retardation in Groups defined by Nature of Offences in the Record

Nature of offences in record	Age group	Insanity	Epilepsy	Psycho-neurosis	Drug Addiction	Mental Defect.	Mental Retardation	Total Nos. examined
Numbers with abnormality present or past								
Property (not person or sexual)	16-17	7	9	12	3	48	208	1283
	18-19	10	13	21	2	44	231	1696
	20	10	8	7	1	17	76	643
Person (not sexual)	16-17	-	1	1	-	3	7	30
	18-19	2	-	1	1	5	10	65
	20	2	2	-	-	1	4	37
Sexual	16-17	-	1	1	-	13	20	56
	18-19	1	-	-	-	9	13	44
	20	-	-	2	-	3	3	25
Discipline only	16-17	1	-	1	-	3	8	46
	18-19	3	1	2	-	7	7	59
	20	-	-	-	-	2	1	16
Proportions per 1000 with abnormality present or past and standard errors.								
Property	16-17	5.5±2.1	7.0±2.5	11.7±3.0	37.4±6.3	162.1±10.3		
	18-19	6.9±1.9	7.7±2.1	13.6±2.8	25.9±3.9	136.2±8.3		
	20	15.6±4.9	12.4±4.4	12.4±4.4	26.4±6.3	118.2±12.7		
Person	16-17				100±5.6	233±77		
	18-19	30±15	23±13	23±13	46±26	164±46		
	20				27±27	108±51		
Sexual	16-17				232±56	357±64		
	18-19	8±8	8±8	24±14	208±61	296±69		
	20				120±65	120±66		
Discipline.	16-17				65±36	174±66		
	18-19	33±16	8±8	26±14	119±42	119±42		
	20				125±83	63±61		

class being subnormal compared with about 15 or 20 per cent. of the other groups.

In Table XCVI it is seen that among 2,879 lads aged 16-19 with a record of offences against property (without offences against the person or of a sexual nature) there was no significant association between the number of previous convictions and insanity, epilepsy, psycho-neurosis or drug addiction. Of those with mental deficiency, 67 out of 92 were first offenders, the expected number being only 51; the excess, which is significant, may be due perhaps to many defectives being under control after committing one offence, so that the probability of a mentally defective lad being convicted more than once is reduced. Of the mentally

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retarded class 219 out of 439 had been convicted more than once compared with a calculated number of 197, but this difference is not statistically significant.

Among 100 lads aged 16-19 with a record of one or more sexual offences, shown in Table XCV, the numbers with 0, 1, 2 or more previous

TABLE XCVI

Mental Abnormality. Numbers with Presence or History of Insanity, Epilepsy, Psycho-neurosis or Drug Addiction, Mental Defectiveness and Mental Retardation among Lads aged 16-19 having a Record of Offences against Property grouped according to the Number of Previous Convictions

	No. of previous convictions.	Insanity		Epilepsy		Psycho-neurosis		Mental Defect.		Mental Retardation		Total Nos. examined.
		Actual No.	Calculated No.	Actual No.	Calculated No.	Actual No.	Calculated No.	Actual No.	Calculated No.	Actual No.	Calculated No.	
Lads with abnormality (past or present)	0	11	9.4	14	12.1	22	21.0	67	65.8	220	242.3	1344
	1	4	4.9	4	6.3	11	10.9	18	25.4	139	126.0	855
	2	2	1.9	2	2.5	3	4.3	7	20.5	60	45.9	339
	3	-	0.6	1	0.7	1	1.1	-	2.7	12	13.0	88
	4 or more	-	0.3	1	0.4	1	0.7	-	1.6	8	7.8	53
Total		17		22		38		92		439		1722
Lads without abnormality (past or present)	0	1633	1634.6	1630	1631.9	1622	1623.0	1577	1588.2	1424	1401.7	
	1	851	850.1	851	848.7	844	844.1	837	828.6	716	729.0	
	2	337	337.1	337	336.5	336	334.7	332	328.5	279	289.1	
	3	85	87.5	87	87.3	87	86.9	88	86.3	76	75.0	
	4 or more	53	52.7	52	52.0	52	52.3	51	51.4	45	45.2	
Total		2955		2957		2941		2887		2534		
Statistical measure of association	χ^2		.013		.668		.261		12.33		6.47	
	n	1		1		2		2		4		
	P		>.4		>.4		.88		.002		.17	

convictions were for those with mental defectiveness 18, 4, 0, compared with the expected frequencies, 17, 4, 1, and for those with mental retardation they were 25, 7, 1, compared with expected frequencies 25, 6, 2; no association with the number of offences was, therefore, apparent.¹

IV. Summary

Different views concerning the nature of intelligence are held by various observers. The student of crime and criminals may conveniently regard it as an innate capacity to acquire and apply knowledge. It differs from wisdom, which is characterised by the ability to form sound judgments based on mature and varied experience.

¹ These numbers are not shown in the Tables

Consideration of the cognitive, conative and affective attributes of mind assists in systematizing knowledge concerning crime and its biological relation to the instincts and their accompanying emotions. The majority of first offenders do not become persistent criminals, but habit formation is often an important factor in those who do.

It is important to keep the association of crime and mental abnormality generally in proper perspective. Idiots do not appear in a criminal court; imbeciles commit offences, but are met with in the criminal courts less frequently than feeble-minded persons. Moral defectives form a small but socially dangerous group.

The subnormal group of offenders is large and important. It includes many persistent offenders and consists of those who are not certifiable under the Mental Deficiency Acts but are below the average in intelligence, and the psychic inferiors who are wanting in purpose and in character.

The commonest forms of insanity found among adolescent offenders are manic-depressive disease and schizophrenia. Minor forms—the cycloid and schizoid personalities—are frequently seen in adolescents as well as adults, and are not certifiable under the Lunacy Acts.

Hysteria is the most important psycho-neurosis met with in adolescent offenders, compulsive-obsessive states are uncommon, anxiety states and neurasthenia are met with from time to time. The latter condition is probably more often seen in adult offenders.

Mental inefficiency is a term used here to include mentally abnormal offenders who are not defective, subnormal, insane or psycho-neurotic. It includes the cycloids and schizoids referred to above, paranoid personalities, some temperamentally unstable and maladjusted persons, some alcoholists and drug addicts, and some sexual perverts.

In the present investigation 3,366 of the 4,000 lads were given a Columbian group test, and of these 197 scored 20 marks or less, and 328 scored from 21 to 40 marks inclusive, the percentage scoring 40 or less being 18.4 at ages 16–17 and 14.1 at ages 18–20. Sexual offenders had a lower average Columbian rating than other types of offenders. No connection was found between the number of times a lad had been convicted and his Columbian rating, whatever the nature of his offence.

Terman intelligence tests were applied individually to the 442 lads whose score in the Columbian test was below 40, and 156 of them were found to have a mental age below 10 years. The number deemed, on general grounds, to be mentally deficient amongst the whole 4,000 was 135, and 18 others gave a past history of apparent mental deficiency. The numbers certifiable under the Mental Deficiency Acts were 123 for

imbecility or feeble-mindedness and 2 for moral defectiveness. This proportion of about 3.5 per cent. is very much higher than would be expected in a random sample of lads from the general population, but the proportion was rather lower among those with more than one conviction than among first offenders, probably owing to the fact that many defectives are placed under control after committing a first offence.

Insanity was, or had been, present in 36 or 0.9 per cent. of the lads, the frequency being significantly greater at age 20 than at ages 16-17. Epilepsy, or a history of it, was recorded in 35, again about 0.9 per cent. Psycho-neurosis was, or had been, present in 48 of the lads, and drug addiction was recorded in 7—a total incidence of about 1.4 per cent., with no appreciable variation according to age.

Mental retardation was found in 567 with a past history of it in another 21, giving a total frequency of 14.7 per cent. The frequency diminished to a significant degree with advancing age from 17.2 per cent. at 16-17 to 11.7 at age 20, and this was probably due partly to the fact that some lads on growing older caught up with the lag in their mental development which handicapped their earlier years, and partly to the fact that it seemed less important when they had become settled in employment suitable to their abilities.

The proportion with a record of insanity, epilepsy, psycho-neurosis and drug addiction was apparently higher among lads convicted of offences against the person other than sexual; the combined rate for these abnormalities was 76 ± 23 per 1,000, compared with 28 ± 3 for those convicted of offences against property, the excess being almost certainly significant. The mental deficiency rates were significantly higher at ages under 20 among lads convicted of one or more sexual offences, over 20 per cent. being defective (present or past) compared with about 3 per cent. of those with record of offences against property. A similar excess was apparent in the proportion at ages under 20 with mental retardation, about 33 per cent. of the sexual offenders being in this class compared with about 15 or 20 per cent. of the other groups.

There was no significant association between the number of previous convictions and insanity, epilepsy, psycho-neurosis or drug addiction among 2,879 lads aged 16-19 with a record of offences against property, and this was also true for mental retardation not amounting to mental deficiency. There was no apparent connection either between mental defectiveness or mental retardation and the number of previous convictions among lads aged 16-19 with a record of one or more sexual offences.

CHAPTER IX

PERSONALITY TRAITS

I. Discussion

IN the previous chapter reference was made to adolescent instability. This cause of erratic behaviour is important, and will be now considered with some other personality characteristics of adolescent offenders.

Among the physiological causes of adolescent instability may be mentioned glandular dysfunction, undue fatigability, and insufficient intake of appropriate food. The psychogenic factors include a sense of inferiority, lack of confidence, fear, shame, and other causes of mental conflict. The crimogenic effect of conflict, however, may be restricted, and is not necessarily exhibited by widespread mental instability. In some cases an inherited personality factor appears to be a determining cause. Further, in addition to intellectual retardation, emotional and volitional retardation are met with in some adolescent offenders, and the latter may be associated with adolescent instability.

Character and personality were discussed briefly in Chapter III, and the foundations of character were stated to lie in the inherited instincts and their accompanying emotions, and to be expressed by conduct, excluding reflex action, but including actions which are under voluntary control as well as instinctive actions. Character was further described in Chapter VIII as the preponderating, regulating and co-ordinating force of conduct. It is largely this regulating factor which is at fault in mentally unstable adolescents.

It is sometimes stated that mental instability has been on the increase for many years. This statement appears to include the psychoses and psycho-neuroses, as well as the less obvious forms of temperamental instability with which we are here concerned. Tansley¹ considers the increase is not an unmixed evil, for mental, like organic, instability means a capacity for fresh evolution. However this may be, when applied to individuals, and particularly to the adolescent offender, mental instability usually proves disadvantageous, and if persistent destructive rather than constructive.

The offences of some lads are clearly due to an inability to adjust

¹ A. G. Tansley, "The New Psychology and Its Relation to Life" (1922)

themselves to their environment. In marked examples of adolescent instability the lad seems unable to adjust himself to any environment. He is unsettled, irritable, and impulsive, excitable and explosive in spite of changed surroundings or modified conditions. Instinctive action is unbalanced, the accompanying dynamic response excessive, and the emotional reaction extravagant and liable to sudden alteration. These characteristics may impinge upon the comfort and well-being of others as well as of the affected individual and often become criminogenic factors.

On the other hand, the affectively impoverished offender, with slow emotional response, is often more passively than actively criminal, and his conduct is more likely to be a nuisance than a menace to society.

It should be added that criminal conduct does not inevitably result from adolescent instability on the one hand, or affective retardation on the other. Indeed, large numbers of lads who are abnormal in one or other direction reach maturity and go through life without contravening the law. Moreover, many offenders present no marked instability of temperament but are conspicuous on account of their imperturbability.

Practical issues are the immediate concern of this investigation, and it is important to differentiate between adolescent instability and certain other clinical types of personality abnormality in which temperamental instability is a more or less important feature. It has, therefore, seemed desirable to append some examples.

A lad, aged 20, was charged with being drunk and disorderly, and was remanded for a medical examination. His parents occupied a well-established position, and there was no record of insanity, epilepsy, intemperance or delinquency in the family. He had not suffered from any serious accident or illness, and obtained a scholarship. He left school at the age of 16 and without any difficulty obtained employment as a clerk, but gave it up of his own accord in three months, and for a time pretended to leave home in the morning for work as usual. His deception was easily carried out, as he came home to dinner daily when he was employed at the office. He soon began to associate with men older than himself, and indulged with them in horse-racing, betting and gambling. When short of money he threatened and terrorized his aged parents until they gave way to his insistent demands. On one occasion they were so afraid of him that they shut up their house and went away. He had been convicted thrice for drunkenness and once for wilful damage to his parents' home. He was a tall, well-built lad, and was in good health. He was lazy, boastful, vain and conceited, cunning, unreliable, selfish and untruthful. He showed a strong exhibitionist tendency, believing that his ability merited publicity. There was no evidence of mental

defectiveness, psychosis or psycho-neurosis, and there were no mood-swings to suggest a cycloid personality. His persistent misconduct suggested constitutional instability, for he had a good home and was unusually free from many of the anxieties which beset lads of his age, but there were no grounds to consider that his instincts were unduly pressing, or that his emotional reactions to external situations were difficult to control. Moreover, his behaviour was canalised and followed his inclinations and was regarded with complacency, whereas the unstable adolescent often regrets his failure to control his anti-social conduct as soon as the stress of the immediate situation has passed off. There was no doubt that his parents had indulged his every whim as a boy, and were unable to assert their authority afterwards. His domineering attitude towards them, and his newly acquired addiction to alcohol, appeared to be due to this, and to a desire to impress his associates with a sense of his own importance.

A schizoid type of lad was sentenced when 19 years of age to detention in a Borstal institution for shop-breaking. His mother died when he was 14 years of age, and his father then cohabited with a woman whom he introduced into the home. There was no family history of insanity, but an uncle was reported to suffer from fits. The lad had an excellent character for conduct and industry at school, he was intelligent and continued his studies for more than a year after the usual school-leaving age. His father then became unable to pay for further tuition, and this was a severe disappointment to the lad. He found employment, left his first situation of his own accord and was given a good character. Other employment followed, and he remained in one situation for two years, giving satisfaction until he lost his temper with his employer and left. He had been by then bound over three times for stealing motor cars. Five months before the conviction for shop-breaking he was employed at a garage, but he proved to be unsatisfactory and left, and was without regular employment when arrested. He broke into a shop with another lad and stole some of the stock. He proved difficult, and his progress was unsatisfactory at the Borstal institution; he was very bad-tempered, uncertain, unduly sensitive and unreliable, he disturbed some lads and showed a tendency to develop intense friendships for others. He lacked initiative and forethought, and had difficulty in carrying out anything requiring concentration; he was introspective, and his thought showed a considerable amount of phantasy formation, but there was no thought disorder. His emotional fluctuations were marked, but were reactions to the situation of the moment and were not cycloid in character. He had been encouraged as a child to confide all his difficulties to his mother, and when she died he made attempts to find a mother-substitute.

He was entirely uninterested in girls, and there was no overt homosexual misconduct at any time. He transferred his affection to women much older than himself, and on one occasion was in direct rivalry with his father. This episode served to increase his anti-social tendencies. His conflicts were resolved to some extent, and partial re-adjustment attained, by the aid of psychotherapy during the period of detention.

Conduct, resembling the instability type, was due to a cycloid personality in the following case. A lad, aged 21 years, was sentenced to a second period of detention in a Borstal institution for burglary and larceny. When eight months old his father died, and a kindly couple adopted him and looked after him well for some years. There was no reliable information concerning his family history. He was difficult at school and was sent to a training establishment, but he proved to be so unsatisfactory that he was discharged a few months later. He returned to his foster-parents and several situations were found for him, but he was perverse, wilful and unreliable, and was unable to retain any employment for any length of time. He was then given a trial at an emigration training camp, but again proved a failure. When arrested on the present charge he had been in a reformatory school, a prison and a Borstal institution. All his offences were thefts. On discharge from the first Borstal sentence work was found for him, but he gave it up in three weeks and joined the Army. He absconded a fortnight later and went to sea. In a few days he gave this up and returned to his regiment, but absconded a second time. He again obtained civil employment but left it in a week. He then committed the present offence and was arrested. He was lazy, disobedient, untidy, destructive, bad-tempered and quite unreliable; he was unable to make friends of the other lads; he was intelligent and at times talkative, lively and imaginative. At other times he was mildly depressed and found it difficult to deal with the responsibility of the moment. He was introspective and interested in his condition, and rationalized the causes of his many failures. He was unable to adjust himself to his environment for any length of time, and in this resembled a lad suffering from adolescent instability, but his disability was manifestly due to his mood-swings and placed him among the cycloid group of offenders.

A paranoid type of mental constitution was present in a young man, aged 23 years, who was convicted and sentenced for causing grievous bodily harm. There was no family history of mental abnormality except the intemperance of a grandparent. He did well at school, and on leaving obtained employment at once, and remained at his second situation for a year; he left this of his own accord, and shortly after rebelled against

the discipline at home and left. He obtained several situations afterwards, but was unable to settle down, and his temper was sometimes at fault. He occasionally returned home when unemployed and had not been previously convicted. He married, but his relations with his wife were unsatisfactory. His general health was good. He was of average intelligence, but had always found it difficult to make a satisfactory adjustment to his surroundings. He was discharged from his employment, and the crime of which he was convicted was a direct result of this; it was clearly due to an impulsive paranoid reaction when he incorrectly considered that everyone was against him, and that retaliation was the only method open to him to deal with the situation. There was some reason to consider that he had been liable to act in a vague paranoid fashion on other occasions of environmental stress. He improved whilst in custody, and on discharge appeared to be better able to adjust himself.

Epilepsy was the fundamental cause of the mental instability of a lad, aged 22 years, who was convicted of house-breaking. He was one of a large family; four brothers were said to be epileptic, one had been in prison, and another had been in prison and also in a mental hospital. The lad had been previously convicted for embezzlement, and on three occasions for house-breaking. He had never been able to retain his situations, and was at times violent and bad-tempered, and on one occasion assaulted his mother. A long career of unsettled and erratic behaviour, including wilful damage to property and an attempt at suicide, was attributed to epilepsy and was sometimes the result of a major attack, but at other times appeared to be an epileptic equivalent.

The cases briefly outlined above are more or less ill-defined illustrations of their kind. A clear-cut example of a schizoid, cycloid, paranoid, epileptic or other abnormal personality is not likely to be mistaken for a case of adolescent instability, and would not serve a useful purpose in the present context. The cases described point to the fact that it is more important to study the offender and the nature and degree of his offence than to affix a correct label to his abnormality.

Nevertheless, precision in diagnosis assists treatment and promotes clear thinking, and it is important to distinguish between the mental instability which accompanies certain conduct disorders and the adolescent instability which pursues its course, as far as we know at present, as an independent entity. The following is an example.

A lad, aged 18 years, was sentenced to Borstal detention for house-breaking and larceny. When 10 years old he was beyond the control of his widowed mother, and was sent to an orphan school for four years; he was found employment on discharge, but left the situation in a

short time and was charged with shop-breaking. He was then sent to an approved school, and on leaving there was found employment, but he was dismissed soon afterwards for stealing. Other work was obtained, but he only remained a few days. He was living at home when arrested. His mother was visited; she was a respectable, hard-working woman who went out to work daily and at the same time kept her home clean and tidy. She had no difficulty in dealing with her other two children, but this lad had always given her trouble and had also stolen from her. His conduct at school had been most unsatisfactory. He was wayward, disobedient, unreliable, untruthful and a thief. At the Borstal institution he stole from the other lads and was meddlesome and untruthful; he reacted to the slightest environmental difficulty with a display of bad temper and violence. No sexual misconduct was observed. He was of average intelligence. There were no mood-swings to explain his conduct, he was not introverted, and he showed no paranoid tendencies. There was no evidence of mental or moral defectiveness, or of epilepsy, hysteria or an anxiety state. Mental analysis failed to reveal a mental conflict as the cause of his behaviour, which appeared to be constitutional rather than environmental.

A wide margin must be granted before the reactions of an individual to a given situation can be regarded as abnormal, and the study of adolescent behaviour emphasizes the fact that the personality of a lad may require time before it conforms to the type it will assume in adult life.

The line which divides conduct due to mental disorders from that which is the result of an anomaly of character is ill-defined. We speak of physical defect and disease, and of mental defect and disease, but so far usage allows us to talk only of defects of character. We do not refer to diseases of character, although in some conduct cases—for example, cases of constitutional adolescent instability which are not associated with mental defectiveness, psychosis or psycho-neurosis—the fault often seems to be in that part of the organism which we include in the term character. It sometimes appears that too much importance is attached to mental conflict and repression as a cause of anomalous behaviour, and too little to the material of which the organism is made. Perhaps future eugenicists will refuse to be dismissed in the somewhat summary fashion of to-day.

II. Reaction to Environment

Few matters are more personal than the reaction of the individual to the past, the present and the future, and few indications of character are more reliable.

Table XCVII shows that some 74 per cent. of the lads were willing to talk freely about the past. This result, of course, depends upon the manner in which the lad is approached by the examiner as well as upon the willingness of the lad to respond. In other words the examiner will fail in his purpose, in spite of his scientific attainments, unless he is also an artist in his profession.

The examiners were not the same throughout the investigation, and a division of the 3,614 lads who had been convicted of offences against property into eight groups of about 450 each, according to the dates of their examination, revealed more variations in attitude distribution than could be explained by chance alone. The highest proportion classified as "willing to talk freely" in these successive batches was 85.8 ± 1.7 per cent., and the lowest was 58.1 ± 2.4 per cent.; the value of χ^2 for the three-category distribution of attitude to the past was 118 for $n = 14$, giving $P < .001$. The classification of attitude to the present showed even greater variation between the successive batches; the percentage classed as "seeking internal compensation" varied from 41.8 ± 2.4 to 12.4 ± 1.5 , and the percentage "seeking external compensation" from 54.2 ± 2.2 to 10.0 ± 1.4 . For attitude to the future the percentage classed as "optimistic" varied from 27.8 ± 2.2 to 10.4 ± 1.1 , and the percentage "pessimistic" from 27.8 ± 2.1 to 8.1 ± 1.3 . These significant variations between the successive groups of lads examined show that the assessment of attitude could scarcely have been homogeneous throughout the investigation, and this was probably due to changes in the examiners. There is no reason to suppose that these changes with time were correlated to any important extent with the ages, nature or number of offences of the lads examined, and the results are given for the whole material in Tables XCVII and XCVIII. Conclusions derived from these and other Tables in this chapter must, however, be regarded as only tentative in view of the imperfect homogeneity of the classifications.

According to the classification, in the whole material 58 per cent. of the lads were seeking compensation in their attitude to the present. As to the future, 17.6 per cent. of the lads were optimistic, and 17.9 per cent. were pessimistic. The attitude of the remainder was neutral.

At the time of the investigation 3,680 of the 4,000 lads were on remand or awaiting trial, and no doubt a proportion of them were consequently in a condition of some anxiety.

Among the sexual offenders was an excessive proportion of lads who did not talk freely about the past (32 compared with 21 expected), and who were optimistic about the future (45 compared with 22 expected), whilst the number seeking internal compensation was below expectation

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TABLE XCVII

Attitude to Past, Present and Future, Distribution according to Age and Nature of Offences

	Distribution by Age groups.					Distribution by Nature of offences in the record.				Totals	
	16	17	18	19	20	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline	Num-ber	Per-cent.
<u>Attitude to the Past.</u>											
Willing to talk freely	328	661	727	683	650	2710	81	75	83	2949	73.91
Unable or unwilling to talk freely.	106	165	143	138	115	576	28	32	30	666	16.69
Talking merely by way of excusing himself.	64	91	66	80	54	328	22	17	8	375	9.40
<u>Attitude to the Present.</u>											
Actively seeking external compensation.	88	214	256	263	183	902	30	35	39	1006	26.21
Seeking internal compensation.	160	285	326	300	261	1219	47	29	27	1322	33.13
Apparently not seeking compensation.	259	418	374	338	273	1493	54	60	55	1662	41.86
<u>Attitude to the Future.</u>											
Optimistic.	119	170	145	144	125	602	31	45	25	703	17.62
Pessimistic.	97	172	174	149	122	649	31	15	19	714	17.89
Equilibrium.	281	575	637	608	472	2363	69	64	77	2573	64.49
<u>Totals with record of attitude.</u>	497	917	956	901	719	3614	131	124	121	3990	100.00

(29 compared with 41) The unwillingness of some sexual offenders to discuss the past may be due to a desire to avoid any reference to subjects which are taboo in ordinary conversation.

	Seeking external compensation	Seeking internal compensation	Not seeking compensation	Total
Willing to talk freely	768	970	972	2,710
Unable or unwilling to talk freely	62	211	303	576
Talking by way of excusing himself	72	38	218	328
Optimism	285	55	262	602
Pessimism	86	390	173	649
Equilibrium	531	774	1,058	2,363
TOTALS	902	1,219	1,493	3,614

Table XCVIII (A.1) gives the threefold distribution according to the attitude to the past, present and future for first offenders against property, and for lads with more than one conviction, including at least one against

TABLE XCVIII

Attitude to Past, Present and Future, Correlation between these and Association with Number of Previous Convictions

Attitude to the past	Attitude to the future	Attitude to the present.			Totals (any attitude to the present).		
		Actively seeking external compensation	Seeking internal compensation	Apparently not seeking compensation			

A. Numbers in each group.										
		First offender	Previously convicted	First offender	Previously convicted	First offender	Previously convicted	First offender	Previously convicted	All offenders.
(1) With record of convictions for offences against property.										
Willing to talk freely.	Optimism	155	88	22	11	72	65	249	164	413
	Pessimism	23	21	152	95	17	34	192	153	345
	Equilibrium	305	173	430	260	373	411	1108	844	1952
	Total.	483	282	604	366	462	510	1549	1161	2710
Unable or unwilling to talk freely.	Optimism	9	6	9	6	36	21	54	33	87
	Pessimism	10	13	61	68	21	47	92	128	220
	Equilibrium	12	12	33	34	96	82	141	128	269
	Total.	31	31	103	108	153	150	287	289	576
Talking merely by way of excusing himself.	Optimism	13	14	4	3	32	36	49	53	102
	Pessimism	5	11	8	6	21	33	34	50	84
	Equilibrium	16	14	8	9	30	66	53	89	142
	Total.	33	39	20	18	83	135	136	192	328
(2) With record of convictions against the person (sexual or other).										
Willing to talk freely.	Optimism	15	7	1	1	8	8	24	16	40
	Pessimism	3	2	6	4	1	1	10	7	17
	Equilibrium	16	11	25	15	16	16	57	42	99
	Total.	34	20	32	20	25	25	91	65	156
Unable or unwilling to talk freely.	Optimism	1	-	1	1	12	3	14	4	18
	Pessimism	1	1	5	4	7	4	13	9	22
	Equilibrium	1	-	6	2	6	5	13	7	20
	Total.	3	1	12	7	25	12	40	20	60
Talking merely by way of excusing himself.	Optimism	1	1	1	2	9	4	11	7	18
	Pessimism	-	2	-	-	2	3	2	5	7
	Equilibrium	-	3	1	1	5	4	6	8	14
	Total.	1	6	2	3	16	11	19	20	39

B. Number of previous convictions including last for each group in A.1.									
		Recorded	Cald. (1)	Recorded	Cald. (2)	Recorded	Cald. (3)	Recorded	Calculated (4)
Willing to talk freely.	Optimism	371	413.5	53	56.2	250	233.1	680	702.8
	Pessimism	80	80.0	390	420.3	112	86.8	582	587.1
	Equilibrium	710	813.4	1048	1174.2	1435	1334.1	3193	3321.7
	Total.	1161	1306.9	1491	1650.7	1803	1654.0	4455	4611.6
Unable or unwilling to talk freely.	Optimism	31	26.6	21	25.5	90	97.0	142	148.0
	Pessimism	43	39.2	250	219.5	164	115.7	457	374.4
	Equilibrium	41	40.8	115	114.0	310	303.0	466	457.8
	Total.	115	106.6	386	359.0	564	515.7	1065	980.2
Talking merely by way of excusing himself.	Optimism	48	46.9	12	11.9	115	115.7	175	173.5
	Pessimism	29	27.2	21	23.9	108	91.9	158	143.0
	Equilibrium	50	49.4	32	28.9	215	163.4	297	241.7
	Total.	127	122.5	65	61.7	438	371.0	530	558.2

Calculation based on the average per head for the whole group (17017).

property but none against the person. When these groups are combined the correlations between attitudes to the present and to the past or future are as shown on p. 242.

It is apparent that the seeking of external compensation tended to be associated with willingness to talk of the past and with optimism about the future, whilst the seeking of internal compensation tended to be associated with willingness to talk of the past and pessimism about the future. The lads not seeking compensation tended not to talk freely of the past. The correlation between attitude to the past and to the future is apparent from the last column of Table XCVIII (A.1), equilibrium being relatively most prevalent in the first group, pessimism in the middle group, and optimism in the last group.

The 3,614 lads included in this part of the Table had 6,150 convictions recorded against them, an average of 1.702 per head, and the calculated figures in Table XCVIII (B) are the number of convictions which would have resulted if this average had obtained in each of the groups in the Table.

It appears that a record of previous convictions tended to result in, or be associated with, not seeking compensation and with absence of optimism. This result might be anticipated for the idea of imprisonment becomes less formidable, and compensatory reaction less necessary, as the number of convictions increases; moreover, optimism retreats as detection and failure become more insistent. The best past records, as measured by number of convictions, were given by the lads who were willing to talk freely of the past and were seeking compensation, and were neither optimistic nor pessimistic about the future (1,758 compared with 1,988 calculated).

The results of detention in a Borstal institution, as well as the effect of placing lads on probation, clearly indicate that the majority of adolescent offenders wish to avoid committing crime in future, and clinical experience generally leads to the conclusion that lads who are willing to discuss their past failures are more anxious to accept assistance towards reformation than those who are unwilling or unable to talk freely. Lads in the former group appear more ready to stand up to the realities of life, and are therefore more likely to succeed, for adolescence is essentially a creative period, and any halt in the evolution of the individual soon becomes destructive. A healthy optimism re-enforces mental growth, widens contacts, and helps to dispel the universal fear tendency, which has its proper uses but needlessly weakens and dwarfs the lives of many, and flourishes in an atmosphere of pessimism.

III. Reaction to Imprisonment

The psychological reaction to imprisonment, that is to say generally, to the detention in the Boys prison whilst on remand or whilst awaiting trial, and prior to transfer to a Borstal institution, was noted in 3,924 of the lads, and was classified according to the following categories, indicated by letters in Tables XCIX. and C.

A Cheerful as a rule, but—

- (a) Showing little or no insight, childish and fatuously boastful.
- (b) Apparently careless of the situation, outwardly appearing to ignore it
- (c) Mood uncertain. Hysterical, protesting, passing rapidly from elation to depression
- (d) Self-possessed, plausible and phable. Prodigious of explanations. Prepared to admit faults in order to please
- (e) Self-possessed and self-satisfied. Flaring up rapidly when self-regard is affected, but cooling quickly
- (f) Subdued and thoughtful. Showing insight and planning amendment
- (g) Subdued, docile when alone. Very susceptible to the influence of associates.

B Depressed and—

- (h) Listless, anergic. Given to brooding and phantasy formation
- (i) Apparently dull and uninterested. Liable to simulate cheerfulness in order to avoid sympathy or questioning. Liable to sudden outbreaks of temper if irritated
- (j) Querulous, self-pitying, self-excusing. Remorseful, expecting indulgence
- (k) Whining, elaborating lengthy and ingenious excuses, demanding favour and truculent if frustrated
- (l) Self-satisfied, refusing censure. Becoming sullen and hostile when self-regard is affected
- (m) Balancing the situation with insight and judgment
- (n) Particularly responsive to sympathy, submissive, docile and suggestible.

The distribution of these categories in successive batches of the lads examined showed no important variations except for (f) and (g). The first of these increased, and the second tended to decrease during the progress of the investigation, and since this may have been due to variations in the examiners' assessment these groups are best considered in combination. The percentage of lads in the cheerful A ((a)-(g)) and depressed B ((h)-(n)) categories calculated from Table XCIX with standard errors of the former were as follows:

	Cheerful	Depressed
All ages	62.6	37.4
16 years	59.5 ± 2.2	40.5
17 "	63.6 ± 1.6	36.4
18 "	62.3 ± 1.6	37.7
19 "	63.1 ± 1.6	36.9
20 "	63.0 ± 1.8	37.0
Convicted of offences against property	63.4 ± 0.8	36.6
Convicted of offences against the person	60.3 ± 4.4	39.7
Convicted of sexual offences	40.5 ± 4.5	59.5
Convicted of offences against discipline	62.1 ± 4.5	37.9

There was no significant variation with age in the total proportions of cheerful and depressed lads ; but those aged 16 included low proportions in categories (*f*) and (*m*), and high proportions in (*a*) and (*n*), compared with older lads. Sexual offenders tended to be more often depressed than the other classes, the categories showing chief excess being (*h*), (*i*), (*m*) (for first offenders) and (*n*). This finding accords to some extent with the reactions of older sexual offenders. A sexual crime is the result, of emotional tension, and the adult, as well as the adolescent sexual offender, is frequently a depressed and solitary person, given to phantasy

TABLE XCIX

Reaction to Imprisonment, Association with Age and Nature of Offences

Reaction category	Distribution by Age.					Distribution according to Nature of Offences.				Totals
	16	17	18	19	20	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline	
<i>a</i>	27	25	20	14	13	88	3	4	4	99
<i>b</i>	89	184	147	141	106	617	22	14	14	667
<i>c</i>	1	5	8	9	10	25	5	2	1	33
Cheerful <i>d</i>	34	46	67	69	67	268	5	5	5	283
<i>e</i>	18	43	42	35	41	160	9	2	8	179
<i>f</i>	56	178	215	214	184	742	26	16	34	817
<i>g</i>	64	92	88	81	62	368	7	6	6	377
Total cheerful.	289	573	587	563	443	2258	76	49	72	2405
<i>h</i>	26	35	40	38	23	139	4	9	9	161
<i>i</i>	17	36	31	26	30	120	6	8	6	140
Depressed <i>j</i>	11	24	29	34	13	104	2	2	3	111
<i>k</i>	4	15	7	6	3	33	1	1	-	36
<i>l</i>	31	41	44	40	37	166	16	4	7	193
<i>m</i>	35	90	102	99	96	386	8	19	10	422
<i>n</i>	74	87	102	85	58	356	13	29	9	407
Total depressed.	197	328	355	329	260	1303	50	72	44	1469
Undefined.	12	15	18	12	18	61	6	4	5	76
Totals.	438	917	960	904	721	3622	132	126	121	4000

and impulsive behaviour in other directions as well as in the sphere of sex. At the same time, he is often analytical, suggestible and responsive to sympathy.

Table C shows the proportion of first offenders among the lads convicted of crime against property, and manifesting each type of reaction. There was no appreciable difference between the cheerful and depressed groups as a whole in this respect, each including about 45 per cent. with previous convictions, but categories (*f*), or (*f*) and (*g*) combined, and (*m*) had significantly lower proportions previously convicted, whilst categories (*b*), (*d*) and (*k*) had significantly higher proportions. This finding is instructive as categories (*f*) and (*m*) include thoughtful lads

TABLE C

Reaction to Imprisonment, Association with Number of Previous Convictions

Reaction category.	Offenders against Property.				Sexual offenders		Offenders against the Person or Discipline.	
	No. in groups	Percentage with previous convictions ($\pm$ standard error)	No. of convictions including last.	Total	No. of first offenders.	No. with previous convictions.	No. of first offenders.	No. with previous convictions.
Cheerful	a	45	43	48.9 $\pm$ 5.3	159	1.81	3	1
	b	257	360	58.3 $\pm$ 2.0	1206	1.95	10	4
	c	12	16	52.0 $\pm$ 10.0	49	1.96	-	2
	d	116	152	56.7 $\pm$ 3.0	520	1.94	4	1
	e	85	75	46.9 $\pm$ 3.9	268	1.68	-	2
	f	513	229	30.9 $\pm$ 35.6	1019	1.37	14	2
	g	195	163	45.5 $\pm$ 1.4	620	1.74	4	2
Total cheerful	1223	1036	45.8 $\pm$ 1.0	3842	1.70	35	14	95
Depressed	h	61	78	56.1 $\pm$ 4.2	269	1.94	6	3
	i	51	60	57.5 $\pm$ 4.5	251	2.09	6	2
	j	44	60	57.7 $\pm$ 4.8	198	1.90	-	2
	k	9	25	75.8 $\pm$ 7.5	80	2.42	1	-
	l	78	88	53.0 $\pm$ 3.9	304	1.83	1	3
	m	274	111	26.8 $\pm$ 2.3	538	1.40	17	2
	n	206	150	42.1 $\pm$ 4.6	575	1.62	22	7
Total depressed	722	581	42.6 $\pm$ 1.4	2215	1.70	53	19	62
Totals.	1945	1616				88	33	157
								86

with insight, judgment and ability to plan amendment of their careers, who would seem to be particularly able to appreciate and avoid the disadvantages of a life of crime. On the other hand, categories (b), (d) and (k) include lads who are careless, plausible and self-excusing—that is to say, those who are unwilling to face the facts of life if the enjoyment of the moment is thereby disturbed.

The three categories (h), (i) and (j) also include rather higher proportions of lads previously convicted, but for these the excess was of doubtful significance. Among the lads convicted of offences against the person or discipline or of sexual offences, categories (f) and (m) likewise include low proportions with a record of previous convictions.

IV. Abnormal Personality Features

In Table CI are included aberrational features of an instinctive or temperamental character.

The proportions manifesting the various abnormalities, alone or in combination with others, were about 21 in each 1,000 for wandering and undue irritability, 18 for morbid acquisitiveness, 15 for undue aggressiveness, 7 for extreme idleness, and 5 for excessive sexual activities. No

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significant variation in these proportions with age is apparent. The group convicted of offences against the person included significantly large proportions with undue aggressiveness, 14 out of 132 showing this aberration either alone or in combination with others, compared with 2

TABLE CI

Personality Abnormalities, Association with Age, Nature of Offences and Number of Convictions

	Distribution by Age					Distribution according to Nature of Offences				Totals in groups	Totals with abnormalities specified (1)	
	16	17	18	19	20	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline		Num-ber	Per 1000.
Excessive Sex.	1	4	3	1	4	5	-	5	3	13	21	5.25
Extreme idleness	3	3	5	5	3	15	-	3	1	19	29	7.25
Wandering.	8	15	19	12	8	57	-	-	5	62	85	21.25
Morbid acquisi- tiveness.	7	16	7	7	9	46	-	-	-	46	72	18.00
Undue aggressive- ness.	6	6	5	3	8	19	7	-	2	28	59	14.75
Undue irritability.	4	11	11	15	3	36	5	1	2	44	83	20.75
Combinations of above.	11	13	17	12	10	43	10	5	5	63	-	-
None of above.	458	849	893	849	676	3402	110	111	103	3725	-	931.25
Totals.	498	917	960	904	721	3622	132	126	121	4000	-	1000.0

	Distribution according to Number of previous convictions.										Totals in groups	Total convictions including last.	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	10			Record- ed.	Calcul- ated ⁽²⁾
Excessive sex.	8	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	19	21.6	
Extreme idleness	7	9	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	19	39	31.6	
Wandering.	18	27	10	2	3	2	-	-	-	52	137	103.0	
Morbid acquisi- tiveness.	25	7	10	-	3	-	1	-	-	46	91	76.4	
Undue aggressive- ness.	15	7	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	28	51	46.5	
Undue irrita- bility.	20	14	8	1	1	-	-	-	-	44	81	73.1	
Combination of above.	26	19	9	5	2	-	1	-	1	63	139 ⁽³⁾	104.7	
None of above.	2112	1030	400	123	40	15	4	1	-	3725	6190	6190.0	
Totals.	2231	1115	444	134	51	17	5	1	1	4000	6747	6646.9	

¹ I.e., number of lads manifesting the abnormality by itself or along with others

² If number of convictions per head had been the same throughout as in the group without abnormality.

³ For combinations of wandering with other abnormalities the total convictions numbered 54 compared with 38.2 calculated

expected if there had been no association with the kind of offences committed. This was true also for undue irritability (12 compared with 3 expected). The sexual offenders had a significantly large proportion with excessive sexual activity as an aberrational feature (7 out of 125

compared with 1 expected). At the same time, this finding clearly indicates that a sexual offence is not necessarily the result of excessive sexual functioning. Indeed, in adults, as well as adolescents, many sexual crimes are due to the fact that the offender is psychologically unduly pre-occupied with sex thoughts, but is at the same time physiologically under-sexed.

- The offenders against discipline had significantly low proportions with a tendency to wandering or to undue irritability (7 out of 121 compared with 2.5 expected for each of these aberrations). The importance of wandering is relative to the individual. It may arise if the home is unattractive, the discipline harsh, domination by others oppressive, and quarrels or privations persistent. Motivations less consciously recognized by the wanderer are mild states of depression, fear and anxiety. In some cases an hysterical fugue, epileptic automatism or paranoid apprehension is the causative factor. Sometimes the wandering is exploratory—wanderlust.

Undue irritability, as stated earlier in this chapter, is often an indication of adolescent instability. It is frequently the result of a psychosis or psycho-neurosis or mental conflict, and is occasionally associated with glandular dysfunction.

Extreme idleness may be due to habit formation if a lad has been unable to obtain work over a long period on leaving school. It may be the result of wrong placement if the work is uncongenial and the lad unable to fix his attention on his task. It is sometimes due to physical ill-health, to undue fatiguability resulting from neurasthénia, to mental defectiveness, schizophrenia and certain other mental diseases, and occasionally appears to be an inherent constitutional disability.

The number of convictions per head for the 3,725 lads without any of these abnormalities was 1.662, and the last column of the lower half of Table CI gives the total convictions in each group calculated on this basis. Significant excess of previous convictions was associated with wandering (75 with this aberration alone and 54 in combination with others compared with calculated numbers 41.0 and 38.2 respectively); also with morbid acquisitiveness (45 compared with 30.4 calculated); and extreme idleness (20 compared with 12.6). Slight excess of convictions, perhaps accidental, was also apparent in the groups with undue aggressiveness and irritability.

V. Anomalies of Instinctive Activities

In this investigation an attempt was made to measure, by a system of broad categories, the instincts of aggression, acquisition, sex and the

social or gregarious instinct. The manner in which each instinct showed itself was classified as childish, boyish, adolescent, or adult in its type of manifestation. The intensity of activity of the instinct was classified as excessive, moderate or low.

The boundaries between these categories could not be defined in exact terms, and it was inevitable, therefore, that the numbers of lads assigned to some of the categories would depend to a considerable extent on the personal bias of the observer. The examination of the whole series of lads extended over several years and, as already stated in the introductory chapter, was carried out by several investigators whose work was not always concurrent. Comparison of the results of the classification of the first 878 lads examined with those of the last 937 reveals considerable differences for some of the groupings, as shown by the following percentage frequencies with their standard errors.

	Aggressiveness	Acquisitiveness	Sexuality	Gregariousness
Childish, 1st batch	6.9 ± 0.9	8.1 ± 0.9	2.5 ± 0.5	0.2 ± 0.2
.. last batch	0.9 ± 0.3	0.6 ± 0.3	0.9 ± 0.3	0.6 ± 0.3
Adult, 1st batch	4.4 ± 0.7	8.2 ± 0.9	14.7 ± 1.2	15.6 ± 1.2
.. last batch	12.2 ± 1.1	13.6 ± 1.1	12.5 ± 1.1	13.8 ± 1.1
Excessive intensity, 1st batch	6.7 ± 0.8	9.3 ± 1.0	1.3 ± 0.4	3.4 ± 0.6
.. last batch	13.3 ± 1.1	28.6 ± 1.4	2.8 ± 0.5	8.6 ± 0.9

For aggressiveness and acquisitiveness all the above differences between the first and last batches examined are significant; for the sex instinct none are significant, for gregariousness the excessive intensity percentages differ significantly. It is evident that the classification cannot be regarded as homogeneous for aggressiveness and acquisitiveness owing to the variations which must be attributed to personal differences, or changes, as time passed, in the opinions of the observers who carried out the examinations. The results in Tables CII to CVI may be affected by this to some extent, although there is no reason to believe that the distribution by age, number or nature of offences was correlated with the dates at which the examinations were carried out.

The conclusion that the differences between the first and last batches are without significance in the third group may be attributed, perhaps, to the fact that the intensity and perverted aspects of the sex instinct are assessed more frequently by prison psychiatrists and psychologists than the deviations of aggressiveness, acquisitiveness and gregariousness; and that common agreement among observers is more likely to be found, therefore, regarding the sexual offenders.

A study of the intensity of the activity of the various instincts is of unfailing interest, but the study of a perverted manifestation of an instinct, other than sex, although of great interest, may be elusive, and the perversion may only be recognizable in exceptional cases. For example, the desire of an extremely aggressive person for world domination may appear as a perverted activity. Similarly, the thief who steals useful and useless articles and stores them in an attic, and the person who constantly seeks companionship amongst those who are his inferiors in position, intelligence, manners and with different social conventions, may be examples of perverted acquisitiveness or gregariousness.

When the departure from the normal is less apparent there may be wide differences of opinion as to whether conduct is perverted, and it has seemed desirable to omit figures relating to a quality which may be difficult to determine.

It may be noted in passing that perversions are more common than is sometimes recognised. McDougall¹ pointed out the great importance of perversions of the food-appetite, and enumerated chewing-gum, tobacco, candy, betel-nut, alcohol, tea, coffee and many other substances which may be identified with the food-appetite working in a perverted manner.

For aggressiveness, Table CII, the proportion with a childish or boyish manifestation decreased with advancing age from about 57 per cent. at 16 to 29 per cent. at the age of 20. It was above the average among the sexual offenders, though not significantly so (45.6 per cent. at all ages compared with 37.4 among the lads as a whole). The intensity of the active phase was classed as excessive in 8.2 per cent. and low in 9.6 per cent., but among the lads convicted of at least one offence against the person the proportions were 35.4 per cent. and 3.1 per cent. respectively. There was, therefore, a significant association between an intense active phase of aggressiveness and offences not of a sexual nature against the person.

For acquisitiveness, Table CIII, the proportion with a childish or boyish manifestation decreased with advancing age from 65 per cent. at 16 to 41 per cent. at 20; the number with childish manifestation among the 125 sexual offenders was only 6 compared with 16 expected from the age distribution. The intensity of the active phase was classed as excessive in 14 per cent. and low in about 6 per cent. of the lads as a whole. In the sexual and disciplinary groups, compared with the other types of offenders, there was a small proportion with excessive activity (9 compared with 34 calculated if the distribution had been uniform), and a

¹ W. McDougall, "An Outline of Psychology" (4th edit., 1928)

large proportion with low activity (57 compared with 16 calculated), these contrasts being significant.

For the sex instinct, Table CIV, the manifestation was classed as childish or boyish in about 22 per cent., but the proportion diminished with advancing age from 40 per cent. at 16 to 11 per cent. at the age of 20, whilst the adult type of manifestation was present in a proportion increasing from less than 2 per cent. at 16 to about 26 per cent. at the age of 20. The group of 125 sexual offenders included as many as 70

TABLE CII

Instincts, Association of Aggressiveness with Age and Nature of Offences

		Distribution in Age groups						Percentage frequency at each age.					All ages.
		16	17	18	19	20	Total	16	17	18	19	20	
Types of manifestation.	Childish	19	19	23	13	12	86	3.8	2.1	2.4	1.4	1.7	2.16
	Boyish	262	373	314	261	196	1406	52.7	40.7	33.0	29.0	27.3	35.29
	Adolescent	208	496	569	551	416	2240	41.9	64.2	59.7	61.1	58.0	56.23
	Adult	8	27	47	77	93	252	1.6	3.0	4.9	8.5	13.0	6.32
Intensity of active phase.	Excessive	36	71	79	78	62	326	7.2	7.8	8.3	8.6	8.6	8.18
	Moderate	415	745	782	752	580	3274	83.5	81.4	82.0	85.4	80.9	82.18
	Low	46	99	92	72	76	384	9.3	10.8	9.7	8.0	10.5	9.64
	Totals with record	497	915	953	902	717	3984	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
		Association with Number of Offences in record.											
		Recorded numbers					Calculated distribution (1)						
		Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline	Total	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline			
Types of manifestation.	Childish	78	2	4	2	86	77.9	2.7	2.8	2.6			
	Boyish	1273	39	53	41	1406	1274.5	43.0	45.6	43.0			
	Adolescent	2043	60	64	73	2240	2028.3	74.6	69.1	68.0			
	Adult	214	29	4	5	252	227.3	9.7	7.6	7.4			
Intensity of active phase.	Excessive	261	46	6	13	326	295.3	10.6	10.2	9.9			
	Moderate	2999	80	101	94	3274	2966.0	106.9	102.7	99.4			
	Low	348	4	18	14	384	347.7	12.5	12.1	11.7			
	Totals with record	3608	130	125	121	3984	3608	130	125	121			

¹ I.e., assuming no association with nature of offences. The figures are corrected for age in the childish-boyish-adolescent-adult groups

with a childish or boyish manifestation compared with 29 expected if the proportion at each age had been unassociated with the kind of offence, this being a large and significant excess at the expense of the adolescent type. No significant differences are apparent between the other groups in this respect. The intensity of the active phase was excessive in a much larger proportion of the sexual offenders than of the other groups, the percentage distributions being as follows :

Type of offence	Intensity of Sex Instinct		
	Excessive	Moderate	Low
Property	2.05	85.98	11.97
Person	4.58	90.08	5.34
Sexual	28.80	66.40	4.80
Discipline	4.13	81.82	14.05

For gregariousness, Table CV, the proportion with a childish or boyish type of manifestation declined with advancing age from 23 per cent. at 16 to 5 per cent. at the age of 20, and the frequency of the adult type increased from 3 to 30 per cent. Among the sexual offenders the boyish type was in significant excess (27 out of 125), and in this group the

TABLE CIII

Instincts, Association of Acquisitiveness with Age and Nature of Offences

		Distribution in Age groups						Percentage frequency at each age.					All ages.
		16	17	18	19	20	Total	16	17	18	19	20	
Types of manifestation	Childish	73	113	114	108	89	497	14.7	12.4	12.0	12.0	12.4	12.47
	Boyish	251	354	332	272	203	1412	50.5	38.7	34.8	30.2	28.3	35.43
	Adolescent	160	414	442	444	331	1791	32.2	45.2	46.3	49.2	46.2	44.95
	Adult	13	34	66	78	94	285	2.6	3.7	6.9	8.6	13.1	7.15
Intensity of active phase.	Excessive	58	136	153	116	92	557	11.7	15.1	16.0	12.9	12.8	13.98
	Moderate	411	721	745	732	569	3178	82.7	78.8	78.1	81.1	79.4	79.75
	Low	28	50	56	64	66	250	5.6	6.1	6.9	6.0	7.8	6.27
Totals with record		497	915	954	902	777	3985	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Association with Nature of Offences in record													
		Recorded numbers.					Calculated distribution (1)						
		Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline	Total	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline			
Types of manifestation	Childish	468	12	6	11	497	450.2	16.1	15.7	15.0			
	Boyish	1293	41	42	36	1412	1279.7	44.0	45.2	43.1			
	Adolescent	1588	53	71	69	1791	1620.9	60.0	55.5	54.6			
	Adult	259	15	6	5	285	257.2	10.9	8.6	9.3			
Intensity of active phase.	Excessive	531	17	4	5	557	504.4	18.3	17.4	16.9			
	Moderate	2899	99	85	95	3178	2877.4	104.5	99.7	96.4			
	Low.	178	15	36	21	250	226.2	8.2	7.9	7.7			
Totals with record		3508	131	125	121	3985	3508	131	125	121			

¹ I.e., assuming no association with nature of offences. The figures are corrected for age in the childish-boyish-adolescent-adult groups

intensity of the active phase was lower than in the other groups of offenders, 19.2 per cent. showing low and 0.8 per cent. excessive intensity compared with 10.4 and 5.4 per cent. respectively among the other lads. No significant differences were apparent between the groups convicted of offences against property, the person or discipline.

Table CVI gives the distribution according to the nature and number of previous convictions of the lads with excessive, moderate and low intensity of each instinct in its active phase. Comparing the distribution for the large group of offenders against property with the frequencies to be expected if there had been no association between intensity and number of convictions the χ^2 test leads to the following results:

Aggressiveness	.	.	.	$\chi^2 = 45.7$	$n = 6$	$P = < .001$
Acquisitiveness	.	.	.	$\chi^2 = 173.1$	$n = 6$	$P = < .001$
Sexuality	.	.	.	$\chi^2 = 6.5$	$n = 6$	$P = .17$
Gregariousness	.	.	.	$\chi^2 = 24.3$	$n = 6$	$P = < .001$

Of the lads with excessive aggressiveness, 57.1 per cent. had a record of previous convictions, compared with 44.5 per cent. of the moderate group and 45.1 per cent. of the group with low aggressiveness. Combining moderate with low, $\chi^2 = 38.4$, $n = 3$, $P = < .001$, so excessive intensity for aggressiveness is significantly associated with a larger number of convictions. The Table shows, for example, that 34 out of 261 lads with excessive intensity had three or more previous convictions in their

TABLE CIV

Instincts, Association of Sexuality with Age and Nature of Offences

		Distribution in Age groups						Percentage frequencies at each Age.					All ages.
		16	17	18	19	20	Total	16	17	18	19	20	
Type of manifestation	Childish	14	14	16	4	2	50	2.8	1.5	1.7	0.4	0.3	1.28
	Boylsh	106	257	168	130	76	817	37.4	28.1	17.6	14.4	10.6	20.50
	Adolescent	290	613	696	508	454	2661	58.2	67.0	72.9	67.6	63.3	56.78
Intensity of active phase.	Adult	8	31	74	158	186	457	1.6	3.4	7.8	17.7	25.8	11.47
	Excessive	12	20	32	25	32	121	2.4	2.2	5.4	2.8	4.5	3.04
	Moderate	420	757	813	789	623	3402	84.3	82.7	85.2	87.6	86.9	85.37
Totals with record	Low	66	138	109	87	62	462	13.3	15.1	11.4	9.6	8.6	11.59
		498	916	954	901	717	3986	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
		Association with Nature of Offences in record.											
		Recorded numbers.					Calculated distribution (1)						
		Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline	Total	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline	Total		
Type of manifestation	Childish	38	1	7	4	50	45.5	1.4	1.6	1.5	50.0		
	Boylsh	704	25	63	25	817	740.8	23.6	27.2	25.4	800.0		
	Adolescent	2461	82	41	77	2661	2410.0	87.8	82.5	80.7	2550.0		
Intensity of active phase.	Adult	405	23	14	15	457	411.7	18.2	13.7	13.4	450.0		
	Excessive	74	6	36	6	121	109.5	4.0	3.8	3.7	121.0		
	Moderate	3102	118	83	99	3402	3080.2	111.8	106.7	103.3	3300.0		
Totals with record	Low	432	7	6	17	462	418.3	15.2	14.5	14.0	450.0		
		3500	131	125	121	3986	3500	131	125	121	3986		

¹ I.e., assuming no association with nature of offences. The figures are corrected for age in the childish-boyish-adolescent-adult groups.

record, compared with only 14 expected if there had been no correlation between these factors, whereas 156 out of 3,347 lads with moderate or low intensity recorded three or more previous convictions compared with 176 expected. Among offenders against the person or against discipline alone a proportion of 29 out of 164 (18 per cent.) of first offenders showed excessive intensity, compared with 30 out of 87 (34 per cent.) of those with multiple convictions.

Intensity of acquisitiveness is even more strongly associated with the number of convictions. The Table shows that in the property group 169

out of 531 lads with excessive intensity of this instinct had two or more previous convictions recorded compared with 90 expected if there had been no correlation, whereas 138 out of 178 with low intensity were first offenders compared with 97 expected. A similar positive association is evident among the other types of offenders.

Intensity of the gregarious instinct varies significantly with the number of previous convictions in the property group, but both the

TABLE CV

Instincts, Association of Gregariousness with Age and Nature of Offences

		Distribution in Age groups						Percentage frequency at each age					All ages.
		16	17	18	19	20	Total	16	17	18	19	20	
Type of manifestation.	Childish	4	7	7	1	3	22	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.1	0.4	0.55
	Boyish	110	130	88	47	35	410	22.1	14.2	9.2	5.2	4.9	10.29
	Adolescent.	367	734	765	671	466	3003	73.7	80.4	80.2	74.5	65.0	75.40
	Adult	17	42	94	182	213	548	3.4	4.6	9.9	20.2	29.7	13.76
Intensity of active phase.	Excessive	18	52	63	45	33	211	3.6	5.7	6.6	5.0	4.6	5.30
	Moderate	422	748	799	765	613	3347	84.8	81.9	83.8	84.9	85.5	84.03
	Low	58	113	92	91	71	425	11.6	12.4	9.6	10.1	9.9	10.67
Totals with records		498	913	954	901	717	3983	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

		Association with Nature of Offences in record.									
		Recorded Numbers					Calculated distribution (1)				
		Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Disci-pline	Total	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-u-al	Disci-pline	
Type of manifestation.	Childish	18	2	1	1	22	39.9	0.7	0.7	0.7	
	Boyish	356	9	27	18	410	372.0	11.6	13.8	12.6	
	Adolescent	2735	89	89	90	3003	2720.0	97.2	94.0	91.8	
	Adult	497	31	8	12	548	494.1	21.5	16.5	15.9	
Intensity of active phase.	Excessive	197	10	1	5	211	191.1	6.9	6.6	6.4	
	Moderate	3043	104	100	100	3347	3030.2	110.1	106.0	101.7	
	Low	366	17	24	18	425	384.7	14.0	13.4	12.9	
Totals with records		3606	131	125	121	3983	3506	131	126	121	

* ¹ I.e., assuming no association with nature of offences. The figures are corrected for age in the childish-boyish-adolescent-adult groups.

excessive and low categories show an excess of lads with two or more previous convictions compared with the moderate category. Combining moderate with low, however, $\chi^2 = 19.5$, $n = 3$, $P = < .001$, and it is seen that excessive intensity for gregariousness is significantly associated with a larger number of convictions.

Intensity of the sex instinct is not correlated with the number of convictions to any significant extent in any of the groups.

PERSONALITY TRAITS

TABLE CVI

Instincts, Association between the Intensity of Active Phase and Number of Previous Convictions

Number of previous convictions.	Offenders against Property (1)						Totals	Sexual Offenders			Offenders against Person or Discipline		
	Actual compared with calculated numbers							Excessive vs. Recorded Numbers	Moderate vs. Recorded Numbers	Low vs. Recorded Numbers	Excessive vs. Recorded Numbers	Moderate vs. Recorded Numbers	Low vs. Recorded Numbers
	Excessive		Moderate		Low								
	Recorded	Calculated	Recorded	Calculated	Recorded	Calculated							
Aggressiveness.													
0	112	142.4	1665	1635.8	191	189.8	1968	4	76	11	29	122	13
1	81	74.6	863	856.9	87	99.5	1031	-	16	7	20	33	2
2	34	30.3	336	348.3	49	40.4	419	-	6	-	5	11	2
3	18	8.7	88	100.6	15	11.7	121	2	3	-	2	5	1
4	11	3.5	33	39.9	4	4.6	48	-	-	-	-	2	-
5	3	1.1	11	12.6	1	1.4	15	-	-	-	2	-	-
6 or more	2	0.4	3	5.0	1	0.6	6	-	-	-	1	1	-
Totals	251	251	2999	2999	348	348	3608	6	101	18	59	174	18
Aggressiveness.													
0	211	269.6	1619	1581.3	138	97.1	1968	-	59	32	7	151	26
1	151	151.7	850	828.4	30	50.9	1031	3	17	3	9	38	8
2	91	61.7	319	336.7	9	20.6	419	-	6	-	1	16	1
3	46	17.8	75	97.2	1	6.0	121	1	3	1	-	7	1
4	27	7.1	21	38.5	-	2.4	48	-	-	-	2	1	-
5	3	2.2	12	12.1	-	0.7	15	-	-	-	2	-	-
6 or more	3	0.9	3	4.8	-	0.3	6	-	-	-	1	1	-
Totals	531	531	2899	2899	178	178	3608	4	85	36	22	194	36
Sex Instinct.													
0	40	40.4	1706	1692.0	222	235.6	1968	27	60	4	7	140	17
1	19	21.1	892	886.4	120	123.5	1031	8	14	1	2	49	4
2	8	6.6	348	360.2	63	50.2	419	-	6	-	1	15	2
3	3	2.5	102	104.0	16	14.5	121	1	3	1	-	7	1
4	2	1.0	38	41.3	8	5.7	48	-	-	-	-	3	-
5	1	0.3	13	12.9	1	1.8	15	-	-	-	-	2	-
6 or more	1	0.1	3	5.2	2	0.7	6	-	-	-	1	1	-
Totals	74	74	3102	3102	432	432	3608	36	83	6	11	217	24
Gregariousness.													
0	87	107.5	1693	1659.8	187	199.7	1967	1	74	16	4	136	24
1	55	56.3	873	869.2	102	104.5	1030	-	17	6	4	44	7
2	37	22.9	329	353.6	63	42.5	419	-	6	-	2	17	4
3	10	6.6	95	102.1	16	12.3	121	-	3	2	2	6	-
4	6	2.6	35	40.5	7	4.9	48	-	-	-	-	3	-
5	2	0.8	13	12.7	-	1.5	15	-	-	-	1	1	-
6 or more	-	0.3	5	5.1	1	0.6	6	-	-	-	-	2	-
Totals	197	197	3043	3043	366	366	3606	1	100	24	13	204	35

¹ Calculated figures assume no association between intensity and number of convictions

VI. Summary

In addition to mental defectiveness and mental subnormality, the psychoses and psycho-neuroses, psychological mal-adjustment and other causes of mental inefficiency, adolescent instability is important and is frequently associated with criminal conduct. It may be due to physiological and psychogenic influences, and in some cases appears to be mainly the result of inherited characteristics. It must be distinguished from moral defectiveness and other forms of mental defectiveness and mental inefficiency, and from early psychotic and psycho-neurotic illness. A

correct diagnosis often depends upon prolonged observation of the patient and a close study of his personal history.

It is impossible to measure attitudes, reactions and instincts with a mathematical yard-stick, and the best that could be done was to classify the lads into categories defined in somewhat general terms. Such categories are not sharply distinguished, but merge gradually into one another, and many individuals occupy borderline positions where one examiner might assign them to one category and another to a different one. As was inevitable in an investigation carried out by a number of examiners and occupying several years, the varying personal equations produced some lack of uniformity in the classification of the lads according to the various psychological categories defined. In consequence only broad conclusions can be safely drawn from the statistical analyses in this chapter.

In the study of human relations few matters are more reliable as indications of character than the reactions of an individual to the past, the present and the future. The majority of the lads were willing to talk freely about the past, and it was found that just over half of them were seeking compensation in their attitude to the present. An excessive proportion of the sexual offenders were unwilling or unable to talk freely about the past, and this may have been due, perhaps, in some cases to a desire to avoid subjects that are taboo in ordinary conversation. An excessive proportion in this group of lads were optimistic about the future.

The seeking of external compensation tended to be associated with willingness to talk of the past and with optimism about the future, whilst the seeking of internal compensation tended to be associated with willingness to talk of the past and pessimism as to the future.

Previous convictions tended to result in, or at any rate to be associated with, not seeking compensation and absence of optimism; a probable expression of the fact that with repeated convictions the idea of imprisonment becomes less formidable and compensatory reactions less necessary. The best past records, as measured by the number of previous convictions, were given by lads who were willing to talk freely of the past and were seeking compensation, and were neither optimistic nor pessimistic about the future. Clinical experience, generally, leads to the conclusion that lads who are willing to discuss their past failures are more anxious to accept assistance in their reformation, and are more ready to face the realities of life, and also more likely to succeed than lads who are unwilling or unable to talk freely. The importance of optimism lies in the fact that it is a mental stimulant, on the other hand, pessimism in the adolescent may be a harmful narcotic.

Sexual offenders tended to be more depressed temperamentally than the other classes, and it is perhaps this type of offender who most frequently combines emotional tension with a tendency towards solitariness. Thoughtful lads who had insight, judgment and ability to plan amendment had significantly lower proportions with previous convictions, whilst lads who belonged to careless, plausible and self-excusing categories, and were unwilling to face the realities of life if by doing so the enjoyment of the moment was denied, had significantly higher proportions.

Lads convicted of offences against the person included a significantly large proportion with undue aggressiveness, and this was also true for undue irritability. Sexual offenders had a significantly large proportion with excessive sexual activity as an aberrational feature. There is also no doubt, as a result of clinical experience in prisons as well as in Borstal institutions, that many sexual crimes in civil life occur in lads and in adult offenders who are under-sexed and sometimes sexually impotent.

Lads with a history of wandering or extreme idleness, or with pronounced acquisitiveness, recorded significant excess of previous convictions compared with those not showing these aberrations. Among those who had been convicted of non-sexual offences against the person a high proportion manifested an intense active phase of aggressiveness, and among the sexual and disciplinary offenders only a small proportion showed excessive acquisitive activity compared with the other groups of offenders. The intensity of the active phase of the sex instinct was excessive in a much larger proportion of the lads convicted of sexual offences than among the other lads, and they showed also a significant excess of childish and boyish types of reaction. On the other hand, the intensity of the active phase of gregariousness was lower among the sexual offenders than in the other groups, but the boyish type of reaction was again more frequent.

Lads with excessive intensity of aggressiveness or of gregariousness tended to record a larger number of convictions than lads with a moderate or low intensity of these instincts. A pronounced association was also found between intensity of acquisitiveness and number of convictions; but no significant relation was discovered between intensity of the sex instinct and the number of offences.

CHAPTER X

ADOLESCENT OFFENDERS, JUDICIAL AWARDS AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

I. Discussion

IN this chapter the associates of the lads, the nature of the offences, and the reason for committal will be further considered, together with the treatment ordered by the Court.

The difficulty of stating in precise terms the meaning of the word "crime" is generally recognized. Sir J. FitzJames Stephen defined a crime "as an act or omission in respect of which legal punishment may be inflicted on the person who is in default either by acting or omitting to act." Dealing with the legal aspect the same authority wrote: "There are four points in which crimes must differ from each other. They are as follows :

1. Different crimes must be tried in different courts.
2. Different crimes must be subjected to different maximum punishments.
3. Some crimes ought and some ought not to render the offender liable to arrest without warrant.
4. Persons charged with some crimes ought, and some persons charged with other crimes ought not to have a right to be bailed till tried.

"Each of these four distinctions depends upon a different principle, so that a crime may as to some of those distinctions belong to what might be called the higher, and as to the others to the lower class. Take for instance libel. Obviously the offence ought to be tried only in the superior courts, because it is likely to raise important questions of law and fact. Obviously, also, the maximum punishment should not be high. Offenders ought not to be arrested without warrant, and ought to be entitled to be bailed."

In like manner, Stephen discussed perjury and burglary, and concluded: "A classification which had different general names for the various combinations which might be made out of the various distinctions mentioned would be extremely intricate and technical. A classification which did not recognize them would be of little use. Hence the most convenient course in practice is to have no classification at all." ¹

¹ Sir James FitzJames Stephen, "History of Criminal Law of England," Vol. I, p. 1; and Vol. II, p. 194 *et seq.* (1883).

At the present time the division of crimes into major and minor is based largely upon their social importance, and the constitution of the court which is authorized to try them.

The social importance of crime is not necessarily related to the number of apprehensions. For example, the police returns recording the number of apprehensions and prosecutions in connection with non-indictable offences show that, in the year 1937, 15,833 persons were proceeded against for betting and gaming and 15,651 for common assault. Offences connected with private motor cars driven dangerously, carelessly, etc., and other offences connected with private motor cars accounted for 174,851 apprehensions, the corresponding figure for motor cycles with or without side cars being 49,775. On the other hand, 48 persons were proceeded against for the murder of persons aged one year and over, 42 for attempted murder, and 160 for manslaughter.¹ It will be generally conceded that the latter groups of offences, although the numbers are small, are of more social importance collectively than the large numbers of offences in the non-indictable groups.

The high proportion of offences against property among the 4,000 lads studied is shown in the figures for adolescents and adults quoted below. Including in this category offences for larceny, breaking and entering, fraud and false pretences, and receiving, it appears from the "Criminal Statistics for 1937" that 94 per cent. of indictable offences in adolescents and 88 per cent. in adults were due to these causes. The figures demonstrate the inherent importance of the acquisitive instinct, which is fostered in infancy and practised throughout the active years of life.

Adolescence is pre-eminently an age which encourages new sensations and the formation of new desires, and although the sexual instinct then comes into prominence it only causes 3 per cent. of indictable offences in offenders aged 17 and under 21 years. Probably the proportion would be higher were it not for the fact that adolescents generally tend to be more preoccupied with sexual phantasies and are less concerned with sexual materialism than adults. The fact that violence against the person was present in 1 per cent. of the adolescents and 4 per cent. of the adults may perhaps denote the greater assurance of the older offenders.

The ages of the 4,000 lads on their last birthday were shown in Table I to vary from 16 to 20 years, and their offences have been classified throughout the text into property, person, sexual and discipline groups.²

¹ "Criminal Statistics for 1937" (1938).

² It will be remembered that the "discipline" group of lads was stated in Chapter II, section 4, to include breaches of recognisances (other than committing fresh offences), absconding from a Home Office school, some cases of wilful damage, using insulting words and behaviour,

In recent issues of the "Annual Criminal Statistics for England and Wales" offenders aged 17 and under 21 are referred to as adolescents, and the figures given under this heading may be used to illustrate the general problem of major forms of adolescent crime.

The above Statistics divide the number of offenders aged 17 and under 21 according to the types of offence set out below. The sexes are not differentiated in the groups, but the figures are contextually significant as 9,078 of the offenders were lads and only 1,214 were girls :

	Number	Percentage of Total
Larceny	8,147	79
Breaking and entering	1,099	11
Frauds and false pretences	177	2
Receiving	228	2
Sexual offences	294	3
Violence against the person	134	1
Other indictable offences	213	2
TOTAL	10,292	100

Of the 8,147 adolescent offenders found guilty of larceny 219 were dealt with at Assizes and Quarter Sessions, and the remaining 7,928 at Courts of Summary Jurisdiction. Among these larcenies there were 692 thefts from shops and stalls, 775 thefts of pedal cycles, 542 thefts from unattended vehicles, 707 cases of larceny by a servant, and 550 thefts from automatic machines and meters.

Under the head of breaking and entering are included persons guilty of housebreaking, shop-breaking, burglary, etc. Shop-breaking accounts for more than half of these offenders. These offences if committed by persons of 17 years of age and over cannot be dealt with summarily, so all the 1,099 adolescent offenders (7 being girls) were dealt with at Courts of Assize or Quarter Sessions.

Of the 177 adolescents found guilty of offences under the heading of frauds and false pretences 141 were guilty of "obtaining by false pretences," 9 were dealt with at Assizes or Quarter Sessions, and the remainder at Courts of Summary Jurisdiction.

Of the 228 adolescent offenders found guilty of receiving, 33 were dealt with at Assizes or Quarter Sessions and the remaining 195 at Courts of Summary Jurisdiction.

Of the 294 adolescents found guilty of sexual offences, 118 were obstruction, road traffic offences, refusing labour, causing the police unnecessary trouble and Army offences—for example, mutiny. These different types of offences were classified under this heading for convenience in dealing with the data, although they often have less in common one with another than offences in the property, person or sexual groups.

dealt with at Assizes or Quarter Sessions. The majority of the 294 offenders, viz., 183, were found guilty of indecent assault.

Of the 134 persons aged 17 and under 21 found guilty of offences of violence against the person, 45 were tried at Assizes or Quarter Sessions. Of the 134 offenders, 111 were found guilty of wounding, 89 of these being dealt with summarily.¹

The "Criminal Statistics for 1937" also state how the courts dealt with adolescent offenders. Of those found guilty of indictable offences 1,596 were convicted at Assizes, the Central Criminal Court and Quarter Sessions; and 8,696 were found guilty by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction. Of the 1,596 adolescents convicted at the higher courts, 555 were placed under the supervision of a probation officer, 294 were bound over without supervision, 541 were sentenced to Borstal detention, 162 were sentenced to imprisonment, and 4 were sentenced to penal servitude. The remaining 40 were disposed of otherwise.

Of the 1,596 adolescents 290 were convicted² at Assizes, 67 at the Central Criminal Court and 1,239 at Quarter Sessions. The methods of dealing with these adolescent offenders adopted at the Assizes, at the Central Criminal Court and at Quarter Sessions respectively were as follows:

The proportions placed under the supervision of a probation officer were:

17 per cent. at Assizes
49 per cent. at the Central Criminal Court
38 per cent. at Quarter Sessions

The proportions bound over without supervision were:

29 per cent. at Assizes
10 per cent. at the Central Criminal Court
17 per cent. at Quarter Sessions

The proportions sentenced to Borstal detention were:

29 per cent. at Assizes
27 per cent. at the Central Criminal Court
35 per cent. at Quarter Sessions

The proportions sentenced to imprisonment were:

20 per cent. at Assizes
10 per cent. at the Central Criminal Court
8 per cent. at Quarter Sessions

¹ "The Criminal Statistics for 1937" (1938).

² These figures relate only to persons convicted at the higher courts, and do not include those who were convicted by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction and committed to the higher courts with a view to a Borstal sentence.

Of the 8,696 adolescent offenders found guilty by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction of indictable offences, nearly 45 per cent. were placed under the supervision of a probation officer, 25 per cent. dismissed or bound over without supervision, 16 per cent. fined, nearly 8 per cent. sentenced to imprisonment, and under 3 per cent. committed to a higher court for a sentence of Borstal detention.¹ Of the 670 adolescents sentenced to imprisonment by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction 640 were lads and 30 were girls. Of the 640 lads, 69 were aged 17, 121 aged 18, 182 aged 19 and 268 were aged 20.

The 670 young offenders sentenced to imprisonment for indictable offences were only part of the total number of young people under 21 sent to prison by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction. In addition, there were 518 sent to prison for non-indictable offences, and 2,694 committed to prison on remand or to await trial who were subsequently dealt with by some other method than a sentence of imprisonment.

It is instructive to consider also the number of offenders aged 21 and over according to the type of offence.

	Number	Percentage of Total
Larceny	27,539	72
Breaking and entering	2,323	6
Frauds and false pretences	2,254	6
Receiving	1,661	4
Sexual offences	1,344	4
Violence against the person	1,353	4
Other indictable offences	1,562	4
TOTAL	38,036	100

It may be added that in regard to larceny, 3 per cent. of the adult offenders were dealt with at Assizes and Quarter Sessions and the remainder by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction. The larcenies committed by persons of 21 years of age and over included 4,423 thefts from shops and stalls, 1,127 thefts of pedal cycles, 974 thefts from unattended vehicles, 2,517 cases of larceny by a servant, and 925 thefts from automatic machines and meters. Of the 27,539 adults found guilty of larceny, 11,828, or 43 per cent., were under 30 years of age.

Under the head of "breaking and entering" are included persons guilty of housebreaking, shopbreaking, burglary, etc. Shopbreaking accounts for nearly half of these offenders. All the adult offenders in

¹ A small residue of cases is not dealt with in the above percentages. Offenders sentenced to death (at Assizes or the Central Criminal Court), insane offenders, those committed to approved schools or handed over to a military escort, and those who were fined are not included.

this group were dealt with by Courts of Assize or Quarter Sessions. Of the 2,323 adults found guilty, 1,428, or 61 per cent., were under 30 years of age.

Of the 2,254 adults found guilty of offences under the heading "frauds and false pretences," 1,702 were guilty of "obtaining by false pretences," 486, or 22 per cent., were dealt with at Assizes or Quarter Sessions, and the remaining 78 per cent. by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction. Of the 2,254 adults found guilty, 668, or 30 per cent., were under 30 years of age.

Of the 1,661 adults found guilty of receiving, 321 were dealt with at Assizes or Quarter Sessions, and the remaining 1,340 by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction. Of the 1,661 persons, 588, or 35 per cent., were under 30 years of age.

Of the 1,344 adults found guilty of sexual offences, 736 (including 245 convicted of bigamy) were dealt with at Assizes and Quarter Sessions, and the remaining 608, or 45 per cent., by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction. Of the 1,344 offenders 523 were found guilty of indecent assault; 394, or 29 per cent., were under 30 years of age.

Under the heading of violence against the person are grouped the numbers of persons guilty of wounding, manslaughter, infanticide, murder, attempts and threats to murder, and other serious offences of violence. Of the 1,353 adults found guilty of offences under this heading, 414 were dealt with at Assizes and Quarter Sessions, and the remaining 939, or 69 per cent., by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction. Of the 1,353 offenders, 1,128 were found guilty of wounding and 939 of the cases of wounding were dealt with summarily; 562, or 42 per cent., were under 30 years of age.

The Courts dealt with these offenders, *i.e.*, persons aged 21 and over, as follows:

There were 5,843 convicted at Assizes, the Central Criminal Court and Quarter Sessions, and 32,193 were found guilty by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction.

The number of adults convicted at Assizes and the Central Criminal Court was 2,360, of whom 137, or 6 per cent., were placed under the supervision of a probation officer; 361, or 15 per cent., were bound over without supervision; 1,482, or 63 per cent., were sentenced to imprisonment; and 300, or 13 per cent., were sent to penal servitude.

Of the 137 placed under the supervision of a probation officer there were 80 cases at the Central Criminal Court, and only 57 at all the Assize Courts. In dealing with adults, as in dealing with adolescents, the Central Criminal Court made much more extensive use of probation than

the Assize Courts. The proportion of adult offenders placed under probation by the Central Criminal Court was nearly 11 per cent., the proportion so placed by the Assize Courts was 3·5 per cent.

The number of adults convicted at Quarter Sessions was 3,483, of whom 467, or 13 per cent., were placed under the supervision of a probation officer; 534, or 15 per cent., were bound over without supervision; 2,076, or 60 per cent., were sentenced to imprisonment; and 157, or 4·5 per cent., were sentenced to penal servitude.

Among the adult offenders convicted at the higher courts there were 177 persons between the ages of 21 and 23¹ who were sentenced to Borstal detention, 26 at Assizes, 14 at the Central Criminal Court, and 137 at Quarter Sessions.

There were also 110 offenders who were dealt with by fines, 12 at Assizes, 4 at the Central Criminal Court, and 94 at Quarter Sessions.

The number of adult offenders found guilty by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction was 32,193, of whom between 14 and 15 per cent. were placed under the supervision of a probation officer, 24 per cent. were dismissed or bound over without supervision, 34 per cent. were fined, and 27 per cent. were sentenced to imprisonment.

The proportion of cases in which use was made by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction of the methods of supervision by a probation officer decreased in the year 1937 continuously with advancing age after 17; but in every age group the proportion of female offenders placed under a probation officer was higher than the proportion of male offenders. Of the total number of persons found guilty of indictable offences by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, the percentages placed under the supervision of a probation officer were as follows:

	Males	Females
Aged 17	53 per cent.	69 per cent.
" 18	42 " "	63 " "
" 19	34 " "	59 " "
" 20	30 " "	52 " "
" 21 and under 25	19 " "	46 " "
" 25 " " 30	13 " "	33 " "
" 30 " " 40	9 " "	23 " "
" 40 and over	6 " "	17 " "

On the other hand, the use of imprisonment increases with the age of the offenders, and in every age group the proportion of male offenders sentenced to imprisonment is much higher than the proportion of females so sentenced. Of the total number of offenders found guilty of indictable

¹ I.e., had attained the age of 21, but had not reached the age of 23

offences by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, the percentages sentenced to imprisonment were as follows :

	Males	Females
Aged 17	2 per cent	1 per cent.
" 18	7 " "	2 " "
" 19	12 " "	3 " "
" 20	19 " "	6 " "
" 21 and under 25	28 " "	10 " "
" 25 " " 30	30 " "	12 " "
" 30 " " 40	30 " "	14 " "
" 40 and over	32 " "	14 " "

The above extracts from the " Criminal Statistics of 1937 " serve as a brief presentation of the general position in regard to adolescent and adult crime, and enables certain comparisons to be made. Not only are the decrease with advancing age in the proportion placed under the supervision of a probation officer and the increase with advancing age in the use of imprisonment significant, but the fact that the different offence groups retain the same order in adolescents and adults is important.

It is also important to note that when the severe sentences of penal servitude, still imposed in the earlier years of the present century,¹ were replaced by sentences less severe the offenders congratulated themselves upon the leniency shown to them. But this attitude soon changed, and a short sentence came to be regarded by offenders as their right. There appears to be no reason to consider that, generally, the severe sentences were more corrective,² but in certain cases they offered more prolonged protection to the public. This was so, for example, when repeated sexual offences on young girls or adult women were committed by men who were not insane or mentally defective and were not amenable to medical treatment.

A characteristic feature of adolescent and adult offenders alike is the establishment of standards of individual or group conduct. The petty thief excuses his own offences and condemns those of the burglar or sexual offender; the burglar despises the petty thief and sexual

¹ I have been present in court when a woman recidivist was sentenced to five years' penal servitude for stealing one penny from a charity collection box.

² " The Report of the Departmental Committee on Persistent Offenders " (1932) stated : " As the long history of the penal system shows, severity is a double-edged weapon, and if the offender leaves prison a worse man and a more embittered enemy of society than he was when he came in, society is injured equally with the offender. The object of modern changes in prison treatment has been to remove or modify the features which conduced to deterioration of mind or character, and to make imprisonment, so far as possible, a period of training. This aim is not inconsistent with the deterring function of imprisonment."

offender, whilst the latter attempts to minimize his own misconduct and condemns the criminal actions of the thief and burglar.

The various methods of punitive treatment of adolescent offenders by fine, probation with or without supervision, Borstal detention, imprisonment, penal servitude, or death in capital cases if the offender is over the age of 18 years, need not be considered here in detail. Certain aspects were considered in Chapter II, and a brief reference was made to the alternative methods proposed in the Criminal Justice Bill, 1938. Training and treatment are to-day the main principles adopted in the punitive detention of offenders.

In an address to the General Assembly at the International Penitentiary Congress in 1925, the late Lord Haldane, a former Lord Chancellor, stated :

— "I submit to you that the theory of punishment is a complex theory that cannot be brought under any one simple or exclusive definition. Besides the two aspects of which I have spoken, the retributory and the reformatory, there is another quite distinct from both. Punishment may become for the criminal his own act of expiation. In this aspect it gets a wholly new quality, a quality which seems to have been too little considered. In accepting his suffering, in the form of restriction of his liberty or even the loss of his life, the prisoner is accepting the principle which society has laid down, and, if he does accept the result of the law, he is identifying his will with the will of his fellow men. More than this, he is submitting to his punishment as a reparation made to the fellow men against whom he has sinned in the crime he has committed.

" This aspect of his punishment is real for the culprit only if he has adopted it, and it can profit his mind only if he has adopted it *ex animo*. But if he does this it may even be a source of comfort and of peace to him, and a starting-point on a way of reformation which has its origin in retributive justice. . . . "

II. Associates

Some aspects of companionship have been already considered in previous chapters. The companions of the lads at the time of the last offence according to age, nature of offence, and whether previously convicted, are considered in Table CVII. Of 4,000 lads there were 1,581 who had no companions at the time of the last offence, and 52 were not classified. The majority of the companions were of an equal age to the lads with whom they associated, 1,103 compared with 957 companions who were older, and 307 who were younger than the lads. Details were lacking in a large number of cases, and no reliable information as to the

status of many companions, whether leaders or followers, was available.

There was no appreciable difference in the proportion of first offenders and lads with previous offences who had companions at the time of the present offence. Of 3,948 lads, 2,209 were first offenders, and 1,739 lads had been previously convicted. Among the former 890, or 40·3 per cent., and of the latter 691, or 39·7 per cent., had no companions at this time.

TABLE CVII

Companions at Time of Last Offence, according to Age, Nature of Offence, and whether Previously Convicted

Companion(s)			Age distribution of offenders.					Distribution by Nature of Offence.					First Offence	Previously Convicted	Totals.
Age	Acquaintance	Status	16	17	18	19	20	Property	Person	Sexual	Discipline	Mixed offences			
Older. (1)	Casual	Leader	2	5	5	6	1	17	-	-	1	1	11	8	19
		Follower	24	43	55	54	48	224	2	-	6	2	140	94	234
		Not known	23	29	40	54	28	160	1	1	6	6	90	84	174
	Habitual	Leader	5	9	3	6	10	31	2	-	-	-	18	16	33
		Follower	30	46	54	57	47	212	9	1	8	4	148	86	234
		Not known	37	63	58	62	43	240	2	-	20	1	131	132	263
Equal Age. (2)	Casual	Leader	3	4	4	5	2	18	-	-	-	-	11	7	18
		Follower	5	11	19	20	16	65	1	1	4	-	47	24	71
		Not known	21	36	42	39	37	157	5	-	10	3	74	101	175
	Habitual	Leader	6	21	16	14	5	58	1	-	2	1	32	30	62
		Follower	11	41	34	32	21	138	-	-	1	-	86	53	139
		Not known	77	146	167	147	101	597	6	-	30	6	347	291	638
Younger. (3)	Casual	Leader	3	1	3	1	2	8	-	2	-	-	7	3	10
		Follower	-	1	6	5	3	14	-	-	-	1	8	7	15
		Not known	1	6	6	4	8	21	-	1	2	1	21	4	25
	Habitual	Leader	6	16	19	12	13	60	1	2	1	1	30	35	65
		Follower	8	16	12	20	14	68	-	1	1	-	38	32	70
		Not known	8	28	31	28	27	111	-	-	9	2	80	42	122
No companions.			226	380	360	327	288	1284	48	101	129	19	690	691	1381
Not classified.			3	15	16	11	7	44	-	2	5	1	22	30	52
Totals.			498	917	960	904	721	3527	78	112	235	40	2231	1769	4000

¹ Including one or more older companions with one or more about the same age.

² Including one or more older with one or more younger

³ Including one or more younger with one or more about the same age.

III. Nature of Offences

The nature of the offence or offences responsible for 6,745 of the 6,747 convictions in the records of the 4,000 lads, and the ages at which the offences were committed, are shown in Table CVIII.

Infringements against discipline were recorded at the age of 6 years, and against property at the age of 7 years. All observant persons will recall instances when the crude energy of still younger children was expressed by the appropriation of articles to which they knew they had

TABLE CVIII

Nature of All Offences resulting in the 6,747 Convictions of 4,000 Lads, and Ages at which they were committed

Nature of Offence(s).	Distribution by Age when Offence or Offences were committed															Totals.
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
Property only.	-	5	4	14	35	50	73	117	141	290	890	1240	1199	1001	702	5761
Property, and discipline.	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	3	1	2	3	5	9	5	3	33
Person only.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	17	15	33	25	23	116
Person, and property.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	4	5	5	19
Person and discipline.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	2	3	9
Person, Property and discipline.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	3
Sexual only.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	1	19	38	26	24	20	133
Sexual and discipline.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Discipline only.	2	8	2	4	14	16	30	23	20	38	101	135	116	104	57	670
Not stated.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Totals.	2	13	6	19	49	66	104	145	167	332	1033	1441	1390	1167	813	6747

no fight, whilst others have wilfully disobeyed those set in authority over them. Indeed, as W. McDougall¹ pointed out, many a little boy has without any example or suggestion suddenly taken to running with open mouth to bite the person who has angered him, much to the distress of his parents.

The literature abounds with examples of various sexual delinquencies resulting from premature and sometimes perverse sexual impulses during the early years of childhood. Havelock Ellis² states that there appears to be no limit to the age at which spontaneous auto-erotic manipulations may begin to appear. I have been consulted by a father whose son indulged in this practice at the age of 2 years.

It will be remembered that in Chapter II attention was called to the fact that the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, accepted the

¹ "Social Psychology" (12th edit., 1917).

² Havelock Ellis, "Studies in the Psychology of Sex," Vol. I (1923).

recommendation of the Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders, and enacted that no child under the age of 8 years can be guilty of any offence.

In Table CVIII offences against the person and sexual offences were first recorded at the age of 13. At the age of 16 offences against property, the person, sexual and disciplinary offences showed a large increase over the totals in previous years. This increase was maintained with fluctuations during the age period with which this study is concerned.

TABLE CIX

Nature of Offences resulting in Last Convictions according to Age and Number of Convictions

Nature of offence(s) responsible for last conviction.	Age Distribution					Distribution by number of previous convictions.										Totals.
	15	17	18	19	20	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Property only.	455	806	852	802	633	1970	996	394	106	40	14	5	1	1		3527
Property and discipline.	2	2	8	4	2	6	5	4	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	18
Person only.	7	11	24	15	21	47	21	5	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	78
Person and property.	2	2	4	5	6	9	4	4	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	19
Person and discipline.	-	1	1	2	3	4	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Person, property and discipline.	-	2	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Sexual only.	17	32	21	22	20	90	18	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	112
Sexual and discipline.	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Discipline only.	35	61	50	53	36	104	65	34	22	7	3	-	-	-	-	235
Totals.	498	917	960	904	721	2231	1115	444	134	51	17	6	1	1		4000

Table CLX classified the lads according to the offence or offences responsible for the last convictions, the age at the last birthday when convicted, and the number of previous convictions. No account is taken in this Table of the kind of offences previously committed.

Table CX takes into account in its upper half the nature of all the offences in the records of the lads, and classifies the lads also according to the age at the time of the most recent conviction, and whether they were first offenders, lads with one previous conviction, or with two or more previous convictions.

It also shows that offences against property, as well as sexual and discipline offences, were usually unassociated with the commission of other offences, but that offences against the person were frequently associated with offences against property. The data suggest that there may be some limitation of the personality in certain adolescents who commit offences against property as well as sexual and discipline offences. The well-recognized specialization of some adult criminals who repeatedly commit the same type of offence seems to express a similar phenomenon.

NATURE OF OFFENCES

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TABLE CX

Nature of Offences recorded and Treatment carried out or ordered, Correlated with Age and Number of Previous Convictions

	First offenders, aged						Lads with one previous conviction, aged						Lads with 2 or more previous convictions, aged						Totals
	16	17	18	19	20	Total	16	17	18	19	20	Total	16	17	18	19	20	Total	
Nature of all offences reported																			
Property only.	228	451	504	468	331	1970	119	205	189	189	148	850	46	82	85	90	80	383	3203
" and discipline.	-	-	2	3	1	6	34	49	41	29	33	186	30	41	55	51	49	226	418
Person only.	3	6	14	10	14	47	1	2	1	1	1	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	53
" and property.	2	1	1	2	3	9	3	4	6	4	9	26	-	3	6	7	5	21	56
" discipline.	-	1	1	1	1	4	-	1	2	-	2	5	-	-	1	-	-	1	10
" , property & discipline.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	2	6	-	1	5	1	-	7	13
Sexual only.	14	27	16	19	14	90	1	1	2	1	1	6	-	-	-	-	1	1	97
" and property.	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	3	1	5	14	2	2	-	-	2	6	20
" person.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
" discipline.	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	4
" , property and discipline.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
" , person and discipline.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1
All four types.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1
Discipline only.	14	27	22	29	12	104	1	2	4	3	3	13	-	2	-	1	2	6	122
	First offenders, aged						Lads with one previous conviction, aged						Lads with 2 or more previous convictions, aged						Totals.
	16	17	18	19	20	Total	16	17	18	19	20	Total	16	17	18	19	20	Total	
Treatment carried out or ordered. (1)																			
Probation (supervised) and Borstal.	170	343	366	311	196	1386	82	130	109	86	80	487	13	30	20	25	27	115	1988
Imprisonment. (2)	13	31	35	52	64	195	3	4	3	12	22	44	-	-	2	5	6	13	252
Borstal detention. (3)	9	13	12	21	13	68	1	4	3	7	5	20	1	2	1	1	-	5	93
Home Office school. (4)	4	1	-	-	-	5	8	15	6	9	5	43	1	1	1	-	1	4	52
Miscellaneous only (5)	63	126	147	136	103	577	9	13	11	19	12	64	1	-	-	-	3	4	645
Probation and imprisonment.	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	33	30	45	42	157	3	17	23	44	35	122	279
" and Borstal.	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	42	52	30	22	169	17	32	39	16	12	116	285
" " H.O. School.	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	16	14	9	5	64	12	11	13	10	9	55	119
" , prison & Borstal.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	4	13	10	17	29	73	74
" , " & H.O. School	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	10	7	5	24	24
" , Borstal & " "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	13	10	12	1	53	63
Prison and Borstal.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4	5	4	7	21	1	2	2	2	8	15	36
" & H.O. School.	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	8	9	2	23	-	1	6	3	3	13	36
" , Borstal & " "	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	3	2	-	8	8
Borstal & H.O. School.	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	7	7	3	2	22	6	4	6	4	1	21	43
Probation, prison, Borstal & H.O. School.)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	6	3	1	13	13
Total.	259	514	560	522	376	2231	161	271	248	231	204	1115	78	132	152	151	141	654	4000

..... Alone or combined with miscellaneous treatment.

* That is, by probation without supervision, fine or corporal punishment.

In the lower portion of the Table lads are classified according to the various forms of treatment which have been undergone or prescribed since the first conviction, the age at the most recent conviction, and

whether they were first offenders, lads with a record of one previous conviction, or with a record of two or more previous convictions. It will be seen that some 70 per cent. of the lads had been previously dealt with by being placed on probation under supervision, and it must not be considered that this proportion indicates a general failure of the probation system. In 1935 there were 25,543 offenders under the age of 17 who were found guilty of indictable offences, and of these 12,930, or 51 per cent., were placed on probation under the supervision of a probation officer. Of the 44,306 offenders aged 17 and over, 7,712, or 17 per cent., were placed on probation, and the Departmental Committee on the Social Services in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction pointed out: "If this method had not been available large numbers of them would inevitably have reached prison. It is hardly necessary, therefore, for us to stress the importance of a system which has been the means of saving thousands of persons, many of them young offenders, from being sent to prison."¹

Again, in the second Clarke Hall Lecture, Lord Hewart, the Lord Chief Justice of England, on May 24th, 1935, said: "The value and the importance of the work done by probation officers have so far received but scant recognition from the community as a whole, and we may wish well to any movement to improve their status and to emphasize their worth. The probation system derives its value from the probation service. If the officer has the genius of guide, philosopher and friend the system succeeds. Rightly used, probation can save thousands of offenders every year from a repetition of their crime."

IV. Ascribed Factors

Table CXI classifies the reasons which were given by the lads themselves for committing the last offence recorded. About 45 per cent. stated that the offence was committed in order to provide pleasure, 10 per cent. gave destitution as the reason, 6.5 per cent. said it had been done for adventure, and 5.5 per cent. for fear of the taunts of companions. In about 7 per 1,000 cases the motive was to escape from one of the Services, and for about one-third of the lads the motive could not be clearly defined. Adventure was given as a motive by 8.3 per cent. of the lads at ages 16-17 compared with 4.6 per cent. at 19-20. Fear of ridicule, on the other hand, was admitted by a rather lower percentage at 16-17 in comparison with later ages.

Destitution was alleged as the motive for about 18 per cent. of offences against discipline, but for less than 2 per cent. of sexual or other

¹ See also "The Probation Service," issued by H.M. Stationery Office (1938).

offences against the person. In about 48 per cent. of offences against property the motive was said to be the provision of pleasure, and this reason was advanced for 38 per cent. of the sexual offences, 8 per cent. of other offences against the person, and 15 per cent. of the offences against discipline. From 59 per cent. of the sexual offenders, however, no clear statement of the motive could be elicited. Fear of ridicule was given as the reason for 11 out of 78 offences against the person. The proportion of first offenders was greatest (67 per cent.) among the lads who gave fear of ridicule as their motive.

TABLE CXI

Reason for Last Offence, Correlated with Age, Nature of Offence and Number of Previous Convictions

Reason given for offence.	Age group.					Nature of offence for which last convicted.					Totals	
	16	17	18	19	20	Prop-erty	Per-son	Sex-ual	Disci-pline	Mixed.	No.	Per cent.
Destitution.	37	86	88	112	84	359	2	1	40	5	407	10.3
For pleasure.	264	408	419	385	294	1672	6	43	33	16	1770	44.8
For adventure.	43	73	63	47	28	235	4	2	12	1	264	6.4
Fear of ridicule.	26	41	63	55	43	202	11	-	3	2	218	5.5
To escape the Services.	2	2	7	6	10	25	-	-	2	-	27	0.7
Indefinite or mixed.	122	301	319	292	258	1013	55	66	136	22	1292	32.5
Total with record.	494	911	949	897	717	3505	78	112	226	46	3968	100.0
	Distribution by Number of Previous Convictions									Total in group	Total convictions including last.	Average per head.
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	10			
Destitution.	209	127	46	13	9	3	-	-	-	407	716	1.759
For pleasure.	957	513	214	59	18	5	2	1	1	1770	3014	1.703
For adventure.	147	54	34	13	5	1	2	-	-	254	444	1.748
Fear of ridicule.	146	50	17	3	2	-	-	-	-	218	319	1.463
To escape the Services.	10	11	4	-	1	-	1	-	-	27	56	2.074
Indefinite or mixed.	757	347	121	44	17	5	1	-	-	1292	2112	1.635
Total with record.	2226	1102	436	132	50	14	6	1	1	3968	6561	1.679

The motives underlying human conduct are often so complex and obscure that the explanation given by a lad for his offence may be unintentionally misleading. The association of offences against property in order to provide pleasure is not difficult to appreciate. The fact that destitution can act as a motive for offences against discipline and for sexual and other offences against the person is less obvious. Nevertheless, the deprivation of much that the ordinary person may reasonably expect to be his due is a constant source of irritation and mental conflict to many, and may find expression in various intricate directions. Purposive behaviour, whether the underlying motive is conscious or unconscious, is directed towards the fulfilment of a desire, and irritability and impulsiveness are often reactions to an inability to determine our affairs according to our wishes.

V. Summary

Crimes differ from each other in four essentials: different crimes must be tried in different courts, different crimes are subject to different maximum penalties, some crimes render the offender liable to arrest without a warrant, and persons charged with some crimes have a right to be bailed before trial. Each distinction depends upon a different principle, and any classification made thereon would be so intricate and technical as to be of little practical use.

Figures showing the proportions of different forms of crime committed by adolescents and adults demonstrate the inherent importance of the acquisitive instinct—which is fostered in infancy and practised throughout the active period of life—as a cause of social misconduct. Although adolescence is an age which encourages new sensations and the formation of new desires, and the sexual instinct comes into prominence at this period, it only causes 3 per cent. of indictable offences in lads aged 17 and under 21 years. This may be related to the fact that adolescents, generally, tend to be more pre-occupied with sexual phantasy than sexual materialism. The fact that violence against the person occurred in 1 per cent. of adolescents and 4 per cent. of adults may denote the greater assurance of the latter.

The general position in regard to adolescent and adult crime is briefly considered. The percentage of male offenders placed under the supervision of a probation officer decreases, and the percentage of those sentenced to imprisonment increases with the age of the offender. Different offence groups retain the same frequency order in adolescents and adults. In general, offenders tend to establish their own standards of conduct. The modern view in regard to imprisonment is to make it a period of training and treatment. This aim is not inconsistent with the deterring function of imprisonment.

Of 3,948 lads, 1,581 had no companions at the time of the last offence. Of the remainder, 1,103, were associated with companions of similar age to themselves, whilst 957 were associated with older and 307 with younger companions. There was no appreciable difference in the proportion of first offenders and lads with previous offences who had companions at the time of the present offence.

Infringements against discipline were recorded at the age of 6 years, and against property at 7 years of age. Offences against the person and sexual offences were first recorded at the age of 13. At the age of 16 offences against property, the person, sexual and discipline offences showed a large increase over the figures at previous ages. The increase

was maintained with fluctuations during the age period of the lads investigated.

Offences against property, sexual and discipline offences were usually unassociated with other offences. Offences against the person were frequently associated with offences against property.

About 70 per cent. of the lads had been previously dealt with by probation under supervision, but this is not an indication of the failure of the probation system in general which is recognized to be the means of saving annually thousands of offenders from imprisonment.

About 45 per cent. of the lads attributed their offence to a desire to provide pleasure, 10 per cent. gave destitution, 6.5 per cent. adventure, and 5.5 per cent. fear of the taunts of their companions as the reason for their offence. In about 7 per 1,000 the motive was said to be a desire to escape from one or other of the Services. In about one-third of the lads, however, the motive was not clearly defined. Since the motives underlying human conduct are often complex and obscure the explanation given by a lad for his conduct may be unintentionally misleading.

CHAPTER XI

ADOLESCENT OFFENDERS, ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION AND THE OFFENDER'S REACTION THERETO

I. Discussion

THE judicial, executive and administrative authorities are concerned with the social significance of crime as well as with the future of the criminal, and there is much truth in the oft-repeated statement of Lacassagne that every society has the criminals it deserves. A satisfactory position in regard to crime can only be obtained and maintained by constant vigilance and well-considered progressive measures, for new crimes are being continually added to the calendar, and ever-changing social conditions require new methods of approach. An analogy between crime and disease may be accepted here, for just as disease may pass beyond control unless early measures are adopted to prevent its malignancy from spreading, so may crime become more elusive and its effect more serious unless due regard is paid to the fact that success encourages the criminal to become progressively more virulent in his conduct. Moreover, crime like disease is often more easily prevented than cured.

The reaction of an offender to the administrative methods which implement the judicial award is likely to affect his future career, and before dealing with the relative statistical data, probation, Home Office schools, Borstal detention and imprisonment as it concerns adolescents, will be briefly discussed.

Probation

The principle upon which the probation system is based originated in, and was a development of, the idea of the suspended sentence under which the guilty offender was sentenced but the award was suspended, and eventually cancelled, if he made a serious effort to redeem his character.

In 1869 the General Court of Massachusetts passed an Act, which was amended in 1870, authorizing the Massachusetts State Board of Health, Lunacy and Charity to investigate the cases of juvenile offenders

and to undertake their placement and care. Although the term probation was not used the Act is said to have really permitted probation for juveniles.¹ In 1878 Massachusetts added the word "probation" to the criminal law by an Act defining the duties of a probation officer, and authorizing the Mayor of Boston to appoint one for Suffolk County. Two years later similar permission was given to every city and town in the Commonwealth, but it is said the idea of probation was so strange that few followed the example of Boston.² Albert Morris records the fact that in 1934, 32 States and the District of Columbia had adult probation laws, and all the States, except Wyoming, had made provision for juvenile probation.

Richard A. Chappell,³ referring to the purposes of the Federal Probation Act, quotes Chief Justice Taft, who in writing the opinion in *United States v. Murray*, stated the purpose of the Act in the following terms: "The great desideratum was the giving to young and new offenders of law the chance to reform and to escape the contaminating influence of association with hardened or veteran criminals in the beginning of the imprisonment. Experience had shown that there was a real *locus pœnitentiæ* between the conviction and the certainty of punishment, on the one hand, and the actual imprisonment and public disgrace of incarceration and evil association, on the other. If the case was a proper one, great good could be done in stopping punishment by putting the new criminal on probation. The avoidance of imprisonment at time of sentence was therefore the period to which the advocates of a Probation Act always directed their urgency. Probation was not sought to shorten the term. Probation is the attempted saving of a man who has taken one wrong step and whom the judge thinks to be a brand who can be plucked from the burning at the time of the imposition of the sentence."

Chappell also refers to Chief Justice Hughes, who in *Burns v. United States* said: "The Federal Probation Act . . . was designed to provide a period of grace in order to aid the rehabilitation of a penitent offender; to take advantage of an opportunity for reformation which actual service of the suspended sentence might make less probable."

The term "probation" is sometimes loosely applied to include cases (a) in which the court has dismissed the charge, or (b) has discharged the offender conditionally on his entering a recognizance, with or without

¹ Albert Morris, "Criminology" (1934)

² Albert Morris, *loc. cit*

³ Richard A. Chappell, "The Federal Probation Act," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* (Vol. XXIX, No. 5, Jan-Feb., 1939)

sureties, to be of good behaviour and to appear for conviction and sentence when called on at any time during such period, not exceeding three years, as may be specified in the order; and (c) when such a recognizance contains a condition that the offender be under the supervision of such person as may be named in the order, and such other conditions for securing supervision as may be specified in the order. It is the third and proper use of the term with which we are here concerned.¹

The principle of probation did not receive legislative recognition in England until the First Offenders Act became law in 1887, and the Probation of Offenders Act of 1907 in Great Britain permitted the use of probation in cases of persons who had been previously convicted, if the circumstances justified such a course, as well as of first offenders. Probation officers were first appointed as such by the Act of 1907. The object of their appointment was to ensure that Courts should have available persons who were qualified "to advise, assist and befriend" offenders whom the Courts desired to release on probation.

In deciding whether a particular offender can be properly placed on probation it is necessary for the court to consider the protection of the public interest, the nature of the offence, and the previous history of the offender, together with his present environment and state of health. The police are acquainted with the previous offences of the accused; a probation officer can ascertain and report to the court information concerning his environment, occupation, family life, associates and recreations; and a medical examination will ascertain his physical and mental state.

The Departmental Committee on the Social Services in Courts of Summary Jurisdiction stated²: "We have already referred to the need for care in the selection of cases for probation. To place persons on probation where the circumstances do not justify it imposes an unfair burden on the probation officer, and brings discredit on the system. Failure in unsuitable cases may even deter courts from using probation in cases which are suitable. Probation may not always be in the best interest of the offender. Public interest also demands that it shall not be used indiscriminately without due regard to all the circumstances of the case, including the character of the offence.

"In fairness, then, to society, the offender and the probation officer,

¹ It is important to discriminate between probation and parole. Both are forms of individualized treatment. Probation becomes effective as soon as the sentence is pronounced, and without the commitment of the offender to a penal institution. Parole refers to the early conditional release from prison of one who has served a portion of his sentence. It is an outgrowth of the English ticket-of-leave system, and is freely used in the United States of America.

² Cmd. 5122 (1936)

no person should be placed on probation without full consideration of his previous history and present surroundings, as well as the immediate cause of his appearance before the court. Without enquiry it is impossible adequately to take into account the conditions which the law prescribes as justifying the use of probation. Enquiry has both a positive as well as a negative value; it ensures the benefit of the system to those who are likely to profit by it, and discloses those cases where probation is not likely to have any chance of success. Moreover, the probation officers who gave evidence before us were unanimous in expressing the opinion that, where an offender is placed under supervision, it is important that the probation officer should make contact with him at the earliest possible stage. In this way the probation officer is better able to secure the confidence of the offender and to exercise his influence more effectively at a later stage."

The probation officer may be able to collect sufficient evidence concerning the accused before the trial takes place, but it is often necessary to remand the accused in order to give time for the necessary enquiries to be made. The most satisfactory method for this purpose is to remand the offender on bail, but if it is important to remove at once an adolescent offender from his environment, or if the question of his physical or mental health arises, a remand in custody may be required.

The offender enters into a recognizance, with or without sureties, to be of good behaviour and to appear for judgment when called on at any time during the duration of a probation order, the recognizance containing a condition that the offender be under supervision. Recognizance is a legal term for an undertaking voluntarily accepted by the person who enters into it, and it is open to him to refuse the conditions. Probation, therefore, is based upon a promise of amendment by the probationer and upon his willingness to co-operate, and if he fails in his obligation he can be brought before the court for such revision of the sentence as may be considered appropriate.

The duration of the order may be for a period not exceeding three years. "No rule can be laid down as to the right period to fix, but ordinarily it should be for not less than one year, in many cases an order may be required for two years, and only in exceptional cases will a three years' order be required."¹

The Criminal Justice Administration Act, 1914 (section 8), gave power to the courts to insert in a probation order a condition as to residence. The importance of this lies in the fact that probation is

¹ See "The Probation Service," Home Office Memorandum (1938).

unlikely to be successful in an unsuitable home, or amidst an environment which has been directly responsible for the offence, or may encourage a continuance of misconduct. A change of surroundings and different influences may be secured if the probationer lives in a hostel or respectable lodging, and are consistent with the main principle that probation should consist of supervision without seclusion.

A Home Office Circular of December 16th, 1937, declared that "the probation system is, strictly speaking, inconsistent with institutional treatment and as a general rule where an offender needs discipline or training, the appropriate treatment is committal to an approved school or Borstal institution."

Enough has been said to indicate that the success of the probation system depends upon a suitable selection of cases, the appointment as probation officers of men and women with a knowledge of life and experience of their fellows, together with firmness of character, patience, tact and sympathy; and upon a co-operative probationer, anxious to rehabilitate himself, willing to be guided by the advice and experience of his probation officer, and able to regard him as a friend.

Even when all these desiderata are assured at the commencement of a period of probation some adolescents, as time passes, become restive and resistant and unmindful of their obligation. Some lack steadfastness of purpose, and others prove themselves to be unable to stand alone. Among such are numbered many of the failures of the probation system.

Home Office (Approved) Schools

In 1756 the Marine Society established a school for the reception and reform of young criminals. In 1788 the City of London formed a similar institution which later developed into the farm school at Redhill. In 1818 another "reformatory" came into existence at Stretton-on-Dunsmore in Warwickshire. These institutions and others which followed were supported by voluntary funds, and had no power of compulsion over the children whom they received. They first came into contact with the State by an administrative practice, whereby a pardon was granted to a young offender under sentence of transportation or imprisonment on condition that he placed himself under the care of some charitable institution for the reception and reformation of young offenders. As a result of this experiment a separate prison for young offenders, to be conducted on such lines as should "appear most conducive to their reformation and to the repression of crime," was established at Parkhurst, and the Parkhurst Act of 1838 was the first legislative recognition of a separate treatment for young offenders. Although there

was no age limit, Parkhurst was reserved for boys under 18 years of age, all of whom were eventually sent to the Colonies.¹

In 1846 the first Bill to establish State reformatories was introduced but was rejected by Parliament. In 1847 a Select Committee of the House of Lords recommended the adoption of a system of "reformatory asylums" of which reformation and industrial training should be the main features. A further enquiry by a Select Committee of the House of Commons was held in 1852, and in 1854 the first Reformatory Schools Act was passed, and empowered courts to send young offenders to the existing institutions. These institutions remained under voluntary management and received legal powers of detention, the interests of the State being safeguarded by certification and inspection. Subsequent Acts introduced minor amendments, but the principles remained unchanged and were later incorporated in the Children Act, 1908.²

• • Reformatory schools were institutions for the vocational training of juvenile offenders over 12 and under 16 years of age, who had been convicted of offences which, in the case of adults, would be punishable by penal servitude or imprisonment. They were committed to the reformatory school for a period of not less than 3 years and not more than 5 years and not beyond the age of 19.³

• Industrial schools developed on similar lines, although they differed in origin from the reformatory schools. They arose from the ragged schools in England and the industrial feeding schools in Scotland, whose object was to deal with the problem of child welfare by providing education and industrial training for the class of children from whom the delinquents were mainly drawn. In 1818, John Pounds, a Portsmouth shoemaker, taught some of the poorest children in Portsmouth cooking, cobbling and the alphabet, and thus became the originator of the first ragged school. The Scottish system, associated with the name of Sheriff Watson of Aberdeen, was more comprehensive, and kept the children all day and provided them with food. These schools became recognized in

¹ Transportation to New South Wales was abolished by Order in Council in 1840, and in 1852 Van Diemens Land refused to receive any more transports. The Penal Servitude Act of 1857 provided that "no person shall be sentenced to transportation," and that sentences of penal servitude should be passed for all offences punishable by transportation. It was however, still legal for convicts to be "removed overseas" after a period of separate confinement here, and for some years small numbers continued to be sent to Gibraltar or Bermuda, or to the remaining penal settlement in Western Australia.

² See also, "Report of the Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders" (1927).

³ In the United States of America reform schools and industrial schools are established for youths under 16 or 18 years of age committed for violation of the criminal law or for the want of proper guardianship. There are also reformatories for adolescents between the ages of 16 or 18 and men of 30 convicted of crime.

Scotland by the Industrial Schools Act, 1854, and a similar law was passed in England. These laws empowered the courts to send offenders to existing schools, and the principles of management and control were the same as for reformatories. In 1876 power was first given to school Boards to establish day industrial schools.¹

As already stated, reformatories or "Senior Home Office schools" received convicted juvenile offenders up to the age of 16. Industrial schools or "Junior Home Office schools" received children under 12 years of age, or under 14 if not previously convicted.

The power to send children to prison was not abolished until the Children Act, 1908, which declared that no person under 14 shall in any circumstances be received into prison, while persons between 14 and 16 may be received, either on remand or conviction, only with a special certificate from the court.

The Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders was satisfied that the distinction between reformatory schools who received only convicted children, and industrial schools for neglected children and delinquent children not previously convicted, and not likely to exercise a bad influence, was unsound. "Many witnesses have pointed out that there is little or no difference in character and needs between the neglected and delinquent child. It is often a mere accident whether he is brought before the court because he is wandering or beyond control or because he has committed some offence. Neglect leads to delinquency, and delinquency is often the direct outcome of neglect. The experience of those who have the training of both classes of children leads them to believe that the neglected child is often more difficult to train than the bad boy who in a spirit of adventure and dare-devilry has committed some more or less serious offence. The schools themselves under the guidance of the Home Office have abandoned the titles 'Reformatory' and 'Industrial,' and apart from legal restrictions the main difference between them lies in the age of the boys and girls receiving treatment." The Committee therefore recommended that in any future statute the reformatory and industrial schools should be described as schools approved by the Secretary of State. The Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, adopted this recommendation.

The Home Office actually possesses no schools, and has no legal authority to do so. Of the existing 102 schools which hold the certificate of the Home Secretary as Approved Schools, 30 are the property of and managed by local authorities. The remainder are primarily the creation and interest of voluntary managers. The Home Office is responsible,

¹ See also "Report of the Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders."

through its inspectors, for the maintenance of reasonable standards of training, the supervision of expenditure of public money entrusted to the managers, and other conditions in all the schools.

The dual system is stated to have worked well. "The arrangement permits of a much greater elasticity and personal interest than would be the case if all the schools were controlled by local authorities."¹ The boys' schools are classified as follows: senior—of which there are 20 for boys aged 15 and 16 years on admission; intermediate—of which there are 14 for boys aged 13 and 14 years on admission; and junior—of which there are 34 for those under 13 years of age on admission. These figures include four nautical schools—two senior, one intermediate and one junior.

The purpose of these schools, briefly, is education, vocational training and character formation. Religious instruction, good schoolroom education, the best workshop and domestic training, athletics, holidays and responsibility for others all play their part, but it is recognized that the personal character and influence of the staff are factors which contribute most towards success.

It is unnecessary to consider in detail here the daily life of the boys in these schools. It may be added, however, that the Home Office Rules permit 16 days home leave annually, and more in special cases, and that almost every school goes away for 10 days or a fortnight in the summer, generally to the seaside under canvas or standing camps.

Borstal Institutions

In 1897 Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, then Chairman of the Prison Commission, obtained the authority of the Home Secretary, Sir M. W. Ridley, to go to America and study at Elmira the working of what was known as the American "State Reformatory System." While we classified our boys as adults, America adopted the converse method and classified adults as boys, persons between the ages of 16 and 30 being classed as youths. Ruggles-Brise has recorded that he thought the truth lay midway between the system that ends youth too early and that which prolongs it too late. He was impressed by all that he saw and learnt at the principal State Reformatories in America. The elaborate system of moral, physical and industrial training of these prisoners, the enthusiasm which dominated the work, the elaborate machinery for supervision of parole, stripped of their extravagances satisfied him that a real effort was being made in the States for the rehabilitation of the youthful criminal.²

¹ "Fifth Report of the Work of the Children's Branch," Home Office, 1938.

² E. Ruggles-Brise. "The English Prison System" (1921).

On his return, the London Prison Visitors' Association was formed to visit lads in the London prisons, and out of this small body grew the Borstal Association. The lads in the London prisons were separated from adults by their removal in 1902 to the old convict prison at Borstal, and the establishment of a system began to develop. Its object was to arrest or check the evil habit by the "individualization" of the prisoner, mentally, morally and physically. To the exhortation and moral persuasion of a selected staff were added physical drill, gymnastics, technical and literary instruction, and inducements to good conduct were introduced by a system of grades and rewards, which, though small and trivial in themselves, were yet calculated to encourage a spirit of healthy emulation and inspire self-respect.¹ Elaborate rules for giving effect to the project were introduced by the authority of Parliament, but at this stage the system was not recognized in any other way, and it had to be administered within the limits which existing penal law afforded; that is to say, young prisoners were dealt with who had been awarded sentences of imprisonment for six months and upwards.

It soon became clear that short sentences were useless for the purpose in view, and that if the system was to succeed longer sentences were essential. "Experience showed that something may be done in 12 months, little or nothing in a shorter period, that the system should be one of stern and exact discipline, tempered only by such rewards and privileges as good conduct, with industry, might earn; and resting on its physical side on the basis of hard manual labour and skilled trades, and on its moral and intellectual side on the combined efforts of the chaplain and the schoolmaster. Such a sentence should not be less than three years, conditional liberation being freely granted, when the circumstances of any case gave a reasonable prospect of reclamation, and when the Borstal Association, after careful study of the case, felt able to make fair provision on discharge."² In 1908 the Prevention of Crime (Borstal) Act embodied these views and provided for the establishment of the Borstal Association.

It may be said in general terms that the rules and regulations for the administration of Borstal institutions are based on the principle that, up to a certain age, every offender may be regarded as potentially a good citizen, that his lapse into crime may be due to inherited defects, bad social environment or physical and mental abnormalities, and that it is the duty of the State to try to effect a cure and not to classify the offender without trial with the adult criminal. It is necessary to study

¹ E. Ruggles-Brise, *op cit.*

² E. Ruggles-Brise, *op cit.*

each lad as an individual presenting a special problem or problems, to ascertain and direct his tendencies and possibilities, to assist him to control his desires and apply them in a socially useful manner, to impress him with the dignity and importance of labour, the satisfaction of accomplishment, and the obligations as well as the privileges of citizenship.

For some years boys in Home Office schools were selected and allowed to visit their homes for a week-end. A similar system of home leave was instituted experimentally at Feltham Borstal institution at Christmas in 1933 and Easter, 1934, when 27 lads in the special grade, whose homes were reported by the Borstal Association to be suitable, were allowed to visit their homes for the week-end on parole. All the lads, with one exception, who was handed over to the police by his parents, returned punctually to the institution. Apart from family re-union, the object of the scheme was to give the lads an opportunity of appreciating the conditions to which they would shortly be released, to afford a test of reliability which is impossible within an institution, and at the same time secure the co-operation of their parents. The privilege has since been extended to certain other Borstal institutions.¹

The Borstal experiment, beginning in 1908, was interrupted by the war of 1914-18, and during the post-war years the rapid expansion of the Borstal institutions and their adaptation to new conditions made any change of the age limit inopportune. During recent years, however, it has been possible to allocate lads to a number of different institutions according to their age and degree of criminality, and experience has shown that the basic principles of Borstal training can be successfully applied to lads of the higher age groups.² In 1936, by an Order of the Secretary of State under section 1 (2) of the Prevention of Crime Act, the age limit for committal to Borstal detention of lads convicted on indictment, but excluding cases convicted by a summary court and sent to a court of quarter sessions for sentence under section 10 of the Criminal Justice Administration Act, 1914, was raised from 21 to 23 years.

In order to further the principle of individualization in the Borstal institutions the establishments are divided into houses, under the immediate supervision of housemasters and assistant housemasters acting under the direction of the Prison Commissioners through the governor. Experience shows that high numbers of lads in a Borstal institution make it difficult to give them the individual attention on which the efficiency of the system depends; it also strains the accommodation for classes and impedes other activities. Moreover, an increase in the number of separate

¹ "Annual Report of the Prison Commissioners, 1934" (1936).

² "Annual Report of the Prison Commissioners, 1935" (1937).

institutions, which is the practical remedy for increasing admissions, facilitates classification and affords opportunities for experiments in different methods of training.

The initial classification of lads has for some years past been carried out at Wormwood Scrubs Boys prison, and as already stated in Chapter I, the various data collected concerning a lad on reception enable a clear outline of his case to be made, and assist in his allocation to the appropriate institution.

In 1938 eight institutions for boys and young men accommodated a daily average population of over 2,100, and the Prison Commissioners in their Annual Report for that year¹ indicate briefly the characteristics of each :

Sherwood (Nottingham), formerly Nottingham prison, receives the most mature type of Borstal inmate; the average age on reception is over 21, and nearly one-third are married men. Most of them have had several previous convictions and many have been in prison. Its population in 1938 was 130.

Portland (Dorset), is the old convict prison, the buildings of which have been extensively altered and adapted to their present purpose. It provides accommodation for 450 lads. They are similar in type to those at Sherwood, but are slightly younger and less mature, and their training presents somewhat similar problems.

Camp Hill (Isle of Wight), was originally built as a prison for men serving a sentence of preventive detention, and was converted into a Borstal institution in 1931. The daily average population is about 340; the lads are, mainly, still younger than those at Portland, and are more amenable to discipline.

Borstal (Rochester), is the parent institution developed on the site of the old convict prison, and in 1938 the daily average population was about 375. It receives many of the better educated and more intelligent lads, who, despite a record of previous convictions, are considered capable of profiting by a considerable amount of freedom from detailed supervision and control. Close supervision is held in reserve and is seldom called for.

Feltham (Middlesex), was formerly an industrial school, and is mainly reserved for dull and backward lads, for those requiring mental observation, and also for the less robust type of lad. The daily average population approximates 370. The training involves special medical and educational problems.

Lowdham Grange (Notts), is the first establishment in this country to be designed and built specifically as a Borstal institution. The buildings

¹ Cmd. 6137 (1939).

have been mainly constructed by the lads themselves, and in 1938 accommodated about 160. It is not yet completed. The planning of the institution with over 500 surrounding acres of land, and the routine adopted, allow the maximum of freedom from physical restraints against absconding. The lads selected for this institution are those who are thought likely to respond to training, chiefly agricultural, accompanied by a large measure of trust.

• *North Sea Camp* (near Boston), was opened in 1935, and is a hutted encampment on the shores of the Wash, where lads of good physique and comparatively good records undergo a period of intensive training. The population averages about 100, and consists of specially selected youths who are considered likely to respond to a comparatively short training and to require little or no provision for security. The work consists mainly of reclaiming for cultivation an area of salt marsh along the coast.

• *Hollesley Bay Colony* (near Woodbridge, Suffolk), is a farm colony of 1,300 acres, and was opened in May, 1938, with lads similar in type to those sent to Lowdham Grange and North Sea Camp. The population in 1938 was about 150 and can be increased by erecting houses of the hutment type.

Borstal training, in brief, varies, but always implies a combination of methods of mental, moral, physical, educational and industrial training, adapted according to the needs of different types of lads, and, like other progressive systems, is constantly subjected to change as fresh experiments are tried out. Its success stands or falls by the results. It is the aim of the Prison Commissioners and their staffs, together with the Borstal Association, to whose care every inmate is licensed on discharge, constantly to improve the number of successes.

Imprisonment

The Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders found themselves "much impressed by the unanimity with which those best qualified to form an opinion, prison governors, chaplains, medical officers and voluntary workers at the prisons, condemn the policy of sending lads and girls of this age¹ to prison."

• The Committee, having regard to this fact and to others including the plasticity, impressionability and rapid emotional development of persons at this age, and that it is a period of temperamental rather than of intellectual development, together with the knowledge that experiences at this period of life may have a more permanent effect on conduct than

¹ VIZ., 17 to 21 years.

during the earlier years when intellectual progress predominates, considered that, despite the efforts of prison governors, prison staffs and voluntary workers, imprisonment cannot be made an effective method of reformation for youthful offenders owing to the condition under which it operates.

For many years the Prison Commissioners have made special arrangements for the segregation in prisons of young offenders, and since 1924 all male young prisoners serving sentences of three months and over have been regularly transferred to collecting centres in certain prisons. A more complete segregation from adult prisoners and a more suitable form of training than in the ordinary prison thus became possible, but the Commissioners in their Annual Reports and elsewhere have repeatedly called attention to the fact that this training is necessarily restricted by the unsuitable surroundings of a prison, and cannot compare with that available under the more open conditions of a Borstal institution.

During the year 1937, of 1,275 lads sentenced to imprisonment, 412, or 32 per cent., had not, so far as was known, been previously proved guilty of offences; 863, or 68 per cent., had previously proved offences. Many had records of numerous previous offences, and there was no doubt whatever that Borstal sentences would have been more appropriate for many of the lads than sentences of imprisonment. The figures were: Ages, 16, 4; 17, 139; 18, 258; 19, 371; 20, 503. The chief offences were: Larceny, 606; offences against the Highway Act, 197; burglary, and housebreaking, 69; false pretences, 20; frequenting, 37; breach of Police Regulations, 16; assaults, 63; poor law offences, 10; malicious damage, 15; sexual offences, 74; wounding, 19; and drunkenness, 19. Their sentences included: 7 days or less, 92; 1 week to 1 month, 409; 1 to 3 months, 417; 3 to 6 months, 264; 6 to 12 months, 58; over 12 months, 18. Of the 1,275 sentences, 148 were in default of fines. Of the 501 sentences of a month or less, 142 were committals in default of fines.¹

Section 1 (3) of the Criminal Justice Administration Act, 1914, provides that: "Where a person so allowed time for payment as aforesaid appears to the court to be not less than sixteen nor more than twenty-one years of age, the court may, if it thinks fit, and subject to any rules made under this Act, order that he be placed under the supervision of such person as may be appointed by the court until the sum adjudged to be paid is paid, and in such case before issuing a warrant committing the offender to prison in respect of non-payment of the sum a court of summary jurisdiction shall consider any report as to the conduct and

¹ See "Annual Report of the Prison Commissioners, 1937."

means of the offender, which may be made by the person under whose supervision the offender has been placed." It appears that some courts make a regular use of this procedure.

The same Act provides two new methods of dealing with offenders. Section 12 gives a court of summary jurisdiction power, in lieu of passing a sentence of imprisonment, to order an offender to be detained within the precincts of the court, or at any police station, till such hour, not later than eight in the evening on the day on which he is convicted, as the court may direct. This provision is irksome to the offender without unduly interrupting his work and family life.

Section 13 of the Act provides that no person shall be sentenced to imprisonment by a court of summary jurisdiction for less than five days, but that such a court may, in lieu of imprisonment, order detention for a period not exceeding four days in a suitable place. The Secretary of State, on the application of the police authority, may certify any police cells, bridewells, or other similar places provided by the authority to be suitable places for such detention, and may make regulations for the inspection of places so provided, the treatment of persons detained therein, and generally for carrying the section into effect.

The detention of young persons for four days without employment or opportunities for exercise, which cannot easily be provided in ordinary police stations, is not free from objections, and the Criminal Justice Bill, 1938, proposed to abolish continuous detention in police cells for periods up to four days, and to set up instead a system by which offenders over 17 years of age convicted of minor offences (including persons who default in the payment of fines) might be detained in a police station for one night on not more than three occasions, with intervals between the nights.

One of the main objects of the Bill was to provide for the abolition of imprisonment as a method of treatment for young offenders convicted of such offences as are dealt with by courts of summary jurisdiction, and to substitute alternative methods. It was proposed that a court of summary jurisdiction should not impose imprisonment on any person appearing to the court to be under 16 years of age, and not upon any person appearing to the court to be not less than 16 but under 17 years of age, unless the court certifies that he is of so unruly a character that he cannot be safely detained in a remand home, or of so depraved a character that he is not fit to be so detained. Further, a court of summary jurisdiction should not impose imprisonment on a person appearing to the court to be not less than 17 but under 21 years of age unless the court had obtained and considered information as to the circumstances and

character of the offender, and was of opinion that no other method of dealing with him was appropriate, and if imprisonment was imposed, should state the reason for its opinion that no other method of dealing with the offender was appropriate.

The Bill also proposed the authorization of special institutions to be called Remand Centres, to which young offenders between 17 and 23, and 14 and 17, remanded or committed for trial in custody, might be sent instead of to prison, not only for custody, but for the purpose of making such medical or other investigations as might be desirable in order to assist the court in deciding how best to deal with the offender. Compulsory attendance centres were proposed to which young offenders might be sent who are now sentenced for minor offences or committed to short terms of imprisonment in default of payment of fines. For young offenders between the ages of 16 and 21, who, in the opinion of the court, do not require Borstal detention, the Bill proposed to try a system of residential control in institutions called Howard houses, where they would be under disciplinary control outside their working hours, but during the working hours of the day would go out to ordinary employment.¹ It has been stated in Chapter II that the war has prevented immediate progress with the Bill, but the above indicates the lines along which it is hoped progress will be presently resumed.

II. Reaction to Treatment

The form of reaction to previous treatment in the case of 1,387 lads who had been convicted more than once, and whose reaction had been recorded, is given in Table CXII. The treatment undergone may have been probation, an approved school, Borstal institution or other, and the reactions recorded in this table must not be confused with the immediate reactions to imprisonment following the last offence which are dealt with in Chapter IX. Some 4 per cent. were classed as resistant and defiant, 8 per cent. as repressed and anergic, 47 per cent. as apparently unaffected, and 41 per cent. as trying to react with a good will. The proportion who had tried to co-operate was 38 per cent. at ages 16-17, 41 per cent. at 18, and 44 per cent. at 19-20. The percentage distributions where the lads are grouped according to the number of previous convictions were as follows :

	1	2	3 or more
Resistant, defiant	3.3	4.8	5.5
Repressed, anergic	6.8	8.8	11.6
No apparent effect	42.1	51.4	62.2
Trying to co-operate	47.8	35.0	20.7

¹ See also Chapter II.

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As the number of previous convictions increased the proportion with unsatisfactory reactions also increased.

TABLE CXII

Reaction to Treatment (preceding the Last Conviction) of 1,387 Lads who had been convicted more than once, according to Age, Number of Previous Convictions and Nature of Last Offence

		No. with stated reaction to previous treatment				Totals with record of reaction.
		Resistant, defiant	Repressed, apathetic	No apparent effect	Trying to co-operate.	
Age at last conviction.	16	6	10	98	62	176
	17	11	32	150	127	320
	18	17	25	147	130	317
	19	11	28	121	138	298
	20	11	16	134	116	277
Number of previous convictions	1	29	59	366	415	869
	2	17	31	182	124	354
	3	3	13	65	29	103
	4	3	5	27	6	41
	5	3	-	7	4	14
	6	-	1	1	2	4
	7	-	-	1	-	1
	10	-	-	1	-	1
Nature of offence for which last convicted.	Property	46	86	653	618	1203
	Person	3	6	11	9	29
	Sexual	-	2	8	6	16
	Discipline	5	13	63	33	114
	Mixed	1	2	15	7	25
Totals with record.		55	109	650	573	1387

The reaction of a lad to any form of punitive treatment depends upon his acceptance of the justice of his sentence, the strength of his desire to reinstate himself among his fellows, and the personal and material contacts he makes during his detention.

The administrators of justice are concerned with the first of these factors; a high standard of socially acceptable conduct in the general population influences the outlook of a lad as regards the second; and his custodians are responsible for his contacts during the period of supervision or detention. The effect of the latter is intensified by the careful classification of different types of offenders, by utilising the period of supervision or detention for developing the character of the lad in socially acceptable directions, and by training him in habits of industry. Since the lines on which progress is believed to be possible were set out in the Criminal Justice Bill, 1938, and were briefly alluded to in Chapter II, section 2, it is unnecessary to reconsider them.

III. Summary

Probation, Home Office (approved) schools, Borstal institutions and imprisonment as it applies to adolescents are briefly considered. The

reaction to treatment, preceding the last conviction, of 1,387 lads who had been convicted more than once and whose reaction to the treatment was known is set out according to the age, number of previous convictions and nature of last offence. Of these 4 per cent. had been resistant and defiant to treatment, 8 per cent. had been repressed and anergic, 47 per cent. were apparently unaffected and 41 per cent. had tried to react with a good will. As the number of previous convictions increased the proportion showing unsatisfactory reactions also increased.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

ONE of the questions before the International Penitentiary Congress held in London in the year 1925 was as follows: "Is it desirable that services, *e.g.*, laboratories or clinics, should be installed in prisons for the scientific study of criminals? Would such a system help both to determine the causes of criminality and to suggest the suitable treatment in the case of the individual offender? Would it not be advisable to use the same system for the examination before trial of persons suspected of some mental defect?" The Congress replied with the following resolution: "It is necessary that unconvicted and convicted offenders should be physically and mentally examined by specially qualified medical practitioners, and that the necessary services should be installed for this purpose in the institutions. Such a system would help to determine the biological and sociological causes of criminality and to suggest the suitable treatment for the individual offender."¹

For many years before this accused persons and convicted offenders in this country had been examined by specially qualified prison medical officers and the scope of the examination has been extended in accordance with the progress of psychological medicine. The present investigation, like the recent one into The Psychological Treatment of Crime to which reference has been made in previous chapters, was also carried out at Wormwood Scrubs prison and was undertaken in order to approach the problem of crime from the scientific standpoint. Both studies were conducted in the faith of the immortal Harvey²: "Nature is herself to be addressed; the paths she shows us are to be boldly trodden; for thus, and whilst we consult our proper senses . . . shall we penetrate at length into the heart of her mystery."

There can be no doubt that the practice of medicine in the future will become increasingly concerned with the prevention of disease, and social service will concentrate more and more upon the environmental conditions which adversely affect the health and well-being of the community. Further, healthy citizenship, using the term in a wide sense, is

¹ "Proceedings of the IXth International Penitentiary Congress" (1927).

² "De Generatione."

the ultimate purpose of medico-sociological studies relating to adolescent and adult offenders.

The estimated total expenditure in connection with prisons and Borstal institutions in England and Wales for the year ending March 31st, 1941, was £2,149,311, less appropriations in aid amounting to £359,000. An estimated net expenditure of £1,790,311. The estimated total expenditure of the Exchequer for the police of England and Wales for the same period was £13,474,897. To this figure must be added an approximately similar amount falling upon local funds.¹ The cost of crime, therefore, is considerable apart from the wastage due to imperfect citizenship and the imponderable consequences to individual offenders.

The prevention of crime, as well as the judicial, administrative and medical treatment of the individual offender is an important contribution to social hygiene. Its success is measured by the current volume of crime and a full appreciation of the ease with which unchecked crime increases. The world of to-day will be for all time an impressive example of the fact that criminal activities are infectious and, when directed by criminal minds, may overwhelm the community in which they are permitted to flourish.

This study is concerned with analytical data, and it is unnecessary to differentiate at length between a criminal and sinful act, although some psychologists use the term "sin" in a special sense. Thus, J. A. Hadfield² refers to sins "which result from a deliberate and conscious choice of the self, and depend upon the acceptance of a low ideal. . . ." He considers that sin is due to wrong sentiments and "moral disease" is due to morbid complexes giving rise to uncontrollable impulses. He adds, however, ". . . I recognize the liberty taken in using the term 'moral disease.' It may with justice be held that if it is a 'disease' it cannot be moral, and if moral we cannot call it a disease. But I cannot suggest a better name to give these disorders, which are disorders of conduct, but yet are due to causes over which we have little or no control." He includes under the term "moral disease" uncontrollable temper, sex perversions, stealing, cruelty, despondency, irritability and vanity, a comprehensive list which challenges criticism.

For the purposes of this study a criminal act is one in which conduct is evil from the point of view of civic law and ethics, and sin is an evil regarded from the point of view of religion.³ Sir James FitzJames

¹ "Civil Estimates for the Year ending 31st March, 1941."

² J. A. Hadfield, "Psychology and Morals" (9th edit., 1932).

³ This broad distinction, although convenient, is not free from objection since certain conduct may be a sin according to the dogma of one religion and not of another.

Stephen¹ stated: "The function of the ecclesiastical courts was to punish offenders against religion and morals, in a word, to punish sin as such." But not only have the ecclesiastical courts lost this power, except in connection with their authority over their own clergy, but the criminal courts do not punish sin *per se*.

Modern criminology is less concerned with the religious aspect of sin than with the study of the personality of the offender and the environmental and eugenic factors involved. The psychiatric approach may be important in individual cases, but it is generally recognized that it is often easier to alter a causal environment than change the character traits which are associated with misconduct. Indeed, where the reformation of the offender is concerned, it is well to bear in mind the fact that he is the product of past generations, and that in the emotional crises of life the individual remains true to type, unchanging and unchanged throughout the ages. This stark fact stands out clearly in the lives of men and women recorded in Biblical history, as well as in the seething mass of world events to-day. As H. V. Morton states: "Potiphar's wife is a woman known to all ages of the world's history. She appears for the first time exactly as she appeared yesterday, and she will appear to-day and to-morrow."

It is, of course, also true that the environment is often associated with factors which have been handed down from previous generations, but here we may be able to alter them within the formative period of the life of the individual.

In many directions amendments have been chiefly concerned in later years with the material aspect of affairs, and perhaps this was inevitable. The World War, however, has forcibly introduced to the present generation the fact that the essential things of life are often imponderable, for the adolescent is not merely in contact to-day with grim reality, but is also presented with a large scale view of the privilege, honour and dignity of duty, good work and good citizenship. The importance of performing the daily task, whatever it may be, in the most efficient manner, not merely because of the market value of efficiency, but because each individual can only develop himself fully if he works to his highest standard at all times, is perhaps not always recognized by adolescents. It may be harder still for them to appreciate the false value of publicity, and the fact that those in high places, who may be subjects of envy to lesser folk, are not exempt from tears, regrets and grievous disappointments.

The modern psychiatric and psychological approach to crime is often

¹ Sir J. Fitz James Stephen, "History of Criminal Law of England" (Vol. II., 1883).

² H. V. Morton, "Women of the Bible" (1940).

misunderstood, and is regarded as the only satisfactory means of dealing with certain classes of offences.

Hooton¹ declares that: "The greatest merit of the psychiatric approach is that it concerns itself primarily with the organism of the criminal rather than more or less exclusively with his environment. At the same time, it does not, or should not, neglect the influence of environmental factors upon the organism."

Another American writer, F. Wertham,² states: "The extremists who see in psychiatry the sole and ultimate solution of sex crimes claim that most, if not all, of these offenders suffer from some individual mental disorder which should be treated by psychological individual methods. They want the psychiatrists to decide once and for all which individuals are treatable and determine how long their treatment should last. They want the doctor to decide definitely that they are cured, or else pronounce them definitely incurable, as if it could be predicted that every sexual offender would fit into one of two cubby-holes for the rest of his life. We need more and more psychiatrists, say these extremists: a psychiatrist in every jail, a psychiatrist in every court, a psychiatrist in every social agency, a psychiatrist in every school, a psychiatrist in every kindergarten. If one follows this line of thought, one is not so far from the absurd conclusion that a psychiatrist is needed in every home—and who is going to be the psychiatrist for the psychiatrist?"

The psychological treatment of sexual and other crimes is sometimes effectual, but it is often useless even in carefully selected cases, and penal measures applied with full knowledge of the medical factors involved may prove to be the appropriate counteraction.

I have pointed out elsewhere³ that the aim of the prison psychiatrist is threefold: first, the presentation at a court of trial of the mental condition of an accused person and its relation to responsibility; second, the certification of convicted prisoners who are insane or mentally defective and their transfer to appropriate mental institutions; third, the care and supervision of prisoners who are not irresponsible in law, or certifiable under the Lunacy or Mental Deficiency Acts, but who, on account of excessive or other abnormal mental reactions, require special organization and grading of their work, special consideration regarding their associates and other special methods of psychiatric treatment.

The prison psychiatrist is also concerned with the elucidation and

¹ Earpest Albert Hooton, "The American Criminal," Vol. I, 1939.

² Frederick Wertham, "Psychiatry and the Prevention of Sex Crimes," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* (Vol XXVIII, No. 6, 1938)

³ "The Modern Psychiatric Approach to Crime," *Journal of Mental Science* (July, 1938). See also East and Hubert, "The Psychological Treatment of Crime" (1939).

further classification of the more obscure forms of mental disorder associated with criminal conduct. The erudite physician realizes that a relatively small number of offenders suffers from mental defectiveness or mental disease, perhaps rather more from psychological mal-adjustment, whilst some others belong to a group lying somewhere between mental and character abnormality which future research may recognize as forms of disease.

In this connection one is reminded of the interpretations which are placed upon certain syndromes by psychiatrists at the present time, and the very different views of their predecessors. Charles Mercier¹ was particularly interested in forensic psychiatry, but his views on moral imbecility appear unconvincing to those engaged in this branch of work to-day. A slight change of thought may profoundly modify the outlook upon conduct, and it is reasonable to believe that it may do so still further in regard to criminal conduct.

We must always bear in mind the fact that the pathological offender may injure society, but he also may be injured by society's measures for its own self-protection. Whilst recognizing the complexity of modern penal administration we must also remember, as Wertham² points out, that "the administrative questions of psychiatry itself—custodial care, release from mental institutions, manner of commitment—all are far from solved."

This investigation is concerned with lads over the age of 16 years, and a proportion of them were under the age of 17. It is pertinent, therefore, to recall section 44 (1) of The Children and Young Person Act, 1933: "Every court in dealing with a child or young person³ who is brought before it, either as being in need of care or protection or as an offender or otherwise, shall have regard to the welfare of the child or young person and shall in a proper case take steps for removing him from undesirable surroundings, and for securing that proper provision is made for his education and training."

The Departmental Committee on Persistent Offenders⁴ recommended two new forms of sentence, detention for a period of not less than two and not more than four years, and prolonged detention for any period not less than five and not more than ten years. In spite of the incorrigibility of persistent offenders, it was stated by the Committee that the object of both types of sentences of detention should be to

¹ C. Mercier, "Criminal Responsibility" (1905)

² *Loc cit.*

³ "Young persons" are defined in the Act as persons who have attained the age of 14 years and are under the age of 17 years

⁴ Cmd. 4090 (1932).

provide positive and progressive systems of training for all such offenders as are likely to respond to such treatment, and for their custody under conditions designed as far as practicable to fit them to take up life on release under normal social conditions. The recommendations of the Committee were not retributive.

Still more recently the Departmental Committee on Corporal Punishment stated¹: "So far as concerns young offenders, at any rate, few people would now defend methods based purely on the retributive principle." In regard to older offenders, the Committee found that the fear of corporal punishment exercised a strong deterrent influence in restraining prisoners who would otherwise commit serious assaults on prison officers. It is quite clear from the Report that the recommendations of the Committee for the continuance of this sanction for this limited purpose aimed at deterrence and not retribution.

The Criminal Justice Bill, 1938, made it abundantly clear that the official penal policy of this country is essentially progressive. At the same time, some persons appear anxious about the developments which have been adopted in recent times in connection with the administration of the criminal law.² There can be, however, no doubt that modern public opinion in this country is opposed to methods of punishment which are essentially retributive and favour those which are deterrent, preventive and reformative.

Sir William Joynson Hicks (Lord Brentford), as Secretary of State for Home Affairs, in delivering the opening address to the Ninth International Penitentiary Congress in London in 1925, said: "A man does not lose his rights as a human being because he has broken the laws of his country. The State will not have done its duty if it releases him, after his period of imprisonment is over, and in consequence of such imprisonment, in such a condition of mind and body, that he is no longer fit to take his part in society as a citizen. On the other hand, the State is under no obligation *to the prisoner* (italics in original text) to release him in any better condition physically, mentally, or morally than it found him.

"The State, however, is entitled in the interests of the community to experiment upon the prisoner with physical, mental, and moral forces with a view to his restoration to the standard of normal citizenship."

¹ Cmd. 5684 (1938)

² In a discussion before the Medico-Legal Society in June, 1936, opened by James B. Montagu with a paper on "The Development of Criminal Law and Penology since 1910," Judge W. G. Earonkey said. "It seems to me, with regard to children, and the way in which we deal with them, we have gone to the verge of sloppy sentimentality." *Medico-Legal and Criminological Review* (Vol. IV, Part 4, 1936).

This, therefore, must be the principal object of every prison administration. The recognition of this possibility entails the consideration and execution of well-conceived programmes of training, both mental and physical, adapted to different ages, circumstances, and characters.

"The duty of every Government to protect the general body of law-abiding citizens from offences against their persons and property, will be achieved by the same means. Moreover, it cannot be achieved by any other. . . . The great majority of offenders, who are deprived of their liberty, must have that liberty restored to them sooner or later. Unless they have, in the meantime, been taught how to use their liberty without doing harm to their fellow citizens, the benefit to society, which has resulted from their incarceration, will be only temporary and ineffective, because they will resume their evil courses as soon as they have the opportunity."¹

The attitude of prisoner and custodian one to another has greatly changed during the present century. The change has been gradual, and is due to social and educational advances, as well as to legal and medical measures. It has facilitated investigations of the character with which this study is concerned. The administrative advances in prisons are too numerous to recount here, but their purpose has been directed towards training and treatment, and they have been largely brought about by the method of trial and error. The extent to which this and similar studies can contribute to these matters is not to be estimated merely by the facts which appear at the moment to be important. The facts are positive, indeterminate and negative, and whilst the importance of the former may be assessed with some degree of confidence, the significance of indeterminate and negative facts may escape recognition until newly acquired knowledge at a future date supplements the lesson they can teach.²

Two outstanding bio-social facts, not directly connected with this investigation, demand a brief acknowledgement.

Attention has been already directed to the first in an earlier chapter, when the incidence of crime to age was shown to have an important relationship. It will be remembered that after the age of 16 the crime

¹ "Proceedings of the IXth International Penitentiary Congress, held in London, August, 1925" (1927).

² An example in the text of a positive fact appears in the observation that before the age of 18 a capacity for earning high-grade wages was found to be associated to a pronounced extent with a tendency to commit further offences after the first, and an association between high maximum earnings and multiple convictions was still evident at ages 19 and 20. An indeterminate fact is shown in the finding that the proportion of first offenders was significantly greater at ages 18 and 19 than at 16 and 20. A negative fact appears in the finding that there was no significant association between tuberculosis and the nature and number of offences.

rate per 100,000 of the population shows a decrease in each successive age period.¹ This may be accepted as an indication of the fact that the characters of the majority of boys and girls develop along socially acceptable lines as they progress towards adult life and, perhaps, it shows that environment is often more effective than personality during puberty and adolescence. The crimes of adults, for the most part, differ in quantity as well as quality from those of boyhood and adolescence; for example, forgery, rape and murder are more frequent among adults, and, perhaps, at this period of life personality is usually more important than environment.

The second matter is the striking incidence of crime in relation to sex. Of 78,463 offenders found guilty of indictable offences, 68,679 were men and boys and 9,784 were women and girls. The incidence of crime is nearly eight times greater among males than females. Amongst every 10,000 women and girls in the population there were five indictable offenders, amongst every 10,000 men and boys there were 39.²

Apart from other considerations, the figures disprove the assertion of those who declare that crime is a disease, for it is difficult to believe, and contrary to experience to find, that the number of boys who are mentally, temperamentally or morally abnormal at the age of 13 is nearly double the number aged 19, and there appear to be no facts to prove that eight men and youths are abnormal in the above directions to one woman or girl. Personal experience leads one to the view that juvenile crime is generally due to social immaturity rather than mental abnormality, and that men commit crime more frequently than women because their responsibilities are usually greater, and their instinctive tendencies more despotic.³

The explanation given by some people that women commit crime less frequently than men because their contacts outside the home are more restricted is difficult to accept. For it is, perhaps, significant that although a large number of women to-day compete freely with men in the labour market, and all enjoy the freedom of emancipation, the proportion of women to men in our prisons, as shown by the daily average population detained, is half that of 60 years ago, when their activities were more limited and many were occupied at home with larger

¹ "The Criminal Statistics, 1937."

² "The Criminal Statistics, 1938."

³ R. H. Pear states that he was informed by a former bank employee, who acted as inspector for one of the Big Five for a number of years, "that in the bank men 'went wrong' at the rate of about one a week throughout the year, and that in nine out of ten cases the cause was due to the demands of a wife or family on the insufficient means of the clerk." R. H. Pear, "Obstacles to Marriage," *The Eugenics Review*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (1939).

families.¹ The reason is probably complex, and further study may show that a not unimportant factor is the general disposition of women to be less aggressive and more cautious, sexually and socially, than men, with the result that they control their natural impulses more readily.

However this may be, and although these matters are not investigated in this analysis, they cannot be disregarded for long in any comprehensive view of the crime problem.

It is common knowledge that a mode of activity which is frequently repeated may persist as a habit, and it is a matter of common observation that babies who are born without habits are able to acquire them in earliest infancy. Individual experience also leaves one in no doubt that the fixation of a habit, whether in thought or conduct, becomes more confirmed as we grow older. McDougall² reminds us of the influence in private life of the formation of habits in the resulting tendency to convert means into ends. He states, "with men nothing is commoner than that the earning of money at first undertaken purely as a means to an end becomes an end in itself."

In his well-known experiment Pavlov utilised the fact that a dog salivates when shown a piece of meat. He found that if a bell was repeatedly sounded whenever the meat was offered the dog, a time came when salivation resulted from the sound of the bell in the absence of the piece of meat. One is occasionally reminded of this experiment when considering the conduct of some offenders. The conditioned response of the dog, however, is not permanent, and eventually fails unless the response attains from time to time its normal satisfaction.

Habits are often more easily acquired than corrected, and this is noticeably true when an effort is made to erase habit disorders such as nail-biting, bed-wetting, constipation, stammering and some forms of habitual criminality.

A habit is not broken by the passive acceptance of the admonition of someone in authority. Purposive and prolonged effort is often necessary, and this may be possible only to the tough-minded type of person. Many of the weaker sort fail because their motivation is ineffective, and for this reason many petty offenders become recidivists.

It was stated in the opening chapter that the purpose of this analytical survey was to elicit if possible, and as far as practicable, the circumstances and other causal factors which, within the limits prescribed, contribute to adolescent criminality. Attention, therefore, may be re-directed to some of the practical findings.

¹ "Report of the Prison Commissioners for the year ending March 31st, 1881." •
² W. McDougall, "Social Psychology" (12th edit., 1917).

A criminal heredity in the families of lads with a record of offences against property was significantly associated with a history of more than one conviction, and it appeared probable that for some lads a criminal family history was a causative factor in the commission of further offences after their first convictions. The figures suggest that an immoral heredity was a causative factor for a certain number of convictions after the first and quarrelsomeness in the father may have been also a causative factor in a few cases. The data do not show to what extent, if any, lads are deterred from committing crime by witnessing the penalties imposed upon their parents who have committed legal offences, or by the physical and mental suffering which may result from immorality, or by the aversion and disgust aroused by the conduct of an ill-tempered and contentious parent. *The data, however, do emphasize the need for research in the fundamental problems of inheritance*, a need which was stressed in the Report of the Departmental Committee on Sterilisation,¹ in connection with the causation of mental abnormality so far as it is based on inheritance.²

Certain forms of major mental disorder—schizophrenia and the manic-depressive psychosis; some forms of psycho-neurosis—hysteria and the compulsive-obsessive neurosis and anxiety states, and some other forms of mental abnormality, particularly schizoid, cycloid and paranoid types of personality and mental deficiency, are common causal factors of criminal conduct in men and women of various ages. Current

¹ Cmd 4485 (1934).

² Although histories of criminality in successive generations of notorious families are suggestive there is a lack of modern scientific investigation on these lines in this country. The difficulty in studies of this kind of avoiding hearsay, and accepting only the unequivocal statements of trained observers is great. Reliable histories of valuable social qualities in families are perhaps more easily ascertained and are not without significance in this connection. A striking illustration is recorded by B. S. Bramwell ("The Andersons of Peterhead," *The Eugenics Review*, Vol. XXIX, No. 4, 1938). Alexander Anderson died in 1794. "His descendants during the past twenty years have included a Chief of the Imperial General Staff, a First Lord of the Admiralty, an Ambassador to the United States, a President of the Royal Society of Water Colour Painters, a chairman of the South Wales Coal Owners' Association, a Principal Woman Factory Inspector, a Master of Caus, a Fellow and Tutor of Balliol, a Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, a Regius Professor of Botany, one of the earlier women M.P.'s, an M.P. for the City of London and a Colonel-Commandant of the Engineers. In finance, commerce and industry, the record has also been noteworthy. The Orient Line is the creation of his family; two of the descendants already mentioned have been chairmen of very important companies such as Imperial Airways, Dunlop Rubber Co., and the Rio Tinto. One of rather earlier date not mentioned before died a millionaire, and another a multi-millionaire. The honours won include two G.C.B.'s, two K.C.B.'s, two C.B.'s, two G.C.M.G.'s, one K.C.M.G. and three C.M.G.'s; two G.B.E.'s, one D.B.E., two C.B.E.'s, four O.B.E.'s, and one M.B.E.; one C.S.I., one C.I.E., four D.S.O.'s, and two M.C.'s; also three foreign orders. One descendant has been raised to the peerage, another created a baronet, and three have become knights bachelor; five have been awarded honorary degrees, one has been a Fellow of the Royal Society, and four have been M.P.'s. Finally, fifteen of the younger generation were killed in the war, 1914-18."

opinion accepts the importance of the hereditary factor in reproducing these conditions, either as a specific tendency, or as a general neuropathic taint. Their eugenic importance cannot be denied.

Insanity on the father's side is suggested by the figures to have been responsible for a proportion of sexual offences, but there was no evidence of association between an insane heredity and multiple convictions, and the data do not suggest that the psychoneurotic or mentally defective parent was a frequent begetter of criminal conduct in his offspring. On the other hand, a family history of epilepsy and inebriety appeared to be a crimogenic factor in a few lads. The number of parents of the lads who belonged to the more elusive schizoid, cycloid and paranoid groups could not be determined with any degree of accuracy, and the importance of heredity in the criminal offspring of such parents can often only be assumed. As Professor Fisher¹ points out, "we cannot *experiment* (italics in original text) in human heredity, so the experimental side of the work must be performed with animals, where the matings can be controlled and the results followed through a long series of generations. Men can only be observed, their relationships recorded, and number of cases counted. The rest is inference. Our only means of knowing that such inferences are scientifically valid is by demonstrating the validity of the arguments used in analogous experimental material, in which conclusive verification is possible in subsequent generations."

Comparatively few people take a eugenic view of marriage at the present time, and the family history of the proposed life partner is seldom analysed with care. As education advances the teachings of eugenists may receive more general acknowledgment, and if the findings noted here are corroborated by other workers they may prove an added stimulus in the prevention of dysgenic unions.

It only remains to add that the data relating to physical disease suggest that when cardiac or pulmonary disease is present in the father it may act as a deterrent and prevent the commission of a second offence in some instances, but no other significant fact emerged from the association of crime with the other diseases investigated. The data are insufficient to justify the tempting conclusion that the lads who do not commit a second offence in the above circumstances refrain because they realize their important economic value in the home of a disabled parent.

The difficulty in distinguishing between the relative importance of heredity and home environment on adolescent behaviour is recognized in the text. Certain findings regarding the latter are instructive.

¹ R. A. Fisher, "Eugenics, Academic and Practical," *The Eugenic Review*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (1935).

The effectiveness of home life on a lad is largely due to its early incidence and continuous action, and to its intimacy and authority. Penalties and rewards can be applied immediately, and since there is no appeal it is essential that justice should be done and should appear to be done. The weight of parental authority should be measured by the ready co-operation it is able to exact as well as by the moral force which lies behind its application.

The beneficial effect of home life is shown in the fact that among lads who had never been in a training establishment there was a significant negative association between a history of unbroken residence with the parents and the number of previous convictions; whereas there was an excessive frequency of past convictions in lads who had lived independently, with their employer, or away from home. Other factors beside home influence were concerned, no doubt, in producing this association. There is also evidence of home influence in the fact that the absence of one or both parents, and especially the father, when the lads were 14 years of age and after tended to be associated with the commission of multiple offences against property or the person. This is probably true also for first offences, although the data afford no direct evidence of this. Further, groups of lads with an older brother or sister present throughout gave the best records, and the absence of a younger brother or sister from the home tended to be associated with a history of more than one conviction.

A broad view of the above findings emphasizes the importance of family contacts, for life in the small family herd is a preparation for the wider requirements of the national herd, and the cult of the ancestor and family tradition favours acceptable social conduct and national stability.

Criticism of the different judicial, administrative, and disciplinary methods of treating adolescent offenders does not always take into account the fact that the result of any form of treatment depends upon the nature of the person controlled as well as upon the kind of control exercised. The largest crime group, viz., the lads convicted of offences against property, showed the importance of these criteria in the finding that lads under lax, careless or repressive control, and those who were intolerant of apparently judicious control, had a greater tendency to repeat criminal offences than lads under other types of control.

It was also found that the lads generally became more amenable to control as age advanced. Perhaps this is attributable to their growing recognition of the necessity for social conduct to be based upon a common social standard. An exception was noted in a small group of lads who showed resistive reactions to strict repressive control. Although their numbers are few they emphasize the well-known fact that repressive

measures often defeat their purpose and create the activities they are intended to destroy.

The average size of the family when the lads were 14 years of age was considerably larger than would be found at the present time in a random sample of young adults from the population as a whole. This confirms Goring's¹ conclusion for families with criminal records, and that of Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck,² who found 500 criminals of the Massachusetts Reformatory came from families appreciably larger than the average Massachusetts family. But this investigation, like that of Goring and the Gluecks, does not determine the exact significance of this factor.

Neither does this investigation give grounds for concluding that the position in the family was a crimogenic factor of importance, the difference being accounted for by the larger average size of the family. Dealing with adult convicts, however, and allowing for over-weighting by size of the family, Goring concluded that the elder members of a family, especially the first and second, are liable to become criminal at a greater rate than are the younger members of the family.

Owing to the absence of comparable figures the Gluecks³ found themselves unable to conclude that the influence of being the eldest child in a large family, or an only son, was of great significance as a factor of delinquency.

The great majority of the lads examined had lived in London only. A small proportion had lived at some time in the country, and there was a statistically significant excess of multiple convictions in lads who had lived some time out of London. The reason for this is probably complex and not entirely apparent. The country magistrates may have allowed offences to accumulate before committing a lad to a higher court for sentence to detention in a Borstal institution, and the disturbing effect on a lad of change of environment may be reflected in the finding. Whatever the reason, it would seem desirable to bear the effect in mind when it is proposed to deal with criminal behaviour by transferring a lad to the country from a town.

Goring considered that the relative economic prosperity of the families in which the 3,000 convicts dealt with by him were brought up had no influence upon the frequency of their subsequent convictions for crime; but, measured by length of imprisonment, the influence of poverty did not tend to increase, but, if anything, appeared to have acted in the direction of diminishing, the recidivism of the men.

¹ Charles Goring, "The English Convict" (1913).

² Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck, "500 Criminal Careers" (1930).

³ *Loc cit.*

Among the lads without any record of a sexual offence a history of multiple convictions was significantly associated with residence in a poor class district. Among those with such a record there was a significant negative association.† There was no significant variation in the mean number of rooms in the dwelling according to the ages of the lads or the nature of their offences. Neither was there a significant association between the number of inhabitants in the dwelling and the number of previous convictions. The sexual offence group, however, had a significantly smaller number of inhabitants per dwelling than other groups.*

These results are practically important, for they suggest that the reactions of adolescents to home conditions are far from being simple or stereotyped, and require further elucidation; for although social legislation may remove what is generally adverse in the homes of the people, we cannot, at present, be sure that the betterment will materially reduce the amount of adolescent crime.

The school period of life is essentially educational, using the term in a wide sense. Its value is not to be measured narrowly by its success in training a student how to acquire a knowledge of facts, or even by its material usefulness in post-school life. Dr. Thomas Arnold, the Head Master of Rugby from 1828 to 1842, regarded the formation of moral principles and habits as the most important part of education,¹ and the Bishop of Liverpool has recently stated that in order to train leaders for civil, social and military service in anything like the number required certain measures are necessary, one of which is the need for State schools founded with the aim of training character on Christian principles rather than of preparing for examinations.²

In 1938 the Hadow Report on the Education of the Adolescent proposed that all children should be transferred at the age of 11 or 12 from the junior or primary schools, either to schools of the type now called secondary schools or to schools of the type now called central schools, or to senior and separate departments of existing elementary schools.³

In the following year the Spens Report on Secondary Education stated⁴: "Modern psychology has . . . not convinced either experienced teachers or mature students that the faithful study of one of the major subjects does not impart some virtue to the mind. We believe that our view about those subjects makes the nature of that virtue clear. The subjects in question represent, it has been said, typical modes of activity

¹ "Report on Secondary Education" (1939).

² Letter to *The Times*, January 27th, 1941.

³ "Report on the Education of the Adolescent" (1938).

⁴ "Report on Secondary Education" (1939).

which have been established through the centuries by the labours of a few men of supreme genius, a large group of practitioners of outstanding talent, and an immense army of journeymen. We are apt to think of them in a too abstract and narrow way, forgetting that for the poet, the craftsman, the scientist, his poetry, his craft, his science is a way of life with ethical as well as intellectual or æsthetic characters. There is a characteristic integrity of the poet, of the musician, of the mathematician, just as there is a characteristic ethical code of the medical man or the seaman. And just as the young doctor or sailor in the making not only acquires certain knowledge, skill and habitual reactions, but also undergoes a special kind of ethical permeation, so the student who is put to school to one of the great cultural traditions acquires something of the ethical as well as the other characteristics that individualise it. We may then speak of the 'training' he receives in Art or in Mathematics, using the word to mean essentially what it means when we speak of the training of the doctor or seaman. This training may quite properly be described also as 'mental discipline.' For it involves the submission of the pupil to the influences of the great tradition; it is his endeavour to learn to do fine things in the fine way."

If the proposal to admit into our public schools selected lads from the secondary schools is accepted, as an experiment in post-war reconstruction, it will be watched with interest by criminologists as well as by psychologists and others; particularly if the proportion of secondary school lads is kept below the number which might change the character and tradition of the public school receiving them, and the selection is related to character as well as to scholastic attainment.

The social education of the individual must include more than the passive avoidance of bad habits. The inculcation of socially useful habits must be enforced with energy, and instruction given in their importance to the individual, the family and the nation. Since many parents are unable to do this adequately, it would seem inevitable that it must often be carried out in the schools, and the criminologist, like many others, will, for this and other reasons also, welcome the proposal to raise the school-leaving age.

The lads investigated were in the main average scholars, their social failure being for the most part attributable to their inept emotional reactions and faulty ethical standards. The custodial care of adolescent offenders therefore concerns itself with both the training to the fullest scope of their individuality in the needs of life, and a full recognition of the claims and needs of society.

A great majority of the lads investigated attended elementary schools

only, a few were educated only at a private school or orphanage, whilst others had also attended a secondary school, a special school for physical or mental disabilities, or a Home Office school. The finding that a lack of interest in school work was significantly associated in the elementary school, mental school and Home Office school groups with multiple convictions emphasizes the fact that there are scholars in the elementary and Home Office schools who, although not dull or backward, require special consideration. *The subjects taught in the ordinary elementary school must appeal to this type of scholar if his activities are to be directed into socially useful channels, and it may be necessary to go outside the ordinary school curriculum in order to do this.*

On leaving school the worker finds his employment less arduous and more satisfying if it is interesting. At the same time, the early enthusiasms of adolescents in particular directions may become less insistent as time passes, and some lads flirt with different forms of work in turn, much as others dally with their friendships. It is a fortunate thing that success can be attained in spite of distaste for the work on hand, but the lad is doubly favoured who finds his work and workmates according to his taste.

In regard to unemployment, the general inference appeared to be justified that *although the convicted lads of this study had not experienced appreciably more than the average amount of unemployment, they were much more liable to commit offences during such periods than at other times. In other words, the prevention of unemployment may prevent many lads from committing offences.*

The figures further show that the *attributes which determine a lad to commit multiple offences sometimes favour his earning capacity.* This is probably connected with the fact that initiative, aggressiveness and selfishness are qualities which bring some people success, others into prominence, and still others before a criminal court. I pointed out in the Annual Report of the Prison Commissioners for 1936 that some of the offenders in the constitutional psychic inferiority group were aggressive criminals and a menace to society, whilst others were passive criminals and often no more than a nuisance. The faults of the former are positive and of the latter negative. The incorrigibility of both types is apparent in the practical difficulty of modifying the one and of supporting the other. The gross selfishness of the aggressive offender is too often impervious to the rights of others, and the passive offender too often finds satisfaction in the parental protection of a penal institution.

There appear to be two special periods of growth activity in respect of stature, namely, from 5 to 7 years and from 13 to 16 years of age

respectively, and these periods are said to alternate with circumferential growth. It will be remembered that the proportion of crime per 1,000 of the population decreases progressively after the age of 16. Other factors which affect conduct must be taken into consideration, but *the association of rapidity of growth and frequency of crime is worthy of further study. It suggests that the added physiological stress which accompanies the active phase of growth may produce adverse psychological impacts.*

Although the lads were considered as units and, to a large extent, in cross-section, they properly regard themselves as being linked with the past and with the future. In other words, a lad has, more or less, ever present in his mind not only what he is, but what he was, and what he aims to be. It is upon this tripod that character must be built, and, if necessary, rebuilt. At times the observer finds his predictions regarding the future of a lad correct, when, for example, a capable and well-balanced lad passes successfully through adolescence to a foretold successful adulthood; or when, on the other hand, an asocial lad confirms the gloomy forebodings of the psychiatrist, and becomes a fully developed psychotic. The forecasting may be incorrect, the promising lad may unexpectedly crash on account of an unusual stress, or various forms of misconduct which appear to be the result of a permanent disability may prove to be no more than the expression of a passing temperamental instability. Herein lies much of the importance of accurate diagnosis in cases of adolescent mental disease and mental defectiveness, and one of the difficulties of character study in adolescent offenders.

The psychiatrist looking out upon the world, and beyond the confines of the consulting room, clinic or hospital, sees among some of his friends and acquaintances men and women who are successful citizens and perform their duties in the home, office or factory efficiently, although they suffer from one or other type of mental abnormality. It is, therefore, always necessary to consider whether an offence is due to an existing mental abnormality or whether it is merely a chance association. We are not here concerned with the relation of mental disorder to criminal responsibility, but with the appropriate method of treatment of individual offenders. The abnormal mental condition requires open recognition in some cases, but should receive less notice in others.

Discretion is also necessary when the relation between conduct and ill-defined forms of character abnormality which are not included in the rubric of disease comes under review.

The proportion of lads who were mentally defective was very much higher than would be expected in a random sample of lads from the general population, and confirms the well-known relation of mental

defectiveness to delinquency. It also indicates that many of the lads might have been certified before they committed an offence, and that ascertainment is sometimes inadequate. It has been pointed out in the Annual Reports of the Prison Commissioners that the annual number of prisoners of both sexes who were found to be mentally defective whilst in prison was such that an appreciable amount of crime was prevented by their certification and segregation under the Mental Deficiency Acts. *The fact that the proportion of mentally defective lads was rather lower among those with more than one conviction than among first offenders is a further indication of the eliminating effect of ascertainment in prison and the importance of early ascertainment by local authorities in the prevention of crime.*

The proportion of lads who were, or had been, insane was considerably less than the proportion who were mentally defective. The proportion of lads who were epileptic was the same as the proportion of lads who were, or had been, insane, and was double the proportion found a few years before in the male prisons and Borstal institutions as a whole. The proportion of lads with a record of insanity, epilepsy and psycho-neurosis appeared to be higher amongst lads convicted of offences against the person other than sexual. The mental deficiency rate amongst the sexual offenders was high, this finding confirming other prison observations. *This part of the analysis generally emphasized once more the necessity for accurate and early mental diagnosis in the prevention of crime.*

Attention has already been directed to the active and passive offenders. Both types may include persons of good intelligence, good scholastic ability and proficiency in the arts and crafts. It is unnecessary to enter here into a controversy concerning the overlap between feeble-mindedness and character inefficiency, but if either the active or passive offender who is not defective is segregated among mentally defective persons hardship and injustice may result. It cannot be too fully recognized that whilst the aggressive criminal requires strict custodial conditions the passive type often requires little more than guidance. The enforced detention of the passive offender may necessarily be prolonged in the interests of society, but in suitable cases it can be bettered in many ways if the segregation is carried out in a special penal establishment.

It is not so long ago since criminal conduct was said to be due to a "mental kink," if the facts of the case pointed clearly to its association with an abnormal mental condition other than insanity, psycho-neurosis or mental defectiveness. The term conveyed no more than a lack of knowledge on the part of those who used it. The overworked modern

term "psychopath" is often used now in a similar connection by those who peddle their opinions without any clear view of the recognized types of mental abnormality. Attention is called to the matter because *over-simplification in diagnosis on the one hand and undue complexity on the other tend to obscure the necessity for further research.* The one because it suggests there is nothing more to be said, the other because it suggests the problem is insoluble.

• Research beyond the region of mental disease is necessary if our understanding of instinctive criminal activity is to become more precise. As stated in the text, an instinct may act with ordinary, diminished or excessive force, or it may be perverse. *These variations cannot be accurately measured, but the study of sexual perversions has thrown much light upon sexual offences, and a closer study of instinctive activities and perversions in other directions of conduct associated with crime is overdue, and should be instructive.* For example, it may show that perverse aggressive and acquisitive conduct, like perverse sexual conduct, is variable in form and causation, and is based upon a special type of personality which is to a large extent unaffected by ordinary penal methods.

• As already stated, this investigation views the lads mainly in cross-section; certain facts have been ascertained. Other facts will appear if offenders are studied in longitudinal section; that is to say, if life histories rather than fragments of history are analysed. We are all, as we get older, more or less involved in this sort of study when we consider the changed manner in which our friends react to specific situations at different periods of their lives. Our later knowledge often indicates the manner in which earlier difficulties could have been surmounted. A systematic investigation of the character traits of individual recidivists at different periods of their lives may show the reason for their changed personalities, and indicate the manner of the alteration and suggest a remedy for the future in similar cases.

• The Report on the Psychological Treatment of Crime dealt with the treatment of the individual offender, and recommended the creation of a special kind of penal institution as the most satisfactory method of dealing with abnormal and unusual types of criminals. One of its purposes was to serve as a centre for criminological research. *The present investigation shows the need for further research in connection with normal as well as abnormal offenders, and it is considered that the above institution should be used for this purpose and as a centre from which special forms of research at other penal establishments should be directed.* For example, the life histories of elderly recidivists could often be investigated with advantage in an ordinary prison if the work was

co-ordinated with other forms of research organised by the scientific adviser at the special institution.

Research into the life histories of criminals will be facilitated as time passes, and the various factors in the official records of the failures of the Borstal system become available in larger numbers, and can be compared with the corresponding prison records of later years. It will be assisted if the provisions of the Criminal Justice Bill, 1938, are enacted.

Criminologists are concerned with the reactions of individuals to circumstances and responsibilities, and progress demands constant vigilance if the destruction of the things we desire to create is to be avoided. Some enthusiasts confuse change with progress, others are unable to remain in contact with essentials. An elaborate investigation into the physical and mental condition of an adolescent offender may be instructive, but also misleading if the failure of his parent to perform his duty to society by controlling the conduct of his son is disregarded. Indeed, the evasion of parental duty is often more reprehensible and more in need of study and correction than the consequent legal misconduct of the lad.

There is sometimes a further difficulty. The application of newly ascertained facts to individual needs may be halting unless supported by an enlightened public opinion, and the research worker may falter when he enters the administrative arena. Indeed, he often aims to be only a seeker of truth, and is content to leave more spectacular achievements to others. Nevertheless, as long as action is dependent upon public opinion, the research worker cannot stand aloof if his work is to be productive. He must strive to close the gap between medical opinion and public interest, and he must remain throughout undaunted by the disappointments which so often reward the efforts of those who blaze the trail. He must be ever mindful of the fact that in medico-sociological research there is no room for lean-souled men, and that he "Who would seek Truth essays no light emprise."

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